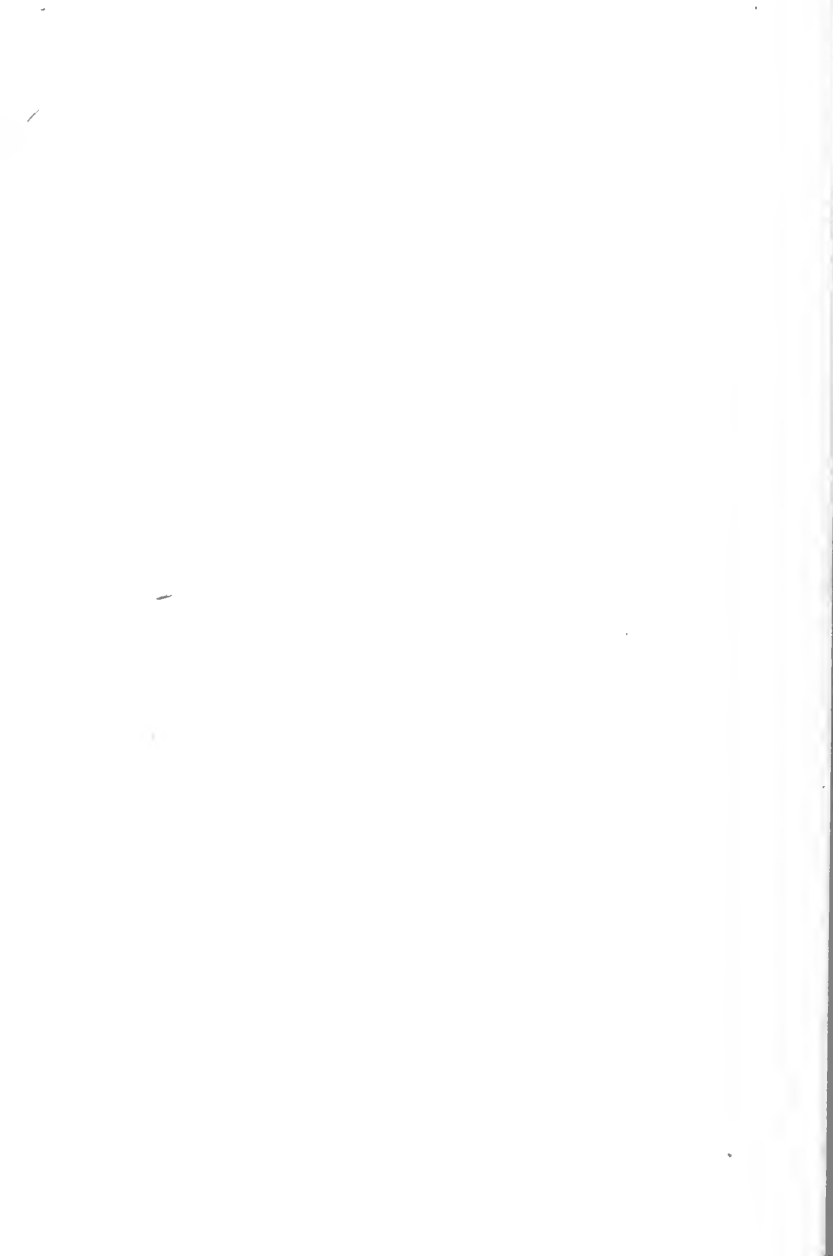




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Complete Works

OF

Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D.

EDITED BY

REV. PROF. J. WM. FLINN, D. D.

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WITH BRIEF NOTES AND PREFACES

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J. WM. FLINN.

ECCLESIASTICAL REPUBLICANISM

OR THE

REPUBLICANISM, LIBERALITY *and* CATHOLICITY

OF

PRESBYTERY

IN CONTRAST WITH

PRELACY *and* POPYRY

By THOMAS SMYTH

AUTHOR OF LECTURES ON THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION; PRESBYTERY AND
NOT PRELACY THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE POLITY;
ECCLESIASTICAL CATECHISM, ETC.

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TO THE

HONORABLE MITCHELL KING,

OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

THIS WORK,

IN VINDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF HIS FATHERS,

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

The following work may require some explanation and some apology. The author has been for some years engaged in a careful examination of the subject of church government, especially in reference to the claims of prelacy to an exclusive possession of the rights, privileges, and immunities of the church of Christ. He was thus led to publish his "Lectures on the Prelatical Doctrine of Apostolical Succession, or the Protestant Ministry Defended against the Exclusive Assumptions of Popery and High-Churchism," in 1841. This work he followed up, according to his original design, by his recent volume, just issued from the press, "Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, proved from the Testimonies of Scripture; the Fathers; the Schoolmen; the Reformers; and the English and Oriental Churches. Also, the Antiquity of Presbytery; including an Account of the Ancient Culdees, and of St. Patrick." In pursuing the investigations necessary to complete these works, the author was led to discover the determined claim, preferred by the prelatie and Romish churches, to a greater conformity, in spirit and in order, to our republican institutions than any other denominations, as well as to a greater liberality, and an exclusive catholicity. He was therefore induced to comprehend in the plan of the above work, a discussion of these questions, and to examine into the comparative adaptation of the different ecclesiastical systems to the system of our republican government, and their relative claims to the character of true liberality and catholicity. The following chapters were therefore embodied as a part of the third book of the above work, where they are found in the analysis of it, which was published in the Charleston Observer. It was discovered, however, that this work was sufficiently extensive without these chapters, and as they were not necessary to the unity of the argument, the author was induced, by the advice of judicious friends, to publish them in a separate form.

Such, then, is the nature and design of the present volume, and such the apology which the author offers, for again presenting himself before the public. The subjects embraced in it are believed to be deeply important to the civil and religious interests of this country. They commend themselves to every patriot as matters of great practical and present concern, which must, ere long, *demand* the earnest consideration of every reflecting mind. They are not theoretical speculations. They

contain principles which lie at the foundation of human conduct, and which come "home to the business and bosoms of men." There are those who think otherwise, and who consider the great questions which divide religious denominations as mere logomachies. Any alleged connection between the systems of ecclesiastical and civil government they regard as a mere visionary dream, concluding, that because politically distinct and separate, their moral and intellectual relations are equally independent. To such minds, the author presents the considerations offered in the following work, and asks for them a candid and impartial hearing.

Greatly would he rejoice could he have moderated the views which he is constrained to take of the dangerous character and tendencies of popery, and its kindred system, high-churchism. Tender associations bind him to many individuals in both these sects. Among them may be found many, distinguished by every quality that can give personal distinction, and attract the love and admiration of all who know them. It is, therefore, truly painful to the author, to be impelled as he is, by an irresistible call of duty, to utter his free thoughts concerning the religious systems to which such men are attached. Every day's experience and research, however, only confirm and strengthen the convictions formed by education. But it is with *the systems*, and not with *their abettors*, the author is at war. To their own master *these* stand or fall, and by Him alone are they to be judged. While contending, therefore, earnestly for the truth, he would desire to cultivate towards all men that charity "which is the bond of perfectness, and which hopeth all things."

He will only add, that he uses the term presbytery in its generic sense, as equally applicable to all non-episcopal churches, and that the great portion of the present volume will be found based on those generic principles, by which they are all distinguished from prelatic churches. Such being his general design, the author will be borne with, in those illustrations which are drawn from his own denomination, and those arguments which are presented in vindication of its character.

CHARLESTON, S. C., 1843.

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ECCLESIASTICAL REPUBLICANISM

CHAPTER I.

THE PRINCIPLES OF REPUBLICANISM EXPLAINED, AND SHOWN TO
EXIST IN THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

SECTION I.

Preliminary remarks.

THE subject to which the attention of our readers is invited, is the republicanism of those ecclesiastical systems, which come under the denomination of PRESBYTERY, as opposed to PRELACY. All denominations who agree in holding to one order of ministers are properly *presbyterian*, and are, therefore, included under the term *presbytery*. And the question before us, is, whether there is any connection between ecclesiastical and civil governments, so as that the former, according to their nature, will exert a corresponding influence upon the latter; and if they do, whether the forms of ecclesiastical government, included under the term *presbytery*, are more congenial to republicanism, and promotive of it, than either *prelacy* or *popery*.

In entering upon this discussion, we wish it to be most explicitly understood, that we do not identify christianity, or the christian church, with any form of civil government. On the contrary, it is one of the fundamental principles of *presbyterian* faith, that the kingdom of Christ while *in* this world is not *of* it, but is entirely separate and distinct in its nature, objects, subjects, and end. The church is a society of a select and sacred nature, which stands in intimate relation to Christ, from whom it receives special and continual direction, superintendence, and grace; having its existence by the will of Christ, its Head; having a power of self-government, inherent in it by divine right; and being thus authorized to form regularly constituted societies for spiritual purposes, to meet in churches and ecclesiastical courts, to celebrate ordinances, to admit to these spiritual privileges on terms prescribed by Christ, or to exclude from them such as violate these terms; and, generally, to govern and direct the affairs of the christian societies, for the glory of God, and the edification of the household of faith. It will be thus seen, that, on our interpretation of the scriptures, christianity is entirely independent of civil government, and different from it in its ministry, in its motives, in its instrumentality, in

its practice, in its teaching, in its officers, in its laws, in its authority, and in its sanctions. It has to do with the men of the world, merely that it may best prepare them for the world which is to come; while, in all things that regard this present life, and the civil rights and temporal interests of men, it leaves them to be guided and controlled by that civil government, which may be established over them, or by them. True christianity is the only religion which draws a proper distinction between the things of God, and the things of Cæsar, earnestly inculcating submission to civil authority in all lawful respects, and that not from inferior but the highest motives. It gives far more sacred and exalted views of civil government, than any other religion. It represents it not as the contrivance of human wisdom, but as the ordinance of Heaven; to be obeyed not from the fear of punishment, but for the sake of conscience. 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' 'Render unto *all* their due: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.' 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.' 'You must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake,' &c. Never, says Whateley, was the christian required to do less than to conform to such principles; never will he be called on to do more.

On this subject, the teaching of our church is as beautiful as it is scriptural.* 'God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be, under him, over the people, for his own glory and the public good; and to this end, hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defence and encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evil doers. It is the duty of the people to pray for magistrates, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority, for conscience sake. Infidelity, or indifference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him; from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people; and, least of all, to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any pretence whatsoever.'

It follows, therefore, that christianity may and does coexist with *any* form of civil government, and that christians may be loyal citizens of such a government, and conscientiously uphold and promote its interests, whether it be a monarchy, an aristoc-

*Nowhere has the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical power been better explained than in Conf. of Faith, ch. xxiii. of the Civil Magistrate, in the Second Book of Discipline of the Scotch Church, and in the celebrated cxi. Propositions concerning the Ministry and Govt. of the Ch. presented to the Genl. Assembly, and printed, Edinb. 1647, 4to.

racy, or a republic, so far forth as it does not conflict with their duties to God.* We do not, therefore, teach, that because presbyterianism, as an ecclesiastical system, is republican in its character, and most perfectly harmonizes with republican institutions, that presbyterians are less faithful, loyal, or true, as subjects of any other form of civil government, than are the members of any other church.

It is no part of our intention to authenticate, as of divine right, the republican form of civil government, or to allege that this form *alone* can characterize the ecclesiastical government of a true church. On the contrary, while we believe human government to be an ordinance of God, its particular character is, we think, left to the determination of human reason, under the control of whatever light God has given it in his word and providence. And in conformity with this arrangement, the ecclesiastical government of the church has been so moulded by its divine head, as to be capable of administration under every mode of government, from the absolutism of a despotic monarchy, to the untrammelled liberty of democratic freedom.

We do not, therefore, design to cast any shadow of dark imputation upon the character of church members in other countries and ages, and under other governments than our own happy republic; nor to bring their loyalty and true-hearted allegiance into question. As it regards the presbyterians of Britain, there never have existed a more loyal and devoted race of subjects, nor one more patriotic and true to the best interests of their country.†

But assuming that the republican form of civil government, as it exists in this country, is best adapted to secure the greatest

*See on this point Christ. Indep. of Civil Govt.; Brooke's Hist. of Relig. Lib. vol. i. pp. 4, 6; Lectures on the Headship of Christ, Glasg. 1840. &c. &c.

†The confessions of faith of all protestant churches which were drawn up not by moderates but by evangelical men, teach the same. Accordingly, christians, who have been reviled as rebels, have uniformly proved the most enlightened friends of loyalty, and have been most useful in seasons of national danger. The christians of apostolic and primitive times were distinguished for their loyalty. Proofs to the same effect might be quoted from the history of the protestant churches of France, and Piedmont, and America. Louis XIV. repeatedly testified to the loyalty of his protestant and evangelical subjects, declaring that they had given proof 'of their fidelity and zeal for his service beyond all that can be imagined, and contributed in all things to the welfare and advantage of his affairs.' The Duke of Savoy himself gladly acknowledged the loyalty of the Vaudois as quite remarkable. The eminent loyalty and fidelity of presbyterians in contrast with the disloyalty of prelates, has been demonstrated from the facts of English and Irish history, by almost all the old writers. See Prynne's Antipathy of the English Lordly Prelacy both to Regal Monarchy and Civil Unity, &c. Lond. 1641, 2 vols. 4to. Milton's Reason of Ch. Govt. in Works, vol. i. p. 29. &c. Lord Brooke on Episcopacy, ch. vii. and ix. p. 38. Jameson's Fundamentals of the Hierarchy, part i. § 2, pp. 5 and 17. Baxter on Episcopacy. Calamy's Defence. Pierce's Defence, &c. &c. See also Lorimer's Manual of Presbytery, ch. v. p. 207, &c. Campbell's Vindication of the Principles and Character of Presbyt. Ch. in Ireland. Lond. 1787 third ed. and Plea for Presbytery.

[The Church called a Republic. Gillespie's Miscellanies, p. 15.]

amount of personal liberty, social enjoyment, and political prosperity; and that it most fully embodies and exhibits the spirit of liberty; our inquiry shall be, whether, and how far, the presbyterian form of church polity is analogous to our civil constitution; whether the genius of presbytery and of republicanism are found to be in strict alliance; and whether, in this respect, our form of ecclesiastical polity does not eminently commend itself to the admiration and regard of every American citizen, to *whatever* religious denomination he may belong. It will be our object, therefore, to make it appear, that the platform of the Bible, while limited to principles so general as to accommodate it to any order of civil institutions, is yet pregnant with the spirit of liberty; and, when allowed its full development, illustriously displays its essential affinity to whatever is most promotive of human happiness and the liberty of mankind; and that the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical polity most readily adjusts itself to republicanism, and is free from any thing which might justly excite jealousy, distrust, or apprehension on the part of the governing authorities of the land, or of a justly watchful people.

Neither is it any part of our design to criminate other denominations, or to hold up what is distinctively called the presbyterian church, as the only one that is analogous to that form of republican government under which we live, much less to imply that others are hostile to 'the powers that be.' On the contrary, we rejoice in believing, that, to a great extent, there is a harmony of spirit and of order between the ecclesiastical system of our various christian denominations, and those of the civil commonwealth, and that the members of all desire to emulate the highest attainments in patriotic devotion to the interests of our country. But in the strength of this analogy, as exhibited in different churches, we believe there is a great diversity, some being more republicanized than others. The degree of approximation to a republic, found in the numerous leading forms of ecclesiastical polity, we shall have occasion to point out; and while we believe that any form of church government will consist with any form of civil government, which does not, by any of its principles, interfere with the authority of that government in civil matters,* fidelity will require us to point out the dangerous character of popery, which binds all its members in subjection to a foreign potentate, and to a despotic hierarchy.

To such a comparison we are urged by the zeal with which all denominations are pressing their claims to a republican character, upon the attention of a people, to whom such a recommendation justly gives a most hearty welcome. 'We have repeatedly,' says the New England Puritan, 'recorded our con-

*Brooke on Episcop. pp. 39, 40, 47.

viction, that congregationalism is not only more in harmony with the teachings of the New Testament than any other system of ecclesiastical polity, but also more purely *democratic* than any other. We, of course, use the term 'democratic' in its original signification, and not as descriptive of the tenets of any political party.' Similar, and as exclusive claims are made, by the baptist denominations. The unitarians, who are also congregationalists, make their devotion to the interests of civil liberty a fundamental article in their popular creed. The protestant methodist church has separated from the episcopal body on this very ground, that it was in its polity anti-republican, and opposed to the just rights of a large portion of the clergy, and the whole of the laity.* The methodist episcopal church, however, is not bashful in proclaiming 'the republicanism of methodist polity.'† The episcopal church is also heard proclaiming aloud her merits as the most purely republican of all republics.‡ Nay, even the Romish church, not satisfied with her infallibility, and other unapproachable excellencies, sets all her rivals at defiance, by the assertion, that her system 'is *most* favorable to equality of conditions.'§

It is, therefore, a time for presbyterians to speak, and not be silent. We say, '*audi alteram partem.*' We also would give our reasons for the hope that is in us, that, when weighed in the balances against all others, we shall not be found wanting. And what we speak, we speak as unto wise men, judge ye what we say.

Neither is any one justified in supposing, that this is a useless question, or one which leads to no practical results. We believe and affirm the contrary. As well might it be said that the forms of civil government have no practical influence upon the manners, morals, and habits of a people, as that different ecclesiastical systems will not exercise a similar influence. 'Every religion,' says Tocqueville,** 'is to be found in juxtaposition to a political opinion, which is connected with it by affinity. If the

*See Questions and Answers explanatory of the Government of this Church. Charleston, 1837. The History and Mystery of Methodist Episcopacy, by Alexander M'Carne. Balt. 1827. Also his Defence, &c. Balt. 1829.

†See recent articles in the Christ. Advoc. and Journal, and several also in the Southern Christian Advocate.

‡Bishop White, in his Memoirs of the Episcopal Church in this country, declares, 'that episcopacy, as now settled in America, must be confessed at least as analogous as presbytery—the author thinks more so—to the plan of civil government which mature deliberation has established over the union.' Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 55. But perhaps Bishop White was not the best judge of such an analogy, since he openly states, that 'in consequence of an impartial comparison,' he prefers the laws and the manners of the British nation to those of any other. Ibid. p. 57. See also the Comprehensive Church, by Rev. Thomas H. Vail, Hartford, 1841.

§Tocqueville's Democracy in America, vol. i. pp. 328, 329 and 332.

**Ibid, p. 328. See also p. 334. See this also illustrated in 'Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States,' p. 34, and note B.

human mind be left to follow its own bent, it will regulate the temporal and spiritual institutions of society upon one uniform principle, and man will endeavor, if I may use the expression, to harmonize the state in which he lives upon earth with the state he believes to await him in heaven.'

'Who,' asks Dr. McCrie,† 'that has duly reflected on the subject, can be ignorant that forms of government exert a mighty influence, both directly and indirectly, on the manners, and habits, and sentiments of the people who live under them; and that some of these forms are unspeakably preferable to others? That they are better adapted to impose a check on ambitious or corrupt rulers—prevent or correct the abuses of maladministration—provide for the impartial distribution of justice—preserve the spirit and perpetuate the enjoyment of liberty—promote education, virtue, and religion; and, in fine, to secure to the people at large all that happiness which it is the original and proper design of government to procure and bestow. These remarks apply with greater force to ecclesiastical than to political government. The advancement of the interests of religion, the preservation of purity, of faith and morals, the regular dispensing of religious instruction and of all divine ordinances, and, in general, the promoting of the spiritual improvement and salvation of the people, have always depended, and must always depend, in a high degree, on the form of government established in a church, and on the rules by which discipline is exercised in it.'

It is on these grounds we attach importance to the present inquiry. God forbid, that we should pursue it with any sinister or political ends. But the ecclesiastical system of the presbyterian church, we conscientiously believe to be eminently adapted to advance these glorious objects. Although it takes no direct part in the government of society, it must nevertheless be regarded as the foremost of the political institutions of this country; for if it does not impart a taste for freedom, it facilitates the use of free institutions.* To it Scotland has been indebted for other blessings besides the efficient support of the gospel, of a collateral kind, and of the highest importance. To it she owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonality from those of other countries. To it she owed a simple, unambitious, laborious, and at the same time independent order of ministers. And to it she was indebted for that public spirit which has resisted manifold disadvantages in her political and religious institutions; disadvantages, which otherwise must have reduced her to a state of slavery, and made

†Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 470.

*Tocqueville, i. 334.

her the instrument of enslaving the nation with which she became allied by the union of the crowns.†

We have only one other preliminary observation to offer. When we affirm that presbyterianism, as the form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in the New Testament, is republican, we contemplate the church in its mundane or visible administration. We inquire not from whom is this authority delegated. Considered in reference to its totality, and to Christ its head, the government of the church is an absolute monarchy. Christ is head over all things to the church; and hence, is it one and universal, under Him as its Sovereign.* The question, therefore, now before us, does not affect the church, in itself considered—in its complete development—in its universal extent—and in its relation to heaven as well as to earth. In this view, as are republics themselves, it is a theocracy, a divine spiritual monarchy, of which Christ alone is Head, Lawgiver, and King. But the question is, what is the character of that delegated government, intrusted by the King of Zion to his ministers and people here on earth? what is the character of that administration under which the visible church is placed, in this sphere or province of Christ's dominion, and in subordination to his celestial royalty? The relation between the ruling part and the ruled, in any community, constitutes the character of its government. Viewed, therefore, as subject to Christ, the christian church is a monarchy, just as the Jewish was in its relation to God. But, considered as governed by the laws of Christ, and the representative officers authorized by Him, it is, as we shall endeavor to prove, just like the Hebrew commonwealth, a republic.‡

SECTION. II.

The principles of republicanism.

All forms of government are reducible to five; the despotic, the monarchical, the aristocratic, the republican, and the democratic. A despotic government is that in which a single person directs every thing by his own will. A monarchy is that in

†Life of Melville, ii. 471.

*Ephes. 4: 15; 1: 22; Col. 1: 18; 2: 19; Eph. 5: 23; Col. 3: 15; Rom. 12: 4, 5; 1 Cor. 10: 17; Eph. 2: 16.

‡This is an old and useful distinction. In 'Syon's Royal Prerogative,' Amsterd. 1642, p. 31, we find, that Peter Martyr, in his common places, making the church a monarchy, in respect of Christ, an aristocracy in respect of the elders; addeth, also, that because there are matters of great weight and importance referred unto the people, as excommunication, absolution, choosing of ministers, and the like; it hath also a consideration of a popular government. Of the same judgment was Junius.

which a single person governs by fixed and established laws. An aristocracy is formed when the supreme power is vested in the hands of a small number of the people, who constitute a nobility. A republic is that government in which *the people*, under certain restrictions, are possessed of the supreme power; and a democracy is that in which the supreme power is possessed and exercised by the whole body of the people.*

Montesquieu includes under the name of republic, the aristocratic, the republican, and the democratic forms of government.†

The term republic includes, according to Brougham, aristocracies, in distinction from obligarchies; aristocracy being the government of the best or highest classes, that is, of those who are intrusted with authority, because deemed best qualified to use it.‡ But this cannot refer to a permanent or hereditary aristocracy, which is composed of a certain number of citizens stationed above the mass, than which nothing can be more contrary to nature, and the secret propensities of the human heart.§

The clearest definition, however, is that given by our own Webster. He says a republic is a commonwealth; a state in which the exercise of the sovereign power is lodged in representatives elected by the people. In modern usage, it differs from a democracy, or democratic state, in which the people exercise the powers of sovereignty in person.'

The government of the United States, is not, therefore, a democracy,** but a republic, in which the people exercise the supreme power; not *directly*, but by means of a president, a senate, and a house of representatives, who are all elective, and a judiciary body. The supreme power resides *ultimately* in the people, but it is exercised *immediately* by representatives chosen by the people, responsible to them, and limited in their official acts by the constitution. The government of the United States is, therefore, a pure republic, but it is not a democracy, since the people do not conduct its administration as in the ancient democracies, by meeting together *en masse*. *Practically*, it is a republican aristocracy, the government being conducted by a part of the people, elevated by themselves to the temporary dignity of office, and returning, when their term of office expires, to the common rank of ordinary citizens. It may, therefore, be as truly denominated an aristocracy, as a democracy. It is, in truth, neither. It is a compound of both—a new creation—a mixed government, combining the advantages of all others. But it least resembles a *pure* democracy, which, after all, is an Utopian dream, never yet realized, either in Greece or

*See Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, b. ii. chap 1.

†Ibid, chap. ii.

‡Polit. Phil. p. 73.

§Tocqueville, i. 456.

**Tocqueville evidently uses democracy as synonymous with republic; but in defining terms they must be distinguished.

Rome, or in any modern republic.† Such a government, we may safely say, could not exist.‡ It was only while they practically carried out the principles of representation and delegated power, the ancient republics of Greece and Rome prospered. In all cases when the democracy, which is *mobocracy*, was triumphant, anarchy, bloodshed, civil war, defeat, and ruin, were the disastrous consequences.* Regular government was no longer regarded as a benefit, but as an evil, to be endured only up to that point which the majority, goaded on by the demagogue, believed to be necessary. A multitude not reduced to unity, by delegated power, is confusion, and invariably leads to that unity which is independent of the multitude, that is, to despotism.†† But great as is this latter evil, it is not so desperate as the other, since there is no tyranny so capricious, lawless, and cruel, as that of the mob. Nor can any one read the history of its doings in ancient times without devoutly praying, from such a government, good Lord, deliver us.§§ In the state of freedom, that is, in a republic, man is governed by the laws to which he has given his consent, either in person, or by his representatives; but in a pure democracy, he is governed by the unrestrained will of others.§ With republic on their tongues, the members of a *pure* democracy are despotical in practice, and approve their character to be, 'that fierce democracy.'

That system of government is best, which secures the most perfect laws, the most beneficial administration of the laws made, and the most advantageous use of the resources of society for the great purposes of government and defence, and the promotion of the happiness of the whole community. But a republic does all this, since it gives security against abuse, against internal shocks, and against foreign aggression, by making the resources of society easily available.**

What, then, are the essential principles of our republican form of government? In reply, we remark, that there are some principles essential to the system, and by which it is characterized, which may be called the primary, or fundamental laws of republicanism. Other principles, again, are equally essential,

†Brougham's Polit. Phil. pp. 92, 93. 'Neither our state or confederate governments, can,' says the Hon. John Quincy Adams, 'without a gross and fraudulent perversion of language, be denominated a democracy.' Lect. at Providence, Nov. 1842, in Eddy's Christian Citizen, p. 14.

‡Tocqueville, i. 157, 159-162, 165. Locke on Govt. ch. vii. § 89 and 94.

*See this illustrated in Dr. Bisset's interesting work, 'Sketch of Democracy,' Lond. 1796. He does not, however, distinguish between democracy and republic. Also Dr. Vaughan's Congregationalism, Lond. 1842, p. 45, &c. Absolute equality led to all the horrors of the Anabaptists and of the Jacobins in France. Villers on Ref. p. 113. See also Locke on Govt. ch. vii. § 89, Wks. vol. ii. pp. 251. § 94.

††Paschal's Thoughts, Art. cxiv. p. 288.

§§See its evils depicted by Tocqueville, i. 281, 286.

§See the Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 12.

**Brougham's Polit. Phil. p. 60.

though not peculiar to it, more than than to any other well ordered community; which may be termed the secondary laws of republicanism. Among these, may be mentioned virtue, by which, as Montesquieu says, it is supported, education, intelligence, sobriety, and public spirit.

Among the primary or fundamental laws, which characterize our American republic, may be named the following.

The equality of conditions, is, according to De Tocqueville, the fundamental principle from which all our other institutions flow.† By this is to be understood: 1. That all are by birth equally eligible to any office, for which they are deemed fit. 2. That the laws are made equally by all, acting through their representatives. 3. That none are elevated to any station in which they can act, or legislate, independently of the people.‡ 4. That no artificial obstacles exist in the way of a man's becoming the richest, or most learned in the state, every man being at liberty—with no other impediments, than such as the common obstacles of human nature, and the equal rights of his neighbor, impose—to strive after wealth, honor, and happiness. And, 5. That no hereditary ranks are recognized, so that any honor conferred on any man, by any office given by the people, though it elevates his rank, and may reflect honor on his posterity, cannot descend to them. Responsibility to the people, is, therefore, a fundamental principle of republicanism; a responsibility which gives the most insignificant contributor of his money towards any object, a right to examine into the manner in which it is disbursed.*

The power of the people, claimed by them as derived from the laws of nature, and not as the gift of any earthly power, is, therefore, a foundation principle of republicanism.** 'While those bodies are in existence, to whom the people have delegated the powers of legislation, they alone possess, and may exercise those powers. But, when they are dissolved, by the lopping off of one or more of their branches, the power reverts to the people, who may use it to an unlimited extent, either assembling together in person, sending deputies, or in any other way they may think proper.'

†Tocqueville, i. Introd. p. 1. Algernon Sydney's Disc. on Govt. ch. 1, § 2. and ch. 2, § 31. Fol. Lond. 1751, third ed.

‡Ibid, p. 7.

*The great rule of all free institutions, *that the people alone shall lay taxes*—a vital principle of all constitutional government—an essential guaranty of all safe public administration—has become involved, is at stake; that solemn canon of republican creeds—that high fundamental law—no, sir, not a law, the mere part of a code, or a constitution; it is itself a constitution; for, give but that and a real constitution must follow; take it away, and there is an end of all practical freedom. Mr. Archer's Speech in Congress, Aug. 1, 1842. See Locke on Govt. ch. vii. § 94. Wks. vol. ii. p. 254.

**Jefferson's Wks. vol. i. p. 113, 115. 'The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time,' p. 116.

The right and duty of private judgment, liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, and liberty of the press, are also among those fundamental maxims upon which all republicanism is, and must be, founded; and without which, it is a political heresy and cannot possibly be carried on.‡

It follows from these principles, that in our republic, every man is left to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; that the church is separated from the state; that all religions are equally protected by the state, while none are patronized; and that toleration is, therefore, a doctrine indignantly rejected, as implying a power to sit in judgment upon religious creeds, and practically to endure what is theoretically condemned.*

It is, further, the very essence of republican government, that it lies ultimately, and absolutely, in the majority.† Not that the minority are subject to their will, or that any majority remains, for any time, the same; the constitution throwing its ægis around the minority, and time changing it altogether.**

It is also a fundamental principle of our free government, that every man, of what quality or condition soever, ought to be equally subject to the laws, and either obey them, or suffer the penalties ordained for the transgressors.‡

The extension of the right of suffrage as far as possible, that is, as far as will consist with a due regard to the rights of property, and to the necessary qualification for citizenship; in short, the rights, privileges, and immunities of the laity, if we may so

‡Tocqueville, i. 453, 466, and ii. 23, &c.

*See Christ. Indep. of the Civil Govt. pp. 148-150. Upon this rock is built the fabric of religious liberty.

†Tocqueville, i. p. 275.

**Mr. Preston followed, in an animated reply to Mr. Clay, opposing entirely his doctrine as to the veto power. The proposed abolition or modification of that power would, he argued, be an infraction of the compromises of the constitution. He disputed Mr. Clay's position, that this was a government of *majorities* alone. It was so framed as to protect minorities. Neither the house nor the senate represented majorities; the former represented local interests, and the latter was rather of an aristocratic character. The president alone represented majorities. He was the immediate representative of the people—of the majority of the people—having no regard whatever to national interests. He was allowed to have no national spirit—no spirit adverse to that of the body of the people, whom he represented. The object of the veto power was to protect this popular majority in their rights, as opposed to the local interests, or party interests, of congress.

There was less danger from the executive, than any other department in the government: if there was any danger it was that it might become *too democratic*. There was no fear of its being aristocratic. Twelve vetoes had been exerted—two by Washington, four by Madison, one by Monroe, five by Jackson; and each veto was popular, and increased the strength of the executive. It was, after all, merely a conservative power—in force only for a short time, till the people could form and express their own opinions in the matter. Speech in the senate.

‡See this frequently enforced by Locke on Government.

speak, in contradistinction to all in authority ;—this is a keystone in the republican arch.*

Trial by jury is also, and for the same reasons, an eminently republican element in government ; *provided*, however, the jurors are selected *from* and *by* the people.† Blackstone calls an ‘aristocracy the most oppressive of absolute governments,’ and he affirms that every new tribunal erected for the decision of facts, without the intervention of a jury, is a step toward establishing it.‡

Simplicity, and an opposition to all unnecessary forms and external observances, is another principle of republicanism. Nothing is more repugnant to it than a subjection to form ;—nothing more distasteful than ceremonial observances.** ‘One of the plainest doctrines of American republicanism is, that mere glory-giving titles, or titles of servility, are entirely opposed to its whole spirit. They are considered as one of those artificial means of king-craft, by which it fosters that aristocratic, unholy pride in the human heart, which loves to domineer over its fellow man, which loves artificial distinction of ranks, a privileged class, and, of course, which helps to sustain that whole system of regal and papal usurpation which has so long cursed mankind.’

Our federal government is clothed with all the powers necessary to represent, and carry out, the interests of each state, and the conduct of those affairs which cannot be administered by the states separately, inasmuch as they regard the united interests of all ; and also to preserve peace among the various states.

*‘Suffrage,’ says a writer in the Charleston Courier, ‘ought to be as general as it can be possibly made, without injury to society, and without defeating its own ends, and the very rights it was intended to secure. Universal suffrage is not now recognized in practice, by our general, or any of our state governments. Existing restrictions, extend throughout all of them to non-residents, females, minors, paupers, and privates, and non-commissioned officers in the army of the United States ; in many of them to slaves and free persons of color ; in nearly all of them to unnaturalized foreigners ; and in several, a property, or tax, or registry qualification is required. The problem of suffrage is one of difficult solution ; but it demands the attention of the American statesmen. It should certainly be extended, if possible, to every citizen, whether rich or poor, who is worthy to exercise it ; but some mode should be devised, to exclude those from this high privilege of republicanism, who basely barter it for gold, and thus corruptly hold up the high offices of the land to the highest bidder ; and we should not be deterred from adopting some efficient general rule, promotive of the purity of elections, although it should work individual hardship in a few instances. Universality of suffrage only mocks the people with the shadow of power and really confers the substance on the wealthy aristocrat or the artful demagogue. The best friends of republican government, and American freedom, are those who would devise some means of so regulating the right of suffrage, as would purge it of its impurities, and disorders, and secure political ascendancy to the *unbought* voice of the people.’ *Universal suffrage* did not prevail even in the ancient democracies. Kent’s Commentaries, vol. i. p. 232.

†Tocqueville, i. pp. 308-311, 314.

‡Comment. b. iii. vol. ii. p. 295.

**Tocqueville, vol. ii. pp. 3, 25, 26.

Our federal government is also empowered to act *directly* on the people, in carrying out the powers, and securing the objects, intrusted to it. So also are the states respectively, in their several spheres, and within the limits mentioned.

The judiciary is appointed to pass upon any action of any member of the confederacy, which seems to be contrary to the laws of the union.

In short, Tocqueville reduces the principles which most powerfully conduce to mould the character of our republic, to these three.† 'The first is, that federal form of government which the Americans have adopted, and which enables the union to combine the power of a great empire with the security of a small state. The second consists in those municipal institutions which limit the despotism of the majority, and at the same time impart a taste for freedom, and a knowledge of the art of being free, to the people.* The third is to be met with in the constitution of the judicial power. I have shown in what manner the courts of justice serve to repress the excesses of democracy; and how they check and direct the impulses of the majority, without stopping its activity.'

SECTION III.

The principles of republicanism found in the Jewish church.

IN its complete form, as embracing the invisible as well as the visible church, the Jewish form of government was a theocracy, or divine monarchy. God, for special ends, connected with the glorious scheme of redemption, condescended to be elected king of the Hebrews, to give them a code of civil laws, to decide their more important litigations, and to solve inquiries which they proposed. But while the constitution of the Hebrew polity was, in its complete form, theocratical and monarchical; in its relation to men, and the character of its earthly administration, it was necessary that it should assume a distinct and separate character. The patriarchal form of government, which, until this time, had generally prevailed, with few exceptions, throughout the east, may be regarded as republican, the patriarch acting as perpetual president, with his officers under him, as is the case among the Arabs and the various tribes of Indians, at this very hour.‡ Such also was the character of the most primitive kingdoms and the most ancient kings. 'In the most remote antiquity,' says Jahn,‡ 'aristocracies and democracies were well known. The inhabitants of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjathjearim,

†Vol. i. p. 327.

*Ibid, vol. i. pp. 28-35, 85.

‡Algernon Sydney's Disc. on Govt. ch. i. § 7, Lond. 1751, 3d ed.

‡Hist. of Heb. Commonwealth, p. 59. See also Sydney's Disc. on Govt. ch. ii. § 8, 10, 16 and 18.

had neither king nor prince. The national council and the people commissioned ambassadors and concluded alliances. The Philistines were governed by five princes. The Phenicians were not, at all times, under regal government, and when monarchy existed, the power of the king was very much limited. The Carthaginians, who emigrated from Phenicia, and probably formed their government on the model of that of the mother country, from the first introduced an aristocracy, in many respects similar to the old Venitian oligarchy. If the story of Herodotus (III. 80, 81,) be true, the great Persian monarchy, after the death of the impostor Smerdis, came very near being transformed to a democracy.' The ancient states of Gaul also, from whence the Britons were probably derived, were aristocratic republics. In these it was customary to elect a prince or chief governor annually; and a general was likewise appointed by the multitude to take command in war. Alliances between different tribes was also a very prominent feature in their mode of government. A government of the same description had, before Cæsar's time, extended itself in Britain.* Aristotle in his Politics† mentions the ancient form of government by elders, and from a passage in Genesis we infer that this form of government was of universal prevalency in the east. Herodotus and Strabo afford repeated instances of the same practice having flourished among several barbarous hordes. And that it was common among the Arabs we know from existing MSS.‡

The Hebrew magistrates,§ who were very jealous of their prerogatives, managed the political concerns of the nation; and their powers were so extensive, that Josephus chooses to denominate the government an aristocracy. Moses laid all the precepts and orders, which he received from Jehovah, before the magistrates, acknowledged their authority in the strongest terms, and submitted their demands to the decision of Jehovah. But these magistrates could neither enact laws on their own authority, nor levy taxes. The people possessed so much influence, that it was necessary, in all important cases, to have their approbation; and when they were not consulted, they often remonstrated so loudly, as to force the magistrates to listen to them. They also sometimes proposed laws, to be adopted by their legislatures; and they had power sufficient to rescue Jonathan, when his life was endangered in consequence of the hasty vow of their first monarch. It is evident, therefore, that the aristocracy was greatly modified and limited by the intermingling of democracy. On this account, Lowman and Michaelis are inclined to denominate the Mosaic constitution a democracy.

*Pritchard's Researches into Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. iii. pp. 175, 177.

§Jahn, *ibid*, pp. 59, 60, and Archæology, § 219, p. 261, &c.

†Lib. i. ch. i. *πασα γαρ οικια βασιλευται υπο του πρεσβυτατου.*

‡See proofs in Wait's Jewish Orient, and Talmud. Antiq. p. 7, 8.

'The truth,' says Jahn,* 'seems to be between these two opinions. The Hebrew government, putting out of view its theocratical features, was of a mixed form, in some respects approaching to a democracy, in others assuming more of an aristocratical character'—that is, it was, as we have defined it, a republic. The affairs of this national church were conducted by a regular series of gradually ascending assemblies, representing the families, the tribes, and the whole twelve tribes. These were composed of the princes, or heads of tribes, and of persons expressly denominated 'those called to the assembly, those deputed to the assembly, and the elders of the assembly.† These are called by Jahn, 'comitia, or legislative assemblies.' These legislative assemblies exercised all the rights of sovereignty. They declared war, made peace, formed alliances, chose generals, chief judges or regents, and kings. They prescribed to the rulers, whom they elected, the principles by which they were to govern; they tendered to them the oath of office, and rendered them homage.

The number of these who were intrusted with power as judges, genealogists, heads of families, princes of tribes, and kings, or supreme judges, and who were all representatives of the people, and elected by them, was immense. There were, even at first, about sixty thousand judges of tens, twelve thousand judges of fifties, six thousand judges of hundreds, and six hundred judges of thousands.** Every tribe had, therefore, its own chief magistrate, with the subordinate rulers, and was, in itself, a distinct and independent republic, which often acted as such, not only when there was neither king nor judge, but even in the times of the kings.§ 'The constitution of Israel may, in this respect,' says Michaelis,‡ 'be considered, as in some measure, resembling that of Switzerland, where thirteen cantons, of which each has a government of its own, and exercises the right of war, are all united into one great republic. All the twelve tribes had, at least, one commonweal. They had general diets, of which, we find examples in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters of Joshua. They were bound, at least, by law and compact, to take the field against a common enemy; and the tribe of Ephraim, as mentioned above, took it as a serious injury, that, without waiting for their assistance, the tribes beyond the Jordan had gone to war with the Ammonites. They frequently had general judges, and afterwards general sovereigns. And,

*Archæology, p. 262. Algernon Sydney's Disc. on Govt. ch. ii. § 9. Locke on Govt. B. i. ch. xi. § 168, 169. See also Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, B. i. ch. xi. p. 195, &c.

†Jahn's Heb. Com. pp. 48 and 56. Archæology, § 218. Michaelis's Com. on Laws of Moses, art. 45, vol. i. p. 229.

**See Jahn's Heb. Com. pp. 45-47.

§Michaelis's Com. on Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 234.

‡Ibid, pp. 235, 236.

even in times when they had no common head, any particular tribe that refused the administration of justice, might be accused before the other tribes, who were authorized to carry on war against it as a punishment. Of this, we find a remarkable instance in the twentieth chapter of Judges. §

SECTION IV.

The principles of republicanism fully developed in the christian church.

THIS view of the republican character of the Hebrew polity, which might be enlarged by a reference to the synagogues, already brought under review,* will prepare us for considering the republicanism of the christian church. This, like the Jewish church, is in its complete form, a theocracy, Christ being King and Head of Zion; but, unlike that, it is not of this world, having no reference to civil or political concerns, as matters of jurisdiction, but being exclusively conversant with spiritual things. Being, however, founded on earth; having for its subjects living men; and its affairs being, therefore, necessarily administered by human agents, the church, as visible, must have some visible form, constitution, and polity.

The original constitution of the christian church was, it has been said, a supreme theocracy, with a subordinate democracy, modified by an elective aristocracy. † The head of the whole body was the Lord Jesus Christ. The democracy was found in the christian laity, the members of the church; and the aristocracy in those officers who were elected by them to rule over them in the Lord, and to administer His ordinances and statutes. 'But in process of time the theocracy was greatly neglected, the democracy oppressed and almost annihilated by the aristocracy; and the aristocracy itself converted, first into an ambitious oligarchy, and lastly into a tyrannical despotism.' ‡

That the christian church was originally republican, in contrast with monarchy on the one hand, and democracy on the

§ See also, on this subject, Dr. Spring's *Obligations of the World to the Bible*, p. 109, &c. N. Y. 1839.

* See the Author's work, 'Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity,' B. i. ch. xiii. § 3.

† See *Eccl. Chron.* by Rev. J. Riddle, p. 13.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

other, has been generally acknowledged.* This republican character continued till the time of Constantine, and is thus described by a philosophical Romanist, in a work issued as a prize essay, by the National Institute of France.‡ 'While the apostles lived, they were naturally the heads of the communities or churches of which they were the institutors. After their death, the last pastor was replaced by his principal disciple. Several of these churches sometimes agreed with each other, and formed a sort of confederation, which appointed a common head, a visiter, episcopus, or bishop; afterwards they separated to subsist alone, or to unite with others. In general, they kept voluntarily within the limits of a province, præfecture, or diocese of the Roman empire. Each christian, however, was a disciple, an active member of the church or confederation to which he belonged. The pastors were the spiritual magistrates of them, republican magistrates, whose decision, in matters of belief, was only valid, because they were believed to be wiser or better informed.‡

From the time of Constantine, A. D. 325, to Mahomet, A. D. 604, the church was governed by an oligarchy. And yet even, of this period, the same writer says, 'the bishops and patriarchs still compose an oligarchy, in which none submits legally to the authority of a single one. Laymen and priests still preserve their rights, and patriarchs bow to the authority of a council, diet, or parliament of this church republic.'**

From the period last named, until the time of Hildebrand, A. D. 1073, the authority of the Roman See became predominant in the west, both in spiritual and temporal matters, and the government of the church monarchical.§ From that time until the

*See Father Paul's History of Benefices, p. 52, &c. Neander's Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. i. p. 165, N. and p. 42. Waddington's Church Hist. pp. 23, 24, Eng. Ed. Baxter's Disput. on Ch. Govt. p. 267. Allsop's Melius Inquirendum, p. 235. Lord Brooke on Episcopacy, pp. 80-83. That it has been generally treated of under this name, appears from the names of some among many works. Palmer on the Ch. vol. i. p. 329. Bishop White's Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 76. Dominis Mark Antony De Archbishop of Spalato in Dalmatia. De Rep. Ecclesiast. libri x. Lond. 1617, 3 vols. Andreas John Valentine, a Lutheran, Reipubl. Christiano-politanæ Descriptio. Sancta Maria Juan de Repub. Polit. Church Par. 1631, 4to. Fixlanilmer Placidus, a German, Reipub. Sacræ Origines Divinæ, 1760. Milman's Hist. of Christ. vol. ii. p. 65. Hoppus on Schism, p. 219.

†Villers on the Reformation, p. 308.

‡'The situation of the churches,' says Neander, (Hist. of the Chr. Ch. vol. i. p. 195. See also 196, 197, and 198,) 'during the persecutions, and the numerous oppressions, in which the energetic conduct of one man at the head of affairs might prove of great use, furthered the formation of the monarchical government in the church. And yet, even in the third century, the presbyters were at the side of the bishops, as a college of counsellors, and the bishops undertook nothing weighty without gathering together this council.'

**Villers on the Reformation, p. 315.

§Ibid, p. 323, &c.

reformation, the authority of the Roman See was unlimited, the popes were regarded as the representatives of God, and the earth as their domain; and the government of the church, therefore, was an unlimited spiritual despotism.‡

'The acts of papal omnipotence,' adds this Romish author, 'during its course, were the humiliation, urged to excess, of all christian princes and people; rebels supported and encouraged every where, against the legitimate authority, when that of the pope was in opposition to it; sovereigns dispossessed and excommunicated, as well as their subjects; crowns taken away, given, sold, according to the interests or passions of the pontiff; the bishops and clergy of all the catholic countries subjected to his will, receiving from him the investiture of their charges, and holding them almost exclusively of him; so that the hierarchy every where formed a state within a state, under the dominion of a foreign despotic chief, who, by its means, disposed of all the consciences, and of nearly all the riches of a country. The means employed by the court of Rome, to support so many usurpations, were, besides the fictitious historical proofs, which imposed on the ignorance of these times, effrontery, perseverance, uniformity of design, which were always superior to the weakness and disunion of their opponents; the celibacy of the clergy; auricular confession; the establishment of the mendicant orders and that of the inquisition; the crusades, undertaken by the christian princes, under the authority of the church; the immense sums which all the countries of the west poured into the pontifical treasury, under different names, tithes, Peter's pence, taxes, dispensations, &c.; the indulgences and jubilees; the doctrine of purgatory, which they employed as a support; that of transubstantiation; the worship of saints, of relics, and miraculous images, pilgrimages; in fine, every thing which is capable of transferring religion to the senses of mankind, and consequently, of nourishing and exciting fanaticism, by depriving the mind of all right to examine and to weigh.'

It must be allowed, that in the New Testament we nowhere meet with the terms monarchical, aristocratical, or republican, nevertheless the republican character of the christian church may be seen, by looking at its doctrines, its spirit, and its institutions.

The doctrines of christianity breathe the spirit of republicanism. All the opposite forms of government are founded upon four great sophisms, which were long received as axiomatic truths; first, that the noble, the rich, and the great, are, by nature and divine right, superior to their fellow men; secondly, that the other classes of society were designed to be in absolute subjection to the guidance of the great; thirdly, that passive

‡Ibid, p. 334.

obedience is the sum of all civil virtue; and fourthly, that true dignity and glory are found only in elevated rank, in power, in wealth, and in conquest.* Now these sophisms Christ completely and everlastingly destroyed, by passing by these elevated conditions of humanity, which he might have assumed; by being born of humble parents, and in a lowly condition; and by identifying himself through his whole life, with the people, and setting at naught all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of nobility and power.† The whole tenor of his instructions conveyed the same lessons to mankind. He taught that his kingdom was not of this world, and, therefore, that while it was a monarchy, it was so only in relation to himself, as its invisible and eternal king. He retained all headship to himself, so that He is now, as much as when on earth, head over all things to his church. All power is given unto him, and resides in him, so that nothing is available on earth but what he ratifies in heaven. Christ, therefore, is the only source of all spiritual power; the only lawgiver of his church; the only supreme executive and judicial head. In erecting his church, he environed it with a written constitution. About her he has traced a circle, like that of the exorcist, with words of such tremendous power, that even the gates of hell cannot overstep it. 'For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book.'

Christians are, therefore, to be in bondage to no man. They are to call no man master upon earth, seeing that one is their master, even Christ. The germ of the entire system of equality, as now developed in the theory of republicanism, is contained in the system of the gospel. For, since Christ has for ever accomplished all that was prefigured by the priesthood and sacrifices of the Old Testament, and all that is necessary to secure the everlasting salvation of mankind, it follows that all who by faith believe upon him, appropriate to themselves this salvation, stand in no need of any other mediation, human or super-human, are equally related to Christ and to God, are equally members of the christian commonwealth, are in God's sight, and in their spiritual birthright and privileges, altogether equal. This system precludes for ever the possibility of those distinctions which are found in all other forms of religion, between a priestly caste,

*See a very able work, by 'Brutus,' Foreign Conspiracy against the United States, p. 160.

†It is therefore recorded, that 'the common people heard him gladly.' 'The cultivated heathen,' says Tholuck, 'were offended at christianity, precisely for this reason, that the higher classes could no longer have precedence of the common people.'

who are by divine right superior, and plebeian caste, of whom these priests are the necessary governors, mediators, and directors.* On these grounds even the apostles always put themselves on an equality with their brethren, and asked an interest in their common prayers, and instead of tutoring the people to a condition of pupilage, dependence and vassalage, encouraged them to feel that they were all, equally with them, kings and priests unto God; † and placed in this very spirit, that liberty by which they were so eminently distinguished above both Jews and Gentiles.*

Christ therefore established the first idea of a universal religion, a fraternity of all men under the authority of a common head, a confederation of all in the one universal republic—his church. ‡ How did Christ break down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, crush the narrow jealousies, and proudly assumed superiority of the former over the latter, and acknowledge the Gentiles as members of God's kingdom, with equal privileges. How constantly does Paul contend for the independence of christianity, upon all the forms and hierarchical notions of less enlightened brethren. In all his epistles, we find noble protests against the Judaizing spirit of intolerance, and in favor of the freedom of the Gentile christian churches. The consciousness of divine life, received from Christ, thus necessarily led to the recognition of a communion embracing all mankind, a unity which counterbalanced all the other differences existing among mankind and which reconciled the most marked contrarieties, arising either from religion, national peculiarities, or mental culture. 'For ye are all the children of God, by faith in Christ Jesus, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.'**

Christ also abjured all employment of force or compulsion, in the propagation or preservation of the gospel. He rebuked the disciples, who would have called down fire from heaven to consume their adversaries; telling them that they knew not what spirit they were, (or should be,) of, as Christians. He rebuked Peter when he drew his sword against the high priest's servants, assuring him that they who draw the sword, shall perish by the sword. When he could have summoned to his rescue 'more than twelve legions of angels,' he meekly submitted to the power of his enemies; and when all authority was given to him in heaven and on earth, he sent forth his disciples, not to subjugate or coerce, but to TEACH all nations whatsoever he had commanded them. In short, as the Abbè de la Menais familiarly

*Epistle to Galatians, &c.

†Rev. 12 : 1, and 1 Peter, 2 : 9.

‡Villers on the Ref. p. 303. See this idea beautifully developed by Reinhard, in his Plan of the Founder of Christianity.

**Neander's Plant. of Chr. Ch. ii. 165.

and frequently says, Christ was, if we may reverently speak it, the great republican of his age.†

Neither is any thing more frequently and forcibly inculcated in the New Testament, than the right and duty of private judgment. It addresses its hearers as 'reasonable men.' It 'commends the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God.' It calls upon all that have ears, to hear; upon all that hear to search the scriptures whether the things heard are so; to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good. And it requires every man to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and thus to be able to give a reason of the hope that is in him, to every one that asketh it.

Equally opposed is the whole tenor of the gospel to all formalism and to that ritual kind of worship, from which it was a deliverance. It is eminently simple, spiritual, and rational. And while it necessarily accommodates itself, in some measure, to the weakness of man, in the employment of outward rites and external worship, it warns every man that 'the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life;' and that 'circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision, (or baptism,) is nothing, but a new creature.' Paul declares, that 'Christ sent him not to baptize, (or to administer sacraments and frame liturgies, and prescribe fasts and saint's days,) but to preach the gospel.' 'Let no man, therefore,' says the inspired apostle, 'judge or condemn you, in regard to the use of meat or drink, which they choose to interdict, or for not observing the festivals and holy days they choose to establish. These things, as established under the former economy, were only a shadow of good things to come, but Christ and his gospel are the body, and contain all things necessary to be either believed or practiced. Wherefore if ye, by belief in Christ, are freed from any necessity for trusting in these worldly and carnal ordinances, why do ye still, as if bound by them, subject yourselves to such human institutions, which are only enforced by the commandments and doctrines of depraved and superstitious men.*'

Such are some of the principles of the gospel. And well do they entitle it to be called 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Instead of weakening our attachment to the principles of liberty, it augments it a hundred fold, by that spirit of noble independence it inspires; by the magnitude of those religious privileges it confers; and by the ardor and tenacity with which it leads us to cling to them. It is irreconcilable with spiritual despotism. It leads not only to perfect equality, but to perfect freedom. It proclaims to every man liberty of conscience, free from the doctrines and impositions of men, guided and re-

†See in Dr. Springs Oblig. of the World to the Bible, p. 115.

*Col. 2.

strained only by that 'law of liberty,' whose service is perfect freedom.*

And if, now, we turn from the principles and spirit, to the institutions of Christ, we will find them equally harmonious with the genius of republicanism. Christ instituted a church—and what is the church? It is the whole number of Christ's faithful people. It includes every true believer, whether high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned. To these he gave his commission. To these he bequeathed his promises. To these he delegated the administration of his laws, the proclamation of his gospel, and the propagation of his cause; and these, wherever they are found, are members of the church of Christ. The first christian community constituted, as it were, one family. It was based upon the recognition of a full and perfect equality, in all its members, neither sacrificing the individual to the community, nor the community to the individual. Every christian was then a priest, and a king unto God, and had a full participation, either personally, or through others delegated by him, in all the acts of government, and discipline, and in the appointment of officers.† All the members of the community took part in its government, and each had an equal right to do so. As none were different from their fellows, none could exercise tyrannical power. They were perfectly free, because entirely equal, and they were all entirely equal, because perfectly free.**

Christ instituted a ministry and officers for his church—and who are these? Any aristocratic body? No. Any spiritual nobility? No. Any close corporation of self-exalted dignitaries, who might perpetuate, in hereditary succession, their 'plenitude of episcopal power and grace?' No. Any vassal throng of eunuch celibates or monks, the body-guard of Him who sitteth in the temple of God, as the vicar of Christ, and calling himself God? Oh no. They are those whom he calls by his grace and Spirit. They are those whom he makes willing by his power. They are those whom his faithful people elect and choose to minister to them in holy things.‡ They are taken from among the people. They are those who are tried in all points as the people; who sustain all the cares, and discharge all the duties, devolving on the people; and who are thus touched with a feeling of all their people's infirmities. They are educated by the people. Their gifts are tried by the people. They

*See Symington's *Dominion of Christ*, p. 210, and Chalmers's *Wks.* vol. vi. pp. 179, 180.

†Neander's *Plant. of the Chr. Ch.* vol. i. pp. 37, 41, 42. See also Claude's *Def. of the Ref.* part iv. ch. iii. p. 233, vol. ii.

**Tocqueville, ii. 99.

‡See Claude, *Ibid.*

are called to their work by the people,‡ and they are sustained in their labors by the free-will contributions of the people. They are, therefore, the servants of the people. They exist for the people, and not the people for them. They are the shepherds of the flock.

Christ instituted two, and only two sacraments, and these are open alike to the rich and to the poor, to the bond and to the free, to the male and to the female.

Christ instituted church courts for the decision of controversies, either in cases of conscience, or in point of manners, for the admission or exclusion of members from the body. Now in each and all of these, the people sat, not *en masse*, but by their chosen representatives or delegates. The very first christian convention held at Jerusalem, was a meeting of chosen delegates, and the first controversy respected the liberties of the church.* 'If we rightly consider apostolic example, councils are nothing but general presbyteries,† representing the interests of many churches, just as particular presbyteries watched over the affairs of individual churches. In these sat the apostles, when alive and present, the presbyters, and the brethren who were chosen to such office by the people. These officers, or christian magistrates, were elective by the people of each particular church. They were also numerous, constituting a college or senate. In every assembly or senate, the laity had their representatives. Finally, these officers were not thrust upon the people by any

‡'So far as regards elections to these offices,' says Neander, (Hist. of the Chr. Ch. vol. i. pp. 191, 192.) 'we are without sufficient information to decide certainly, how it was managed in the first apostolic times, and it is very possible, that from a difference in circumstances, the same method of proceeding was not adopted in all cases. As the apostles, on the appointment of the deacons, allowed the church itself to choose; and as this also was the case, when deputies were sent by the churches, in their name, to accompany the apostles, (2 Cor. 8: 19,) we may conclude that a similar proceeding was resorted to in the appointment to other church offices.'

Of a later period he speaks, at pp. 203, 204, 'In regard to the election into church offices, the old principle was nevertheless constantly abided by, that the consent of the church was required, to ratify such an election, and that every one was at liberty to bring forward objections against it. The Emperor Alexander Severus was aware of this regulation of the Christian Church, and he appealed to it, when he wished to introduce a similar course in the election of the civil magistrates in towns. When Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, separated from his church, by calamitous circumstances, named men of his neighborhood who had particularly distinguished themselves in the persecution, he apologized for this arbitrary conduct, which had been wrung from him by necessity, before the laity and the clergy, and he writes to both: 'We are accustomed to call you together to consult previously to the consecration to spiritual offices, and to weigh the character and merits of all in a general consultation.' That principle was also recognized in the appointment to the episcopal office, it was the prevailing custom in the third century.

*Neander's Hist. of the Planting of Ch. Chr. vol. i. pp. 136, 147. See also Lord Brooke, on Episcop. pp. 80-83.

†Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 106.

appointment exterior to themselves, but were chosen by their own free and unrestrained votes, from the general body.*

The form of government in each christian church was not monarchical, since the supreme power was not lodged in the hands of any one individual. 'The monarchical principle,' says Neander,† 'in spiritual things accords ill with the spirit of christianity,' &c., which constantly points to the feelings of mutual need, and the necessity and blessing of common deliberation, as well as of common prayer. Where two or three are gathered together in the name of the Lord, there, also, he promises will he be among them. In addition to this, it was the custom of christianity, to appropriate to its own use existing forms, when it found any which suited its spirit and its essence. Now there was actually a form of government existing in the Jewish synagogues, and in all the sects which had their origin in Judaism; and this was in no respect a monarchical, but an aristocratical, that is, republican form; a council of the elderly men, *πρεσβυτεροι*, which conducted all common affairs. It was most natural for christianity, developing itself from out of Judaism, to embrace this form. This form must also, wherever churches were established in the Roman empire, among the heathen, have appeared the most natural; for men were here accustomed, from of old, to see the affairs of the town carried on by a senate, the assembly of *decuriones*. That the comparison of ecclesiastical administration with the political, really took place here, is shown by this, that the spiritual persons were afterwards named an *ordo*, the leading senate of the church, for *ordo* was a word peculiarly appropriated to this rank of senators, *ordo senatorum*. In compliance with this form, a council of elders was generally appointed, to conduct the affairs of the churches; but it was not necessary that it should be strictly composed of those who were the most aged, although age was taken very much into the account; but age was rather considered here as a sign of dignity, as in the latin *senatus*, or in the Greek *γερονσια*. Besides the usual application of these governors of the churches, namely, presbyters, there were many others also in use, designating their peculiar sphere of action, as shepherds, and one of these appellations was also bishops, denoting their office, as leaders and overseers over the whole of the church.'

Neither was the form of the apostolical church government democratical, since the power was exercised, not by the people, in mass, but through their appointed officers, except on such occasions, when it became necessary for the people to resume their authority, and to elect new officers. The government of

*See Neander's *Planting of Chr. Ch. i.* pp. 165-181.

†*Hist. of the Chr. Ch. and Rel. i.* 186, 187. See also 193.

the primitive church was therefore republican, that is, the sovereign power resided in the christian people, constituting each community; the supremacy of the people was acknowledged; the equality of rights and powers in every member of the church preserved; submission to laws emanating from them, or at least avouched by them, alone, required; while all officers were elected by the people, were amenable to them, held office over them at their will, and received compensation to perform services for their spiritual benefit. 'As to what further regards the relation of these presbyters to the churches,' says Neander,* 'they were destined to be, not unlimited monarchs, but rulers and guides in an ecclesiastical republic, and to conduct every thing in conjunction with the church assembled together, as the servants, and not the masters of which, they were to act.' So that while the *exercise* of power was in the officers, that is, the ministers and representatives of the people, the source of that authority, as delegated by Christ, and as bounded by his immutable and written laws, was in the people.

'Each individual church,' adds Mosheim, in his Commentaries,† 'assumed to itself the form and rights of a little distinct republic or commonwealth; and with regard to its internal concerns was wholly regulated by a code of laws, that, if they did not originate with, had, at least, received the sanction of the people constituting such church. This primitive liberty and independence, however, was by degrees relinquished, and it became the practice for all the minor churches within a province, to form themselves into one large association, and to hold, at stated seasons, much after the manner of *confederate republics*, a *convention*, in which the common interests and welfare of the whole were taken into consideration, and provided for. Of the immediate authors of this arrangement we are uninformed, but it is certain that it had its origin in Greece; and there are many things which combine to prove, that, during this century, it did not extend itself beyond the confines of Asia. In process of time, however, the very great advantages attending on a federation of this sort, becoming apparent, other provinces were induced to follow the example of Greece, and by degrees this form of government became general throughout the whole church; so that the christian community may be said, thenceforward, to have resembled one large commonwealth, made up, like those of Holland and Switzerland, of many minor republics. These conventions or assemblies, in which the delegates from various associated churches, consulted on what was requisite to be done for the common welfare of the whole, were termed *synods*, by the Greeks, and by thy Latins, *councils*. To the laws enacted

*History of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 193.

†Comment. on the Affairs of Christ. vol. ii. p. 99, 100.

these deputies, under the powers with which they were invested by their respective churches, the Greeks gave the name of *canons*, or general rules, and by this title it also became usual for them to be distinguished by the Latins.'

These common councils, synods, and general assemblies, were first regularly established among the Greeks, a country which had been accustomed to a federal system, and to the use of public assemblies in matters of legislature and jurisprudence. We have records preserved of such christian assemblies, as early as A. D. 160-173.* It was impossible they should have been formed much earlier, since the churches and presbyteries were comparatively few, far apart, and prevented, by external opposition and jealous resistance, from making any visible display of their union or their strength. From the very first, however, they held intercourse and exchanged views; granted letters of intercommunion; and, by a certain common law, governed the whole body.† These more general associations were, therefore, the spontaneous and necessary development of the principles of christianity—the christian, catholic spirit. They appear, says Neander,‡ for the first time, as a constant and regular institution, fixed to definite terms, about the end of the second or the beginning of the third century; and it was in this case a peculiarity of one country, where particular local causes may have introduced such an arrangement earlier than in other regions. This country was, in fact, exactly Greece, where, from the time of the Achaic league, the system of confederation had maintained itself; and as christianity is able to connect itself with all the peculiarities of a people, provided they contain nothing immoral, and entering into them, to take itself a peculiar form resembling them, so also it might easily happen, *that here the civil federal spirit which already existed, worked upon the ecclesiastical catholic spirit*, and gave it earlier than in other regions, a tolerably good form, so that out of the representative assemblies of the civil communities, the Amphictyonic councils, were formed the representative assemblies of the ecclesiastical communities, that is, the provincial synods.

Thus evident is it, that whether we look to the doctrines, the spirit, or the institutions of christianity, it was deeply imbued with the essential principles of republicanism. We might suppose that these principles had been derived from our own American union, were it not certain that our union derived them from christianity. 'And we all know,' says Mr. Webster, in his Address on Bunker Hill,** 'that it (the American revolution) could not have lived a single day under any well founded impu-

*Riddle's *Christ. Antiq.* p. 223.

†Neander's *Hist. of the Chr. Relig. and Ch.* vol. i. p. 208, &c.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 212.

**1825, p. 30.

tation of possessing a tendency adverse to the christian religion.' Something analogous was indeed found in the Hebrew republic, and, as derived from it, in the democracies of Greece; but 'the church councils,' as even a prelatist confesses, are perhaps the first decided instance in the world's history, of the adoption of the representative mode of government,' through a confederation of independent republics.† Such, also, is the opinion of Sir James Mackintosh, who, in his History of England says, 'the synods and councils formed by the clergy, afforded the first pattern of elective and representative assemblies, which were adopted by the independent genius of the Germanic race,' for many ages.‡

And it was the glory of the reformation, that by the power of God, who lifted up a standard against the enemy, it expelled from the church that anti-christian hierarchy, which had usurped the powers of government, and wielded a spiritual despotism over the enslaved people; and that it restored these disfranchised members of Christ's body, the laity, to the discharge of their proper duties in it, and to the consciousness of their supreme and paramount importance.*

†Keble on Tradition, p. 144.

‡Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 43. See also Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe, vol. i. 12, 13. The late Dewitt Clinton took the same view, having declared that 'christianity is in its essence, its doctrines, and its forms, republican.' See Dr. Spring's Obligations of the World to the Bible, p. 115.

*Dr. Arnold. See on this subject, Dr. Spring's Obligations of the World to the Bible, Lect. iv.

CHAPTER II.

PRESBYTERY REPUBLICAN BOTH IN ITS DOCTRINAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEMS.

SECTION I.

What denominations are included under the term presbytery in the present argument.

WE are now to show that these republican principles are found embodied and carried out in the doctrines and order of the presbyterian church. We wish it, however, to be again borne in mind, that, while we shall take, as our model, our own standards and discipline, that nevertheless, we include under the term presbyterian, all denominations which are governed by ministers who are recognized as of one order, and who, as well as their other officers, are chosen, are removable, and are supported, by the people; who acknowledge the right and duty of confederated associations among the churches, composed of lay and clerical delegates, for mutual advice, direction, and control; and who, while republican, are not *strictly* democratical, or congregational. Our remarks, therefore, will substantially apply to the Baptist churches, who meet in associations;—to the Lutheran church;—to the Reformed church;—to the Dutch Reformed church;—to the Protestant Methodist church;—and to the whole body of the New England Puritans, although now generally denominated congregationalists. This, however, is not their true character. They are *essentially* presbyterian in their ministry;—in their church officers, who are substantially ruling elders;—in their mode of educating, licensing, calling, ordaining, and installing pastors;—in their mode of trial and appeal, before ecclesiastical councils, composed of delegated members;—and in their associations or consociations, which meet at regular periodic times, and exercise all the powers of our synods. The Cambridge and Saybrook platforms, which are still acknowledged by them, are almost identical with the Westminster standards. Any thing ‘savoring of *independency*,’ was in time past treated as something new and unheard of.* President Dale, of Yale College, told Dr. Lang, he had never heard of their

*See Dr. Lang’s *Relig. and Educ. in America*, p. 56, where he quotes Dr. Worcester’s *Disc.* p. 53.

being designated by any other name than presbyterians in that State, till he was thirty years of age.† The pilgrim fathers of New England distinctly repudiated the system of pure independency, originally established in England. This will appear from the valuable work of Cotton, edited by the celebrated Thomas Godwin and Philip Nye, and recently reprinted in Boston. These authors maintain that Christ gave ‘unto the elders or presbytery, in each congregation, a binding power of rule and authority peculiar unto them;’ that syonds, composed of ‘a communion or association of churches sending their elders,’ is also an ordinance of Christ, and has ‘authority to determine, declare, and enjoin such things as may tend to the reducing of such congregations to right order and peace;‡ and that their scheme of church government is the ‘middle way between that which is called Brownism and the presbyterial government.’§ The present deacons of congregational churches are substantially the ruling elders of presbyterian churches, their councils our presbyteries, and their consociations our synods. All, therefore, that is good in the present system, or the past working, of New England puritanism, we claim for presbyterianism; and all its evils, and the present dangerous symptoms of departure from the faith of their fathers, by a *portion* of their churches, we attribute, in part, to the undue preponderance of the *democratic* over the *republican* principle.*

SECTION II.

Presbytery republican in its doctrines.

Now that our *doctrines* are in their spirit and influence most conformable to the principles of republicanism, has been already

†Ibid. p. 58. See the whole of the chapter.

‡The Keys of Heaven, Boston, 1843. Ep. to the reader, p. 7, &c.

§Ibid, p. 7.

*Dr. Owen argues against the alleged democracy of congregationalism. See works, vol. xx. p. 480. See also Dr. Lang, *ibid*, pp. 64, 65. See also Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 184, 186. Dr. Hodge's Hist. of the Presb. Ch. vol. i. ch 1. The present congregationalists of England are also adopting the essential principles of presbyterianism. They have their county unions. In cities they manage their common interests by a committee appointed for that purpose. 'But,' says Dr. Vaughan, (Congregationalism, p. 54, 55.) 'it is only within the last ten years that we have availed ourselves of this liberty so fully, as in the organization of this union—the one central union, made up of nearly all the county unions of England and Wales. It is well known that the object we have thus realized, is precisely that which was contemplated by Dr. Owen, and other fathers of independency in England before the restoration. It was to form a union of this nature, that a large number of ministers and laymen were at that time convened, from all parts of the country, in the Savoy Palace; and the platform of a congregational union, embracing all the congregational ministers and churches in the land, was agreed upon, and made public. But with the restoration came the end of religious liberty, and an end, of course, to the possibility of perpetuating this enlarged association of our body.'

manifested.† Liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, the right and duty of private judgment, and the liberty of expressing freely the views and opinions of the mind; these principles of republicanism are found written among the cardinal verities of our faith, as with the point of a diamond.* The pulpit was to the church in other ages, what the press is to the world now. This was the last refuge of down-trodden truth, the last bulwark of an enslaved people against their spiritual oppressors. To the pulpit, and the freedom of discussion which it allowed, do we owe all the reforms that have ever rescued the church from her debasing corruptions. Here Wickliffe aroused a slumbering nation. Here Luther thundered, Zuingle persuaded, and Calvin taught. Here Knox and Melville achieved for Scotland, what had been accomplished for Europe. What calumny is more constantly uttered against the fathers of presbyterianism, and the system generally, than their unwarrantable liberty of speech.§ Neither was it without cause, that arbitrary monarchs and despotic prelates raged against this freedom, and by all possible artifices endeavored to gag and choke its free utterance. ‘Persons,’ says Dr. McCrie,‡ ‘may declaim at their pleasure on the insufferable license in which the preachers indulged; but it will be found, that the discouragement of vice and impiety, the checking of the most crying abuses in the administration of justice, and the preserving of common peace and order in the country, depended on the freedom of the pulpit, to a degree which no one, who is not particularly acquainted with the state of things at that period, can conceive.

But, without going into any general analysis of doctrines, we would remark that there are three principles which lie at the basis of our presbyterian system, doctrinally considered, and which will, wherever fully sustained and carried out, secure by their necessary tendencies, civil and religious liberty. To these we more especially advert, because they are the very points selected by bishop Hughes, as proof of the *opposition* of the doctrines of our church to the principles of civil and religious

†See ch. i. § 4, p. 35, &c.

*See Dr. Miller on the Min. ed. of 1830, p. xxxvi. Scottish Chr. Herald, 1838, p. 231. Brown’s Vind. of Presb. Ch. Govt. pp. 15, 17, 18, 33. Presb. Defended, pp. 176-179. Gillespie’s Aaron’s Rod Blossoming, pp. 176-182.

§An anecdote is told of James commanding Bruce, when raging at his majesty’s conduct, to come down from the pulpit, or to speak sense, and of Bruce declaring that he would do neither.

‡Life of Melville, ii. 76. See also vol. i. pp. 302, 304, for some very fine remarks. See also Dr. Aiton’s Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, p. 46, where Dr. Cook is quoted as saying, ‘we must, if we calmly investigate the history of the period at present under review, be satisfied that we, in a great degree, owe to the intrepidity of the clergy the liberties which we enjoy, and that, had they remained silent, not branding the measures which they saw to be pregnant with the heaviest evils, the king would either have destroyed every vestige of freedom, or what was more likely, his throne would have been subverted, and Scotland delivered into the hands of a merciless and bigoted tyrant.’

liberty.* One is the supreme authority of holy scripture, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the only authoritative promulgator of heaven's will, and this, without any intervening authority of the church, in its fathers, councils, popes, or prelates. Another is the doctrine of grace, the freeness, efficacy, and unencumbered sufficiency of that justification, which is obtained through the imputed righteousness of Christ, and received only by faith in his finished work, and once offered sacrifice.

Animated by these principles, no man can be a slave to the spiritual despotism of a hierarchy. Redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled from all necessary dependence, for either the knowledge or the enjoyment of God, upon any fellow being, man, in the faith of these doctrines, stands erect in his own proper stature. He feels his individual responsibility, and his infinite obligations to God. He ceases to be an ignorant devotee, and becomes a spiritual worshipper of that Being who is a Spirit. And while he bows reverently to the will and authority of God, he spurns from him that interference of a fellow mortal, which would claim a dominion over his faith. These are doctrines, as has been ably remarked,‡ with which no forms of superstition, no spiritual despotism, will ever be made to consist; and which doctrines, while in their aspect toward man, individually as a sinner, they afford the only ground of hope; so, in their less direct, but inevitable influence over the condition of man in society, constitute the unobtrusive, but effectual guarantee of national liberties. They do so, as well by the firm moral tone which they impart to the social system, as by the necessity they involve of a constant appeal to the supreme authority of scripture:—for this very appeal implies religious liberty; and religious liberty secures political liberty.

With the reception or rejection of these doctrines stand or fall, asceticism, superstition, and despotism, or, as they may be otherwise termed, monkery, demonolatry, and hierarchical tyranny—those powerful ingredients in all the various forms of human corruption and debasement. The testimony of Bancroft to this truth is very striking.† 'Years are to 'fools' as days in the providence of God, and in the progress of the race. After long waiting, an Augustine monk at Wittemberg, who had seen the lewd corruptions of the Roman court, and who loathed the de-

*See Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, Philad. 1836, pp. 285, 286, &c. Even this wily sophist, however, does not pretend to found his argument upon what these doctrines are, *in themselves*, but upon certain most illogical and most absurd *consequences*, which he deduces from them,—a practice, which, of itself, betrays the cloven foot of that despotism, which condemns men by *constructive* evidence, where there is no *positive* proof.

‡Isaac Taylor, in Pref. to Life of Luther. London Chr. Ob. Aug. 1840, p. 503.

†History of United States, vol. ii. p. 459.

ceptions of a coarse superstition, brooded in his cell over the sins of his age, and the method of rescuing conscience from the dominion of forms, till he discovered a cure for its vices in the simple idea of justification by faith alone. With this principle, easily intelligible to the universal mind, and spreading, like an epidemic, widely and rapidly,—a principle strong enough to dislodge every superstition, to overturn every tyranny, to enfranchise, convert, and save the world,—he broke the wand of papal supremacy, scattered the lazars of the monasteries, and drove the penance of fasts, and the terrors of purgatory, masses for the dead, and indulgences for the living, into the paradise of fools.’

Not less remarkable is the estimate of these doctrines, made by Sir James Mackintosh.* ‘It was fortunate also,’ he says, ‘that the enormities of ‘Tetzel,’ (the pope’s retailer of indulgences,) ‘found Luther busied in the contemplation of the principle, which is the basis of all ethical judgment, and by the power of which he struck a mortal blow at superstition;’ namely, ‘men are not made truly righteous by performing certain actions which are *externally good*, but men must have righteous principles in the first place; and then they will not fail to perform virtuous actions.’ He calls it ‘a proposition equally certain and sublime;’ and adds, that Luther, in a more special application of his principle, used it to convey his doctrine of justification by faith.’ And again he says, ‘in justice to him, the *civil historian should never omit the benefits which accrued to the moral interests of society from this principle.*’ This principle is the merit of Christ, made ours by the power of God, working faith in us; and by union to Christ, making us free from guilt and pollution. To this Christians are, by God’s decree, predestinated. This secures moral liberty, and moral rectitude; makes a man ‘a law unto himself’—and therefore a good citizen; the freest, noblest, and most just of men.’

Such are the views of philosophers, in giving an impartial verdict on the influence of presbyterian doctrines upon civil and religious liberty. But the doctrine of predestination remains to be considered, upon which, and its implied principles, the objector mainly relies. Now it would be easy to show how this doctrine, properly understood, lays the axe to the very root of all human pride, and establishes, upon an immovable foundation, the doctrine of human equality; the utter nothingness of all human distinctions; and the perfect independence of every man upon every other man, for eternal life, and for all spiritual blessings. We are, however, able to present the testimony of Mr. Bancroft, who cannot be supposed by any one to cherish favorable sentiments towards this doctrine, as to its *actual* results.

*Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. pp. 120, 121, and Breckinridge and Hughes’, Discuss. p. 309.

'Calvinism,' he says,* 'is gradual republicanism.' 'In Geneva, a republic on the confines of France, Italy, and Germany, Calvin, appealing to the people for support, continued the career of enfranchisement, by planting the institutions which nursed the minds of Rousseau, Necker, and De Stael.'

'The political character of Calvinism, which, with one consent, and with instinctive judgment, the monarchs of that day feared as republicanism, and which Charles I. declared a religion unfit for a gentleman, is expressed in a single word—*predestination*. Did a proud aristocracy trace its lineage through generations of a high-born ancestry, the republican reformer, with a loftier pride, invaded the invisible world, and from the book of life brought down the record of the noblest enfranchisement, decreed from all eternity by the King of kings. His few converts defied the opposing world as a world of reprobates, whom God had despised and rejected. To them the senses were a totally depraved foundation, on which neither truth nor goodness could rest. They went forth in confidence that men who were kindling with the same exalted instincts, would listen to their voice, and be effectually 'called into the brunt of the battle' by their side. And, standing serenely amidst the crumbling fabrics of centuries of superstitions, they had faith in one another; and the martyrdoms of Cambrai, the fires of Smithfield, the surrender of benefices by two thousand non-conforming presbyterians, attest their perseverance. And what were the results?'

'Such was the system,' adds this writer, 'which, for a century and a half, assumed the guardianship of liberty for the English world. 'A wicked tyrant is better than a wicked war,' said Luther, preaching non-resistance; and Cranmer echoed back, 'God's people are called to render obedience to governors, although they be wicked or wrong-doers, and in no case to resist.' 'Civil magistrates,' replied English Calvinism,—I quote the very words, in which, under an extravagant form, its champion asserted the paramount power of general principles, and the inalienable rights of freedom,—'civil magistrates must be servants unto the church; they must remember to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the church.' To advance intellectual freedom, Calvinism denied, absolutely denied, the sacrament of ordination; thus breaking up the great monopoly of priestcraft, and scattering the ranks of superstition. 'Kindle the fire before my face,' said Jerome, meekly, as he resigned himself to his fate; to quench the fires of persecution forever, Calvinism resisted with fire and blood, and shouldering the musket, proved, as a foot-soldier, that, on

*Hist. of United States, vol. ii. pp. 461-463.

the field of battle, the invention of gunpowder had levelled the plebeian and the knight. To restrain absolute monarchy in France, in Scotland, in England, it allied itself with the party of the past, the decaying feudal aristocracy, which it was sure to outlive; to protect itself against feudal aristocracy, it infused itself into the mercantile class, and the inferior gentry; to secure a life in the public mind, in Geneva, in Scotland, wherever it gained dominion, it invoked intelligence for the people, and in every parish planted the common school.'

SECTION III.

The framers of our ecclesiastical system designed that it should neither be a monarchy, nor a democracy, but a republic.

BUT we will pass on to the contemplation of our system in its ecclesiastical bearings.

In framing her constitution, the great object before the church in this country, was, to present such general principles, as would, if honestly carried out, and faithfully maintained, secure, on the one hand, union, efficiency, and a well-ordered government, with the power of guarding against all traitorous designs upon the purity or peace of the church; and at the same time, best uphold the just rights of the several churches, of individual ministers, and of the lay members of the church. Liberty, as far as it can be enjoyed without anarchy; government, so far as it is compatible with liberty; and the greatest possible enjoyment of both;—this was the glorious aim and object, to secure which our fathers earnestly labored. Our ecclesiastical constitution was cradled in the spirit of liberty.* Even bishop Hughes, filled to the very brim as he is with envenomed hate against our church, has confessed, that those tenets in the Westminster confession, which were hostile to civil liberty, 'were discarded, (by the American presbyterian church,) as being unsuited to the soil of new-born liberty and of things.'‡ And he urges against us that very principle of amended,' he adds, 'to suit the constitution and the new order of things.'* And he urges against us that very principle of freedom, by which we were ready, on discovering preëxisting error, to abandon and subvert it.† Most strange infatuation! Since he thus seals the everlasting condemnation of the system

*See this well illustrated by Dr. Rice, in *Evang. Mag.* vol. ix. pp. 26, 27, 28, 535, 536.

‡Breckinridge and Hughes's *Discuss.* p. 303.

†*Ibid.* p. 289.

of popery, seeing that what it *has been*, it *must ever* remain, the same determined foe to civil and religious liberty. Presbyterians, however, never regarded their standards as either infallible or unchangeable. They are not our rule, either of faith or practice. They are not substituted for the scriptures, nor do they claim its authority. Any thing which has been admitted into them contrary to either civil or religious freedom, may, therefore, at any time be removed. And so it was in the present instance. Our standards were amended on the very points to which this author alludes, *before* the adoption of the American constitution,—not in consequence of it. The spirit of liberty and of republicanism, which they breathe, was the cause, and not the effect, of American liberty. The founders of the presbyterian church brought with them to this country an inextinguishable love of liberty, both civil and religious.‡

Speaking of the presbyterian settlers in the colony of South Carolina, long previous to the revolution, Dr. Hewett says,§—‘these ministers adopted this mode of religious worship, not only from a persuasion of its conformity to the primitive apostolic form, but also from a conviction of its being, of all others, the most favorable to civil liberty, equality, and independence.’ This spirit was enkindled by the reformation, and taught to give expression to its views, by those solemn leagues and covenants into which the reformers in Germany, and in Scotland, and the puritans in England entered, for their mutual defence, for the overthrow of tyranny, and for the establishment of constitutional liberty, civil and religious. Let any one compare their language with that of our declaration of independence, and he will perceive in the former the parents of the latter.*

Our system of polity, says Dr. Rice,† was drawn up at a time when the general principles of government, and the great subject of human rights and privileges, was more thoroughly and anxiously discussed than at any other period since the settlement of this country. It was during the time when the sages of America were employed in framing the Federal constitution, and considering its merits, throughout the United States. And the men who drew up this plan of government for the church, were, many of them at least, men deeply versed in civil and ecclesiastical history; and who had borne no inconsiderable part in the eventful period which preceded. Perhaps this may in some measure account for the striking similarity which occurs in the fundamental principles of our polity, and the form of government adopted by the United States of America. Like

‡Dr. Rice, in *Evang. Mag.* p. 27.

§*Hist. of S. C. Lond. 1779*, vol. ii. p. 53.

*See my *Disc. on the Hist. Infl. and Results of the Westminst. Ass. McCrie on the Unity of the Ch. App. p. 156, &c. and Note to ch. iii.*

†*Ibid.*, p. 28.

that form of government, our polity is neither monarchical, nor democratical, but a democratic republic.

‘The Church,’ writes Cartwright, in his *Replye to Whitgift*,[‡] ‘is governed with that kind of government which the philosophers that write of the best commonwealths affirm to be the best. For in respect of Christ, the head, it is a monarchy; and in respect of the ancients and pastors, that govern in common, and with like authority amongst themselves, it is an aristocracy, or the rule of the best men; and in respect that the people are not secluded but have their interest in church matters, it is a democracy, or popular estate.’ Such were the views entertained by the framers of our constitution. To constitute the church visible monarchical, was, in their opinion, to dethrone Christ, to proclaim rebellion against his supremacy and kingly rule, and to introduce tyranny and spiritual despotism. To constitute the church a pure democracy would have equally secured the destruction of her character, and have defeated her end; since, as has been seen, such a form of government cannot, in the nature of things, long subsist. It were idle to call the *perfectly independent* government of each christian society a government. It is no government at all; unless we will call every family a society, and its rulers a government. And even if the contrary were granted, most certainly no analogy could be found in such separate and disunited bodies to our confederated union, which is made up of all the parishes in each state, and of all the states throughout its entire extent of territory. Our fathers, therefore, left our church under that constitution given her by her divine Head, by which we have seen she is a democratic republic.

Our church is therefore the union of many churches;—a union so devised as that, while each is left in a measure independent, the whole are harmonized and made strong. The love of liberty is combined with the love of unity, the consolidated power of union, with the diffused power of popular freedom. It resembles the far-famed Grecian phalanx, in which each man was fully armed, and the whole so combined as to form one moving mass of skill and courage, bearing like a mountain against the opposing foe.

[‡]Price’s *Hist. of Nonconf.* vol. i. p. 249.

SECTION IV.

All the principles of republicanism are found in our presbyterian system.

Is equality of conditions the fundamental principle from which all our other civil and republican institutions flow? This doctrine is imbedded in every principle, and is characteristic of, the presbyterian church. 'We lay it down,' says Dr. Rice,* one of the fathers of presbyterianism in this country, 'as a fundamental principle in our system of polity, that ecclesiastical power is by the Lord Jesus Christ vested in the church; it belongs to the body of the faithful people.' Separate and distinct from the church, its officers have no independent or irresponsible authority.† The title of clergy we recognize as given by inspiration to all God's people,‡ and possessed by them until pope Hyginus, and the succeeding prelates, appropriated it to themselves, condemning the rest of God's inheritance to the 'injurious and alienate condition of laity;' separating them by local partitions in their churches; and thus excluding the members of Christ from all offices in the ecclesiastical body, 'as if they meant to sew up that Jewish veil which Christ, by his death on the cross, rent in sunder.' Against these usurpations, and this whole system of priestcraft, we earnestly protest. All such distinctions we repudiate. Every faithful disciple of the Lord Jesus we admit to wait upon the tabernacle, and to offer up spiritual sacrifice to God, in whatever office God and the congregation shall assign him. Presbyterianism, both as it regards the government of a particular church and of the church generally, is, therefore, based upon the principle of representation. 'Our laws too are all written laws, made and administered by our own representatives. We have no rulers.'§

The support of the ministry, the expenses of the congregation, the advancement of every cause of christian benevolence, are all voluntary on the part of the people; and the amount in each case assessed by the people themselves, or by the conscience of each individual contributor. Our church property is all held in the name of trustees elected by the people; and the temporal affairs of every congregation are managed by the people.

Is it then the great characteristic of our republic, that all power is ultimately resident in, and derived from, the people, and this, not as the gift of man, but of God? What can be more analogous than the principles of our presbyterian constitution? Do we not teach that the divine charter of the church

*Evangelical Magaz. vol. ix. p. 535.

†Ibid, p. 537.

‡By the apostle Peter.

§Balt. Lit. and Relig. Mag. Feb. 1814. 76.

was vested in the people and not in the clergy.† The church is, we contend, the whole body of the faithful, and not the officers or ministers of the church. These officers and ministers exist for the people, and not the people for them. We place their right and authority of office, not in these offices themselves, but in the entire church, for whose benefit alone they are intrusted to them by Christ.‡

The recognition of the rights of the people is one of those points upon which all presbyterian churches, both Lutheran and Calvinian, are agreed. The laity are regarded by them all as an integral part of the church. Their civil rights are represented as in all respects equal to those of the clergy. Laymen are associated with the clergy in all acts of ecclesiastical government and legislation. These churches also maintain and hold forth the right and duty of the people to exercise private judgment, to read the scriptures, to partake of the cup in the sacrament, and to cherish liberty of conscience, and liberty of opinion.*

The presbyterian church, as reformed, and thus restored to her ancient polity and liberty in the kingdom of Scotland, as well as on the continent, was bottomed upon the coöperation and influence of the laity. An appeal to the people, in their own language, was the first step of her reformers.†† In this respect does she stand, confessedly, in contrast to the church of England. In presbyterian churches the reformation was begun, continued, and effected by the people; in the latter for the people and against their wishes.** In the former, the people were the prime agents and inciters to the work; in the latter, they were either passive subjects, or sullen remonstrants. In the former, the people reformed themselves, and erected a platform agreeable to their own views of what christianity should and was designed to be; in the latter, the people abjured or received their faith, according to the fashion of the court. It has always therefore been the reproach of the church of Scotland, 'with those who do not care for, or who dread the people, that she is too popular.'§

†See the Author's Work, Presbytery, and not Prelacy, the Script. and Primit. Pol. B. i. ch. iii.

‡Claude's Def. of the Ref. vol. ii. pp. 241, 247, 263.

*Conder's Analytical View of all Religion, p. 247.

††See Villers on the Ref. p. 240. Hence the improvement of modern languages, pp. 241, 243.

**This is insisted on as an excellency in tract of the Prot. Ep. Tr. Soc. quoted below. Lathbury, in his Hist. of Eng. Episcop. also urges this.

§Lect. on Headship of Christ, p. 46.

SECTION V.

Presbytery is republican in its doctrine of the ministry.‡

This republican character of our church, will be made apparent by considering her doctrine on the ministry.

That her doctrine of the ministry is based upon the recognition of the original power and authority of the people, we have seen. The church must and will have power, for he who commands the mind will command the body. The question therefore is, to whom this power will be entrusted? To the clergy?—then do you have the worst feature of popery. To the laity alone?—then do you inslave the clergy. To the clergy and laity combined, in their representative capacity, so that neither shall be absolute and supreme?—this is the genius of presbytery, but cannot be reconciled with ‘episcopacy.’*

Our prelatical opponents maintain,† that all ecclesiastical authority is committed directly to the christian ministry; that the ministry consists of an order of men differing from the laity; and that it is their business to come between God and man to transact business with men for heaven: authoritatively to interpret for men the word of God; and, by administering the sacraments, to give them assurance of salvation; in a word, to be substitutes for Christ’s person on earth. Now we hold this doctrine to be utterly popish and heretical; inconsistent with the nature of true religion, as a voluntary service; incompatible with christian liberty; and well suited to give an undue influence to the ministers of religion. The general admission of these pretensions was one cause and that not the least efficient, in producing the great corruption of the church. It brought about that subjugation of the mind to ecclesiastical power, which was one of the striking characteristics of the age of darkness, through which the church groped for nearly ten centuries. Nor does religion alone suffer by the admission of these pretensions. They clothe ecclesiastics with a power to which nothing on earth is equal, and to which, after an unavailing struggle, every thing submits. What will we not surrender to a man, to whom we have surrendered the right of directing our conscience; and whom we regard as invested with authority from heaven to receive us into the church, or to repel us from it; to give us assurance of salvation, or cut us off from the hope of mercy?

Those who contend that there is an order of men in the christian church, who possess rights paramount to the church at large, and for their own benefit and honor, are guilty of the same sophistry with those who argue for the divine right of

‡See Bib. Repertory, July, 1845, p. 454, &c.

*See Lond. Quart. Rev. Dec. 1839, p. 74, where this is avowed.

†Dr. Rice, in *ibid*, p. 535.

kings. They forget that these officers themselves are created for the benefit of the community, and that for this purpose alone, are they invested with power. They confound their official with their personal capacity; their individual with their representative character; and their dignity of station with their office, which is merely that of trustee; ascribe to their own persons that which belongs to others, for whose benefit they are required to act as mere trustees, and thus make those to be **THE PARTY**, who are no more than trustees for that party.* And thus are they led to the absurd and dangerous conclusion, that the clergy possess supreme power in the church, hold their place in absolute independence of the people, and may exercise their functions at their own pleasure, and according to their own views of christian expediency. On the contrary, we maintain, that the ministers of Christ hold their offices solely for the benefit of the church, and in trust for Christ. Not that they are the mere creatures of the people, or can be removed by them at pleasure, since their office is of divine appointment, and clothed with divine authority. But that the people are bound to bring them to the law and the testimony; to test their preaching by the standard of truth; to submit to no ordinance which is not accordant to the written law; and to contend earnestly against them, should they alter or detract from the truth as it is in Jesus.

The powers, then, of the christian association, belong to the whole body of its members, just as, in our republic, the exercise of power is delegated to its officers; so that whatever they do, according to the written constitution, is done by the members, and is valid and authoritative; while on the other hand, whatever they may attempt contrary to that constitution, is invalid, null, and void. Thus also obedience is in no case required to the determinations of the christian ministry, *merely* because they are *theirs*, but because they are consonant to the will of Christ, and are *therefore* binding. But if in any case the ministers teach for doctrines the commandments of men, the people are bound by the command of God to protest against them, and to bring them to the bar of the church.

This dependence of the ministry on the church is implied in our whole system.† It is from among the people they are originally taken. It is by the people they are educated. The people thus commend them as proper candidates, to the presbytery, by whom they are examined and licensed. They are then sent forth among the people, that further opportunity may be given for examining their gifts, and fitness for the sacred office. Should they be found unacceptable to the people, and unsuited

*Pol. Phil. p. 85.

†See these views ably presented by Claude, in his Def. of the Ref. vol. ii. pp. 240-243, 247, 263.

to the ministerial office, their licensure is withdrawn, and they return to the body of the people, as private members of the church. In all this, the presbytery act as the divinely appointed agents and trustees of the people, and for the interests of the whole church.

This is further evident in our plan for the settlement of a minister. By the principles of our church, the ministry of any individual to a particular people, the allocation of the minister to that people, and the subjection of the people to him, can be effected by the presbytery, only through means of an *expressed* will on the part of the people, and call from them to that individual, to take pastoral charge over them. And while the presbytery, responsible to a higher court, in view of the interests of the church generally, of which they are the guardians, may, in the face of such a call, refuse to sanction the settlement of any minister, they cannot in any case settle him without it. The christian people have, as *wæ* believe, a divine right in the call of their ministers.

The right of selecting those to whom we are to intrust the interests of ourselves and of our children, or from whom we are to derive important and most necessary instruction, may certainly be called inalienable, because inherent in, and most congenial to, our nature. But if this is true as it regards the physican for our bodily ailments; the instructor of our youthful progeny; the collegiate inspectors and guardians of their mature years; or our counsel at the bar of earthly justice; how much more important does it become, when the interests at stake are those of the never-dying soul? The right, therefore, to choose those who shall minister unto us in holy things; at whose hands we shall receive the bread of life; and from whose stores of sacred learning and divine knowledge we shall draw; this surely is a privilege, which we might expect to be accorded to us, in the kingdom of God. Nor are we disappointed. For although it is not competent for any man to qualify any other man for the sacred ministry; nor for the laity to ordain and consecrate those who shall be over them in the Lord; yet surely it is their right, and one which the laity are fully able to exercise, to select, among those adjudged to be proper incumbents of that sacred office, those whom they believe to be best adapted to promote *their* spiritual welfare. This is a right to which the members of the apostolic and primitive churches were certainly admitted. It is a right which is most fully recognized in the system of presbyterianism, and by which that system is at once eminently distinguished, and shown to be peculiarly adapted to the spirit of a free and independent people.

It is not possible, of course, that *every* individual can be, in all cases, perfectly satisfied; but this is much more likely to be the case where, as in our churches, all have an opportunity of

expressing an opinion, and of exercising a right, and where the decision is finally made by a majority necessarily overwhelming, than where such elections are made by a very few, or where no such elections are at all permitted. We, therefore, to use the words of Milton,* 'having already a kind of apostolical and ancient church-election in our state, what a perverseness would it be in us, of all others, to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and stately election in our church? And what a blindness to think, that what is already evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our polity, should be repugnant to that which is the same, by divine command, in the ministry? Thus then we see that our ecclesiastical political choices, may consent and sort as well together, without any rupture in the state, as christians and freeholders.'

'Puritanism,' † says Bancroft, 'conceded no such power to its spiritual guides; the church existed independently of its pastor, who owed his office to its free choice; the will of the majority was its law; and each one of the brethren possessed equal rights with the elders. The right, exercised by each congregation, of electing its own ministers, was in itself a moral revolution: religion was now with the people, not over the people. Puritanism exalted the laity.'

SECTION VI.

Presbytery is republican in its doctrine of ordination. Objections answered.

Not less republican is our doctrine of ordination. It is, in fact, the only form of ordination that is truly catholic and popular. It is most perfectly correspondent to that order pursued in the republic, in the induction of its magistrates into office. Magistracy is a relation that must have a foundation, as well as the ministry. And just as the election and consent of the people are sufficient to constitute any individual a magistrate or representative, so does the essence of a call to the ministry consist in the call from God, or imparted fitness; in the willingness of the individual to enter upon the office; and in the consent of the people to whom he is to minister.‡ 'And as the appointed form of introduction to office designates or inaugurates him, to whom the people have given the power or right, according to the constitution; so does ordination designate and solemnly set apart to his high calling, the individual who, by the previous call of the

*Wks. vol. i. p. 48.

†Hist. of United States, vol. i. pp. 461, 462, 464.

‡Baxter's Disput. on Ch. Govt. p. 232, &c. Claude's Def. of the Ref. vol. ii. part iv. ch. iii.

people, has been found empowered to enter upon the work of the ministry. In both cases, the power or authority proceeds directly from the constitution, and not from the electors; and thus do we regard the ministry as authorized, not by men, but by God. In both cases, the *exercise* of preëstablished authority is given by the call and election of the people. In both cases does the form of introduction, (that is, in the case of the ministry, ordination,) suppose the *ascertained* right and title to the office, and is, therefore, no more than a solemn and becoming form of investiture.

Now as ministers are, by their office, servants of the whole church, and not of any one portion of it merely, it is necessary that the whole body of that church should have a voice in their admission to their trust. Were they to become the servants of other ministers only, then might they be elected, as among prelatists, by the ministry alone. Or were they to become the pastors of a single congregation, as on the *original* plan of the system of independency, then might one single church elect and ordain their pastor. But as christian ministers are to become ministers of the church at large, that church should have a voice in their ordination. And as they cannot manifestly have this in person, or in mass, they must, as in the analogous case of civil presidents, or legislators, exercise it through representatives. Now this the church at large does on the plan of presbyterianism, and on no other. By this the people, whom the minister is immediately to serve, try, examine, and prove him; while the presbytery, composed of lay and ministerial delegates, act on behalf of the church at large; represent their interests in the case; try, examine, and prove the candidate, in the place of the whole people; and when satisfied, induct him into office, in the name, and for the benefit, of the whole church. There is, therefore, in the whole doctrine concerning the ministry, as laid down in the system of presbyterianism, a catholicity, a beauty, and a republicanism, which will be in vain looked for in any other. Our clergy are the ministers of the people, and empowered by them to serve them in the gospel. They are all of them sustained by the ennobling thought, that they are chosen by the people, and clothed by them with all the dignity and authority they possess. They all, too, stand upon the same platform of official equality. None of them are 'inferior,' and, as such, 'insulted, as in England, by the mockery of an election;' nor as within the Roman jurisdiction, required to receive a master who is himself a slave.*

Is it objected, that the clergy have a certain aristocratical influence in the church, resulting from their character, studies, and relations? Grant, that the ministry do constitute a check to the unreflecting passions and revolutionary spirit of the multitude; is there nothing analogous to this in our republic? The

*The Churchman's Monthly Rev. June, 1841, p. 313.

magistrates, judges, and all the other officers of government, our representatives, senators, and lawyers, who share in its stability and wealth, serve also as a kind of aristocracy, to break off the wild deluge of fierce and anarchical democracy in the state, and as the connecting link and bond between the two great classes of society, the governing, and those for whom they govern.* And it is by the possession of these aristocratic elements, this elective and responsible nobility, not of wealth, but of office and dignity, that both the civil government of the land, and the ecclesiastical government of our church, are constituted REPUBLICS, and are distinguished from PURE DEMOCRACIES.

SECTION VII.

*Presbytery eminently republican in its office of ruling elders.
Objections answered.*

Let us now pass on to the consideration of the office of ruling elders in the presbyterian church. This office may be shown to be eminently republican, either as divinely instituted, or as having resulted from the principle of representation, the power of the church having been originally vested in the people. Republican society is based on the principle, that arbiters, magistrates, or representatives, chosen by the consent of the people, in all the several districts, shall judge and determine the causes of wrong and injury, whether public or private. And thus does the free and solemn consent of the church, in the election of elders, give authority unto such persons, in subordination to the laws of the church. 'Hence,' says our Form of Government, 'ruling elders are properly the representatives of the people, chosen by them for the purpose of exercising government and discipline.'‡

As to the necessity for some such officers, who, that reflects, can doubt. Does the church, we ask, or does it not, consist of ministers only? If it does not—and we deny that in *any one* passage in the New Testament, the term can be understood of ministers merely—then by what rule of equity, human or divine, are the laity to be excluded from a share in the government of the church? Or if, as we have proved, the power of the church was vested by Christ, in the whole body of the church,† who shall dare to exclude the laity from the proper exercise of that power.

†See Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, B. i. ch. iii.

*See Tocquev. vol. i. pp. 298, 300, 304, and vol. ii. p. 325.

‡Ch. v. See Paget's Def. of Presb. Ch. Govt. pp. 4, 5.

Now this undeniable fact, that the laity compose the great body of the church of Christ, was the chief ground upon which the necessity of the eldership has been ever urged. 'Our divines,' says Mr. George Gillespie, in his assertion of the government of the church of Scotland, † 'prove against papists, that some of these, whom they call laicks, ought to have a place in the assemblies of the church, by this argument among the rest; because, otherwise, the whole church could not be thereby represented. And it is plain enough, that the church cannot be represented, except the hearers of the word, which are the far greatest part of the church, be represented. By the ministers of the word, they cannot be represented, more than the burghs can be represented in parliament by the noblemen, or by the commissioners of shires; therefore, by some of their own kind must they be represented, that is, by such as are hearers, and not preachers. Now some hearers cannot represent all the rest, except they have a calling and commission thereto; and who can these be but ruling elders? And again, when the council of Trent was first spoken of in the Diet at Wortimberg, Anno. 1522, all the estates of Germany desired of pope Adrian VI., that admittance might be granted, as well to laymen as to clergymen, and that not only as witnesses and spectators, but to be judges there. This they could not obtain, therefore they would not come to the council, and published a book, where they allege this for one cause of their not coming to Trent, because none had voice there but cardinals, bishops, abbots, generals, or superiors of orders, whereas laicks also ought to have a decisive voice in councils. If none but the ministers of the word should sit and have a voice in a synod, then it could not be a church representative; because the most part of the church (who are the hearers and not the teachers of the word) are not represented in it. A common cause ought to be concluded by common voices. But that which is treated of in councils, is a common cause, pertaining to many particular churches. Our divines, when they prove against papists, that the election of ministers, and the excommunication of obstinate sinners, ought to be done by the suffrages of the whole church, make use of this same argument; that which concerneth all, ought to be treated of and judged by all.'

So argued one of Scotland's noble sons, and a representative in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. And such, also, are the general views of the presbyterian church.* In nothing, therefore, does she proclaim her republican character more fully and undeniably, than in her ruling elders. They are not ministers. They are not presbyters. But they are delegates

†Part i. cap. 4.

*See Professor Jameson's Cyp. Isot. pp. 554-556, and 517, 540-544.

from the people, officers chosen by them; and representatives, to whom they have transferred their power, to whom they have committed their interests, and who are expected to act for the best good of the whole body of the christian people. They constitute, therefore, with the pastor of every church, the senate, or the house of representatives of that church. They also sit, vote, and act, in full terms of equality, with the ministers, in all the other courts; so that, in them all, the people are *fully* and freely represented.

But it may be said, that in the presbyterian form, ruling elders usurp the power of the people at large, and, in fact, constitute another privileged class.* But these elders are elective. They are chosen by the people, and from among themselves, and have no power but that intrusted to them under the laws. Now the purest republic may delegate legislative, executive, and judicial power to certain individuals, or bodies, leaving to the community no more than the choice of these ruling officers, and still the government remain purely republican, and not at all mixed.† It has only delegated its power to representatives. No individual in the community has power independent of the people. Nor have the people shared their powers with others, but only deputed to others the power of exercising *their* authority. And in like manner, ruling elders, being the chosen deputies of the people, and exercising their powers in full responsibility to the people, are perfectly accordant with our republican institutions, and to the supreme power of the body of the church.

SECTION VIII.

Presbytery eminently republican, also, in its various ecclesiastical judicatories.

We come now to notice the various ecclesiastical courts by which the laws of the presbyterian church are administered.

In the most free states, it is common for persons to be deputed by the people, who together constitute an assembly, representing the whole; and it is usual for the whole, in such cases, to consider themselves bound by the decision of this general body. Such are the town councils, the state legislatures, and the congress in these United States. The importance of such bodies cannot be over estimated. Governments usually fall a sacrifice to impotence or tyranny. These are the

*Hooker, B. v. Decl. § 8, vol. ii. p. 8, Keble's ed.

†Polit. Phil. p. 77, Lond. 1842.

Scylla and Charybdis, against which they have to watch. And their free assemblies are the pilots by whom they are to be kept awake to danger, and guided safely through it.* With free deliberative, legislative assemblies, liberty, civil and religious, has coexisted or expired. It has also been shown by president Adams,† from a review of the history of all the mixed and free governments which have ever existed from the earliest records of time, that single assemblies, without check or balance, or a government with all authority collected into one centre, according to the notion of Mr. Turgot, were visionary, violent, intriguing, corrupt, and tyrannical dominations of majorities over minorities, and which have uniformly and rapidly terminated their career in a profligate despotism. It is most clear, that tyranny would unavoidably increase with equality, unless the members of the community are protected by such associations, as will enable them to resist a power, against which, single-handed, they could never prevail. Every wealthy, talented, and powerful individual, forms in reality the head of a body, composed of all under his influence, and by which he rules the rest. And it is only by having around them the shield of such legal assemblies, the poor and less influential members of society can stand upon their rights.

Look now at the presbyterian form of church government. Its fundamental principle is, that the government of the church rests upon delegated bodies, composed of clerical and lay members.§ It demands, therefore, congregational, district, provincial, and general assemblies of such members; that is, church sessions, presbyteries, and a general assembly. By these local associations, and general confederations, national, as well as local freedom, are promoted and secured. In our churches, and church sessions, we see, that parish system of local government, to which Tocqueville looks as the unquestionable germ and model of our American institutions.** In our presbyteries we have the district system, the townships, and municipal bodies by which the public spirit is preserved, and which 'constitute the strength of free nations.'‡ In our synods, we find the legislatures of our several states, which are justly regarded as the bulwarks of their liberty. And in our general assembly, we have the national ecclesiastical congress. Each of these courts is bound to regulate itself by the laws of the great community; while not one of those laws is to be entered on the statute-book, till the consent of those whom it is to con-

*See Kent's Comment. vol. i. p. 233.

†In *ibid.* p. 223.

§See the analogy between these, and republican principles, drawn out by Brown, in his *Vind. of Presb. Ch. Govt.* Edinb. 1812, pp. 15, 174, 175.

**Tocquev. i. pp. 28, 40, 85.

‡Tocquev. i. 62, and ch. 5, generally.

trol has been asked, through the medium of their legitimate judicatories.* Each church is a young republic, having its popular assemblies, its delegated representatives, its local tribunal, its independent by-laws, and the entire and exclusive management of all matters which are purely local. Each congregation is thus a commonwealth, as truly as each synod. It has its own important and independent sphere of action, and is a type of the general government of the whole church. Here the laity—the people—rule and reign. The minister stands alone, one against a host; chosen by the free votes, supported by the voluntary contribution, and made useful only by the esteem and confidence of the people, he ministers to them in holy things. In the session he is one in association with several, and can exercise no more than a moral influence.

By the constitution of these church sessions all churches are equal among themselves, and all the members of each church equal to every other;† so that every member of our church is assured, if in any way liable to discipline, of a fair hearing, before a body composed of his fellow members, and of his own order, and from whose judgment he may appeal to the higher tribunal of the *presbytery*.‡ To confine the decisions of all cases which must arise in every well-ordered society, to the clergymen, or to the clergy alone, and thus to consolidate in their hands, the entire government of the body, is contrary to the very first law of all society, which provides that no man shall be judge in his own cause. On this principle, there is no society, no freedom, no protection from oppressive and despotic rule, no bulwark against that resistless tide, with which power, when lodged in the hands of a few weak and imperfect men, encroaches upon the territory, and the just rights, of all who are opposed to it. Nor can that ecclesiastical system be possibly republican, or consonant to the genius of our free commonwealths, which subjugates the laity to the clergy, and the inferior clergy, as they are ignobly called, to the higher, and which attaches a supremacy of power to an aristocratic class.

But in the system of presbyterianism there is no privileged order or class, as it regards their personal rights. No single member of the church is excluded from an active interest in the affairs of the spiritual republic. In its temporalities, all its supporters have a voice. In all its spiritualities, every qualified male member has an equal interest and voice. In every ecclesiastical court, from the church session, which is the lowest, to the general assembly, which is the highest, the chosen representatives of the people sit as coequal members with their

*Dr. Muir's Disc. in Commem. of 1638, p. 15.

†See Brown's Vind. of Presb. Ch. Govt. p. 167.

‡See Jones's Wks. vol. ii. p. 421, on the value of this arrangement.

ministerial brethren. And it is morally impossible, for any act to be passed, in any judicatory of our church, or enforced in any portion of it, which is adverse to the interests and to the wishes of a majority of its members.

The spiritual affairs, so far as they appertain to the district within its territory, and to the interests of all the churches included in it, are in like manner conducted by our presbyteries, to which any one aggrieved by the course pursued in the churches may appeal, and have his cause heard before an impartial tribunal. In the same way do our synods take order for securing the peace, unity, and prosperity, of all the churches within their wider limits. The church being divided* 'into many separate congregations, these need mutual counsel and assistance, in order to preserve soundness of doctrine, and regularity of discipline, and to enter into common measures for promoting knowledge, and religion, and preventing infidelity, error, and immorality. Hence arise the importance and usefulness of presbyterial and synodical assemblies.'

Each of these bodies possesses certain sovereign and independent rights, under the constitution, with which the others cannot interfere. In our synods, and the states over which they usually preside, we have complete presbyterian republics; so that were they in any case to become independent of all the rest, as they may at any moment, they would not be found wanting in any principle of presbyterianism. How perfect the analogy to our several states in the civil commonwealth. But as those states have found it to be for their individual interests, and the general prosperity of the country, to form that confederation which constitutes the government of the United States; so have our several synods been led, by the strong impulse of christian union, to constitute the general assembly. This body represents all the particular churches of the denomination, and constitutes the bond of union, peace, correspondence, and mutual confidence among all our churches. Like the federal government, it is clothed with all the powers necessary to represent and carry out the interests of each synod, and the conduct of those affairs which cannot be administered so well by the synods separately, and which regard the united interests of all the churches, presbyteries, and synods. The cause of missions, foreign and domestic, and the publication of such works as are of general utility and importance, are thus intrusted in a special manner, to the wise conduct of this general assembly. And just as congress is not restricted from any constructive assumption of power, which is essential to the complete enjoyment and exercise of that which is *formally given*, and to the furtherance of the beneficent ends of the gov-

*Form of Govt. ch. x. § 1.

ernment,* so has our assembly felt justly authorized to create boards or agencies, for the efficient discharge of its high duties in evangelizing our own country and the heathen world. Laws and regulations whose force and operation are to continue, are made in a little time, and hence there is no necessity for the legislative body to be always in session.§ But since these regulations need perpetual execution and attendance, therefore it is necessary that there should be a power always in being, which may carry out the laws when made. And hence is the executive separated from the legislative power in our republic.† Now, in perfect correspondence with these established principles, the executive power, in carrying out all its designs, is committed by our general assembly to its several boards, which are, in fact, so many executive committees. And as the legislature cannot always foresee and provide for all that may be useful to the country, and the executive is empowered to make use of its power for the public good, even in cases for which the law has made no special provision, until the legislature can assemble and provide for the occasion;‡ so also are these boards or committees necessarily empowered to take all measures which are required, in order to carry out the objects intrusted to them, under a responsibility always to the general assembly.

Again, as the judiciary is appointed to pass upon any action of any member of the confederacy, which seems to be contrary to the laws of the union; so have we in our written constitution, and the power there secured to our presbyteries to decide by a majority against any usurpation of authority on the part of the assembly—our judiciary.

Further, in the government of the United States, an ultimate arbiter of interpretation is provided in the supreme court. And thus also in our church we have the general assembly, a court composed of delegates from all portions of the church, and which, in all cases of doubtful disputation as to the true meaning and intent of the constitution, is empowered to give an authorized exposition of the law, which becomes binding on the whole church, unless rejected by the contrary decision of a majority of all its presbyteries, that is, by the people, speaking through these primary assemblies. Although, therefore, our general assembly has great legislative power, yet it has no executive power. Its laws go down to our synods, presbyteries, and churches, to be executed by them; and, should they imply

*Kent's Comment. vol. i. p. 214. 'A government too restricted for the due performance of its high trusts, will either become insignificant or be driven to usurpation.' Ibid. The want of this was the cause of the weakness of the confederation.

§Locke on Govt. ch. xii. § 143 and § 153.

†See *ibid.* ch. xii. § 144 and § 153.

‡*Ibid.* ch. xiv. § 159-161.

any thing arbitrary or unconstitutional, their force may there be at once stayed, as by so many breakwaters, against the power of tyranny.

SECTION IX.

Presbytery republican in several other particulars, with testimonies in its favor.

The analogy, therefore, between our ecclesiastical assemblies and those of the republic, is as complete as, in the nature of things, it could be. Were it necessary it might be still further enlarged. We will only briefly allude to some other particulars. Each house of civil representatives is sole judge of the election return, and of the qualifications of its members;* and so is it with our assembly. The house of representatives choose their own speaker;† and so do our assemblies elect their moderator. The proceedings of all our civil assemblies are public;‡ so are those of our ecclesiastical courts. None of the officers or members of our civil legislatures are inviolable; neither are there any privileged members or classes among us, who are either above the law, or screened from its attack.§ The members of all our civil assemblies are equally delegated by the people, and represent them; and so are the members of every ecclesiastical body. Each state puts faith in the acts of every other state; and so does every ecclesiastical assembly in the acts of every other. Just as new states are admitted to the union, so are new synods received into our ecclesiastical confederation. As each several state elects its governor annually, so does every synod and assembly annually appoint its presiding head.

The following testimony to this republican character of our form of government, though given by an enemy, and designed to imply censure, is a reluctant admission of the truth in the case. 'Yet,' says bishop Hughes,** 'though it is my privilege to regard the authority exercised by the general assembly as usurpation,†† still I must say, with every man acquainted with the mode in which it is organized, that, for the purposes of popular and political government, *its structure is little inferior to that*

*Kent, i. 234.

†Ibid, p. 237.

‡Ibid, p. 237, 238.

§Kent, i. p. 288.

**Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, p. 80.

††We know that laymen never vote in Romish councils. This is a presbyterian heresy.

of the congress itself. In any emergency that may arise, the general assembly can produce a uniformity among its adherents to the furthest boundaries of the land. It acts on the principle of a radiating centre, and is WITHOUT AN EQUAL OR A RIVAL among the other denominations of the country.'§ 'Here,' to use the words of Alexander Henderson,|| 'there is a superiority without tyranny, for no minister hath a papal or monarchical jurisdiction over his own flock, far less over other pastors, and over all the congregations of a large diocese. Here, then, is parity without confusion and disorder, for the pastors are in order before the elders, and the elders before the deacons; every particular church is subordinate to the presbytery, the presbytery to the synod, and the synod to the national assembly. One pastor, also, hath priority of esteem before another for age, for zeal, for gifts, for good deservings of the church, each one honoring him whom God hath honored, and as he beareth the image of God, which was to be seen amongst the apostles themselves. But none hath præminence of title, or power, or jurisdiction above others; even as in nature one eye hath not power over another, only the head hath power over all, even as Christ over his church. And, lastly, here there is a subjection without slavery, for the people are subject to the pastors and assemblies; yet there is no assembly wherein every particular church hath not interest and power, nor is there any thing done but they are, if not actually, yet virtually, called to consent unto it.'

Such is the correspondence between the doctrines of our church, our ministry, our eldership, our ecclesiastical assemblies, and the essential principles and characteristic outlines of this great and free commonwealth. From the delineation we have given of our system, we may challenge the inquirer, to bring it to the test of every principle which we have laid down as a constituent element in republicanism. Sure we are that no discordance will be found between the two, when fairly considered; but a most entire and perfect similarity.

§How King James and all the arbitrary kings of England dreaded our general assemblies, and their influence, in producing a spirit of liberty, we know. See Lect. on the Headship of Christ, pp. 66, 70, 80. See p. 13.
||See in Lorimer's Manual of Presbytery, p. 257.

SECTION X.

Presbytery republican in its creeds; in its protection of minorities; in the framing of its laws; in its universal suffrage; and in its simplicity and opposition to all unnecessary forms.

Let us, however, call attention to a few additional points, in which the analogy will be as strikingly manifest.

Presbyterians are attached to creeds; that is, they believe that certain great truths and principles in religion must be fixed, certain, and established. But this is not inconsistent, as is ignorantly affirmed, with the spirit of republicanism, but is, on the contrary, necessary to true freedom. 'Obviously,' says Tocqueville,* 'without such common belief no society can prosper; say rather, no society does subsist; for without ideas held in common, there is no common action, and without common action there may still be men, but there is no social body. In order that society should exist, and, *a fortiori*, that a society should prosper, it is required that all the minds of the citizens should be rallied, and held together by certain prominent ideas; and this cannot be the case, unless each of them sometimes draws his opinion from the common source, and consents to accept certain matters of belief at the hands of the community. The public has, therefore, among a democratic people, a singular power, of which aristocratic nations could never so much as conceive an idea; for it does not persuade to certain opinions, but it enforces them, and infuses them into the faculties, by a sort of enormous pressure of the minds of all upon the reason of each. In the United States the majority undertakes to supply a multitude of ready-made opinions for the use of individuals, who are thus relieved from the necessity of forming opinions of their own. Every body, then, adopts great numbers of theories on philosophy, morals, and politics, without inquiry upon public trust.'

Such established opinions are the *common law* of the land and of the church. In both, alike, they protect the minority from that capricious tyranny of the democracy, which otherwise would oppress them. In both cases, also, these fundamental principles are embodied in the public constitutions, and are thus, in a measure, immutable and fixed.

*Vol. ii. p. 7. See also pp. 8-10.

Again, in the republic, power is determined by numbers, and yet even the minority are protected by the charter of the constitution; and so in our church the same principle prevails, since it is fundamental to our compact, that the majority shall be ruled by the constitution, and all by the Bible. We have one law, and one interpretation of the law.*

It is another essential principle of all true liberty, that no man should be bound by laws, canons, or decrees, over which, in their origination, and in their continuance, he has no control, by himself, or his legal representative. And, hence, in England, the canons of 1603 have never been recognized in law as binding upon the laity, because they were not represented in the convocation by which they were passed.‡ Now this, also, is the law of our church. To no rule or canon is any part of the clergy or laity required to pay respect, which has not been confirmed by their assent, either given in person, or by their delegated representatives. As thus securing in all their amplitude, the rights of all its members, the constitutional bulwarks of our church, stand as a proud monument on which their liberties are inscribed, and which pledge them to be free, and to hold the equal, universal, civil, and religious rights of all other men, denominations, and people.†

Universal suffrage in the choice of its legislators is also considered a prominent feature of republicanism; and universal suffrage amongst communicants, in the choice of their clergy, is equally necessary to ecclesiastical republicanism. But this principle, we have seen, is fundamental to our system, and one for which the church of Scotland is, at this moment, willing to

*See Dr. Junkin's Inaugural Address, p. 39. To such a political creed, and to its noble defence by an oppressed and persecuted minority, we owe our present liberties. 'In the times of Charles, a band of independent and public-spirited men were raised up. Their aim was to recover the nation's forgotten liberties and privileges. And in what manner did they act? They fell back upon the CONSTITUTION of the country; they had recourse to statutes and acts which were declared to be perpetual; and these they plead in opposition to all succeeding innovations. There was an old record on which the dust of years had gathered; this they brought from its resting-place; they studied the provisions of Magna Charta, and for these provisions they determined to contend, and to contend for them on the ground that they were embodied in this charter, which defined the country's constitution. The authority of this record they maintained against all contrary changes. Charles could plead precedents and long-continued usage, and the authority of judges, in support of many of his measures. Yet Hampden, and Pym, and Hollis, resisted these measures, and the ground of their resistance was, that these measures were contrary to the provisions of Magna Charta. Charles had the authority of his law-courts for the measure which he pressed, but these men set the authority of the constitution against the authority of the law-courts, and one of the leading grievances of which they complained was this, *'the judgment of lawyers against our liberty.'*

‡White's Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 78.

†Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, p. 146.

run the hazard of the most imminent peril and loss.‡. Our system constitutes the people umpires in determining the comparative merits of preachers, and in deciding who shall rule over them. It is a system worked by popular power, which bestows a kind of franchise on all who become parties to it, and which is, therefore, dependent upon popular intelligence. There must, therefore, as in the republic, be *some* limits to the exercise of this franchise; and this is found in the qualifications laid down for membership in the church, and which imply such a measure of discernment and goodness, as is necessary to the exercise of that franchise, and to the privileges of this 'holy and equal aristocracy.'*

Simplicity, and an opposition to all unnecessary forms and external observances is, we have found, another principle of republicanism. Nothing is more repugnant to it, than a subjection to forms—nothing more unimpressive, than ceremonial observances. That religion, therefore, which hopes to amalgamate and to become identified with a republican form of government, must assume few external observances, and vulgar, superstitious pageantry, dress, and show. 'I have shown,'† says Tocqueville, 'that nothing is more repugnant to the human mind, in an age of equality, than the idea of a subjection to forms. Men living at such times are impatient of figures; to their eyes symbols appear to be the puerile artifice which is used to conceal or set off truths which should more naturally be bared to the light of open day; they are unmoved by ceremonial observances, and they are predisposed to attach a secondary importance to the details of public worship. I firmly believe in the necessity of forms which fix the human mind in the contemplation of abstract truths, and stimulate its ardor in the pursuit

‡The Scotch church has declared herself republican, in the ecclesiastical sense, insisting upon universal suffrage amongst communicants in the choice of the clergy. If the movement party in Scotland is maintaining the right of election for the people—that in England is demanding it for the bishops. The electoral rights of the people are never mentioned in the Oxford conclave. There, they treat only of the rights of the successors of the apostles, which protestantism has invaded and catholicism is determined to restore. Here the two churches are directly opposed. They are the ecclesiastical counterparts of radicals and Tories—the radicals being the Scotch and the Tories the English divines. In perfect harmony with this distinctive character, the Scotch divines are aiming at the most simple and unostentatious *finale* for their ecclesiastical reformation—the *simple preaching of the word!* The English regard the preaching as a matter of minor importance; considering rites and ceremonies, with ostentatious display in dresses, and plate, and statues, and pictures, and genuflexions, and music, as the primary, whilst preaching is only a secondary, subject of consideration. In other words, the Scotch are argumentative, and aim at the full establishment of a system which will encourage the exercise of judgment and criticism amongst the people, by constituting them judges of ministers, and umpires in determining the comparative merits of preachers and doctrines. *Letter from England, in N. Y. Journal of Commerce.*

*Milton. See Vaughan's Congreg. p. 11.

†Vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

of them, while they invigorate its power of retaining them steadfastly. Nor do I suppose that it is possible to maintain a religion without external observances; but on the other hand, I am persuaded that in the ages upon which we are entering, it would be peculiarly dangerous to multiply them beyond measure; and that they ought rather to be limited to as much as is absolutely necessary, to perpetuate the doctrine itself, which is the substance of religion of which the ritual is only the form. A religion which should become more minute, more peremptory, and more surcharged with small observances at a time in which men are becoming more equal, would soon find itself reduced to a band of fanatical zealots in the midst of an infidel people.' Now is not this a portraiture of the presbyterian church in contrast with prelatial and Romish churches?

'The worship of the Lutherans,' says Mr. Villers,* 'and still more that of the Calvinists, is simple and strict. A stone, a cloth, form the altar; a pulpit and benches are all the decorations necessary to the temple. Here nothing is thought of but the gospel, and some divine songs on morality and the christian duties, sung by the congregation. All is devoid of ornament, pomp, and elegance. The priest is clothed in a modest black garment; no veneration of a saint or an angel, and still less of their images, is recommended to pious souls. It might be said, that this worship is melancholy and dry in comparison with that of the Catholics, if, indeed, an assembly of persons collected to worship in common, can really correspond with the idea of melancholy. Nevertheless, it is certain, that this worship can elevate the soul, and tends to disenchant the imagination.'

And who can witness this form of presbyterian worship, which has been termed 'the undeflowered and unblemishable simplicity of the gospel,'‡ and which is the very embodiment of the republican spirit,—and then contrast it with that "false-whited lawny resemblance of the gospel, like that air-born Helena in the fables, made by the sorcery of prelates,"† without feeling that these latter, by their caps and hoods, their gowns and surplices, their belts and ornaments, their rochets and scapulaires, their crosses and pictures, their dishes and censers, their little bells and big bells, their singing-boys and singing-girls, their train-bearers and worshippers, their bowings and crossings, their risings and sitting down, their kneelings and prostrations, their paradings and genuflexions, and all the pride, pomp, and circumstance, which make up the sabbath desecration of our Romish temples, do actually, and in the experience of a large proportion of the worshippers, drive holiness out of living into lifeless things, and seduce men to the worship of the

*Villers on the Ref. p. 249.

‡Milton's Wks. vol. i. p. 143.

†Milton, *ibid.*

creature more than the creator, who is a Spirit, and to be worshipped only in spirit and in truth. Certain it is, that even Tocqueville positively affirms, of our republican form of government, that there is nothing, 'hierarchical in its constitution;'[‡] and if, as he gives reason to believe, the gradual development of the principle of equality is now the law of providence,[§] we may confidently hope either that other systems must conform to presbytery, or that presbytery will be finally triumphant.

SECTION XI.

Presbytery eminently republican in having originated and secured in this country the separation of religion from politics, and of the church from the state.

But there yet remains one most important feature in this wonderful analogy. The separation of religion from politics, and of the church from the state, are essential to the true development of both; to universal tolerance by the state of all religions in it, and of all religions by one another;—and therefore to all civil and religious liberty.* Such, as we have seen, was the original appointment of Christ, and such are the existing principles on which our church is founded.† It was to the controversies, originated by the Puritans, and carried on by those who extended their views, we owe whatever distinct separation has been made between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Previous to that time 'the clergy generally claimed their tithes by divine right.' 'In no long time after,' says bishop Warburton, in his 'Alliance,' 'the clergy, in general, gave up this claim.' 'And I think,' says he, 'the priest's *divine right* to a tenth part, and the king's *divine right* to the other nine, went out of fashion together. And thenceforward, the church and the crown agreed to claim their temporal rights from the laws of the land only.'††

Indeed, all the efforts to attain this independence can be traced, by an uninterrupted chain, to the first reformers. 'Luther,' says Villers,** 'brought the Saxon church, in what relates to its internal government, to the demoracracy of the first age, and the hierarchy to a moderate system of subordination. The

§On the Ref. p. 97.

‡Vol. i. p. 73.

**Ibid. p. 4.

*See the Church Independent of the Civil Govt., and Tocquev. vol i. pp. 339, 340.

†See above, p.

††Wks. vol. vii. p. 225.

churches which have followed Calvin, are still more democratically constituted. But the clergy no longer form a civil corporation in any of them. Some public marks of honor and deference, are the only privileges of the ministers; according to the words of their masters, they give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, by rendering unto God that which they owe him.'

The independence of the church, and its entire separation from the civil government, was clearly perceived and taught by Calvin, though the age was not prepared to act upon it. 'But he,' says Calvin,* 'who knows how to distinguish between the body and the soul, between this present transitory life, and the future eternal one, will find no difficulty in understanding, that the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and civil government, are things very different and remote from each other. It is a Jewish folly, therefore, to seek and include the kingdom of Christ under the elements of this world.'

What Calvin taught, Calvinists were the first to practice. Look at our standards, as they have been already brought to view.† How full, how forcible, how earnest are they, in the proclamation of this great truth. But these views, it may be said, are mere hypocritical pretence. On the contrary, Dr. Miller has well said, 'presbyterians in this country would rather be persecuted by the state, than be in alliance with it.' But such sentiments, it may be alleged, were forced upon our church by the revolution, and the omnipotence of public opinion. On the contrary, they were embodied in our standards before the revolution, as the free and unforced sentiments of American presbyterians, and as the exponent of those principles, which nerved their arms, when, to a man, they were found fighting under the banner of independence. But after all, it may be urged, this is only boasting, and it must be affirmed, that since, by our constitution, any other principles are rendered nugatory, their proclamation by the presbyterian church was a matter of necessity, and not of choice.' But the very contrary can be proved to be the truth. PRESBYTERIANS FORCED UPON THE STATE THE DOCTRINE OF THE ENTIRE INDEPENDENCE BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND THE CIVIL POWER. PRESBYTERIANS FIRST PROCLAIMED THIS DOCTRINE ON THESE AMERICAN SHORES. PRESBYTERIANISM WAS OPPOSED BY EPISCOPACY, IN HER EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH THIS DOCTRINE, IN VIRGINIA. AND THE UNIVERSAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS DOCTRINE THROUGHOUT THESE UNITED STATES, AND IN THE CONSTITUTION, WAS THE RESULT OF THE MOVEMENT MADE BY PRESBYTERIANS.‡

*Instit. B. iv. ch. xx. vol. ii. p. 561.

†See Presbytery, and not Prelacy, B. iii. ch. v. and vi. and Conf. of Faith, ch. xxiii. and Form of Gov. Prel. Princ.

‡The Presbyterians in Ireland opposed all establishments, in 1787. See the bishop of Cloyne on, in Lond. Christ. Obs. for 1838, p. 807.

These positions can all be sustained by evidence, which is as unimpeachable as that which attests the progress of the revolution itself; and although the whole credit of this cause has been given to Jefferson, it can be shown, that as the apostate Julian plumed himself with feathers stolen from the wing of Christianity, so did this modern apostate pride himself in doctrines taught him by that very sect, which he afterwards 'hated, with a perfect hatred.'

The Rev. Dr. Lang, of New South Wales, who visited this country a few years since, and has given the result of his observation in a very interesting volume,† examined into this subject, and has published all the original documents, as procured from the Library of the State House in Richmond. As the result of his inquiries, he states,‡ that instead of the American clergy 'having been opposed to the voluntary system, as they are supposed to have been, the fact is, that the original introduction of the voluntary system was wholly and solely the work of a numerous and influential portion of the American clergy themselves; and so far from the separation of the church and state having been carried with a high and revolutionary hand, over the influence and opposition of the sacerdotal order, through the mere political manœuvring of Mr. Jefferson, the fact is, that the legislature of Virginia, in which that important measure was originally carried, and through whose influence and example it was subsequently extended gradually over the whole union, was itself borne into it unwillingly, by the clerical pressure from without. In short, the history of the establishment of the voluntary system in America, affords one of the most remarkable instances of enlightened patriotism, and generous self-denial, to be found in the whole history of the church of Christ.

'The first body of clergy,* continues Dr. Lang, 'of any denomination in America, that openly recognized the declaration of independence, and thereby identified themselves with the cause of freedom and independence, was the presbyterian clergy of Virginia.' That body, which was then comparatively numerous and influential, constituting the large presbytery of Hanover, addressed the Virginia House of Assembly on the subject, at their first meeting after the declaration; and in the course of their memorial, after urging their own claim for entire religious freedom, recommended the establishment of the voluntary system, and the complete separation of church and state in Vir-

†Religion and Education in America, by John Dunmore Lang, D. D. Lond. 1840.

‡p. 92.

*Religion and Education in America, by John Dunmore Lang, D. D. Lond. 1840, p. 94.

ginia. In this memorial our fathers employ the following language:†

‘In this enlightened age, and in a land where all, of every denomination, are united in the most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect that our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of religious as well as civil bondage. Certain it is, that every argument for civil liberty gains additional strength when applied to liberty in the concerns of religion; and there is no argument in favor of establishing the christian religion, but may be pleaded with equal propriety, for establishing the tenets of Mahommed, by those who believe the Alcoran; or, if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the christian faith, without erecting a chain of infallibility, which would lead us back to the church of Rome.’

In the legislature, however, the policy of a general assessment for the support of religion, on such principles as would afford that support equally to all denominations, was much and earnestly discussed; and the subject was at length referred by the general assembly to the people, for the purpose of ascertaining their sentiments in regard to it. In consequence of this reference a memorial was presented to the assembly, by the presbytery of Hanover, in the year 1777. The Rev. Samuel S. Smith, and the Rev. David Rice, were the committee who framed it.*

Another memorial, equally strong, was presented by this same presbytery, in 1784,‡ expressing the uneasiness of their people, and in which they said, ‘the security of our religious rights, upon equal and impartial ground, instead of being made a fundamental part of our constitution, as it ought to have been, is left to the precarious fate of common law. A matter of general and essential concern to the people, is now committed to the hazard of the prevailing opinion of a majority of the assembly, at its different sessions. . . . We are willing to allow a full share of credit to our fellow-citizens, however distinguished in name from us, for their spirited exertions in our arduous struggle for liberty; we would not wish to charge any of them, either ministers or people, with open disaffection to the common cause of America, or with crafty dissimulation or indecision, till the issue of the war was certain, so as to oppose their obtaining equal privileges in religion; but we will resolutely engage against any monopoly of the honors and rewards of government, by any one sect of christians, more than the rest, for we shun not a comparison with any of our brethren, for our efforts

†p. 96. See this Memorial given in *ibid.*, at pp. 95-98.

*See this Memorial given in *ibid.*, at pp. 99-102.

‡See given at pp. 103-108.

in the cause of our country, and assisting to establish her liberties, and therefore esteem it unreasonable that any of them should reap superior advantages, for at most but equal merit. We expect from the representatives of a free people, that all partiality and prejudice, on any account whatever, will be laid aside, and that the happiness of the citizens at large will be secured, upon the broad basis of perfect political equality. This will engage confidence in government, and unsuspecting affection toward our fellow-citizens.'

The act, however, having been passed by the legislature, and a proposal having been made for a general assessment, the presbytery again memorialized the assembly, in October, 1784.* In this paper, which breathes the very spirit of liberty, and of what is now boasted of as American freedom, it is, among other things, said, 'we hope no attempt will be made to point out articles of faith that are not essential to the peace of the society; or to settle modes of worship; or to interfere in the internal government of religious communities, or to render the ministers of religion independent of the will of the people, whom they serve. We expect from our representatives, that careful attention to the political equality of all the citizens, which a republic ought ever to cherish; and that no scheme of an assessment will be encouraged, which will violate the happy privilege we now enjoy, of thinking for ourselves, in all cases where conscience is concerned. . . . In the present important moment, we conceived it criminal to be silent; and have, therefore, attempted to discharge a duty which we owe to our religion, as christians; to ourselves, as freemen; and to our posterity, who ought to receive from us a precious birthright of perfect freedom and political equality.'

A bill to provide for the support of religion, on the principle of such an assessment, had actually been read a second time, and was engrossed for the third reading, when the memorial was presented. In consequence of that memorial, however, the third reading of the bill was postponed, with a view 'to the further consideration of the measure.' 'This,' observes Dr. Rice, 'gave an opportunity for such an expression of public sentiment as completely decided the matter.' A petition to the legislature was drawn up by the Rev. John B. Smith, the writer of the preceding memorial, remonstrating against the principle of an assessment for the support of religion, and soliciting the establishment of complete religious liberty, and the entire separation of church and state. This petition was signed by not fewer than TEN THOUSAND VIRGINIANS; the original document and the preceding memorial, being both in existence still, in the

*See the Memorial, in *ibid*, at pp. 110-115.

handwriting of Mr. Smith, in the office of the clerk of the House of Delegates of Virginia.

A convention of the presbyterian church in Virginia was also held, at which time, among other proceedings, another memorial was adopted, to be presented to the general assembly, or house of delegates, at its next meeting. It was given in charge for that purpose, to the Rev. John B. Smith, one of the ablest ministers of the American presbyterian church at the time, who not only presented it in person, but was heard in support of it, for *three successive days*, at the bar of the house.*

The result of this long-continued agitation, on the part of the presbyterian clergy of Virginia, was, that the bill for the support of religion, by means of a general assessment, from which that body of clergy would have derived precisely the same pecuniary advantages as their episcopal brethren, was thrown out in the house of assembly, after it had passed the second reading, and been engrossed for the third. And, as all the acts of the British parliament, as well as all the enactments of the old colonial legislature, establishing the episcopal church in Virginia had, in the mean time, been repealed, the voluntary system became, thenceforward, the law of the land.

At the period in question, Virginia was the leading state of the south, if not of the whole Union. Its proceedings were carefully watched, and its example generally followed, by the smaller adjoining states of Maryland and Delaware on the one hand, and by the Carolinas and Georgia on the other. When, therefore, the new system, of leaving religion entirely to itself, had been duly tested, and found to work well in Virginia, it was successively adopted by each of these states. And so general had the feeling in favor of that system become, almost immediately after its introduction, that when the Federal government was constituted, in the year 1789, one of the fundamental stipulations of its constitution was, that it should never have the power to erect an established church in the United States.

'I have already observed,' says Dr. Lang, 'that in the little Baptist state of Rhode Island, as well as in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, there had been no church establishment from the first. But these communities had had comparatively no influence in this particular, on the neighboring states. It was the struggle with powerful and opposing influences, for the establishment of a great moral principle in Virginia, that attracted general attention throughout the Union; it was the successful operation of that principle, when actually established, that carried conviction, and insured its universal adoption. It was long after the war of independence, and only in conse-

*See given in *ibid*, at pp. 118-122.

quence of a series of hard struggles on the part of other communions, that the example of Virginia, in establishing the voluntary system, was acted upon in Massachusetts, and the old congregational establishment of that state entirely overthrown. And it is only ten years ago, or in the year 1830, after the voluntary system had been in operation for half a century in Virginia, and in most of the other states of the Union, that it was at length fully established in Massachusetts, and an *entire* separation effected, throughout the Union, between church and state.*

It is a fact also worthy of consideration,† that when the assembly which framed the Cambridge platform, in 1660, adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith, they made no exception of those clauses which relate to the power of civil magistrates in matters of religion, while they did except those parts 'which have respect unto church government and discipline.' Whereas, our synod, in adopting the same formula in 1729, made no objection to what related to church government; while they objected to what referred to the power of civil magistrates.

Such are the facts in the case—facts, clear and indubitable, as any other facts in our whole history. They put to silence the slanderous imputations of our foes. They demonstrate the innate, hearty, and resolute republicanism of presbytery. And they prove beyond contradiction, that the analogy which we have now traced between every essential principle of republicanism and the principles of presbyterianism, is not imaginary or fortuitous, but founded in the very nature of things.‡

To conclude. The constitution of the presbyterian church, observes the late Dr. Rice, of Virginia, 'is fundamentally and decidedly republican; and it is in a very happy measure adapted to that particular modification of republican institutions, which prevails in the United States. This is too plain to require demonstration; the slightest attention being sufficient to convince any one that our ecclesiastical constitution establishes in the church a representative government. Hence, the more decidedly a man is a presbyterian, the more decidedly is he a republican. So much is this the case, that some christians of this society, fully believing that presbytery is *de jure divino*, consider this as decisive evidence that republicanism is of divine institution; and are persuaded that they should grievously sin against God by acknowledging any other form of civil government.§

*Bib. Repertory, July, 1840, p. 334.

†Such is the judgment of Dr. Lang, himself, a European. *Relig. in America*, p. 308.

‡Dr. Lang, pp. 308, 309.

§Illustrations of the Char. and Conduct of the Presb. Ch. in Va. by John Holt Rice, D. D.

CHAPTER III.

THE REPUBLICANISM OF PRESBYTERY ATTESTED BY HISTORY.

SECTION I.

The analogy which has been proved to exist, between republicanism and presbytery, may be fully attested, and therefore strengthened, by an appeal to history, as embodying the opinions of men in different ages, concerning presbytery, and its actual working as a system.

For the first three hundred years, the christian church was essentially prebyterian, and as certainly republican in its form of government. The original form in which christianity existed in Ireland and in Scotland, was, as has been fully established, presbyterian.* Nothing could be more perfectly analogous in all fundamental principles, than the system of the ancient Culdees—the primitive christians of Ireland, of Scotland, and ultimately of England also—and presbyterianism. Now among the charges made against the Culdees, by their inveterate enemies, the Romanists, were these, 'their exclusive devotedness to the authority of scripture, their rejection of the Romish ceremonies, doctrines, and traditions, the nakedness of their forms of worship, and THE REPUBLICAN CHARACTER OF THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT.'†

SECTION II.

*The form of government among the Waldenses, who have always been thorough presbyterians,** was as purely republican.*

We have also noticed the existence, during succeeding centuries, of various individuals and bodies, who advocated the doctrines of presbytery, and who raised their loud protest against the encroachments of spiritual and civil despotism.

*See the proof of this, in the author's *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Primitive and Scriptural Polity*. B. iii. ch. ii. § 8-10.

†*Pictorial Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 245. B. ii. ch. ii.

**See *Presbytery and not Prelacy, &c. as above*. B. iii. ch. iii. § 5.

Among these, one of the most remarkable was Arnold, of Brescia, who, in the twelfth century, stood forth as a most daring opponent of clerical ambition, and of all oppression. Arnold commenced his stormy career, as a preacher, in the streets of Brescia. The kingdom of Christ† he ventured to describe as not of this world; secular honors and possessions, he also dared to maintain, could justly belong only to the laity. On the total relinquishment of such anti-christian appendages, by every gradation of ecclesiastics, he loudly insisted as being the claim of the gospel, and as essential to their salvation, even to that of their accredited head. His followers at length fixed upon the desperate resolve, to unfurl the standard of revolt in the very city of Rome. 'Familiar alike,' says Dr. Vaughan,‡ 'with the civil and religious history of Rome, Arnold dwelt with a commanding eloquence on the exploits of the Bruti, the Gracchi, and the Scipio's, and on the saintly character of the martyrs who had perished in the cause of her ancient and her better christianity. With a glow of patriotism, and we must presume of piety too, he urged the restoration of the forgotten laws of the republic, and required, as a measure strictly essential to produce a return of the purity and the triumphs of religion, that all authority in the pontiffs and the clergy should be limited to the spiritual government of the christian commonwealth.' 'In Rome, for nearly ten years, the influence of the monk of Brescia presided, while several contemporary pontiffs trembled within its walls, sunk beneath the cares of their tottering empire, or resorted as exiles to the adjacent cities. It was long, however, since the voice of freedom had echoed among the seven hills; and her authority, in the present instance, was precarious, and of short duration.'*

Pope Adrian accused Arnold to the emperor, when he labored to show that the heresy of Arnold was not less hostile to political, than to ecclesiastical government. It is unnecessary to add, that he was soon commended to the tender mercies of the fagot, having perished at the stake in 1155. His influence, however, did not die with him. For, being driven in his exile to Zurich, he is presumed to have left the seeds of his doctrine to vegetate there, until, in the age of Zuinglius, it sprung up in the harvest of the reformation.

Wickliffe was, we have seen,§ the reviver of presbyterian principles in England;—and was he not, also, the great champion of civil and religious liberty? 'In English history,** Wickliffe is known as the first man who dared to advocate the

†Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe, vol. i. p. 139.

‡Ibid, p. 140.

*Vaughan's Life of Wickliffe, vol. i. p. 140.

§Presbytery and not Prelacy the Script. and Primit. Polity. B. iii.

**Vaughan, ibid, p. 8.

free circulation of the scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the unalienable right of private judgment, and our complete deliverance from the wiles and oppressions of a papal priesthood.' 'And to his mind nearly every principle of our general protestantism may be distinctly traced.' This will be manifest to any one who will investigate the doctrines of Wickliffe, respecting the pope's temporal power; the secular exemptions of the clergy; the limits to the authority of the magistrate; the customs of patronage; tithes and ecclesiastical endowments; and other similar matters.* The Lollards, who were the followers of Wickliffe, adopted his principles, and by their opposition to the usurpations and tyranny of both church and state, paved the way for the English reformation; and for the present liberties of the English nation.

The principles of Wickliffe were also adopted† by Huss, who undauntedly declaimed against the clergy, the cardinals, the pope himself, and against all despotism, whether in church or state. He therefore taught,‡ that a 'prelate is no prelate, while he is in mortal sin; that a bishop is no bishop, while he is in mortal sin; and that if temporal lords do wrongs and extortions to the people, they ben traytors to God and his people, and tyrants of antichrist.' And Huss corroborated this opinion, by showing that it was held by St. Austin. For these labors, Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome, of Prague, have been immortalized by Dryden. Of 'this great triumvirate,' he gives, as their common characteristics, an 'innate antipathy to kings.'§ It thus appears, that as the love of liberty has been ever considered the peculiarity of the Teutonic race,|| so has this spirit unfolded itself in a uniform resistance to spiritual as well as civil despotism.

*See Vaughan's Life, vol. ii. ch. viii. p. 226, &c.

†See Prelacy and not Presbytery, &c. as above. B. iii.

‡Middleton's Evang. Biog. vol. i. p. 36.

§Poet. Works, (Hind & Panther,) vol. ii. p. 24.

||Mackintosh's Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 10.

SECTION III.

The republicanism of presbytery fully developed by the reformation.

The reformation was an outburst of liberty against the priest-craft of Rome, and the civil bondage it had engendered.* It was a general emancipation of the human mind. The lightning spirit of liberty, which had been pent up for ages, now rent the heavens, renewed the face of society, and restored vitality to every department of human knowledge. It shook, as has been said, the seven hills; it broke the yoke of antichrist; it shivered the sword of the oppressor; it smote the shrine of superstition; it rent the garments from the shoulders of the Roman harlot; it awoke the consciences of men; it fixed a proper value upon man's soul; it enlightened Europe; it made error and ignorance a scandal and a curse.† It unclasped the long-closed volume of divine inspiration. It thus put into every man's hand the standard of truth, and the touchstone of error. It made men once more hear the voice of God, and learn his truth directly from his own lips; not distorted, transmuted, concealed, falsified, by popes, priests, breviaries, or missals; nor wrapped up in a foreign tongue, as if to muffle or silence the voice of heaven! It set free the fettered ministry which Christ had ordained in his church. It unloosed their bonds; and while stripping them of their idle trappings, and degrading them from the false exaltation which they had occupied, it elevated them to their true dignity and office, as ambassadors for Christ, and heralds of the great salvation. It taught men to disown them as priests, sacrificers, incense-burners, forgivers of sins, mediators; but it called on men to listen with most earnest and reverent heed to them, as witnesses of the one glorious high priest—proclaimers of the one perfect sacrifice.' It has also restored man's true responsibility to God, and with it man's true dignity and worth, both in his own eyes, and in the eyes of his fellow-men. The object of popery was, to supplant personal, by clerical or rather ecclesiastical responsibility,

*Speaking of Luther's appearance in the Hall of the Diet at Worms, Carlyle (Lect. on Heroes, p. 218, Eng. ed.) says, 'The people on the morrow, as he went up to the hall of the diet, crowded the windows and housetops, some of them calling out to him, in solemn words, not to recant. 'Whosoever denieth me before men!' they cried to him,—as in a kind of solemn petition and adjuration. Was it not in reality, our petition too, the petition of the whole world, lying in dark bondage of soul, paralysed under a black spectral night-mare, and tripple-hatted chimera, calling itself Father in God, and what not.' 'Free us; it rests with thee; desert us not!' 'Luther did not desert us.'

†See Presb. Rev. 1842, p. 33, and Brooke's Hist. of Rel. Lib. vol. i. pp. 208, 210, 211.

and thereby it exalted itself, and its priests, to a superhuman lordship over men's souls, and drew to itself a power, which it wielded, with merciless cruelty, over its blinded votaries, thus brought within its grasp, and laid entirely at its mercy.

The gospel was thus brought, in all its original simplicity and glorious liberty, into contact with the minds and hearts of men. But 'christianity,' to use the words of Warburton,* 'naturally inspires the love, both of civil and religious liberty; it raises the desire of being governed by *laws* of our own making, and by the *conscience* which is of God's own giving. Either the foul spirit of tyranny will defile the purity of religion, and introduce the blind submission of the understanding, and slavish compliance of the will in the church; or else the spirit of the Lord will overturn the usurpation of an unjust, despotic power, and bring into the state, as well as the church, a free and reasonable service.'

So it was at the era of the reformation. Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were so united in their principles and administration, that when the mind was emancipated from the bondage of the latter, it was at the same time prepared to resist the former, and to reject, as absurd, the long-established doctrines, of the divine right of kings to rule independently of their people, and of passive obedience and non-resistance to their will. The civil powers had become completely subjugated to the ecclesiastical. 'Moreover,' says Luther, 'the pope and clergy were all in all, over all and every thing, like God himself in the world; and the civil authority was in darkness, oppressed, and misunderstood.' When, therefore, the people, to whom the reformers every where appealed, were led to investigate the grounds of this ecclesiastical tyranny, they were also led to inquire into the first authority by which kings were made. They were thus necessarily brought to see the true rights of the people, and the dependence of all magistrates upon *their* sovereign authority, and the power delegated by them.† And it is, in fact, to the religious spirit excited during the sixteenth century, which spread rapidly through Europe, and diffused itself among all classes of men, that we are chiefly indebted for the propagation of the genuine principles of rational liberty, and the consequent amelioration of government. In effecting that memorable revolution, by their instructions and exhortations, the teachers of protestant doctrine roused the people to consider their rights, and exert their power; they stimulated timid and wary politicians; they encouraged and animated princes, nobles, and confederated states, with their armies, against the most formidable opposition, and under the

*In Brooke's Hist. of Relig. Lib. vol. i. p. 181.

†See Villers on Ref. pp. 108, 109, 110, 183.

most overyhelming difficulties, until their exertions were ultimately crowned with success.†

Royalty, wherever it existed, stood in the way of the reformation of the church, and hence the blows aimed at the abuses of the church, necessarily passed through the sides of regal power, and led men to seek that form of government, by which such obstructions to civil and religious liberty would be removed.* Hence those works to which it gave birth, and which are, to this day, the text-books of freedom.** Hence, also, those secret societies, which were every where established, and of which 'the principles of equality and fraternity between the members,' were essential elements.‡

Those states, therefore, which possessed a republican form of government, were the first to raise the standard of revolt; the most bold in challenging the authority of the papacy; and the least corrupted by its superstitious rites and ceremonies.§ The Swiss republics first came forward, by their patriotic devotion, to teach men their rights, and to encourage modern Europe to believe what is related of the courage of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, and of their virtues in Laconia.†† It may

†McCrie's Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

*It has been a standing subject of railing accusation against the reformers, that they abetted the doctrine of defensive arms, &c. See authorities in Jameson's Cyp. Isot. pp. 211, 212.

**'Luther,' says Villers, (on the Reformation, p. 220, &c.) 'wrote his Treatise of the Civil Magistrate, his Appeal to the German Nobility, &c. Melancthon, Zuingle, John Stourm, and other reformers, discussed similar subjects, and brought them within the reach of the less informed. Buchanan published his famous and bold libel, De Jure Regni, in Scotland; while on the continent, Hubert Languet wrote his Vindiciæ contra tyrannos, and Elienne de la Bæti, his Discours sur la servitude volontaire. Milton, who labored to defend the long parliament of England, and to justify the punishment of Charles I, to the human race; composed several political books, which breathed the most ardent republicanism, and among others, his *Defence of the People of England*, against *Laumaise*.'

'It was reserved for the immortal *Grotius*, to carry light into the midst of darkness, to class and arrange the principles, and to offer to Europe the first book in which the rights and duties of men in society were laid down with energy, precision, and wisdom.'

'After *Grotius*, I shall speak of his rival *Selden*, of his commentator *Baecler*, of *Puffendorf*, who published a *Law of Nature*, superior, perhaps, to the *Law of Peace*, of *Barbeyrac*, the able translator, and *Aristarchus*, of these two works. *Hobbes*, however, in England, supporting another system, was not less useful to the science, both by the truths which he published, and by the refutations which he provoked against him. *Algernon Sydney* followed the opposite principles to those of *Hobbes*, in his *Treatise on Government*, and died a martyr to his attachment to the cause of the people.'

‡Villers on the Ref. p. 264.

§Ibid, p. 46.

††Villers on the Reformation, p. 42.

also be affirmed, that the spirit of the reformation† led to the establishment of the republican form of government, in countries where it had never before existed, and that to it, as the remote cause, is the American revolution to be itself attributed.‡ ‘The most accurate observers,’ says Villers,§ ‘have noticed, that nature has particularly fitted the people of the north to be republican; and it cannot be denied, that several of those who have embraced the reformation, have always been actuated by this spirit, as, for example, the Saxons, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the English; it may even be said, that the reformation itself was only a positive application of it. This shock, in its turn, awakened all the energy, and the accessory ideas of it. The will to be free, in matters of conscience, is at the bottom the same as the will to be free in civil matters. Now this will can accomplish all that is required; so there are no slaves, but those who wish to be so, or who have not the strength of will to put an end to it. The energy of men’s minds at length constitutes true liberty, as their effeminacy makes tyranny necessary. The calm and sober sentiment of the high dignity of man, is the only solid foundation of true republicanism; it is by it alone, that equality of rights, and reciprocity of duties, are established. Christianity, in the purity of its essence, inspires this sentiment, for which reason, it is very common and general, in the evangelical countries.’

Thus it was in the low countries. At the time of the reformation, they were subject to Spain. But the spirit of the reformation had introduced its ally, the spirit of liberty, among them. The United Provinces threw off the yoke of Philip II, with courage; and founded, in their morasses, a confederation very nearly resembling that which had been formed on the mountains of Helvetia.*

Still more wonderful was the republican influence of the reformation, as exhibited in Geneva. Geneva, as has been said, was little known before the reformation of the sixteenth century. Subjected alternately by bishops and counts, who disputed the dominion; divided into parties, according to the passions and interests of the moment, this city exerted no influence

†‘Now the protestant reformation,’ says Bancroft, (Hist. of United States, vol. ii. p. 456, et seq. and p. 459,) ‘considered in its largest influence on politics, was the common people awakening to freedom of mind.’ Not unimportant in this bearing, is the testimony of Gibbon, who says, (Decl. and Fall, vol. ii. p. 332, note, 8vo ed.) ‘after we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers.’

‡See *ibid.*, p. 113, and Carlyle’s *Lect. on Heroes*, p. 219, Eng. ed.

§*Ibid.*, p. 106.

*Villers, p. 71, and more fully at p. 136, &c. The present republican constitution of Hamburg, and the other free cities of Europe, originated in the principles of the Reformation. Baird’s *Visit to Northern Europe*, vol. i. p. 82-93.

abroad. To protestantism, and to Calvin, she owes her celebrity and greatness. Calvin was not only a theologian of the first order; he was also a politician of astonishing sagacity, and Montesquieu had reason to say, that Geneva ought to celebrate, with gratitude, the day when Calvin came within her walls.† Morals then became pure; the laws of the state underwent a thorough change, and the organization of the church was based upon the soundest principles. Geneva received the reformed doctrines from Zuingle. Now while Luther had restored to the people their Bible, Zuingle restored to them their rights. Its popular aspect was the characteristic of the reformation in Switzerland. And hence the very first fruit of the reform, as thus given to Geneva, was its liberty.‡ It expelled its prince bishop, and afterwards governed itself for almost three centuries.* When the duke of Savoy required them to take back their bishop, and restore popery; the council replied, 'that they were resolved to sacrifice their property, their distinctions, their very children, and their own lives, for the word of God; and that they would rather, with their own hands, set fire to the four corners of the city, than part with so precious and sacred a treasure for themselves, and their families.'§

Now for the cultivation of this spirit, the Genevans were indebted to Calvin, who entirely concurred with Zuingle in placing power in the hands of the people, and in his love for republicanism. Calvin openly avowed his republican views. 'Indeed,' says he,** 'if these three forms of government, which are stated by philosophers, be considered in themselves, I shall by no means deny, that either aristocracy, or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, far excels all others; and that, indeed, not of itself, but because it very rarely happens, that kings regulate themselves, so that their will is never at variance with justice and rectitude; or in the next place, that they are endued with such penetration and prudence, as in all cases to discover what is best. The vice or imperfection of men, therefore, ren-

†D'Aubigne's Hist. of the Ref. vol. iii. p. 320. 'The maintenance of sound doctrine was intrusted to the people, and recent events have shown, that the people can discharge the trust, better than priests or pontiffs.'

‡Villers on the Ref. p. 133. 'The era of its reformation, was that also of the establishment of its liberty.' Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. iii. p. 256.

*The effects of Calvin's republicanism 'after the lapse of ages, are still visible in the industry and intellectual tone of Geneva.' 'The effects of the reformation,' continues the author of History of Switzerland, Lond. 1832, p. 227, 'made themselves manifest in all the relations of public and private life; general attention was directed to the internal wants and welfare of the country; and the rising generation acquired a taste for the arts of peace and for the sciences, by which the mind is most enlarged and elevated. The study of the ancients, and of history, had been revived by theological inquirers.'

§Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. iii. p. 288.

**Instit. B. iv. c. 20, § 8, vol. ii. pp. 566, 567.

ders it safer, and more tolerable, for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance, and admonition, and that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors, and masters, to restrain his ambition. This has always been proved by experience, and the Lord confirmed it by his authority, when he established a government of this kind among the people of Israel, with a view to preserve them in the most desirable condition, till he exhibited, in David, a type of Christ. And as I readily acknowledge, that no kind of government is more happy than this, where liberty is regulated with becoming moderation, and properly established on a durable basis, so also I consider those as the most happy people, who are permitted to enjoy such a condition; and if they exert their strenuous and constant efforts for its preservation, I admit, that they act in perfect consistence with their duty.'

'Calvin,' says bishop Horsley,* 'was unquestionably, in theory, a republican; he freely declares his opinion, that the republican form, or an aristocracy reduced nearly to the level of a republic, was of all the best calculated, in general, to answer the ends of government. So wedded indeed, was he to this notion, that, in disregard of an apostolic institution, and the example of the primitive ages, he endeavored to fashion the government of all the protestant churches upon republican principles; and his persevering zeal in that attempt, though in this country, through the mercy of God it failed, was followed, upon the whole, with a wide and mischievous success. But in civil politics, though a republican in theory, he was no leveller.'

The influence of this small Genevan democracy, replete with knowledge, patriotism, and activity, particularly on France, England, and 'Russia was,' says Mr. Villers, 'incalculable.†' It was to Geneva, that all the proscribed exiles, who were driven from England by the intolerance of Mary, 'came to get intoxicated with republicanism,' and from this focus they brought back with them, on their return from exile, those principles of republicanism, which annoyed Elizabeth, perplexed and resisted James, and brought Charles to the deserved death of a traitor.‡

No small part of the enmity of many European monarchs to the reformation, originated in their fear of its republican tendencies. There existed on the continent of Europe a general suspicion, that protestantism was hostile to the existing forms

*Sermons, p. 553, App. to Sermon 44.

†Villers on the Ref. pp. 123, 134. Sir Egerton Brydges, in his life of Milton, p. 78, says, 'they were not content with forming a republican government for their own petty canton, but struggled to turn all the great monarchies into republics.'

‡See Villers on the Ref. and Taylor's Hist. Biog. of the age of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 13.

of civil government, which seemed to derive confirmation from the events which took place in Scotland, Bohemia, the Netherlands, and England, successively. This suspicion, the popes industriously fostered, and made abundant use of it in France, Bavaria, and Austria, where the civil power co-operated with them, influenced, as Ranke considers, by a feeling that its own security was endangered by the principles of the reformation. 'It is asserted,' says M. Villers,† 'that, at first, Francis I, appeared very favorable to the doctrine of the reformers of the church. His beloved sister, Margaret, queen of Navarre, protected it publicly. At that instant, the fate of the kingdom depended on the party which he should embrace. If he had adopted the reform, all France would have followed his example; the fate of protestantism in Europe would have been sooner decided; the civil wars in France would doubtless not have taken place, nor would the revolution of the eighteenth century. Every thing assumed a contrary aspect, because the prince conceived lively apprehensions of the political consequences of the reformation. Brantome relates, that one day, in a conversation on this subject, the king accidentally said, 'that this novelty tended principally to the overthrow of monarchy, both human and divine.' Thus it was, that, as it developed itself, the reformation armed the French monarchy against it. As it spread over the provinces of the south, it afforded a new principle for the basis of liberty, and it was joined speedily by malcontent nobles. In fact, in France, the Huguenot body soon made pretensions equivalent to a partition of the monarchy, and the contest was purely a civil one. As for orthodoxy, the French court seems never to have cared many straws about it.

It cannot be doubted, that the sovereigns were made thoughtful at an early period, by the democratic tendency of institutions, which vested the government of churches in the body of christians. Early popular commotions in Germany, must have forced this on their attention. The emperor Charles was moved, through almost his whole life, by mere reasons of temporary policy. In the opening of his reign, he apprehended war with Francis I, of France; hence he tried to gain over the pope, by pretending to call Luther to account. Afterwards, when war had broken out between him and Clement VII, it is not wonderful that an emperor who could keep the pope prisoner, and order prayers to be publicly offered for his deliverance, should connive at the spread of the reformed principles. But when Charles found his reputation in all Europe to be endangered by his hypocritical profaneness, and it seemed to be his interest to conciliate the pope; then he assumed a show of orthodoxy, and declared his determination to suppress the

†Ibid, pp. 112, 113, and 179.

new opinions. His haughty behaviour towards independent princes, (for such the German electors were,) led to the celebrated league of Smalkalde, in which those princes guaranteed to defend their honor, station, and liberty of conscience, against his unconstitutional and unjust encroachments. *But this was the crisis which decided the house of Austria, for ever after, to become the inveterate foes of protestantism.* The league proved so powerful as to frighten and humble the emperor; who could then be satisfied with nothing, but to trample out every spark of the religion which had originated this formidable union.* Now to this confederation, we owe our present civil and religious liberties. If, as has been strikingly remarked, Germany had been a monarchy, strictly so called, the arbitrary will of the sovereign might have crushed the reformation. On the other hand, had it been a democracy, the cause would have been equally destroyed by the precipitation of the people. But inasmuch as it was a republican confederation, the cause of the reformation was equally protected against the hindrances of power, and the anarchy of a democratic populace.†

And hence, as the Roman catholic party every where fought for the royal authority against rebellious subjects, and the protestants fought in support of these same rebels, and for the foundation of a republic, it has been since received as an avowed and fundamental maxim of state, that catholicism is the best support of absolute power, while protestantism favored rebellion and a republican spirit. Nor is this maxim even at the present day relinquished by many statesmen.'

The spirit of the reformation had found its way, by some secret and mysterious process, to Scotland, and enkindled a flame of liberty in the enthusiastic bosom of John Knox, its illustrious reformer. His studies introduced him‡ to an acquaintance with the maxims and modes of government in the free states of antiquity; and it is reasonable to suppose, that his intercourse with the republics of Switzerland and Geneva had some influence on his political creed. Dr. McCrie admits, that his admiration of the polity of republics, was great, though not so indiscriminate 'as to prevent him from separating the essential principles of equity and freedom which they contained, from others which were incompatible with monarchy.'§ He adds, however, that 'at this time, more just and enlarged sentiments were diffused through the nation, and the idea of a commonwealth, including the mass of the people, as well as the

*Eclectic Review of Ranke's Popes, p. 299.

†D'Aubigne's Hist. of the Ref. vol. i. pp. 83, 85, 90, Eng. ed.

‡McCrie in *ibid.* p. 303.

§*Ibid.* p. 304. At p. 463, he shows from Knox Hist. pp. 363, 366, that in his sentiments Knox had the express approbation of the principal divines of the foreign churches. See also vol. ii. p. 260.

privileged orders, began to be entertained.'† 'This that Knox did for this nation,' says his illustrious countryman Carlyle,‡ 'we may really call a resurrection as from death. The people began to *live*; they needed, first of all, to do that at what cost, and costs soever. Scotch literature and thought, Scotch industry, James Watt, David Hume, Walter Scott, Robert Burns; I find Knox and the reformation, acting in the heart's core of every one of these persons, and phenomena; I find that without the reformation, they would not have been. Or what of Scotland? The puritanism of Scotland became that of England, of New England. A tumult in the high church of Edinburgh, spread into a universal battle and struggle over all these realms; there came out, after fifty years struggling, what we call the *glorious revolution*, a *habeas corpus* act, free parliaments, and much else! He is the one Scotchman, to whom, of all others, his country and the world owe a debt. He has to plead that Scotland would forgive him for having been worth to it any million 'unblamable' Scotchmen, that need no forgiveness! He bared his breast to the battle; had to row in French galleys; wander forlorn, in exile, in clouds and storms; was censured, shot at through his windows; had a right sore fighting life; if this world were his place of recompense, he had made but a bad venture of it. I cannot apologize for Knox. To him it is very indifferent, these two hundred and fifty years or more, what men say of him. But we, having got above all those details of his battle, and living now in clearness on the fruits of his victory, we, for our own sake, ought to look through the rumors and controversies enveloping the man, into the man himself.'

Buchanan's favorite and famous treatise, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' published in 1579, had much influence in diffusing free and liberal views as to the origin and limits of kingly power. Buchanan's views may be further ascertained from the fact of his having whipped king James when a boy for not obeying him, and from his declaration, made when on his death-bed, and when it was told him that the king was greatly incensed at his writing the work mentioned, and his History, 'I am not much concerned about that,' said he, 'for I am shortly going to a place where there are few kings.'* These views were extended by the celebrated Melville in his lectures. 'In

†Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 305. A party were still favorable to a republic, as late as 1638. See Dr. Aiton's Life and Times of Alex. Henderson, p. 228. See also p. 524.

‡Lect. on Heroes, p. 235.

*Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vol. vii. pp. 231, 232. Dryden engages to prove from Buchanan and Calvin, that they set the people above the magistrate. (Poet. Wks. vol. i. p. 347. Pref. to the Medal.) 'Buchanan's Treatise,' says Edward Irving, (Confessions of Faith, Lond. 1831, Pref. p. cxxx, and cxxxi,) and Knox's 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous

an age,' says Dr. McCrie,† 'when the principles of liberty were but partially diffused, and under an administration fast tending to despotism, there was, at least, one man holding an important public situation, who dared to avow such principles, and who embraced an opportunity of imparting to his pupils those liberal views of civil government, by which the presbyterian ministers were long distinguished, and by which all the efforts of a servile band of prelates, in concert with an arbitrary court, and a selfish nobility, were afterwards unable to extinguish or suppress.'

Welwood, the friend of Melville, and professor of laws, was accused of inculcating similar sentiments. So that king James abolished the professorship, declaring 'that the profession of laws is noways necessary at this time;*' a truth which no one will ever dispute, seeing that the king had determined that his will was law.§ King James has given the true reason of the obnoxiousness of the presbyterian government to all kings in his 'True Law of Free Monarchies.' 'A free monarch,‡ he says, 'that is, one who is free from all restraints or control, can make statutes as he thinks meet, without asking the advice of parliaments or states, and can suspend parliamentary laws, for reasons known to himself only.' The writings of Calvin, Buchanan, and Ponet, he calls, therefore, 'apologies for rebellions and treasons.' In his *Basilikon Doron* he was more explicit. He here taught‡ that it belongs to the king to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases, deserve to be capitally punished; that no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent; that no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan; that parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion; that puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil govern-

ment of Women,' 'contain essentially upon the subject of obedience to the powers that be, that which hath wrought like a leaven in the church and realm of Scotland, and may exhibit that country as the most formidable seat of radicalism and rebellion in the world.' Again speaking of their doctrine of opposition to kings, he says 'which is to make the definition and dignity of the royal office to be, not of divine ordination, but of human agreement; and to bring in the doctrine of the social compact, and the rights of the people, whose natural fruit is revolution, and destruction of all social relations whatever.'

†Life of Melville, vol. ii, pp. 115, 116.

*Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 120.

§These principles were afterward developed by Rutherford, in his 'Lex Rex,' in 1644, and by Guthrie in his 'The Causes of God's Wrath,' which were called in and burned in Edinburgh by the common hangman. (Hist. of Westminster Assembly, p. 363.) Also in the Apologetical Relation; Naphtali; (1680;) Jus Populi, by Mr. James Stewart of Goodtrees; Hist. of the Indulgence; Banders Disbanded; Rectius Instruendum; and Shield's Hind Let Loose, and the Mystery of the Magistracy Unveiled.

‡Life of Melville, vol. ii, p. 159. §Ibid, p. 162.

ment as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the king because he was a king; that the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land; in fine, that parity in the church should be banished, episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops, rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing episcopacy.*

Hence, the political principles of the papists were agreeable to James; and the chiefs of that party paid assiduous court to him, by flattering his love of power, and inveighing against the levelling doctrines, and republican spirit, of the reforming ministers. And hence the envenomed hatred manifested by James to the immortal Melville, the pride and ornament of his country, and the moral hero of his age. 'Sir,' said Melville to the king, on one occasion, when, having taken him by the sleeve in his fervor, and called him 'God's silly vassal,' he proceeded to address him in the following strain, perhaps the most singular in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject who would have spilt his blood in defence of the person and honor of his prince. † 'We will always humbly reverence your majesty in public, but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since ye are brought in extreme danger, both of your life and crown, and along with you the country and church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings, and two kingdoms in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus, the king of the church, whose subject king James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Those whom Christ has called, and commanded to watch over his church, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient power and authority from him to do this, both jointly and severally, the which, no christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist; otherwise, they are not faithful subjects of Christ, and members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience; but again I say, you are not the head of the church;

*McCrie's Life of Melville, ii. 37.

†Ibid, p. 66. See the whole speech. See also similar ones in vol. i. pp. 171, 196, and vol. ii. pp. 244, 145. See also the declaration of the supreme power of the people, made by Alexander Henderson, in his second answer to the king. Life and Times, by Dr. Aiton, p. 644.

you cannot give us that eternal life, which even in this world we seek for, and you cannot deprive us of it.'

We need not add, that among the charges alleged against Melville, one was, that he wished to 'overturn episcopacy, and to establish upon its ruins the ecclesiastical republicanism of Geneva.'*

Does any one ask why the church of Scotland became so impregnated with republican principles, the answer is found in the very nature of her reform. In her case, as in Germany, the order was essentially the reverse of what took place in England. 'The reform in England,'† says a high-toned prelatist, 'was a monarchic movement.'§ In Scotland, on the other hand, the whole movement was effected by the people, against the influence and wishes of the monarch.†† Knox and his coadjutors, men of the people, obscure in station and limited in resources, threw down the gauntlet at the foot of the throne. They made their appeal to the people. They addressed themselves to the understanding of the people, and in their own language, and threw themselves upon their bravery. Nor were they disappointed. Their burning thoughts, and heartfelt truths, once received into the bosom of society, sent forth a tide of life through every vein and artery. The reformation in Scotland was essentially republican, that is, it originated and was carried through by the people, in opposition to the nobility and the monarch. The polity of the church received, therefore, the impress of the mould in which it was cast, and has ever been characterized by a popular, representative, and republican spirit. It has, in fact, always been the reproach of the presbyterian church, that she is too popular.‡

At the reformation, the ecclesiastical supremacy was found lodged in the hands of the pope, that is, the government of the church was an absolute monarchy. There were, therefore, but three courses open to the reformers. They could transfer this supremacy to the state; to a council of bishops; or to the church, represented by its ministers and elders in ecclesiastical courts. Now England chose the first of these alternatives, and Scotland the last. The king, or the state, had nothing to do with the church of Scotland in its formation. They may be said rather to have been its persecutors, down to the period of

*Life of Melville, p. 67.

†Milne on the Difference between the Presb. Estab. and the Episc. Ch. of Scotland, Aberdeen, 1841. In Dr. McCrie's Writings, pp. 171, 175.

§Dr. Taylor's Hist. Biog. of the age of Elizabeth, vol. ii. pp. 57, 58.

††See the Edinb. Rev. for 1836, Oct. p. 51. Presb. Rev. July, 1842, p. 236. See also Dr. Hodge's Constitutional Hist. of the Presb. Ch. part i. p. 58-60, where the point is well illustrated from their standards.

‡See Lectures on the Headship of Christ, pp. 45, 46, 52, 53.

its public recognition.* All was done by the people, and by spiritual authority alone. Taking the Bible as their guide, and its charter as their warrant, they constituted themselves into a regular church, administered ordinances, and drew up that plan of discipline, which they believed to be most accordant to the word of God, most consonant to the practice of the truly primitive church, best adapted to guard against spiritual despotism, and most likely to advance the cause of Christ. Every feature of the polity of the Scotch church, in its general outlines, was, therefore, republican. Her schools were 'little republics,' † and even the superintendents, out of which prelatical ingenuity has endeavored to torture some resemblance to prelates, were appointed on 'democratical principles.' ‡ A portion of the Scottish people have always been ready, even under their monarchy, to avow their republican predilections. 'The remains of the school of Melville, led on by Mr. William Scott, and Mr. John Carmichael, were favorable to a republic, and opposed to every phantom of episcopacy, in all its modifications. § In asserting the internal and independent authority of the church, it was contended, || that the king, 'has no power to prohibit one called by the church, which in every point possesses, as a perfect republic, this spiritual intrinsic power.' The royalists regarded** 'the sacred person of the king as the only impediment to the republican liberty and confusion, which the covenanters have designed themselves.' The strength of this party, is further described by Dr. Aiton, when speaking of the puritans, he says,** 'this sect were of themselves, at first, few in number, and would not have made a figure in England so soon, had they not been nursed into strength by a party in Scotland, whose authority had become supreme. Henderson and his friends were attached to the monarchy, and wished merely to secure their own church against persecution. These were devoted to their faith, with self-abasement, penitence, and gratitude; but they were opposed by another party of energetic and inflexible presbyterians, who coalesced with the political puritans of the sister

*Mr. Mackenzie, in his History of the Christian Church, Lond. 1842, at p. 313, states, that 'the spirit in which the Scottish reformation was conducted, appears to have been less christian, as well as less catholic, than that which took place in England.' In illustration of this, he states, 'the right divine of kings, which, until after this period, was scarcely questioned in England, was not only canvassed by the Scottish presbyterians, but was declared by them to be a fallacy.' *Fas est ah hoste doceri.* See also Maurice's Kingdom of Christ, Pref.

†Chalmers, Wks. vol. xii. p. 217.

‡Dr. McCrie's Miscell. Writings, p. 178.

§Life and Times of Henderson, by Dr. Aiton, p. 241.

||Ibid, 331. **Pp. 402, and 448, 482, 483.

**Life and Times of Henderson, by Dr. Aiton, p. 524.

kingdom.' 'Is it any wonder then,' asks Dr. Hodge,† 'that the Scotch abhorred episcopacy? It was in their experience identified with despotism, superstition, and irreligion. Their love of presbyterianism was one with their love of liberty and religion. As the parliament of Scotland was never a fair representation of the people, the general assembly of their church became their great organ for resisting oppression, and withstanding the encroachments of their sovereigns. The conflict, therefore, which, in England, was so long kept up between the crown and the house of commons, was, in Scotland, sustained between the crown and the church. This was one reason why the Scotch became so attached to presbyterianism; this too was the reason why the Stuarts hated it, and determined, at all hazards, to introduce prelacy as an ally to despotism.'

SECTION III.

The republicanism of presbytery illustrated from its history in modern times in England.

We now pass to the history of presbyterianism in England. The genealogy of presbytery in England is not fully understood. It is thus given by Fuller: 'In the days of king Edward it was conceived; in the reign of queen Mary (but beyond sea at Frankfort) was born; in the reign of queen Elizabeth it was nursed and weaned; under king James I, grew up a youth; but toward the end of king Charles's reign, shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with, but to conquer the hierarchy, its enemy.' But he might have gone even further back, to the time of Henry VIII, or even earlier. There were in fact two reformations struggling together for establishment in England; the one monarchic, the other democratic; the former relying for its support on power, the latter seeking strength by courting popularity.*

In the reign of Elizabeth, the commons were in favor of puritanism, because of its democratic principles, which were, like it, opposed to the power of royalty and aristocracy.‡ The Irish church, from its commencement, evinced a still greater

†Hist. of the Presb. Ch. part i. p. 58. For further illustrations of the noble conduct of our Scottish fathers in battling for liberty, see The History of the Covenanters, vol. i. pp. 199, 230, and vol. ii. pp. 52, 65, 125, 184. Also Patrick Welwood, p. 76-78. Presb. Rev. Ap. 1839, pp. 631, 681, 694. Irving's Last Days, pp. 551, 553. Dr. Aiton's Life and Times of Henderson, pp. 297, 449.

*Taylor's Biography of the Eliz. Age, vol. ii. p. 67.

‡Ibid, p. 78.

leaning to puritanism than the church of England.‡ In short, the church of England, in the age of Elizabeth, had no hold on the affections of the great body of the nation. It was only maintained by the strong arm of power, and by the zealous exertions of those whom grants of abbey-lands had won to its support. 'Among the middle ranks, puritanism was all but universal.'§

In fact, the prelatic constitution of the English church never was, and never will be, popular. The people, and many of the clergy, have ever been, from the first, protesting parties. It never received the national acquiescence, but awakened indignation, roused the spirit of rebellion, and summoned men to the defense of their liberties, until the scene closed in anarchy and blood.* 'In England,' says Mr. Lathbury, 'the reformation was effected by the authority of government.'† 'It made, therefore, the executive the religious teacher; it instituted uniformity of belief in a human creed as the criterion of salvation; it arrogated to the regenerated church the sole possession of apostolical descent; it cut off all possible intercommunion with other religious bodies; and, withal, made the people the crouching slaves of a high priesthood. These things we charge upon the English reformation as its serious deficiencies. We charge upon it, that the people were never consulted, in the mutilation of their parish temples, in their change of rites, or the nature of their instruction. We charge upon it, that it left irregularly, unjustly distributed wealth among the clergy. We charge upon it, that it assumed itself to be so exclusively apostolical, that it would recognize the officers of no other church,—except we admit that it did, and still does, recognize the papal hierarchy.'‡‡

The popular will in England found voice in puritanism. By their intercourse with foreign protestants, and their sympathy with the foreign churches, the people of England had ever before their eyes the vision of a spiritual republic, and this they believed to be realized in the church of Geneva.** And finding under a civil monarchy nothing but oppression and spiritual thralldom, they were anxiously led to inquire into their civil

‡Ibid, p. 81.

§Ibid, p. 97.

*See Edinb. Review, Oct. 1836, p. 51.

†Hist. of the English Episcop. in *ibid*, p. 52. 'A king,' says Macauley, (*Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 243, Boston ed.) 'whose character may be best described by saying, that he was despotism itself personified, unprincipled ministers, a rapacious aristocracy, a servile Parliament; such were the instruments by which England was delivered from the yoke of Rome. The work, which had been begun by Henry, the murderer of his wives, was continued by Somerset, the murderer of his brother, and completed by Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest. Sprung from brutal passion, nurtured by selfish policy,' &c.

‡‡Edinb. Rev. *ibid*, p. 52.

**Dr. Taylor's *Hist. Biogr. of the Age of Elizabeth*.

rights. They soon discovered, that the whole jugglery about the divine institution and right of kings, as well as their absolute power, had no foundation in fact or reason, but arose from an old alliance between ecclesiastical and civil policy. They found, that to preserve their own rank, dignity, wealth, and power, prelates claimed a divine right for themselves and for kings, and had imposed their usurpations upon a silly world.†

The character of the despots with whom they had to contend, thoroughly schooled the puritans in the truth and importance of their views. Henry VIII was despotism itself personified. Elizabeth, the murderer of her guest, enforced conformity by penal laws, only because this was the fastness which arbitrary power was making strong for itself.‡ Of Charles I, it has been said, that his whole life was a lie; that he hated the constitution the more because he had been compelled to feign respect for it, and that to him the love and the honor of his people were as nothing.§ Churchmen, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, his enemies, his friends, his tools, English, Scotch, Irish, all divisions and subdivisions of his people had been deceived by him.

Such were the despots, male and female, against whom the puritans were called upon to contend. A systematic political opposition, vehement, daring, and inflexible, was thus engendered. From religion, they were led to politics. Debarred their religious rights, crushed in their assertion of freedom of conscience, and persecuted for exercising the inalienable privilege of private judgment, the puritans were forced to turn against the power that thus oppressed them, and to assert their original and sovereign independence. All lawful government having been dissolved, and an arbitrary despotism established, their monarchs were justly regarded as usurpers and tyrants, and all allegiance to them as for ever forfeited. The spirit of liberty was grafted upon the stock of religion, and was thus quickened with a heavenly ardor, and an impetuous zeal, against which nothing could stand. During the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, the youthful Hercules was found strong enough to crush the serpent, in the question of monopolies. While Whitgift contended for the absolute despotism of monarchy, 'Cartwright gave utterance to the system of a democratic republic,'* while 'the house of commons, itself, exhibited

†Bolingbroke's *Idea of a Patriot King*, p. 79.

‡Macauley's *Miscell.* vol. i. p. 249.

§*Ibid.*, pp. 267 and 290.

*Dr. Taylor's *Hist. Biog. of the Eliz. Age*, vol. ii. p. 84. In his table of dangerous doctrines, avouched by Cartwright, Whitgift says, (Def. of the Answ. Prefatory matter, 19th error.) 'he affirmeth that the government of the church is aristocratical, or popular, and therefore his opinion must needs be, that no government of any commonwealth ought to be monarchical, but either aristocratical or popular; which is a dangerous error.'

strong symptoms of hostility to prelacy, which could hardly be kept in check, by the strong interference of the crown.'† In the reign of James the number of the puritans became greater, and their exertions in the cause of freedom more apparent. With their growing intelligence and wealth, this spirit increased, until, in the reign of Charles I, a universal enthusiasm seized the nation, pervading not only the middle classes, but also many of the gentry, which declared, not only in words but actions, that while the king was resolved to be absolute, the people were determined to be free.‡ The republican party dates its origin from the early campaigns of the civil war. Coke laid its foundation in the Petition of Right, endued with the form of law, in 1628. Selden built on this foundation. Hampden, Pym, Vane, St. John, Cromwell, and Sydney, completed the superstructure, which Sydney has immortalized by his writings and his blood.* That the government aimed at by the commonwealth men was republican, Mr. Godwin assumes as undeniable. Nor did the republican party expire with the restoration, but continued in a distinct form, until the revolution in 1688.§ Their character, too, though constantly attacked, and scarcely ever defended, is still popular with the great body of Englishmen, to the present day, while the principles, for which they fought, are daily advancing in their rapid progress towards ultimate and complete triumph. 'But for the weakness of that foolish Ishbosheth, (Cromwell's son,) the opinions we have been expressing,' says Macauley,†† 'would, we believe, now have formed the orthodox creed of good Englishmen. We might now be writing under the government of his Highness, Oliver the Fifth, or Richard the Fourth, Protector, by the grace of God, of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging. The form of the great founder of the dynasty, on horseback, as when he led the charge at Naseby, or on foot, as when he took the mace from the table of the commons, would adorn all our squares, and overlook our public offices, from Charing-Cross; and sermons in his praise would be duly preached on his lucky day, the third of September, by court-chaplains, guiltless of the abominations of the surplice.'

The puritans of England, those pioneers who led the presbyterian army, cleaving their way through the mountain barriers, which opposed all progress, have accomplished a noble work.**

†Ibid, p. 85.

‡See Alison's Hist. and Macauley's Miscel. vol. i. p. 251.

*Godwin's Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. i. pp. 1-5, 6, 9, and ch. i.

§Godwin, *ibid*, pp. 1-5, and p. 6, and Guizot's Hist. of Civilization, vol. i. pp. 307 and 310.

††Miscell. vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

**See Dr. Price's Hist. of Non-conformity, vol. ii. pp. 3, 26.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, every free constitution in Europe had gone down, overwhelmed by the deluge of spiritual despotism. That of England, alone, weathered, the storm—and why? Why was it, that, in that epidemic malady of constitutions, this escaped the destroying influence; or rather that, at the very crisis of the disease, a favorable turn took place in England, and in England alone? The peculiar glory of the puritans is, 'that, in this great plague and mortality of constitutions, they took their stand between the living and the dead. At the very crisis of its destiny, at the very moment when the fate which had passed on every other nation was about to pass on England, they arrested the danger; so that whatever of political freedom exists, either in Europe or in America, has sprung, directly or indirectly, from those institutions which they secured and reformed.'†

From puritanism, hung as it is in gibbets, like the bones of its leading advocates, we have our habeas corpus, our free representation of the people; acknowledgment, wide as the world, that all men are, or else must, shall, and will become, what we call free men.‡ 'Protestantism,' adds Mr. Carlyle,§ 'was a revolt against spiritual sovereignties, popes, and much else. Presbyterianism, carried out the revolt against earthly sovereignties and despotisms. Protestantism has been called the grand root, from which our whole subsequent European history, branches out; for the spiritual will always body itself forth in the temporal history of men. The spiritual is the beginning of the temporal. And now, sure enough, the cry is every where for liberty and equality, independence, and so forth; instead of kings, ballot-boxes, and electoral suffrages.'

'The honest truth is,' says the celebrated archdeacon Blackburne, 'that these very controversies (respecting the Genevan discipline) first struck out, and in due time perfected, those noble and generous principles of civil and religious liberty, which too probably, without those struggles, or something of the same sort, would hardly have been well understood to this very hour. It is to the controversy about the Geneva Discipline, that we owe the efforts of the excellent Castallio, to disgrace the infernal doctrine of punishing heretics capitally!!'*

†Macauley's *Miscell.* vol. i. pp. 271, 277, 253. See also similar attestations, by Lord Brougham, in his speeches, vol. ii. pp. 43, 53. To the Puritans of the Long Parliament, we owe the abolition of the infamous practice of torture, till then legalized in England. *Edinb. Rev.* April, 1838, p. 64. A Puritan was a friend of liberty. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, vol. i. pp. 9, 10. See *ibid.* vol. i. pp. 115, 116, 126, 280, 297, 320, 333, 337, 421, 424, 427, 463, 473, 475, 477, &c. See Guizot's high testimony in *Hist. of Civilization*, p. 307. *The Stuart Dynasty*, by Dr. Vaughan, vol. i. p. iii. et passim. See p. 355. *Preliminary Disc. to the prose works of Milton*, by A. St. John, vol. i.

‡Carlyle on *Heroes*, p. 334.

§*Ibid.*, p. 200.

*On the *Intermediate State*. Lond. 1772, p. xxxiii.

'The tree of liberty,' says the Rev. Thomas Scott, author of the commentary,† 'sober and legitimate liberty, *civil and religious*, under the shadow of which we in the establishment, as well as others, repose in peace, and the fruit of which we gather, was planted by the puritans, and watered, if not by their blood, at least by their tears and sorrows. *Yet it is the modern fashion, to feed delightfully on the fruit, and then revile, if not curse, those who planted and watered it.*'

In thus identifying puritanism and republicanism, we have not been speaking without book. Elizabeth hated presbytery, and why?—because 'it held principles inconsistent with allegiance to her crown.'‡ 'She believed that the maintenance of episcopacy was necessary to the continuance of royalty.'§ 'She knew that the church of Geneva, which the puritans declared to be their model, was not only essentially republican, but could not be perfectly established, except in a republic.' Being, therefore, a pope in spirit, she decreed, that it would be 'prejudicial to her crown.' This had been demonstrated to her, by Lord Burleigh, who said, that those views of church government which should popularize it, would end in an 'abatement of her prerogative,' as, in this way, a power would be set up, distinct from hers, over which she could exercise no control.

King James hated presbytery, and why? At the Hampton Court Conference, called by him, in 1604, in mockery of the puritans, and to cover his own hypocrisy and apostacy, Dr. (afterwards bishop) Reynolds, happening to name the word presbytery, the king broke out in the following kingly and most graphic speech. 'You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, it must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, nay, marry, but we will have it thus; and therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say, *Le roi s'avisera*; the king alone shall decide.' Turning to the bishops, he avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne. Of the puritans, he added—'I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse,' 'only hang them; that's all.'* So also in his

†Letters on Conformity. Wks. vol. ix. p. 532.

‡Taylor's Biog. of the Eliz. Age, vol. ii. p. 77.

§And not unreasonably, says the above author, p. 68.

*One great source of objection to the Genevan translation of the Bible, was, that in the notes appended to it, were many things adverse to the principles of government, civil and ecclesiastical, established in England. On this ground King James, in the conference at Hampton Court, pronounced them seditious, and savoring too much of dangerous and traitorous concerts.—Cardwell's Document. Annals. vol. ii. p. 12. c. v. 1588.

In connection with this conference, let any man contrast the conduct and language of the bishops, with those of the presbyterians, and he will learn much as to their respective bearings. See McCrie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. pp. 192, 195, 202, 203, 233, 253, 265, 267.

speech to parliament, the king said,* 'they do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of policy and parity; being ever discontented with the present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sects insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.†

Charles I. hated presbytery, and why? When urged to consent to the removal of episcopacy, he alleged, as one reason of his refusal, that it was more friendly to monarchy than presbytery.‡ Writing on this subject to his devoted episcopal friends and counsellors, Lord Jermyn, Lord Culpepper, and Mr. Ashburnham, he expresses himself thus: 'Show me any precedent wherever presbyterial government and regal was together, without perpetual rebellions; which was the cause that necessitated the king, my father, to change that government in Scotland. And even in France, where they are but upon tolerance, (which in likelihood should cause moderation,) did they ever sit still so long as they had power to rebel? And it cannot be otherwise, for the ground of their doctrine is anti-monarchical. Indeed, to prove that clearly, would require more time, and a better pen, than I have. I will say, without hyperbole, that there was not a wiser man since Solomon, than he who said—no bishop, no king.' In his letters, the king further states,§ 'that he looks on episcopacy as a stronger support of monarchical power, than even the army. From causes which we have already considered, the established church had been, since the reformation, the great bulwark of the prerogative. Charles wished, therefore, to preserve it.'**

This tendency of puritanism toward 'a popular state,' was made the ground of its severest persecutions.†† This charge against all the reformed churches, and the church of Scotland, in particular, constituted one chief topic of discussion, in the celebrated discourse of archbishop Bancroft—the fountain of

*Ibid, p. 474.

†The Millenary petition of the puritans, on James's coming into England, was formally declared to be opposed to monarchy.—McCrie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 189.

‡See *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 202, 260, 274, in *Dr. Miller on Min.* p. xxiv. See further evidence in *Dr. Aiton's Life and Times of Alexander Henderson*, pp. 57, 228, 294, 445.

§Macauley's *Miscell.* vol. i. p. 293.

**I have a copy of the rare work, published by authority of Charles II, 'The History of the English and Scotch Presbytery, wherein is discovered their designs and practices, for the subversion of government in church and state!' 2 ed. 1660, with a curious frontispiece, representing the English church in a tree, which is being cut down, and a crown below, with the motto, 'tollat te qui te non novit.'

††See a letter from Parker and Sandys, in *Strype's Parker*, ii. 281, in *Price's Hist. of Nonconf.* vol. i. p. 281, and *Parker's Let. to the Com.* in *Strype*, ii. 323, in do. vol. i. p. 279.

high-churchism.‡ ‘This notion of the tendency of the puritanic doctrine, to a parity in the church and commonwealth, was that wherewith Laud, who martyred his king and country, envenomed the heart of that deluded monarch—and gratified his own malevolence, in the barbarities inflicted on his opponents.§ The professed design of Heylen’s History of that ‘active sect,’ the presbyterians, was to show, as he says in his title-page, ‘their opposition to monarchical and episcopal government, &c.’||

The republicanism of presbytery was even preached against by no less a personage than dean Swift.** ‘Upon the cruel persecutions,’ he says, ‘raised against the protestants under Queen Mary, among the great number who fled the kingdom, to seek for shelter, *several went and resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth, governed without a king, where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of bishops;* When the protestant faith was restored by Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva, returned, among the rest, home to England, and *were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavors, to introduce both into their own country. From hence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the KINGLY GOVERNMENT, because, as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.*’

But this was not enough. The poet laureat must popularize the same charge against presbytery. Dryden, therefore, under the character of a wolf, thus characterizes presbytery.*

‘Last of all, the *litter* ’scaped by chance,
And from Geneva first infested France.
Some authors thus his pedigree will trace,
But others write him of an upstart race;
Because of Wickliffe’s brood no mark he brings,
But his innate ANTI-PATHY TO KINGS.
What tho’ your native kennel still be small,
Bounded between a puddle and a wall?
Yet your victorious colonies are sent,
Where the North-ocean girds the continent.

‡McCrie’s Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 387. Among the propositions which he extracted from the writings of the puritans, even at that early day, were these. (Dr. Vaughan’s Stuart Dynasty, vol. i. p. 40.) ‘The authority which princes have, is given them from the people; and upon occasions, the people may take it away again, as men may revoke their proxies and letters of authority.’

§See Dedicæ. to his speech in the Star chamb. in the Let. and Episc. pp. 341, 346.

||Oxf. 1670, and lib. v.

**Sermons on the Martyrdom of Charles I.

*Hind and Panther, as above. Was not Bishop Burnet also subject to the charge, of entertaining and inculcating anti-monarchical and republican principles, because he sought to conciliate the Dissenters, and, in unison with them, opposed the doctrines of passive obedience, and unqualified non-resistance to the ruling power, that is, arbitrary government?—Hist. Ref. vol. i. Nares’s pref. p. xvii.

Quickened with fire below your monster's breed,
 In *fenny* Holland, and in fruitful Tweed;
 And like the *first*, the last effects to be
Drawn to the dregs of a Democracy.
 But as the poisons of the deadliest kind,
 Are to their own unhappy coast confined,
 So PRESBYTERY and its pestilential zeal,
 CAN FLOURISH ONLY IN A COMMON WEAL.

The same charge of republicanism was urged against presbyterianism by Jeremy Taylor,* and by Isaac Taylor, who calls republicanism the presbyterian principle,† and is dwelt upon at length, as one founded in necessary causes, and springing from principle and not merely from analogy, by Mr. Woodgate.‡

SECTION V.

*The republicanism of presbytery demonstrated from its history
 in these United States.*

Having thus traced the connection between presbyterianism and republicanism, both in ecclesiastical and in civil government, from its revival and establishment at the era of the reformation, through all its eventful struggles in England and in Scotland, we are naturally led to inquire, what relation it bears to this great American republic,—and who can deny, that it stands to it, in the all-important relation of a cause to its effect? The pilgrim fathers, the inhabitants of New England, were, we have seen, all presbyterian in essential principles, and

*See quoted in Dr. Reed's Hist. of the Presb. Ch. in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 346.

†Spiritual Despotism, sect. iv. p. 177, et preced. Eng. ed.

‡Bampton Lectures, pp. 20, 349, 351, 352, &c. See also in further illustration of the republicanism of presbytery, Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 469; vol. ii. pp. 6, 7, 14, 16, 20, 93. Milner's Life of Watts, pp. 79, 82, 83, 85. Baxter's Views on, in Edinb. Rev. Oct. 1839, p. 111. Soame's Elizabethan Rel. Hist. pp. 35, 70, 165, 179, 180, 184, 414, 518, 545, 548, 587, 592, 593. Roger's Life of Howe, pp. 364, 365. Divine Right of the Ministry, part ii. p. 107. Rutherford's Plea for Paul's Presbytery, p. iii. and pp. 83, 199, 247. Gillespie's Aaron's Rod Blossoming, pp. 176-182. Sketch of the History and Princ. of the Presb. Ch. in England, pp. 30, 35, 43. The fullest authorities, in the words of the original and scarce writings of the puritans in every age, will be found in Hanbury's Memorials of the Independents or Congregationalists, of which two volumes have already appeared.

many of them by distinct avowal.* It has also been proved, that the substantial portion of South Carolina, and other colonies, were either originally, or eventually, presbyterian emigrants, who sought, in this new world, a refuge from oppression, and the enjoyment of freedom.† Now, what we affirm, is, that the principles which gave birth to this American republic, were *brought* here, and were nurtured into full maturity, by these presbyterians. True it is, that they came here encased by the intolerant prejudices with which popery, their hard foster-mother, had imbued the minds of men. True it is, that in their first movements, we behold a most grotesque combination of liberty and tyranny, freedom and intolerance. But many of them were far in advance of their age, and all ultimately learned to think, and to act, in accordance with the genius of our republican christianity. The spirit of liberty was among them; and in the free air of this new world, untainted as yet by the breath of spiritual and civil despotism, it soon attained to a vigorous manhood, and, bursting those chains by which, for long ages, she had been fettered, stood forth redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled. Before the revolution there were thousands of christians, who had arrived at the fixed conclusion, that the civil magistrate has nothing to do with religion in his official capacity, but to protect the citizen in that form of worship which he prefers, and to secure to all men liberty of conscience. We have seen, that, in the very first adoption of their standards of faith, our presbyterian fathers erased all that militated against this opinion. We have seen, too, that it was through the powerful efforts of presbyterians, the separation between the church and the state was first secured, and permanently established. All the principles which are now embodied in the fundamental laws of this country, were taught by these same despised and persecuted followers of Calvin, long before the fathers of those who framed our civil constitutions were born. The revolution only gave an opportunity for developing their strength and purity. They were then brought forth, from the hearts of men and the pages of theology, to the field of action. Their beauty, their power, their divinity, commended them to universal acceptance, until finally they became completely triumphant.

Let that great philosophical inquirer into our institutions, M. Tocqueville, attest the truth of what we say. 'If,' says he,‡ 'we carefully examine the social and political state of America, after having studied its history, we shall remain perfectly convinced that not an opinion, not a custom, not a law, I may even

*See Dr. Hodge's Hist. of Presb. Ch. and Dr. Lang's Relig. Educ. in America. pp. 35, 309, 310. Also, Congreg. Order, Hist. Acct.

†See Dr. Hodge's Hist. of Presb. Ch. part i.

‡Democr. in Am. vol. i. pp. 27, 28, 31, 32, 35.

say not an event, is upon record which the origin of that people will not explain.' 'At the period of the first emigrations, the parish system, that fruitful germ of free institutions, was deeply rooted in the habits of the English; and with it the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people had been introduced even into the bosom of the monarchy of the house of Tudor.' 'The emigrants, or, as they deservedly styled themselves the pilgrims, belonged to that English sect, the austerity of whose principles had acquired for them the name of puritans. Puritanism was not merely a religious doctrine, but it corresponded in many points with the most absolute democratic and republican theories. It was this tendency which had roused its most dangerous adversaries. Persecuted by the government of the mother-country, and disgusted by the habits of a society opposed to the rigor of their own principles, the puritans went forth to seek some rude and unfrequented part of the world, where they could live according to their own opinions, and worship God in freedom!' 'A democracy, more perfect than any which antiquity had dreamed of, started in full size and panoply from the midst of an ancient feudal society.'

Let any man, we again say, attentively compare the solemn leagues and covenants, by which the continental and Scottish reformers, and the puritans and non-conformists at a later period, pledged themselves to one another by their lives, property, and sacred honor, and bound themselves to spend and be spent in the cause of civil and religious freedom, with our declaration of independence, and he will, we think, allow, that, in the former, we have the plan, the spirit, and the prototype of the latter.*

*The honorable individual to whom this work is inscribed, first suggested this idea to the author. He has just found it expressed in the able discourse of the Rev. John McLeod, on Protestantism. (New York, 1843, pp. 21, 22.) 'And we have ourselves heard another distinguished civilian [Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck] of our own State, in a public address, trace the origin of the declaration of American independence to the National Covenant of Scotland. Nor was it a mere flight of fancy. The Scottish reformers from popery had drunk deep at the fountains of protestantism, as they had been opened on the continent of Europe, and especially in republican Geneva; or, rather, they had drunk, along with the continental reformers, at the same open fountain of God's word. They succeeded the reformers of the continent in the movement against antichrist, and had all the advantage of their lights. Their covenants were bonds of union among themselves and public declarations of the grounds of their opposition to the antichristian system, in all its parts. And they were distinguished, *first*, as connecting civil and religious liberty together in the definitions of rights which they made—and, *secondly*, in combining all classes of the community in the effort to secure them. As first formed, and afterwards renewed at various crises of their history, the National Covenant of Scotland was a declaration of the independence of the Church of Christ, as a distinct community from the State; and of both Church and State from all foreign control. It was subscribed by the mass of the people, as well as the privileged orders. And as ultimately embodied with additions, in the solemn league and covenant, it became the constitution of the British empire. Under it, the presbyterians of Scotland and the north of Ireland, the puritans of England, of whom the majority were presbyterians, and all other protestants who chose to receive it, united together in the strife for liberty, which had already commenced.'

The politicians, therefore, who drew up the fundamental laws of these new states, only expressed the wishes of the entire presbyterian community, when they inserted provisions for securing complete religious liberty.* Indeed, the very style of some of the most famous of these celebrated enactments was in exact accordance with that which christians had previously employed in writing on the same subject. And it agrees better with the truth to say, that *forms of political government* were framed in conformity to principles received by these presbyterians, who were the most numerous class of christians among us, than that the converse of this took place. Our noble presbyterian forefathers, in many petitions and memorials, written with singular ability, demanded the establishment of ABSOLUTE LIBERTY, JUST AND TRUE LIBERTY, FULL AND IMPARTIAL LIBERTY, *in the proper sense of these terms.*†

If ever the great principles which led to our revolution are fairly canvassed, and the causes, which, amid so many discouragements, led us on to triumph, are fairly stated, it will be found that our faith and its teachers had much to do in obtaining our liberty. The blood of our people has stained, and their bones have bleached, on every battle-field of our country. If papacy or prelacy had prevailed in our land, our new free States would be provinces of Great Britain to the present hour. Withdraw from this land all the civil benefits which it has derived from the pilgrim and presbyterian fathers, and the remainder would be scarcely worth the possessing.‡

The part taken by presbyterians in the contest with the mother country,§ was, indeed, at the time, often made a ground of reproach; and the connection between their efforts for the security of their religious liberty, and opposition to the oppressive measures of parliament, was then distinctly seen.** Mr. Galloway, a prominent advocate of the government, ascribed, in 1774, the revolt and revolution mainly to the action of the presbyterian clergy and laity as early as 1764, when the proposition for a general synod emanated from a committee appointed for that purpose in Philadelphia.†† This was a great exaggeration and mistake, but it indicates the close connection between

*Tocquev. Dem. in Am. ii. pp. 317. 318.

†Dr. Rice's Considerations on Religion. Richmond, 1832, p. 57.

‡Rev. Nicholas Murray, New Jersey.

§Hodge's Hist. part ii. p. 484.

**So also in England, on the question of the American war,' says Dr. Vaughan, (Congregationalism, p. 122,) 'dissenters were more inclined to the side of the colonists, than to that of the mother country, which exposed them to much resentment and suffering. Then came the revolution in France, and, in the early days of that movement, dissenters expressed themselves strongly in favor of the changes contemplated in that kingdom, and their conduct, in this instance, called forth further indignation from the same quarter.'

††Reed's Address, p. 51.

the civil and religious part of the controversy. The same writer describes the opponents of the government, as an 'united faction of congregationalists, presbyterians, and smugglers.' Another writer of the same period says, 'you will have discovered, that I am no friend to presbyterians, and that I fix all the blame of these extraordinary American proceedings upon them.'‡ He goes on, 'believe, sir, the presbyterians have been the chief and principal instruments in all these flaming measures; and they always do and ever will act against government, from that restless and turbulent anti-monarchical spirit which has always distinguished them every where, when they had, or by any means could assume power, however illegally.'

'As the conduct of the presbyterian clergy during the revolutionary war is not a matter of dispute, all that we are called upon to do,' adds Dr. Hodge, 'is briefly to exhibit the action of the synod in reference to this subject.'

The synod of New York were the very first to declare themselves in favor of the struggle, a year before the declaration of independence, and to encourage and guide their people, then in arms.* During the war, they sustained and invigorated the forces of their beleaguered country; so that presbyterians were every where treated with special cruelty and revenge.† At the close of the war, they again addressed their people, and offered up praise to God, who had given them the victory.** They were the first to recognize the declaration of independence, *when made*; and they materially aided in the passage of that noble act.‡

'When the declaration of independence was under debate in the continental congress, doubts and forebodings were whispered through that hall. The houses hesitated, wavered, and, for a while, the liberty and slavery of the nation appeared to hang in an even scale. It was then an aged patriarch arose, a venerable and stately form; his head white with the frost of years. Every eye went to him with the quickness of thought, and remained with the fixedness of the polar star. He cast on the assembly a look of inexpressible interest and unconquerable determination; while on his visage, the hue of age was lost in the flush of a burning patriotism, that fired his cheek. 'There is,' said he, when he saw the house wavering. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men—a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate, is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning, by every

‡By presbyterians, this writer means non-episcopalians.

*Dr. Lang's *Relig. and Educ. in Amer.* p. 72, where their letter is given.

†*Ibid.*, p. 77, 78. See also Dr. Miller's *Life of Dr. Rogers*, p. 234, 8vo. ed.

***Ibid.*, p. 78.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 94.

pen in the house. He that will not respond to its accents, and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy the name of a freeman. For my own part, of property I have some—of reputation, more. That reputation is staked, that property is *pledged*, on the issue of this contest. And although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hands of the public executioner, than desert, at this crisis, the sacred cause of my country.' Who was it that uttered this memorable speech,—potent in turning the scales of the nation's destiny, and worthy to be preserved in the same imperishable record in which is registered the not more eloquent speech ascribed to John Adams, on the same sublime occasion? 'It was John Witherspoon—at that day the most distinguished presbyterian minister west of the Atlantic ocean—the father of the presbyterian church in the United States.'*

An inquiry into the matter would show, by an actual biography of the veterans of the revolution, that a large proportion of them were connected with the presbyterian church. Without attempting to make such an investigation, we will merely mention the following facts which have incidentally fallen into our hands in reference to South Carolina.

The battles of the 'Cowpens,' of 'King's Mountain'—and also the severe skirmish known as 'Huck's Defeat,' are among the most celebrated in this State, as giving a turning point to the contest of the revolution. General Morgan, who commanded at the Cowpens, was a presbyterian elder, and lived and died in the communion of the church. General Pickens, who made all the arrangements for the battle, was also a presbyterian elder. And nearly all under their command were presbyterians. In the battle of King's Mountain, Colonel Campbell, Colonel James Williams, (who fell in the action,) Colonel Cleaveland, Colonel Shelby, and Colonel Sevier, were all presbyterian elders; and the body of their troops were collected from presbyterian settlements. At Huck's Defeat, in York, Colonel Bratton and Major Dickson, were both elders of the presbyterian church. Major Samuel Morrow, who was with Colonel Sumpter in four engagements, and at King's Mountain, Blackstock's, and other battles, and whose home was in the army till the termination of hostilities, was, for about fifty years, a ruling elder of the presbyterian church.‡

These facts we have collected from high authority, and they deserve to be prominently noticed. Here are ten officers of distinction, all bearing rule in the church of Christ—and all bearing arms in defence of our liberties. Braver and better

*Rev. J. M. Krebs.

‡He died in Spartanburg district, S. C., in Feb. 1842, aged 82.

officers cannot be found in the annals of our country—nor braver or better troops.

It may also be mentioned in this connection, that Marion, Huger, and other distinguished men of revolutionary memory, were of Huguenot, that is, full-blooded presbyterian, descent.

'A presbyterian loyalist,' says Mr. William B. Reed, himself an episcopalian, 'was a thing unheard of. Patriotic clergymen of the established church were exceptions to general conduct; for while they were patriots at a sacrifice, and in spite of restraints and imaginary obligations, which many found it impossible to disregard, it was natural sympathy and voluntary action, that placed the dissenters under the banner of revolutionary redress. It is a sober judgment, which cannot be questioned, that, had independence and its maintenance depended on the approval and ready sanction of the colonial episcopal clergy, mis-rule and oppression must have become far more intense, before they would have seen a case of justifiable rebellion. The debt of gratitude which independent America owes to the dissenting clergy and laity, never can be paid.'†

†Address before the Philomathean Society, Philad. 1838, pp. 59, 60.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESBYTERY MORE REPUBLICAN THAN OTHER FORMS OF CHRISTIAN POLITY.

It remains that we should say something on the comparative claims to the character of republicanism, of our own and other ecclesiastical systems. Comparisons are always odious. We shall, therefore, discharge the incumbent duty now forced upon us, with as much lenity and despatch as truth and justice will admit.

Passing by the minor differences existing between the presbyterian church, *strictly so called*, and other denominations essentially agreeing with it, and who may be properly included under the general term presbytery, we will institute a claim of partial superiority to our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal church; of still greater to the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States, and an entire superiority to the system patronized by the high-church prelatists, and established among *their* Roman Catholic brethren.

In making this comparison, we must bear in mind one rule of simple and unquestionable authority in the premises. To deny the first principles of any system is to deny that system; however, in less important points, there may be agreement with it. 'The rights of particular nations cannot subsist,' says Sydney, 'if general principles, contrary to them, are received as true.'† And in like manner, we must conclude, that ecclesiastical systems, embodying principles contrary to those which are fundamental to republicanism, or which fail to recognize those principles, are in their measure contrary to it, or irreconcilable with it.

SECTION I.

The system of presbytery more republican than the polity of the Methodist Episcopal church.

We confess, that in pursuing the articles on 'the republicanism of methodist polity,' already referred to,* we were led to entertain a higher opinion of the system, than we had previ-

*Disc. on Govt. ch. i. § 4.

†These were first printed in 'The Christian Advocate,' and republished in 'The Southern Christian Advocate.'

ously cherished. There are many things in which an analogy may be drawn out between methodism and republicanism, and there is much in it adapted to the popular mind. In its *doctrine* of the ministry, it is essentially presbyterian, for while it admits of bishops as superintendents, it teaches that there is but one ORDER of ministers, and that these are, in *order*, equal to the rest. To this doctrine it has fully committed itself by the republication, under its own sanction, of the works of Lord King,† and Mr. Powell.‡ Under the name of an office, however, it attributes to its bishops very unlimited powers. And the question, therefore, is, whether this analogy will hold in regard to those principles which are *fundamental* to a republic, and not merely in those which are *secondary* in their importance, or common to it with other forms of government.

Now among the principles which are fundamental to the very existence of a republic we found these.

1. The equality of all its members, implying that the laws are made equally by all, acting through their representatives, and that none are elevated to any station in which they can act or legislate, independently of the people.

2. The sovereign power of the people, as the source of all authority; their intervention in all public affairs; their election of all officers; the consequent responsibility of all officers to them for the discharge of their duty, and the management of funds; and their knowledge and control, through their representatives, of all expenditures.

3. The extension of the right of suffrage, in the appointment of officers, to all capable of exercising it, or, in other words, the rights, privileges, and immunities of the laity.

These principles, among others, are essential to constitute any government fully republican. But are these found in the *government and discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal church? We think not; for the people, and a large portion of the clergy, have no participation in the legislative assemblies of the church; the *people* had no voice in the original constitution of the church, although the code of discipline was drawn up and framed by men; the people have no voice in the election, ordination, removal, or dismissal of ministers; the elective and representative rights of the people are therefore denied, and the management of funds in a great measure withdrawn from their control. We do not enter into particulars, although we might in all fairness do so, as, in the articles alluded to, there is a *formal* comparison of methodist polity with presbyterianism, on this very ground of their republican character. We are saved this trouble, however, by the admissions made in

†The Primitive Govt. of the Church.

‡On the Apostolical Succession, which is a thorough presbyterian book.

some articles on 'the Methodist Church Government,' in 'the Southern Christian Advocate,*' by which it would appear that this system does not base its merits upon its republicanism, but upon other qualities. In reply to the charge of the anti-republican character of this polity, it is there said:

'But may we not reasonably object to have our ecclesiastical system tried by a standard with which it holds no common first principles? And may we not challenge the competency of the court which condemns us, when we find christianity itself subjected to the same condemnation? It is a master-axiom in our republican creed, that the popular will is the source of law. But we find in the statute-book of methodism a system of laws which did not originate in the will of the people. It follows, of course, that methodism is opposed to republicanism.†

Again the editor says, 'it is not difficult to dispose of the objections based on such terms as, 'the equal and inalienable rights of the people'—'supreme legislature of the church'—'rights of methodist laymen,' and so forth. Here is the methodist church. Its *ministers* have offered to our acceptance doctrines and discipline which *they claim*, not as inventions of their own, but as the commands of Him who has said,' &c.

Now all this is very well; but a difficult question previously arises; when and where did Christ delegate power to the ministers *alone* to constitute themselves the church, to draw up 'methodism, doctrine, and discipline, as the clearest and best exposition and summary of what *they* believed to be in the Bible,' and then to offer this to God's people, without giving the great mass of the church any possible opportunity of exercising *their* rights in ascertaining what are the principles of the church, as laid down in the scriptures? What is this, but to make these travelling clergy *the church*, and to clothe them with the powers of the whole body of the faithful.

But again the editor says. 'Now, then, for the question of *rights*. There are natural rights, social rights, civil rights, christian rights, methodist rights. In this scale of rights, it will be seen, with half a glance, that social rights interfere to some extent with natural rights; and civil or political rights limit social; christian rights demand surrenders, which civil rights may not claim; and, last of all, methodist rights are limited, and tied down to sacrifices of natural, social and even christian rights, which are demanded by no other ecclesiastical system. And, finally, as a methodist, by the essential conditions of the system, he must, *in limine*, deliberately surrender what, as a christian of some other denomination, he

*See Dec. 23, 1842, and Jan. 6, 1843.

†The editor goes on to show, that christianity is equally opposed to republicanism. How far this is the case, we leave our readers to determine. See our remarks in chap. i.

might retain. A man may be a sincere and pious presbyterian, episcopalian, or baptist, and yet be unprepared for the amount of privations and sacrifices, and the surrender of certain privileges, which the methodist church demands.'

Again, 'our itinerant organization renders unnecessary any lay representation, either in the general or the annual conferences. To other churches, constructed on a different organic principle, such a representation may be necessary, for any thing we know to the contrary.'

Again, in proof of the working and success of their system, a contrast is presented between its success and that of the Protestant Methodist church. 'We need only remind the reader, that the Methodist Protestant church, organized specifically and purposely on so-called republican principles, in which a lay representation in the general and annual conferences is a fundamental element, has been in operation some twelve or fourteen years.'

As it regards the rights of the laity, it is also said. 'Now we admit to the full extent, the alleged peculiarity. The constitution of methodism, is such as to demand a relinquishment of the privilege of choosing a pastor. The people actually have no voice in the selection of their spiritual guides. And this peculiarity, so far from being a late discovery, is just as old as methodism. It has been from the very beginning the main centre of our strength.'

We wage no quarrel with our methodist brethren. They are cut loose from all European influence. They are, we doubt not, '*heart and hand*' republicans in civil matters. They have all right, humanly speaking, to frame their own code of discipline; to restrict its supreme power to their ministry, and to deny it to the people, so long as it shall appear to the people to be for the common advantage of the church that it should be so. And truly they have accomplished wonderful things, for which we are glad. But when our methodist brethren claim comparison with us, and *superiority* to us, *on the ground of the republican character of our respective systems*, we must maintain, that the essential principles of republicanism, before mentioned, are found wanting in the methodist polity, while they are prominent in our own. Neither can we believe, that the *marvellous success* of this denomination is to be attributed to its constitution, so far as it is 'opposed to republicanism,'* but to the zeal, energy, and devoted piety with which they have proclaimed the gospel. And we must believe, that the adaptation of their system to that republican form laid down, as we think, in the scriptures, would immeasurably increase, and not diminish, their power to do good. Thus much we say in all kindness.

*See extract at p. 15.

Neither should we have said any thing, had we not been called upon to do so, by these recent and repeated efforts to produce a contrary impression. With our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal churches we desire to cultivate the kindest relations, and a growing harmony and co-operation in every good word and work.

SECTION II.

Presbytery more republican than the Protestant Episcopal church.

We pass on to consider the superiority of the presbyterian polity to that of the Protestant Episcopal church in these United States. Before, however, proceeding to remark upon its present constitution, we feel it but justice to ourselves to make some reference to its past history. And while, we would again say, that nothing can be further from our intention than to impute to the prelates, clergy, or members of the episcopal church in this country, *an anti-republican spirit*, or any want of the most devoted attachment to the interests of the commonwealth; or insincerity in their avowal, that, *as they regard it*, the ecclesiastical polity of their church is in perfect keeping with the genius of republicanism; yet we may be allowed to state, that very opposite views of the necessary tendency of that system have been insisted upon by its ablest advocates. Of this declaration, we will present one pregnant illustration, taken from the work of Doctor Chandler, in which he very ably advocated the then unpopular scheme of an American episcopate. After going through an examination of the religious grounds, upon which the propriety of this scheme was based, he proceeds to show, that considerations of a political nature were of themselves sufficient to decide the question, whether or not bishops should be introduced into America. He says,* 'But, notwithstanding, episcopacy and monarchy are, in their frame and constitution, best suited to each other. Episcopacy can never thrive in a republican government, nor republican principles in an episcopal church. For the same reasons, in a mixed monarchy, no form of ecclesiastical government can so exactly harmonize with the state, as that of a qualified episcopacy. And as they are mutually adapted to each other, so they are mutually introductive of each other. He that prefers monarchy in the state, is more likely to approve of episcopacy in the church, than a rigid republican. On the other hand, he that is for a parity and a popular government in the church,

*Appeal on behalf of the Ch. of Eng. in America, N. York, 1767, p. 115.

will more easily be led to approve of a similar form of government in the state, how little soever he may suspect it himself. It is not then to be wondered, if our civil rulers have always considered episcopacy as the surest friend of monarchy; and it may reasonably be expected from those in authority, that they will support and assist the church in America, if from no other motives, yet from a regard to the state, with which it has so friendly and close an alliance.*

Until after the revolution there were, it will be recollected, no prelates in this country. On this subject, Bancroft says, 'Priestcraft† did not emigrate; by the steadfast attraction of interest it was retained in the old world; to the forests of America religion came as a companion; the American mind never bowed to an idolatry of forms; and there was not a prelate in the whole English part of the continent.'

We have already had occasion to allude, at some length, to the violent prejudices which universally prevailed against the introduction of prelates into this land of freedom.‡ Bishop White testifies, that so powerful was this prejudice against bishops, that 'it was impossible to have obtained the concurrence of a respectable number of laymen, in any measure for the obtaining of an American bishop.'§ And that this prejudice was based partly on an opinion, 'that episcopacy itself was unfriendly to the political principles of our republican governments, is candidly allowed by the biographer of Bishop White.*†

*The same argument was urged about the same time, in his letter to Mr. Walpole, on the same subject, by archbishop Secker, (see Crit. Com. on this letter, p. 14.) who says, that there was a kindred connection between episcopacy and monarchy. Letter, p. 25, Com. p. 63.

†Hist. of the United States, vol. ii. p. 453.

‡See Lect. on Apost. Succ.

§Mem. of Prot. Episc. Church, p. 48. This is admitted by Doctor Hawks, in his remarks on Canon xxi. of the Episcopal church, where he says, [Constitutions and Canons, p. 215, N. Y. 1841,] 'the effect of the American revolution upon the church had been, to attach to it no small share of odium, and few cared to enrol themselves among the clergy of a communion, small in numbers, and the object also of popular dislike. Prejudice, too, served to perpetuate ignorance of the opinions and views of the Episcopal church, (or, as it was then more usually called, the church of England,) and, without inquiry, many cast a suspicious glance at a church, which was not horror-stricken at the bare thought of the prelatical abomination of bishops, and considered her as nothing less than the legitimate offspring of that naughty mother, the scarlet lady, that sitteth on the seven hills.'

*†Dr. Wilson's Mem. p. 93. In illustration of the force of that extreme and bitter prejudice which existed in every portion of the British colonies against the introduction of bishops, the following incident is related in Mr. Blackburne's Critical Commentary on archbishop Secker's Letter to Mr. Walpole. In 1749, Mr. Hooper, one of the Council of Barbadoes, was introduced to bishop Sherlock in London, and after relating an instance of the arbitrary conduct of the commissary, he said, [p. 40.] 'And now, my Lord, will you send a bishop to us, who will have this, and greater powers?' His Lordship answered, 'It is not I that send bishops to America, it is the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, who are the movers of this matter.' Mr. Hooper replied, 'I do not care who are the movers, but this I can with confidence assure your Lordship, that if ever a bishop

This opposition, which the whole past history of prelacy was sufficient to establish, was by no means confined to other denominations, but was extensively prevalent among episcopalians themselves. Bishop White states, that such were the prejudices, *even of episcopalians*, 'against the name, and much more against the office, of bishop,' that, but for introduction of the laity into the government of the church, no general organization could probably have been formed.* And while this opposition to the episcopate was thus powerful every where, it was peculiarly so in South Carolina. 'Here,' says bishop White, 'most was to be apprehended, an opposition to THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF EPISCOPACY.'† It was, therefore, feared, that the churches in this State would not comply with the invitation to unite in the proposed organization, and 'the danger was' only 'warded off' by a proposal to accompany their compliance with an express proviso, 'THAT THERE WAS TO BE NO BISHOP SETTLED IN THAT STATE.'‡

That episcopalians more generally espoused the British cause, in the revolutionary struggle, than presbyterians, is candidly admitted by bishop White, who says, that of those who were thus inclined, '*a great proportion were episcopalians.*'§ In New England, the episcopal clergy were royalists, almost to a man.|| In being so, they only acted according to their principles; for it had been, up till then, an established maxim, that prelacy and monarchy were collateral terms, and promotive of one another. And we may, without vanity, attribute whatever of a republican and popular character is found in the present constitution of the American Episcopal church, to the indirect influence of presbyterianism.** Bishop White's plan for the organization of the church, in 1782, in his 'Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States, Considered,' is obviously drawn from the presbyterian model, and as certainly embodies many of the principles of presbyterianism. And that the introduction of the laity into the councils of the episcopal church, in this country, and to a full representation in all its courts, was regarded as presbyterian and anti-prelatic, we are well assured.†† Its proposal was made a ground of objection, and for

sets foot on our island, the people will toss him into the sea.' On this controversy respecting the American episcopate, some interesting information will be found in Dr. Miller's Life of Dr. Rogers, p. 185, first edition, and an address on the subject, by the convention organized for the purpose of defeating the project, at p. 189.

*Mem. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 78.

†Ibid, p. 91.

‡Ibid, p. 91, and Dalcho's History.

§Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 48. See also the facts stated on pp. 8, 49, 58, 59, 60, 78, 97, 105, 106.

||See Dr. Lang's Religion and Educ. in Am. pp. 71, 83.

**Ibid, pp. 310, 311.

††That presbyterians exerted this influence, see stated by Dr. Lang, in Relig. and Educ. in Amer. pp. 310, 311.

this very reason, by the English prelates, when solicited to bestow the episcopate.† His advocacy of this feature of the constitution was also made the foundation of a charge against bishop White, that he 'entertained a design to set up an episcopacy, on the ground of *presbyterial* and lay authority.'‡ On this account, also, was the plan long opposed by the episcopal influence in the State of Connecticut.§ Bishop Seabury 'disapproved of submitting the general concerns of the American church to any other than bishops,'|| and regarded the introduction of the laity as 'INCONGRUOUS TO EVERY IDEA OF EPISCOPAL GOVERNMENT.'** This is still the opinion of many members of that church, including all those who are favorable to 'the antichristian heresy'†† of high churchism, or, as it is now termed, Puseyism. There is now in existence, among all such, an actual conspiracy against the rights of the laity, as preserved in this representative feature of the American episcopal church, which is daily strengthening, and which is based upon a deep and conscientious belief of its irreconcilableness with prelatical authority.‡‡

In no case could the character of our church stand out more brightly, than in contrast with the present condition of the prelacy, in reference to this heresy. She is now endangered by the local and jesuitical plottings of many, perhaps a full half, of her professional members, who are determined to Romanize and unprotestantize her doctrines and spirit. And what can her lay-members—the great staple of the church—what, in this emergency, can they do? They, many of them, weep in secret places, and mourn bitterly for the evil that is coming upon them. But what can they do towards lifting up a standard against this flood of iniquity? Alas! alas! They can do more, as Charlotte Elizabeth has pitifully expressed it, than 'drag into open daylight,' by the aid of the press, the guilty culprits.* No more than this can they effect. And if the leaven leavens the minds of their bishops and clergy, as it is fast doing, they have no other refuge, than the bitterness of unavailing sorrow. And thus it is, that, even in this country, there is, we find, no possibility of lifting a voice or a hand—in a church capacity—against those bishops and clergy, who are spreading the infection of this dangerous heresy through the length and breadth of the land.

†White's Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. pp. 16, 94.

‡Ibid, p. 82.

§Ibid, pp. 82, 202.

||Ibid, p. 99.

§§Ibid, p. 345.

**The Churchman's Monthly Review so terms it.

††See the evidence presented in Lect. on the Apostolic Succ. pp. 309-312.

*Peep into No. 90, p. 48.

Even, however, as the constitution of the Episcopal church now stands, there is much that is in contrariety to all the principles of republicanism, as we shall proceed to show. The people are utterly deprived of their elective rights, the pastor being called and retained, in any church, not by the people, but by the vestry, subject to the approbation of the bishop, who may confirm or reject the appointment.† ‘Under this canon,’ says Dr. Hawks, commenting on canon 34th,‡ ‘the bishop must summon all the presbyters belonging to the diocese, and a majority of the whole thus convened, may, with the bishop, decree a separation, and prescribe the terms. This is an instance, remarkable in the legislation of our church, for one feature; it allows to the clergy, *as a class*, the privilege of determining, *as against the laity*, when a brother clergyman has been unjustly or harshly dealt with, by his congregation; and they have, in fixing the terms of separation, the power which, in some instances, they have exercised, of decreeing, that the congregation shall pay to the clergyman a sum of money, as a compensation to him, for the pecuniary loss he sustains, in being driven to a separation by their conduct.’

The whole spiritual government of the church is vested in each pastor, subject to the bishop, to the entire exclusion of the laity, thus recognizing the doctrine, that the clergy constitute the church, and that the people have no other province, than that of dutiful obedience to the powers that be. In this way, the fundamental principle of republicanism—the intervention of the people in all public affairs—is overthrown, and the teaching of scripture and primitive antiquity utterly set at nought.* Lay elders, or rulers, in the congregation, chosen by the people, were, in fact, originally designed for the English church, and rejected on the very ground of their republican character and tendency.‡

†Constit. and Canons of Prot. Ep. Ch. by Dr. Hawks, pp. 265, 269, can. 38.

‡Constit. and Canons of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 318, can. 34.

*‘I know,’ says archbishop Whitgift, ‘that in the primitive church they had, in every church, certain seniors, to whom the government of the congregation was committed, but that was before there was any christian prince or magistrate, that openly professed the gospel.’

‡Bishop Burnet says, ‘There were many learned and pious divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, who, being driven beyond sea, had observed the new model, set up in Geneva and other places, for the censuring of scandalous persons, of mixed judicatories of the ministers and *laity*, (called by the bishop a little before, *elders*,) and these, reflecting on the great looseness of life which had universally been complained of in King Edward’s time, thought such a platform might be an effectual way for keeping out a return of the like disorders.’ The bishop tells also the reason, which induced Elizabeth not to adopt this. ‘Lord Burleigh and others, demonstrated to her, that these new models would certainly bring with them a great abatement of her prerogative; since if the concerns of religion came into popular hands, there would be a power set up, distinct from hers, over which she could have no authority. This she perceived well, and THEREFORE resolved to maintain the ancient government of the church.’

There is, in the episcopal church, no code of discipline, by which the members, and 'the *inferior* clergy,' may ascertain and limit the exercise of authority. 'In THE church,' says Dr. Hawks,* 'we may be said to have no judicial system. By the constitution, the mode of trying offending clergymen is to be regulated, in each State, by its own rules. Some dioceses *have made no rules at all*. Uniformity, in judicial proceedings, is therefore wanting. But there is a greater evil than this; it is the want of uniformity of interpretation. *Misera est servitas, ubi jus est vagum aut incertum*. Better is it that the law should be interpreted erroneously, so that men may at least have certainty, than that it should be held to mean one thing to-day, and another to-morrow. In vain will any one ask what is the law? No man can say. The convict of Massachusetts, doubting, as well he may, under such circumstances, the propriety of his intended punishment, would fain appeal to some tribunal, competent to adjust conflicting interpretations. But where is such a tribunal? *Nowhere in the church*. If he brings his case, by way of petition, before the general convention, that body has no right, under the constitution, to act as a court of appeals. If (as Ammi Rogers did) he carries it before the house of bishops, as little right have they to sit as judges.'

The laity and '*inferior* clergy,' are therefore at the mercy of the bishop; having no court of appeal, to which they can carry their case, when aggrieved. 'We need,' says Dr. Hawks,† 'a court of appeals, with power, authoritatively and finally, to settle the true interpretation of the constitution and canons, *ut sit finis litium*.'

Bishops, in several respects, are clothed with an absolute power, which is subversive of all liberty, and which characterizes the system a spiritual despotism, though under many present anomalous checks. Thus, bishops are permanent governors, and not elective, and are, therefore, monarchs in their respective dioceses; in perfect contrast to the elective governors of our states, and of our union.‡ While thus despot-

*Constit. and Canons, pp. 56, 57.

†Constit. and Canons, p. 57.

‡In an old work, 'The case of the Accommodation Examined,' the writer, in commenting on the greater power of a permanent over a temporary president, remarks, at p. 107, (See also p. 111, where he fully draws out the contrast,) 'What difference lawyers do make, *Inter eum qui jure suo et illum qui beneficio tantum alieno jurisdictionem habet*, and what a latitude of power is by them assigned to the former, which unto the second, for this very cause they make incompetent, is not for one to dip further into, than may conduce for the illustration of common reason. Only, as he who is elected to an ordinary office of fixed presidency, *ad vitam*, may well and truly be said to be *jure suo* præsides, whereas the other, who is thereto chosen by a commission, as it were, during pleasure, and no longer, doth by the same rule, *alieno tantum beneficio* præsider; so, that this fixedness, imported by the *jus suum*, arising from the investiture of the office, doth considerably advance the *Episcopus Præses*, and discriminate him from a moderator, nominate only during pleasure, and absolutely depending upon the *beneficium* of his constituent, needeth no further explication.'

ical in each diocese, the bishops form a senate, oligarchy, or holy alliance of sovereign potentates, in the general convention, and all this *virtute officii*, and not by election.† The bishops constitute also a close corporation, no one being admissible into their body, however elected, without their permission and concurrence.‡ By the doctrine of apostolical succession, it is further taught, that all ecclesiastical authority emanates from these bishops through a line of succession. They are, therefore, hereditary sovereigns. The doctrine of legitimacy, as taught by European politicians, and by which the king or emperor was made the fountain of power, which flowed down in regular hereditary succession, lies at the very root of the apostolic succession. It claims, distinctly and formally, that the headship or sovereignty of Jesus Christ, has been transferred to the apostles, and has flowed down from them through their lineal successors, who are styled *apostolic bishops*. Now this we proclaim to be just as great an usurpation, as if presidents, governors, and judges, &c. were to claim to appoint their successors, and to transfer their power to them. It is a direct usurpation of the sovereignty of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only source and fountain of authority in the church.*

Like all despotic kings, the bishops have a negative on all the acts of the general convention, and can thus exercise dominion over any number less than four-fifths of that congress of the churches. 'In the general convention of September, 1789, bishop Seabury, with the churches under his care, came into the union, but not until a change had been made in this article. They made it a condition, that this article should be so modified, as 'to declare explicitly the rights of the bishops, when sitting in a separate house, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other house of convention; and to *negative* such acts proposed by the other house, as they may disapprove.' This modification was agreed to. Finally, in 1808, the change was made, and the words 'unless adhered to by four-fifths of the other house,' were stricken out. The article was then left in its present form, as already set forth. *Thus was a veto given to the house of bishops.* In one of the dioceses, and one only, a canon has been passed, giving the bishop an *absolute veto* on the acts of his own convention. In congress, two-thirds may pass a law, notwithstanding it has been returned with the veto of the president. In the diocese alluded to, the veto of the bishop is conclusive, and *a unanimous vote of the convention would not pass the canon.* It is easy to see how the veto power, here, may make the convention a mere body for registering episcopal edicts.‡

†Constit. and Canons, p. 52.

‡Ibid, p. 305. Can. 32.

*See Duffield's Letters to the Rev. Dr. McCoskry. Letter 13th.

‡Constit. and Canons, by Dr. Hawks, pp. 24, 26, 56.

The bishops, also, in order to dignify their sovereignties, are clothed with the titles becoming imperial grandeur and importance. 'They take their titles from the different civil commonwealths, over which they hold dominion. This is a step beyond European prelacy. The English bishops, it has been said, take their titles, not from the countries over which their dioceses extend, but from the cities in which are their palaces and cathedrals. Thus, we have the archbishop of York, not of Yorkshire; the bishop of Chester, not of Cheshire. The catholic archbishop in the United States, is content to add the city of Baltimore to his title, and bishop Fenwick calls himself bishop of Boston, not of Massachusetts. But American episcopacy assumes a loftier soul. The smallest number of episcopal ministers in any one of our States, is seven; the largest, that is, in New York, is two hundred and ninety-seven. We concede the right of these ministers, with their flocks, to put one minister over them all, and to call him their bishop, but how the individual thus appointed becomes bishop of one of our States, we cannot conceive.'

'It is well to consider 'whereunto such things may grow.' From the fashion of adopting titles from our civil commonwealths, taken in connection with the fact, that, by fortuitous circumstances, our national chaplaincies, with few exceptions, are filled by episcopal ministers, it seems to us by no means impossible, that the members of other denominations may yet come to be called, even in this free land, by the odious title of dissenters. We are even now indiscriminately branded as sectarians, and this by a party, which, sixty years ago, felt obliged to send men across the ocean for consecration, in order that their ministry might be perpetuated on this continent.*

In all societies there is a tendency to centralization of power. This is to be obviated only by the formation of several centres and distinct bodies, having a division of power. § This tendency, which is inherent in prelacy, was only held in check in primitive times, 'by the multitude and smallness of dioceses; † and in modern times, by lodging the supreme power in the king and parliament. ‡ But, in this country, the dioceses of bishops

*The (Boston) Christian Register. That these titles are already in extensive circulation, we have proved in Lect. on Apost. Succ. pp. 323, 324, &c. An identity of interest is therefore claimed with England. See Origin and Compil. of the Prayer Book. Philad. 1841, p. 75. What are we to think, when we hear this same American clergyman, in the same work, p. 101, feelingly bewail the inflicted penalty of a nation's wronged, and insulted, and oppressed people, on 'England's first Charles, her martyred king, and England's BEST FRIEND AND BISHOP, her martyred Laud.' See, on the character of Laud, Lond. Christ. Obs. 1837, pp. 175, 381, 407, 518, 837.

§ See London Quart. Rev. Dec. 1839, p. 74; and Tocquev. Dem. vol. i. p. 90.

† Ibid, p. 74.

‡ Ibid, pp. 74, 83-85.

are empires, and there is no check to the rapid centralization of both government and administration in their hands.

The jurisdiction assigned to bishops is found to be correspondent to their sovereignty. No clergyman, however, unworthy, can be deposed, but by the bishops. § They have the *sole* discretionary power of dispensing, in the case of candidates for the ministry, with the knowledge of the Hebrew. || A candidate for the ministry can only apply for admission to the bishop in whose diocese he may live, and who may have a prejudice against him; nor can he apply to any other bishop for ordination, 'without the permission of the former.'** The bishop, too, can refuse orders to any individual whom *he* may judge guilty of contumacy towards him; †† and, if rejected in one diocese, this poor victim of persecution will be probably rejected in all. ‡‡ The bishop can even prevent deacons from removing to another diocese, in which they may have a field of labor opened up to them, and thus compel them to remain where they have nothing to do, but wait upon his orders.* The bishop may confirm persons who are not presented by the clergyman of any parish, on *account of their unworthiness*; so that a Puseyite bishop may fill the church with impenitent and unconverted men. † This he may do by virtue of another canon, which empowers the bishop to restore an individual, who has been debarred by any clergyman from the communion, at his own good pleasure, if 'he think fit to restore him, from the insufficiency of the cause assigned by the minister.' The fearful nature of this power, which *has been* exercised in this country, ‡ Dr. Hawks is compelled to admit. He says, * † 'In the second section of this law, an addition is made which seems to intimate, that the laity are not lightly to be suspected, but, that a clergyman is likely so far to forget his obligations, as solemnly to exclude one of Christ's children from Christ's table, on insufficient grounds. There is here a shorter process also pointed out, in which, *without complaint*, and *without inquiry*, the bishop, who, after all, in the investigation of a matter of fact, is no more than any other man and clergyman, with this disadvantage also, that he is placed at a distance from the scene of the transaction, is expected to pronounce *ex-cathedra* upon

§ Constit. and Canons, p. 33, Can. 6.

|| Ibid, p. 140, Can. 9.

§§ Ibid, pp. 130, 142, Can. 9.

** Const. and Canons, p. 164, Can. 12.

†† Ibid, p. 167. See also Wilson's *Sacra Privata*, pp. 221, 235, and Burnet's *Vind. of the Ch. of Scotl.* p. 182, where it is also shown, that bishops are the sole judge of qualifications for orders, and can ordain at discretion and without reasons.

* Const. and Canons, by Dr. Hawks, pp. 208, 328.

† Ibid, p. 256, Can. 26.

‡ Ibid, p. 368.

*† Ibid, Can. 42, pp. 363, 364, 365, 368.

the case, more righteously and wisely than his brother-clergyman, who was on the spot, and bound by the most solemn of all considerations to judge righteous judgment. Suppose the bishop deems the causes assigned by the repelling clergyman insufficient, and reverses his act. What is the consequence? Not now to speak of its fastening upon the clergyman an enemy, who will feel that he may do much, because he has the bishop on his side, it violates the established rights of the parochial clergy, and overturns a fixed principle in our ecclesiastical polity. Such a restoration by the bishop, of a repelled communicant, is a virtual trial and condemnation of the clergyman who repelled him. It will be a sad day for the church,' adds Dr. Hawks, 'when the clergy, without the intervention of triers of their own order, may be tried and condemned by the bishop alone. The smallest approach to such an encroachment should be promptly resisted. It is of vast importance to the well-being of the church, to preserve their just rights to that large body of real operatives, the parochial clergy. Power always passes slowly and silently, and without much notice, from the hands of the many to the few; and all history shows, that ecclesiastical domination grows up by little and little. Give to bishops the right, without a formal trial by their peers, virtually to condemn presbyters in one case; and it will surely come to pass, that the day will be seen when precedent will be cited for it in *all cases*. Antiquity, not primitive and genuine antiquity, for that a wise man will respect, but manufactured within a few hundred years, will be lugged in, and held up as the only guide in ecclesiastical legislation, without remembering, that even pure antiquity must often yield to the altered state of society; and then come canons to bolster up the pilfered power, the spurious antiquity, until the bold usurpation has fenced itself round with a wall, which even truth may long assault in vain. The overwhelming tyranny, from which the reformation freed the protestant church, grew up by this *paulatim* process.' Does not Dr. Hawks here designedly picture the present rapid growth of this prelatical power?

The bishop may further prevent any congregation from settling the minister chosen for them, by their vestry.* The bishop, therefore, is, in reality, THE GRAND PATRON of all the churches in his diocese, which are thus in his gift.† And, supposing the existing clergy, or a majority of them, in any diocese, to have become leavened with the high-church heresy, there is no possibility of any reformation, if the powers secured to the bishop are rigidly exercised, since no minister can preach in any other church than his own without leave, nor can any

*Const. and Canons, p. 279. Can. 30.

†Constit. and Canons, p. 285.

new church be built without similar license.† A man, too, when once made bishop, and when he has thus received the indelible, invisible mark of episcopal grace, is absolutely shut up to the necessity of continuing in office, however unworthy, or unfit, he may prove or find himself to be.‡ The bishop *alone* can displace ministers, and separate a useful, holy, and evangelical clergyman from a loving people, as has been done in many recent cases in England and Scotland.§ But, further, no degraded minister, however penitent, can ever be restored;|| so that, were this the only church in this country, an injured individual might be thus crushed and destroyed without appeal or remedy.

A bishop can exercise his despotic power even over a minister connected with another diocese, who may be on a visit to his own. Such a minister, should he dare to preach, or otherwise attempt to do good, in any way which may be deemed by the bishop to be improper, or contrary to rule, 'the bishop may, *upon probable cause*,** admonish such a clergyman, and forbid him to officiate in the said diocese. And if, after such prohibition, the said clergyman so officiate, the bishop shall give notice to all the clergy and congregations in said diocese, that the officiating of the said clergyman is, *under any*, and ALL *circumstances*, prohibited; and like notice shall be given to the bishop, or, if there be no bishop, to the standing committee of the diocese to which the clergyman belongs. And such prohibition shall continue in force, *until the bishop of the first-named diocese be satisfied* of the innocence of the clergyman, or until he be acquitted on trial.' And for what reason is all this tremendous power vested in the hands of a man, who may be a Puseyite heretic, and to whom all efforts to promote pure and undefiled religion may be a criminal offence? Let Doctor Hawks himself answer. 'We must clearly understand,' says he, 'what the offence is for what the visiting clergyman, who has broken a particular canon of another diocese, is tried; he is not called to account so much for the ill consequences, which may result from the breaking of that canon, as he is for violating THE GREAT PRINCIPLE of a due respect for the lawful ecclesiastical authority of the region in which he is sojourning. *Insubordi-*

†Ibid, pp. 293-295.

‡Ibid, pp. 301, 303. 'So far,' says Dr. Hawks, 'as our research has extended, this law is without a precedent in the history of the christian church. We may be mistaken, but we believe that ours is the first church in christendom, that ever legislated for the express purpose of preventing episcopal resignations: for this canon prescribes so many restrictions, that the obstacles render it almost impossible for a bishop to lay down his jurisdiction. The matter is one which the practice of the church has heretofore left to be settled between God and the conscience of the bishop; and it may well be questioned, whether it be not best, in all cases, there to leave it.'

§Ibid, p. 346, Can. 38.

||Ibid, p. 350.

§§Constit. and Canons, p. 355, Can. 40.

nation is his *crime*, rather than the violation of a particular measure, founded on a particular policy.'

Further,* the bishop of each diocese may compose forms of prayer, or thanksgiving, as the case may require, for extraordinary occasions, and transmit them to each clergyman within his diocese, whose duty it shall be, to use such forms in his church on such occasions. A bishop may thus, as was done not long since, prescribe to protestant clergymen a form of prayer for a sick Roman catholic bishop, to be offered up in the congregations, and in which he is recognized as a *true* bishop of *the true* church, in express contradiction of the homilies,† and by which all the corruptions of popery are unavoidably encouraged, and implicitly approved.

That these principles, which we have now developed, must necessarily lead to intolerance, and that they have already done so in this country, we have abundantly proved elsewhere.‡ And that the rights and privileges of 'the laity and inferior clergy,' will be more and more destroyed, in proportion as the number and influence of the bishops increase, we most fully believe. Already they are very bold. Witness the attack of bishop De Lancey, upon the popular and republican constitution of the board of missions of the episcopal church, which has hitherto been modelled upon the plan of our presbyterian board, by admitting ALL its members to an equal participation in its management. The bishop says, 'another defect is, that it contains no provision by which the rights and feelings of the bishops in those dioceses, wherein the missionaries of the board labor, are secured against an extraneous influence and interference, on the part of the secretaries of the board, in their correspondence with the missionaries. But a still more serious objection occurs to the present organization, arising out of the relation to it which the bishops of the church are compelled to hold. In the General Theological Seminary, the bishops may, at any time, demand in the board a vote by orders, in which case a concurrence is necessary; and are thus secured against being committed to any measure or opinion, by the force of THE VOTE OF A MAJORITY. That institution,' he adds, 'which challenges the love and liberality of every member of the household of faith, that institution is modelled on the *congregational* (that is, presbyterian) platform of placing layman, deacon, priest, and bishop, on the arena of debate; where the most skilful, bold, zealous, and fluent, will predominate, and where the opinion of the presiding bishop of the church has no more practical weight, when questions are brought *to a vote*, than that of the youngest deacon or youngest layman, that may

*Constit. and Canons, p. 386, Can. 387.

†See Taylor's Ancient Christ, vol. ii. part viii. where this is fully shown

‡Lect. on the Apost. Succ. Lect. xiii. p. 299, &c.

happen to be voted into either committee, to fill a vacancy within a week before the meeting of the board. The members of the house of bishops, as a body, are as little disposed as *qualified*, to carry on debates in a popular assembly, and yet, unless they will consent to the exposure and trials of such a scene, they must consent to lose the weight of their sentiments in the board, or to seek peace by surrendering the the conduct of the institution to whomsoever will undertake to lead it.‡

Surely, if a straw will show which way the wind blows, there is enough in this public declaration to discover the ultimate tendencies of prelacy in this country, and its innate antipathy to republican rights. There is not one essential principle of republicanism which it does not oppose and controvert;—the rights of the people, the equality of all members of the church, in their original character, the church as constituted by the whole people, to whom all power was originally given, the elective and representative rights of the people, the right of the majority to govern and direct the interests of the community, the responsibility of all officers to the people, and the election of all ministers by them,—these, and all the other fundamental principles of republicanism, the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country entirely overthrows. In no proper sense is it a government of the people, either as it regards parishes, dioceses, or the general convention. The laity are systematically crushed. The little power they *now* have, is regarded as anomalous.§ and is constantly diminishing.**

The general government of this church is, therefore, altogether different from that of our republic. It is not a union of *independent* confederated States, it is a *consolidated* government. By the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, each several diocese surrendered, 'first, such an exercise of independency as would permit them to withdraw from the union at their own pleasure, and without the assent of the other dioceses; secondly, they surrendered the right of having the bishop, whom they might elect, consecrated without the assent of the church at large.†† Now, while it is of course im-

‡Address to the Convention in 1842, Charl. Gospel Messenger, Nov. 1842.

§See Lect. on Apost. Succ. Lect. xiii.

**Paley adduces as one of his four arguments for the distinction of orders in the English church, that in them the church, [Works, vol. vi. pp. 95 and 96,] may be considered 'as stationing ministers of religion in the various ranks of civil life. The distinctions of the clergy ought, in some measure, to correspond with the distinctions of lay-society, in order to supply each class of the people with a clergy of their own level and description, with whom they may live and associate upon terms of equality. This reason is not imaginary nor insignificant.'

††Dr. Hawks in Constit. of Prot. Epis. Ch. And yet, so badly has bishop McCoskry learned the nature of that sect to which he has given in his blind adherence, that he actually brings forward 'the independence of the several dioceses' as 'analogous to the independence of the several States.' See Duffield on Episcop. p. 52, Appendix.

possible to form any union, under any form of government, without surrendering many original and inherent rights, for the sake of other and greater privileges; yet, it will be granted, that the perfection of any government, consists in securing to its members all such advantages, with the least possible sacrifice of their personal rights, or restraint in their free exercise. Now, it is at once apparent, that the rights here said to be surrendered, are very *essential* to freedom and independence, and that their surrender places each member of the confederation in a condition of *necessary dependency* upon all the rest. So much so, indeed, that, while bound to continue with them, it cannot, without them, by its own choice, perpetuate its own institutions. The perfect liberty enjoyed by every synod or presbytery, to withdraw from union with the church upon sufficient grounds, and the entire sufficiency of every such body to perpetuate itself, to admit, ordain, and govern its own ministers; and that without any external interference from any other portion of the church, or any subserviency whatever, must therefore be allowed to speak forth the praise of our free and happy presbyterian constitution.

These facts, in the constitution of the protestant episcopal church in this country, drawn from unquestionable sources, we submit, with but little remark, to our readers. They will, doubtless, be as astounding to many, as they were, when first discovered, to ourselves. We had confidently believed, that this church had imbibed much of the free spirit of our presbyterian system. And by its own loud and continual boasting, we had been assured that it was the very perfection of ecclesiastical republicanism. The truth, therefore, should be made known. It will be as mournful to a large portion of that church as it is to ourselves, and may serve to increase that timely watchfulness and jealousy of prelatical encroachments, which will secure the endangered rights of her clerical and lay members.

SECTION III.

The anti-republicanism of high-churchism.

The monarchical and anti-republican character of high-churchism, whether in England or America, needs not a great amount of proof. The Anglican church, 'continued to be,' says Macauley, †† 'for more than a hundred and fifty years, the servile handmaid of monarchy, the steady enemy of public

††Miscellanies, vol. i. p. 249.

liberty. The divine right of kings, and the duty of passively obeying all their commands, were her favorite tenets. She held them firmly through times of oppression, persecution, and licentiousness; while law was trampled down, while judgment was perverted, while the people were eaten as though they were bread. Once, and but once—for a moment, and but for a moment, when her own dignity and property were touched, she forgot to practice the submission which she had taught.'

Again, he says, §§ 'The royal prerogative had been magnified to the skies in theological works; the doctrine of passive obedience had been preached from innumerable pulpits. The university of Oxford had sentenced the works of the most moderate constitutionalists to the flames. The accession of a catholic king, the frightful cruelties committed in the west of England, never shook the steady loyalty of the clergy. But did they serve the king for nought?'

This general character of the hierarchy, the whole history of the Anglican prelacy abundantly confirms. The English reformers regarded no form of church government as of divine institution. They chose prelacy, because it was best adapted to a monarchy. In strict conformity to the English parliament, as constituted of lords and commons, the church possessed her two estates in the upper and lower houses of her convocation; the laity, however, being carefully excluded.* And as, by its nature, a monarchy requires a supreme head, each prelate was recognized as the one supreme governor in his diocese; and the king as head over all, to whom unqualified submission, from all the members of the church, was required. All spiritual authority, on the part of the church, was, therefore, abjured.† Every canon, however, passed by the church, was absolutely null, till sanctioned by the throne.‡ And the very highest power possessed by the church, of denouncing under the greater excommunication, was, and is, rendered absolutely void, by a general act of pardon delivered from the throne, without even the formality of an absolution.

And why was it that these principles were allowed to remain in the reformed church of England? No truer reason can be given, than that presented by its advocate, the Rev. F. W. Faber, in his tract on the reformation.§ 'Yet how,' he asks, 'was the reformation brought about? Entirely by the clergy. The people *never* were consulted in the matter. *No popular assembly was held. Nothing was put to vote.* Their consent was never asked. In all probability it would *not have been*

§§Ibid, p. 312.

*Dr. Nolan's Cath. Char. of Christ. pp. 156, 161, 167.

†Dr. Nolan's Cath. Char. of Christ. pp. 160, 161.

‡Ibid, p. 163.

§No. 151 of Prot. Ep. Tr. Soc. p. 5.

given; for the great bulk of the people were too ignorant to understand it, and naturally disinclined to change their opinions. So also, in the catechism, the church teaches her children to obey their spiritual pastors, *and masters.*'**

The act of uniformity, of Elizabeth, was the foundation of the resuscitated Anglican church. Now, by this act, the church was made the tool and agent of arbitrary power.†† It entirely subverted all freedom, civil and religious. All toleration was denied, and conformity enforced by persecution, and the most dreadful atrocities.‡‡

In the reign of James I, from the period of his apostacy from Calvinism, 'Arminianism,' says Dr. Price, *† 'was the badge of a party which advocated the most servile doctrines, both in politics and religion; and had arrayed against it all the patriotism, and much of the learning and piety, of the nation. The house of commons complained of its increase as a public grievance, and coupled it in their remonstrances with popery, as an evil scarcely less to be dreaded. Their aversion to it was fostered by the alliance with civil despotism, into which its professors entered, and they were with difficulty restrained from adopting measures for its suppression. Judging from a partial view of the facts of their own day, they regarded the system of Arminius as incompatible with political freedom; for which it is remarked by Mr. Hallam, 'they had a sort of excuse in the close, though accidental and temporary connection, that subsisted between the partisans of these new speculative tenets and those of arbitrary power; the churchmen, who receded most from Calvinism, being generally the zealots of prerogative. They conceived, also, that those theories, conformable, in the main, to those most countenanced in the church of Rome, might pave the way for the restoration of her faith, which, from so many other quarters, appeared to threaten them.'

The clergy who embraced these tenets, lent themselves to the support of the king's prerogative, with a zeal which entitled them to his patronage.§§ So early as 1606, the convocation drew up a set of canons, deducing the origin of government from the patriarchial regimen of families, and denouncing the

**Thus we see, adds he, what judgment the reformation would have passed upon congregations censuring the teachings of their pastors from their own private opinions. Still more do we see what it would think of those rude and indecent criticisms, passed by persons wholly unqualified to judge, upon the prayer book, its creeds, and its articles, the length of its services, and the language of its doctrinal statements.'

††Hence have bishops been of old denominated 'the prince's led-horse.' Life of Melville, ii. 215.

‡‡Brooke's Hist. of Rel. Lib. vol. i. pp. 281, 292, 283-286.

*†Price's Hist. of Nonconf. vol. i. p. 542.

§§Price, *ibid*, p. 547. This was the true reason of James's preference for prelacy. See Dr. McCrie's Life of Melville, vol. i. pp. 156, 264, 271, 304.

more popular and liberal views, which were becoming prevalent. Passive obedience to the reigning monarch is inculcated throughout these canons, and anathemas are liberally pronounced on all who refuse it. The same doctrines were maintained by the higher clergy, during the whole of this reign; towards the close of which, the university of Oxford pronounced a solemn decree, 'that, by the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, it is in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their prince, nor to appear offensively or defensively in the field against the king, either upon the score of religion, or any other account whatever.' All doctors, masters, and bachelors of law, and physic, were to subscribe this article; and all persons to be promoted in future to any degree, were further required to take an oath, that they not only at present detested the opposite doctrines, but would always continue to be of the same opinion.*

To what did prelacy lead in Scotland? To what, says McCrie,† it had already led in England, the establishment of the English inquisition, the court of high commission. This arbitrary and despotical court, whose proceedings were regulated by no fixed laws, or forms of justice, had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory, of calling before it all persons accused of error, or immorality, and all preachers and teachers, in schools or colleges, charged with speeches which were impertinent, contrary to the established order of the church, or favorable to those who had been confined or banished for contemptuous offences; and, on finding them guilty, it had power to depose and excommunicate, fine and imprison them. The presence of an archbishop was necessary to the validity of all its meetings, and it was easy for him to summon such associates as were devoted to his will; so that it was, to all intents and purposes, an episcopal court. As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the king in possession of that which long time he had desired, and hunted for, to wit, the royal prerogative, and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of the common law; so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the church and realm of Scotland. Bishops became thus lords of parliament, privy-council, session,

*Bishop White remarks, that 'in England, Armenianism was conceived of as allied to absolute monarchy, and Calvinism to popular privilege.' [Mem. of Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 55.] See also Dr. Price's Hist. of Non. Conf. vol. ii. pp. 9, 29, 241, and, as to Armenianism, pp. 31, 36, 37. See the spirit and conduct of the bishops at the Hampton Court Conference, which were at the same time slavish and blasphemous. McCrie's Life of Melville, vol. ii. pp. 198, 218, 219. This is also affirmed by Dr. Wm. Cook Taylor, in his Biog. of the age of Eliz. vol. ii. p. 56, where he affirms that James had reason for his aphorism, 'no bishop, no king.'

†Life of Melville, ii. 386.

exchequer, and regality, patrons of benefices, and modifiers of stipends, constant moderators and visitors of presbyteries, and royal high commissioners!

By what means was prelacy introduced into Scotland? By the very same through which it was maintained in England, and which have been already described.* The way in which it was introduced, says Dr. McCrie,† exhibited a complete contrast to the introduction of the ecclesiastical polity, which it supplanted. Presbytery made its way by the weapons of argument and persuasion, without the aid of civil power, which viewed its progress with a jealous eye, and attempted on more than one occasion to crush it. Its patrons avowed all that they intended, and never had recourse to falsehood or fraud, to accomplish their favorite object. And it had been rooted in the opinions and affections of the nation, long before it obtained a legal establishment. Episcopacy, on the contrary, was the creature of the state. It had the whole weight of the authority and influence of the crown, all along, on its side; and even with this, it could not have prevailed, or maintained its ground, without the aid of those arts to which government has recourse for carrying its worst and most unpopular measures.

‘Deceit and perfidy, and bribery, were joined to fines and imprisonments, and banishments, and the terrors of the gibbet. Dissimulation was the grand engine by which the presbyterian constitution was overthrown. While the court disgraced itself by a series of low and over-reaching tricks, the aspiring clergy plunged themselves into the deepest and most profligate perjury. They refused no pledge which the jealousy of the church courts, awakened by the measures of government, required of them. When engaged in a scheme for overthrowing the established discipline, they renewed the assurances of their inviolable attachment and adherence to it. With the most solemn asseverations and execrations, they disclaimed all intention of bringing prelacy into the church, and swore to observe ‘the caveats,’ enacted to guard against its admission. Every change which was made was declared to be the only one intended; but, no sooner had the alarm excited by it been allayed, than it was followed by another, until, at last, the whole system of the hierarchy was introduced and established, by the exertions of those who had so frequently disowned and abjured it. It is impossible to find expressions sufficiently strong, in reprobating a scene of deliberate, systematic, and persevering prevarication, and perfidy, to which it will not be easy to find a parallel in the whole history of political intrigue, and which, as practiced by church-men, must have had the most pernicious influence on religion, by debasing the character of its ministers, especially in

*Macauley’s *Miscell.* vol. i. p. 312.

†*Life of Melville*, ii. 391-394.

the estimation of the higher ranks, whom they now vied with in honors, and sought to supplant in the highest offices of the state.'

Prelacy and monarchy, are, in short, collateral terms. They stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect, of invariable antecedent and consequent. The same principles which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, led to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, patriarch, and pope, which is a regular monarchical scale. The *spirit* of the system is equally despotic. It makes prelates the depositaries of all grace, the necessary mediators between God and man, the keepers of the human conscience, the only channels of grace, who are clothed with all the prerogatives of heaven. It leads, therefore, to a state of mental servitude, and crouching superstition. It embodies, in fact, the fundamental principles of popery.* And if any man is disposed to regard the connections between popery and despotism, and between prelacy and monarchy, and between presbytery and republicanism, as incidental, we must appeal to their analogous principles, and to their invariable tendencies.†

Hear the description given of prelacy by bishop Hicks, as quoted by the Oxford Tractators.‡ 'Can you, sir, when you consider that bishops are appointed to succeed the apostles, and, like them, to stand in CHRIST'S place, and exercise their kingly, priestly, and prophetic office over their flocks; can you, when you consider this, think it novel, or improper, or uncouth, to call them spiritual princes, and their dioceses principalities, when they have every thing in their office which can denominate a prince? For what is a prince but the chief ruler of a society, that hath authority over the rest to make laws for it, to challenge the obedience of all the members, and all ranks of men in it, and power to coerce them, if they will not obey. And now, sir, I pray you to attend to what follows, and then tell me, if the office of a bishop contains not every thing that is in the definition of a chief or a prince.'

Collier also uses the terms 'monarchically governed,' as equivalent to 'episcopal administration.'§

*See Lect. on Apos. Succ. Lect. xi. xii.

†This connection, as founded upon certain analogous principles, will be found urged by Woodgate, in his Bampton Lectures for 1839, p. 20. See also 349, 350, 351. He contends, that the connection 'is not merely one of analogy, but also of principle,' and on p. 351, 352, he shows the several points of correspondence between democracy and dissent. Huber says, 'the monarchical principle . . . involves the conditions of a natural confederacy with those principles, interests, customs, and peculiarities, which in later times were distinguished as *high-church*, and a natural idiosyncrasy against the opposite religious development.' Die Englischen Universitäten, &c. in Hoffman's Anglo Prussian Bishopric, pp. 27, 28.

‡Vol. iii. pp. 155, 156.

§Ecl. Hist. B. i. cent. iv. vol. i. p. 26.

Hence do we find South, while calling on the civil magistrates to extirpate heresy,* and lauding to the skies, the arbitrary and despotic tyranny of Charles, urging, as a claim for the prelatial government in the church, that it was 'the only one that can consist with the present government of the state.'†

But, to crown all, and to consummate our argument, 'they are atheists,' says Dr. Nichols, of prelatial memory, 'who affirm that government originates in the people, that this notion is borrowed from the most pestilent atheists, and can be defended on no other than atheistical principles.'‡

SECTION IV.

The anti-republican character of Popery.

Popery is despotism in religion, effected by the suppression of our charter, the holy scriptures, the prostration of private judgment, liberty of conscience, and consequently of all appeal from her unrighteous decisions.§ The connection, therefore, between popery and despotic or arbitrary government, is not one of *accident* or *analogy*, but one of *principle* and *necessity*. They not merely resemble each other, they are identical. The *principle* of both is the despotic and servile principle, in the former actuating their rulers, and in the latter those over whom they rule. Master and slave characterize the relation between both parties.

The papacy is that usurpation, by which the primitive and apostolic doctrine and polity of the church have been overturned; so that the pope, who *may* be an infidel, an atheist, and a reprobate, sitteth in the temple of God, that is, the church, as God, and assumes to himself the attributes and prerogatives of the Lord Jesus Christ, who is its only Head. This despotic usurpation, as we have seen, was established in the seventh century, when the authority of the Roman See became predominant in the west, and was consummated in the eleventh century, when that authority became unlimited. Since that time, it has been a mark of orthodoxy, among Romanists, to define the church a monarchy.

*Sermon 3, vol. i. pp. 111, 112, ed. 1737.

†Sermon 2, Epistle Ded. p. 76.

‡See in Robinson's Claude's Essay, vol. ii. p. 42. Other testimonies may be seen in Burnet's Vindic. p. 179. Jameson's Cyp. Isot. p. 558. Lord Digby. Lond. Quart. Rev. Dec. 1839, p. 74. Lond. Chr. Obs. 1838, p. 39. Spiritual Despotism, pp. 176, 177, 184, 199, 200, 202, 205, 208, Eng. ed. How this argument entered into all the petitions, arguments, and remonstrances of the prelatial party during the reign of Charles, may be seen in Southey's Book of the Church, ch. xvii. pp. 465, 466, Lond. 4th ed.

§Woodgate's Bampton Lect. pp. 350, 351.

Bellarmino, in his lectures, 'De Romano Pontifice,' delivered in the college of Rome by appointment of pope Gregory XIII, 'after endeavoring,' says Cramp,* 'to prove that simple monarchy is the best form of government, and that therefore it has been adopted in the church, in which the pope, as the successor of Peter, rules in the place of Christ, who has constituted him his sole vicar or representative, describes at large the spiritual and temporal power of the pope.†

That church government ought to be monarchical, Bellarmine further urges, for the following reason,‡ 'that, among all the forms of government, simple monarchy, bating some circumstances, is absolutely the best. That however, a monarchy, mixed with aristocracy and democracy, is more useful in this life, than simple monarchy; and that this form of government has prevailed in the church, wherein is the monarchy of the pope, the aristocracy of the bishops, and the democracy of inferior clergy.' Of the people, we see, he takes no account. They are only subjects, whose province it is to obey.

Cassienus makes it essential to the church to be under one supreme head, nor does he, in his definition, refer to any other governors as necessary.§ Prelates, therefore, according to Romanists, are not only in a higher degree of superiority to other ministers, but they are as princes of the clergy, while other ministers are subjects, and in all things to be *commanded* by them.**

In 1828, M. Schlegel,†† who has stood foremost among the literary men of Roman Catholic Europe, in his Lectures on the Philosophy of History, has labored to demonstrate the mutual support which popery and monarchy lend to, and receive from, each other. Church and state, he insists, must always be united; and it is essential to the existence of each, that a pope be at the head of the one, and an emperor, absolute of course, at the head of the other. He takes occasion to show, that protestantism is absolutely the enemy of all good government; and that it is, in fact, the ally of republicanism, the source of all distracted Europe's disorders, wars, and distresses. In short, that it is the cause of all the calamities with which the legitimate governments of the old world are now being visited. This cunning politician thus breaks out against our republic: 'The real nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France, and the rest of Europe, has been North

*Text Book, &c. p. 310.

†See also Dr. Thorpe, in Notes of the Ch. Exam. p. 134.

‡Lib. de Pontif. Rom. B. i. ch. ix. in Limborch, vol. ii. p. 908, and *ibid*, B. iii. and iv.

§Syn. Pap. p. 269, from Bellarm. lib. i. de cleric. c. xiii. xiv. Videmus Episcopum, proinde verum principem. c. xiv.

**Notes of the Ch. Exam. p. 187.

††Dr. Brownlee's Popery an Enemy to Liberty, p. 21.

America. From that land has the evil spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication.*

Mr. Macauley speaking in the house of commons on the state of Ireland, said:

'It was not by any means the fact, as has been hinted at by the noble member opposite, that the Roman Catholic faith had a tendency to anything that was Whig, for it was quite the contrary. Without going into that question, I may safely say, that the Roman Catholic religion is undoubtedly that which attaches the greatest authority to aristocracy in arts, language, spirit, and tendency. (Hear, hear.) There is a decided bearing in its tenets to Conservatism. Its followers have ever shown it, never more clearly than at the time of the civil war. Was there a Catholic in the army of Fairfax? How many did they think fought against Charles I? Not one. They were all arrayed under his banner. (Hear, hear.) When Charles II was proscribed and hunted down with a reward of £5,000 on his head, was there a single Catholic to pursue him? From his works, it was clear that Burke (and Pitt had taken a lesson from him) well knew, or at least regarded the Roman Catholic religion as the greatest safeguard against Republican and Jacobite doctrines. (Hear, hear.) It was under these feelings and with such views that he took up the cause of the Roman Catholics. He, indeed, had considered that most ancient church as the most natural guardian of ancient institutions.'

We do not indulge, therefore, either in conjecture, or in the exercise of *private* judgment, when we say, that POPERY IS MONARCHICAL AND ANTI-REPUBLICAN. We draw upon their own testimony, and appeal to all history. We do this in the knowledge of the fact, that some two or three *dwarfed* republics, or rather aristocracies, have existed in Romish countries. They did so, however, in spite of its influence. They lived by opposition, and the hard maintenance of their envied rights; and while republican *in name*, they were in reality despotic, and without a shadow of popular freedom, or genuine liberty. We do this, too, while perfectly aware that Alexis De Tocqueville has been procured, in utter contrariety to his own principles, to claim for popery the greatest affinity to democracy, that is, as he uses the word, to republicanism. He says,† 'I think that the catholic religion has been erroneously looked upon, as the natural enemy of democracy. Among the various sects of christians, catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favorable to the equality of conditions. In the catholic church, the religious community is composed of

*Vol. ii. Lect. xvii. p. 286.

†Democr. in Am. vol. i. pp. 328, 329.

only two elements; the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal. On doctrinal points, the catholic faith places all human capacities upon the same level; it subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed.'

Now in these remarks, Tocqueville evidently uses the term democracy in the sense of *equality* merely, without respect to *liberty*, and as entirely distinct from it. This is clear, from what he says elsewhere. 'Very great *equality* may be united to institutions more or *less* free, or even to institutions *wholly without freedom*. . . . The taste which men have for liberty, and that which they feel for equality, are, in fact, two *different things*.* Equality, then, is no certain mark of freedom, but may be the badge of slavery. Despotism may produce political equality, but who will say that it can lead to political liberty. We must, therefore, carefully distinguish between equality and freedom. All slaves are equal, but no slaves are free. Freedom is enjoyed only in that community, where the people have an equal right, according to their capacity, to take part in its government.† Equality is found in despotic monarchies, where the monarch is the law, and all beside are equally subject to his will. Now popery, as our author allows, is ecclesiastical despotism—'an absolute monarchy.' It therefore subjugates all its members to a common level of servile equality, while it equally deprives them all of their ecclesiastical rights, and of all religious freedom. In Romanism there is, we grant, perfect equality, but there is no freedom. In these respects, all its members are equal; they all obey the same laws; they all bow down to the same yoke; they all crouch under the lash of the same priestly tyranny; they all prostrate their understandings to the same debasing authority; they all submit to the same ignominious penances; they are all alike weak and impotent, in relation to the imperial potentate; and their condition is alike, in contrast with that of their absolute master. This despotism might be compared to the authority of a parent, were it designed to prepare its subjects for manhood; but it is, on the contrary, only adapted to keep them in perpetual childhood, to spare them all the care of thinking, and all the trouble of living, and gradually to rob man of all use of himself. To employ the powerful language of our author,‡ 'after having thus successively taken each member of the community in its powerful grasp, and fashioned them at will, the supreme power then extends itself over the whole community. It covers the surface

*Dem. in Am. vol. ii. p. 100.

†Ibid, vol. ii. p. 99.

‡Vol. ii. p. 339.

of society with a net-work of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds, and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is not shattered, but softened, bent, and guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting; such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to be nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd.'

But who would not rather incline toward the common empire of the people, than submit to the dominion of a single arm? And is it not better, as Alexis De Tocqueville, when speaking his *free* sentiments, teaches, 'to be levelled by free institutions than by despotic power?*' Who would not, therefore, prefer presbytery to popery; spiritual republicanism, to spiritual absolutism; the sovereignty of all, to the absolute power of one?

Popery is subversive of every principle of republicanism, and irreconcilable with freedom. The theory of those who advocate the divine right of kings, and the duty of passive obedience in all subjects, is embraced in these two propositions, that all government is absolute monarchy, and that no man is born free; †—and are not these, as we have seen, the cardinal principles of popery?

Romanism is founded in implicit faith. Now the father of republicanism, Algernon Sydney, will instruct all who have ears to hear, that 'implicit faith belongs to fools,' and overthrows reason. ‡

Romanism requires dependence upon the will and authority of man;—but this, as the same expounder of republicanism teaches, is slavery. § For what is freedom? 'It is,' says Locke,** 'a liberty to dispose, and order, as he lists, his person, actions, possessions, and his whole property, within the allowance of those laws under which he is, and therein not to be subject to the arbitrary will of another, but freely follow his own.' Such liberty, however, popery destroys.

Popery limits the power which inheres in the whole body of the faith, to the pope, and through his gift, to the priesthood; and this is usurpation.** It exercises that power beyond all right or law; and this is tyranny. †† By altering the laws of Christ; by assuming the power of legislation for his church;

*Vol. i. p. 359.

†Locke on Govt. ch. i. sect. 2. Wks. 4to. vol. ii. p. 140. Lond. 1777.

‡Disc. concerning Govt. ch. i. sect. 3.

§Ibid. ch. i. sect. 5.

**Locke on Govt. ch. vi. sect. 57, vol. ii. p. 239.

††Ibid. ch. xviii. p. 294.

‡‡Ibid.

by setting up the arbitrary will of the pope in the place of the laws instituted by Christ; by hindering the church, that is, the body of the faithful, from assembling and acting freely for the common good; and by delivering over the free-born subjects of Christ to a foreign power; popery stands chargeable with having dissolved the government of Christ's church, and setting up one of its own devising.* Rather, perhaps, may it be said to form no government at all, but a pure despotism; since absolute monarchy is inconsistent with every end of human societies, which is the common good of the whole body, and its protection against the unjust power of any.†

Popery crushes the laity, and despoils them of every right. The Romish church is the body of the prelates and priests; the laity have only to pay and obey, in all the passivity of unquestioning submission. 'All Roman Catholics hold, as a doctrine,' says bishop Hughes, 'that the church, (that is, the clergy, to the exclusion of the laity,) inasmuch as it is a visible society . . . has authority to make laws and require obedience to them; (from all men, the world over;) that it has authority to judge in controversies; condemn new doctrines, cast out heretics,' &c.‡ 'With us,' adds this bishop,§ 'doctrines are not made up, as with presbyterians, from the gatherings of the opinions of the people. They are tenets of revelation; they are held and taught as such, and the votes of the people cannot make them true or false. They were revealed to be taught and believed, and not to be *coughed down,*' in such assemblies as the late synod of York.' This is the genuine language of proud aristocracy, which regards 'the people' with contempt, as the *ignobile vulgus*.

In this sense, the same champion of despotism admits, 'the Romish church is intolerant as truth.' 'It is to me an indisputable fact,' says the Rev. Blanco White, 'that sincere Roman Catholics cannot conscientiously be tolerant.'** Now, since the pope and clergy define, interpret, and therefore *make* the truth, without help or hope on the part of the laity, the Romish church is as intolerant as the lust of power and domination, unlimited and unchecked, can possibly make her.†† The people are the mere vassals of their priestly rulers. They have no part nor lot in the divine commonwealth. They have no voice in the councils of the church. They have no liberty of choice in the min-

*Locke on Govt. ch. xix. pp. 299, 300.

†Ibid. sect. 90, pp. 252, 254.

‡Bp. Hughes in Discuss. with Dr. Breckinridge, p. 152.

§Ibid. p. 394.

**Evid. against Catholicism Dedic'n, p. ii. The utmost they can do is what Bassuet advised James II. to do—ostensibly to give free cause to heresy, which may lead in time to the entire establishment of their church and faith. Do. p. 47, and note. See the whole chapter.

††Bishop Hughes, in Discuss. with Dr. Breckinridge, p. 155.

isters by whom they are to be governed. They have no management even of the funds and property they have themselves contributed to the church. They are now prohibited from acting as trustees of the churches they have erected.* All responsibility to the people for the use made of the funds contributed by them, or the amount received, is denied by popery. The people account to their priests in all cases, the priests to their people in no case. The priests are everything, the people are nothing. A most singular species of democracy, truly! A glorious equality this, most worthy of the inhabitants of this free republic! **POPERY IS THE ANTIPODE OF DEMOCRACY.**†

Popery denies and anathematizes liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, liberty of the press, liberty of discussion, and liberty of association; and yet, upon these, the whole fabric of civil and religious liberty rests. When the foundations are destroyed, can the superstructure remain?‡

*The London Tablet, a Roman Catholic newspaper, is delighted with the pastoral letter of bishop Hughes of New York on this subject. The Tablet, speaking of bishop Hughes's attack upon the trustee system, says: 'We heartily wish this indefatigable prelate all success in these endeavors of his; and, indeed, it seems likely to attend him. The sensation caused by the atrocious Gibraltar case, in addition to that of New Orleans, is producing precious effects in stirring up a fixed resolution to get rid of that modern slavery of the Church, called *'lay-trusteeship.'*'

†Foreign Conspiracy against the United States, pp. 90, 91, 107.

‡See abundant evidence of these positions, in Dr. Brownlee's Popery the Enemy of Civil Liberty; Foreign Conspiracy against the United States; Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, and Our Liberties Defended, New York, 1841. In 1836, John, bishop of New York, publicly condemned a debating society formed among young men of the Romish church in that city. In this he says, 'The church, in the most positive manner, prohibits all laymen from entering into dispute on point of religion with sectarians. *'Inhibemus,'* says pope Alexander IV, *'ne sin quam Laicæ Personæ liceat publice vel privatim de fide Catholica disputare, qui vere contrafecerit excommunicationis laqueo innodetur.'* Had you recollected the sentence, I am sure you would be very far from calling on the catholic young men of this city to become members of a debating society on religious subjects, open to so many serious objections.' John, bishop of New York, in addressing the editor of the Truth Teller, further says, 'I feel surprised that you, who ought to know better, would think of encouraging and drawing public attention to such a society, without first asking the sentiments of your Ordinary on so important a subject.' The bishop quotes pope Alexander IV, to sustain his decree of suppression. The old laws of popery, then, are all allowed to be in force now, and in this country too. Hear the pope: 'We prohibit all lay persons, publicly or privately to dispute concerning the catholic faith; he who shall transgress, let him be hung up (*innodetur*) in the halter (*laqueo*) of excommunication.' This then is the law which governs the Roman Catholics in America. Pope Gregory XVI, in his encyclical letter, Sept. 1832, says, 'and from this most polluted fountain of indifferentism flows that absurd and erroneous sentiment, or rather raving, that *liberty of conscience* is to be asserted and claimed by any one.'

Now the Romanist, who undertook to defend the above bishop's conduct, (see Our Liberties Defended, p. 55,) says, 'He concurred with him, pope Gregory XVI, in the views he has expressed.' 'I agree,' says he, 'with him, (the pope,) in considering that the so-called liberty of conscience cannot sufficiently be execrated.' He further says, 'The liberty or rather licentiousness of the press, which the pontiff reprobates, is somewhat analogous to that which the laws of this very state restrain, when they forbid the publication of obscene or demoralizing works.' Indeed;

The pope is thus absolute and supreme monarch in this land of republicanism, as far as Romanists are concerned. The pope claims by divine right, 'the primacy of jurisdiction, and the plenitude of power,' by which it appertains to him 'to assign pastors to all vacant churches.' †† Thus §§ 'in proud defiance of this free spirit, that stirs in the bosom of every republican and every christian, a foreign despot, residing at Rome, claims, and is actually permitted, by every Roman Catholic in our country, to exercise the prerogative of selecting and sending hither his own creatures, as bishops, priests, vicars, to take care of the souls of *republicans*.'

We find, also, that in the education of young men for the priesthood, and in all their seminaries, both male and female, there is instilled into the mind an implicit obedience and reverence for ecclesiastical superiors, as a conscientious duty, enjoined by divine authority. Whatever mandates issue from the Vatican at Rome are always faithfully executed, as the commands of duty itself. Whatever these may be, they are taught to believe, that it would be sinful to question the obligation to perform them. By these means, the priests become willing and prompt agents, to carry into effect any plans, without themselves knowing the object of them.*

This slavish subjection to the interests of Rome, is secured by the establishment of celibacy. By forbidding the clergy to marry, they are cut off from all those family ties, WHICH ARE THE FOUNTAINS OF PATRIOTISM, AND THE VERY BOND AND CEMENT OF SOCIETY. Having no interests at stake, they look upon the community in which they sojourn, as their PREY, not as their HOME; and upon obedience to their spiritual governors, as the highest of duties. As soldiers of the pope, they are ever ready to obey his summons, and to execute his commands. Thus the priests, monks, and nuns, compose, in fact, the army of a foreign potentate, to fulfil his high behests, as a religious duty, and to look up to him for promotion, in dignity or office; for in the court of Rome, the pope, being the supreme head of the church, is the sole fountain of honor, as well as of authority. †

it is admitted, then, that the pope may usurp the *civil power*, and impose civil restraints, in other countries than his own, to destroy the liberty of the press. I did not expect this concession from catholics; and so he acknowledges that the pope does interfere, and contends that he has a right to interfere, in other states than his own, and control the press, and usurp the civil power, and condemn works for their character, just as the legislature of this state passes laws for the same purpose.'

†† See his words in *Foreign Conspiracy*, p. 36.

§§ Brownlee, as above, p. 89.

* See proofs in *Foreign Conspiracy*, pp. 37-39.

† See proofs of this in several examples in *Foreign Conspiracy*, p. 140, &c. Note c.

But still further to extend this foreign influence, we find that probably two-thirds, at least, of the priests in this country, are foreigners; Italians, Spaniards, Belgians, but a major part from Ireland; who have no natural ties to this country, and have no sentiments or feelings in common with the American citizen. They are ordered to take charge of a congregation, without consulting the members of it; but are set over them by the authority of the pope. They are commissioned to be their spiritual guides; to hear confessions; to grant absolution, and impose penances; and to administer the last sacrament, which is considered so essential to the consolation of the dying penitent in the Romish faith. Now with all this mighty influence over the minds of American citizens, these men are, many of them, in heart, opposed to our free institutions. My lord bishop Flaget, † of Bardstown, Kentucky, in a letter to his patrons abroad, has this plain hint at an *ulterior political design*, and that no less than the *entire subversion* of our *republican government*. Speaking of the difficulties and discouragements the catholic missionaries have to contend with, in converting the Indians, the last difficulty in the way, he says, is 'their continual traffic among the whites, WHICH CANNOT BE HINDERED AS LONG AS THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT SHALL SUBSIST.'

The Catholic Telegraph, a Roman Catholic Journal, in commenting on the case of the burning of the convent near Boston, says, 'this one fact is condemnation of *the system of American institutions*, confirmed lately by numerous other proofs.' Let republicans hear this. §

In this detestation of our political principles, bishop England, with all his apparent love of liberty, fully concurred. In one of his letters to Ireland, he ventured to write as follows.** 'How often did I wish my voice could be heard across the deep, proclaiming, at your meetings, what I have seen and heard, since I left you! A people valuing freedom, and, in the plenitude of its enjoyment, destroying religion, nay, having nearly effected its destruction, by reducing to practice here the principle which the vetoists and conciliators contend for among you. The Americans are loud in their reprobation of your servile aristocracy, who would degrade religion, by placing its concerns under the control of a king's minister; and could your aristocrats, and place-hunters, view the state of catholicity here, they would inveigh against the democrats, who would degrade religion, by placing its concerns under the control of a mob; and I am perfectly convinced, both are right. In both

†Ibid, p. 75. See all of chap. vii. pp. 6, 73, &c.

§Foreign Conspiracy, pp. 180, 181.

**Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, p. 376.

cases the principle is exactly the same; the mode of carrying it into operation is different. I am convinced, that if those gentlemen of the Irish hierarchy, who are suspected, and I fear with good reason, of being favorable to vetoistical arrangements, had each one month's experience of the operation of the principle here, their good sense, and piety, and zeal for religion, would compel them to suffer inconvenience, rather than commit the fate of the religion of millions under their charge, and myriads yet unborn, to the influence of a most destructive principle, to release themselves and their flock from the mitigated persecution under which they still suffer. . . . The people here, claim, and endeavor to assume, the same power which these classes and conditions would give to the crown amongst you—though not to the same extent. The consequence is, that religion is neglected, degraded, despised, and insulted *with impunity.*' So much for the republicanism of bishop England.

Let it not be forgotten, that the church of Rome is a *state* as well as a church. The pope, who impiously styles himself the 'vicar of Jesus Christ,' claims both *temporal* and spiritual jurisdiction over the whole earth. In proof of this, we shall cite three witnesses out of a multitude, who stand ready to confirm it. One of these is pope Sixtus V. His bull against Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, begins thus: 'The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the Eternal King, *excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes*—it passes uncontrollable sentence on them all—and if it finds any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer.' And then he proceeds—'*we deprive them and their posterity, for ever, of their dominions and kingdoms.*' Our second witness shall be pope Pius V. In his bull against Queen Elizabeth, in which he pretends to absolve all her nobles and subjects from their allegiance to her, he affirms, that God has constituted the Roman pontiff '*prince over all nations and all kingdoms*, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruin, plant, and build.' Our third witness shall be pope Boniface VIII. There is a decree of his in the canon law, running thus: 'We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of *necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.*' ††

Popery embodies in itself the closest union of church and state. †† 'In the Roman states, the same individual holds both civil and ecclesiastical offices. The pope is the king. A cardi-

††See Address of the Am. Prot. Assoc.

‡‡Foreign Conspir. pp. 90, 177, and Brownlee, as above, p. 125.

nal is secretary of state. The consistory of cardinals is the cabinet council, the ministry, and they are viceroys in the provinces. The archbishops are ambassadors to foreign courts. The bishops are judges and magistrates, and the road to preferment to most, if not all the great offices of state, is through the priesthood.'§§

Nor is this politico-ecclesiastical influence asleep among us. Who are so great politicians as our Romish prelates, priesthood, and laity? Have they not openly interfered with our systems of public school education? Have they not issued their political tickets, and enjoined all Romanists to vote them in? Have they not, by their influence, in some cases, gained their purposes in both these respects? Have they not withdrawn from our public and common orphan asylums, as well as schools, that they may bring up the future citizens of America in all the blindness, bigotry, and superstition of their anti-republican system? Have not the European nations united in a grand society, for the purpose of promoting the diffusion of Romish doctrines, and through them, the destruction of our republican institutions? * Popery is a political system. Its connection with christianity is merely in name, and for the purpose of more completely effectuating its purposes. It proclaims that all power, temporal and spiritual, exists in the pope; that liberty of conscience is a 'raving and most pestilential error;' that it 'execrates and detests the liberty of the press;' that the people have no right or capacity to rule or govern; that liberty of discussion is not to be tolerated; that no responsibility in financial matters is due to the people. It is a union of church and state. It is, in its nature, despotic and anti-republican. Its increase among us is the certain decrease of civil and religious freedom, and its dominance must prove their inevitable ruin. Popery, by its most essential principles, is under the control of a foreign despotic sovereign, who is himself the tool of Austria, which is the avowed enemy of all liberty, and to whose despot is committed the superintendence of the operations of popery in this country. †

§§Bishop England, in his work 'On the Ceremonies of the Holy Week,' says, (quoted in Breckinridge and Hughes's Discuss. p. 377,) 'In the venerable successor of St. Peter, I behold the former active, zealous, and enlightened prefect of the propaganda, whose deep interest, and laborious exertions, in the concerns of the church of the United States, have been so beneficial.' He calls the company of the cardinals, 'the venerable and eminent senate of the christian world,' praises the pope for that very effort against 'liberty,' which breathes through the detestable 'Encyclical Letter,' so repeatedly alluded to in the controversy, (that letter was published Aug. 15th, 1832, and the bishop's book appeared at Rome, March 26, 1833,) and he says, 'that stripping the holy see of its *temporal independence*, would inflict a deep wound *on religion*.'

*Foreign Conspiracy. See this avowed in Europe, at p. 81.

†For. Conspiracy, pp. 40, 71, 118, 129.

'And yet, the body of our protestant population, whether through ignorance, self-security, or whatever cause, remain indifferent to this subject. While Romanism is establishing its proselyting schools throughout the land, to pervert the tender minds of our youth; and directing its efforts to destroy the religious character and influence of public protestant education; and organizing itself under a foreign priesthood, for direct interference with our political elections; and publishing and circulating the most opprobrious assaults upon the doctrines of our protestant faith; and segregating its adherents into a distinct body, alien in sympathy and interest from the mass of the American people; a large portion of our protestant citizens, who might with ease arrest the progress of these evils, seem unwilling even to be apprized of their existence; and, instead of opposing them, actually contribute of their funds to maintain popish churches, asylums, and seminaries, and commit their children to the tutelage of popish priests and nuns.‡

In opposing popery, as thus dangerous to the commonwealth, we do so on political grounds. We quarrel not with the liberty of opinion, as exercised by papists. We would not deny to them a full equality of rights. BUT THEY HAVE MORE. Other denominations have renounced all foreign jurisdiction. But Romanists still adhere to it, in opposition to those constitutional principles, on which our republican government is founded. The subjects of no popish government acknowledge a foreign protestant authority, and yet the citizens of this country are allowed to enjoy all its privileges, while subject to a foreign popish authority, independent of their own government. By his spiritual supremacy, the pope assumes the title of God's vicegerent; cancels covenants and promises; annihilates public declarations; arrogates to the paparchy the sole right of interpreting the scriptures; excludes all protestants, heretics, and infidels, from the pale of the church, from all authority to preach the word of God, and from all share in the promises of Christ's kingdom. Now the jurisdiction of such a foreign potentate, with such powers, ecclesiastical and spiritual, *cannot but be* prejudicial, if not ultimately destructive to the liberties of this free commonwealth. This pope refused to establish toleration, even at the urgency of Napoleon.§ He thus avouched all the persecuting principles and practices, with which the history of popery is identified. And this pope is the supreme ruler of all the papists in this land. But ought this so to be? If they only are fellow-citizens who are *equally* subject to the same laws, and to the same power, how can they be fellow-citizens in this republic, who owe allegiance to a *foreign* power, and to *foreign* laws, and who CANNOT, until this allegi-

‡Address of Am. Prot. Assoc.

§Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, p. 373.

ance is withdrawn, acknowledge the *entire* sovereignty of a free people, or of this government. This was declared to be the case, by the British parliament,** and by our continental congress.†† It is also the doctrine of Locke, in his celebrated letter on toleration.‡‡ ‘Another more secret evil,’ says he, ‘but more dangerous to the commonwealth, is when men arrogate to themselves, and to those of their own sect, some peculiar prerogative, covered over with a specious show of deceitful words, but in effect opposite to the civil rights of the community. For example, we cannot find any sect that teaches, expressly and openly, that men are not obliged to keep their promise; that princes may be dethroned by those that differ from them in religion; or that the dominion of all things belongs only to themselves. For these things, proposed thus nakedly and plainly, would soon draw on them the eye and hand of the magistrate, and awaken all the care of the commonwealth, to a watchfulness against the spreading of so dangerous an evil. But nevertheless we find those that say the same things in other words. What else do they mean, who teach that ‘faith is not to be kept with heretics?’ Their meaning forsooth is, that the privilege of breaking faith belongs unto themselves; for they declare all that are not of their communion to be heretics, or at least declare them so whensoever they think fit. What can be the meaning of their asserting, that ‘kings, excommunicated, forfeit their crowns and kingdoms?’ It is evident that they thereby arrogate unto themselves the power of deposing kings; because they challenge the power of excommunication, as the peculiar right of their hierarchy. ‘That dominion is founded in grace,’ is also an assertion by which those that maintain it, do plainly lay claim to the possession of all things. For they are not so wanting to themselves, as not to believe, or at least as not to profess themselves to be the truly pious and faithful. These, therefore, and the like, who attribute unto the faithful, religious, and orthodox, that is, in plain terms, unto themselves, any peculiar privilege or power above other mortals, in civil concerns; or who, upon pretence of religion, do challenge any manner of authority over such as are not associated with them in their ecclesiastical communion; I say these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate, as neither those that will not own and teach the duty of tolerating all men in matters of mere religion. For what do all these and the like doctrines signify, but that they may, and are ready upon any occasion, to seize the government, and possess themselves of the estates

**See Burgess’s Tracts, p. 257.

††Address to the People of Great Britain, Oct. 21, 1774, (in Journals of vol. i. p. 30; in Breckinridge’s Discuss. p. 340,) on occasion of the establishment of Romanism in Canada.

‡‡In Wks. vol. ii. pp. 342, 343.

and fortunes of their fellow-subjects; and that they only ask leave to be tolerated by the magistrates, so long, until they find themselves strong enough to effect it.'

'*Again:* That church can have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate, which is constituted upon such a bottom, that all those who enter into it, do thereby, ipso facto, deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince. For by this means, the magistrate would give way to the settling of a foreign jurisdiction in his own country, and suffer his own people to be listed, as it were, for soldiers, against his own government. Nor does the frivolous and fallacious distinction, between the court and the church, afford any remedy to this inconvenience; especially when both the one and the other are equally subject to the absolute authority of the same person, who has not only power to persuade the members of his church to whatsoever he lists, either as purely religious, or as in order thereunto; but can also enjoin it on them on pain of eternal fire. It is ridiculous for any one to profess himself to be a mahometan, only in religion, but in every thing else a faithful subject to a christian magistrate, whilst at the same time, he acknowledges himself bound to yield blind obedience to the mufti of Constantinople; who is himself entirely obedient to the Ottoman emperor, and frames the feigned oracles of that religion, according to his pleasure. But this mahometan, living amongst christians, would yet more apparently renounce their government, if he acknowledged the same person to be head of his church, who is the supreme magistrate in the state.'

Precisely similar are the views taken of the Romish system by Pym, Hampden and Vane, by Milton, in his Tract on Toleration,*† and of the Rev. Blanco White, than whom none have had better opportunities of judging, he having been himself brought up within the bosom of the Romish church in Spain.

What, we ask, has been the influence of popery in Britain? Does not history attest that the popish priesthood were inimical to civilization and education; that the nation became an easy prey to the Italian court; and that the clergy, being vassals and agents of Rome, and owning no fealty to their sovereign, were the promoters of tyranny, cruelty, and vice.§§ And what has been its influence every where? Let the members of our continental congress, in the Address referred to, answer. 'Nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British parliament should ever consent to establish, in that country, a religion that

§§Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration, in Wks. vol. iv. pp. 264, 265.

*See Mr. Macauley's Speech in the House of Commons on the state of Ireland.

††See Evidence Against Catholicism, ed. 2d. Preface, p. xiv. a.

‡See this shown in 'England under the Popish Yoke,' by Rev. C. E. Armstrong, of Oxford.

has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world.'

The testimony of our fathers is still needful; and will be so, *as long* as the supremacy and infallibility of Rome, continues to be regarded as the centre of the Romish system. So long does it make itself accountable for all the persecution and intolerance, which have hitherto characterized its progress. So long does it stand forth a political and despotic system, under the name of a church. And so long must it be regarded as inimical to all freedom, civil and religious, and to be opposed by all patriots and republicans, of every name, sect, and party. The supremacy and infallibility of Rome, are not articles of faith. They are found in none of the early *creeds*, not to say the Bible. They cannot therefore be essential, even to the religion denominated Romanism. Let them then be abjured. Let Romanists do as other sects have done. We cannot, otherwise, put confidence in ANY declarations, promises, or asseverations, they may make. THE PEOPLE are, we believe, many of them, as *heartily republican*, as are protestants. But they are so *in spite* of their system; and because, so long as Romanists are a minority, appearances must be kept up, and the people are therefore left as far as possible at liberty. This much is admitted by Tocqueville himself.* He says, 'if, then, the catholic citizens of the United States are not forcibly led, by the nature of their tenets, to adopt democratic and republican principles, at least they are not necessarily opposed to them; and *their social position, as well as their limited number*, OBLIGES them to adopt these opinions. Most of the catholics are poor, and they have no chance of taking a part in the government, unless it be open to all the citizens. They constitute a minority, and all rights must be respected, in order to insure to THEM the free exercise of their own privileges. These two causes induce them, *unconsciously*, to adopt political doctrines, which they would, perhaps, support with less zeal, *if they were rich and preponderant*.'

To use, then, the words of a true-hearted republican,† we say, "No! our liberties must be preserved, and we say firmly to the popish bishops and priests among us, give us your declaration of your relation to our civil government. Renounce your foreign allegiance, your allegiance to a foreign sovereign. Let us have your own avowal, in an official manifesto, that the democratic government under which you here live, delights you best. Put your ecclesiastical doings upon as open and popular a footing, as the other sects. Open your books to the people, that they may scrutinize your financial matters, that the

†Vol. i. p. 329.

§Foreign Conspiracy, pp. 111, 112.

people, your own people, may know how much they pay to priests, and how the priests expend their money; that the poorest who is taxed from his hard-earned wages for church dues, and the richest who gives his gold to support your extravagant ceremonies, may equally know that their contributions are not misapplied. Come out and declare your opinion on the liberty of the press, on liberty of conscience, and liberty of opinion. Americans demand it. They are waking up. They have their eyes upon you. Think not the American eagle is asleep. Americans are not Austrians, to be hood-winked by popish tricks. This is a call upon you, you will be obliged soon to regard. Nor will they be content with partial, obscure avowals, of republican sentiments in your journals, by insulated priests or even bishops. The American people will require a more serious testimonial of your opinions on these fundamental political points. You have had convocations of bishops at Baltimore. Let us have, at their next assembling, their sentiments on these vital points. Let us have a document, full and explicit, signed by their names; a document that may circulate as well in Austria and Italy, as in America. Ay, a document that may be published 'con permissione,' in the *Diario di Roma*, and be circulated to instruct the faithful in the united church, the church of but one mind, in the sentiments of American democratic bishops on these American principles. Let us see how they will accord with those of his holiness, pope Gregory XVI, in his late encyclical letter! Will popish bishops dare to put forth such a manifesto? We shall see."

CHAPTER V.

THE LIBERALITY OF PRESBYTERY.

SECTION I.

True liberality, as distinguished from bigotry and latitudinarianism, explained.

CLOSELY connected with the question of republicanism, is that of liberality. The two things have become, from their inseparable connection, almost identified and synonymous. Republicanism is based upon the exercise of liberality. It follows necessarily, that any ecclesiastical system which lays claim to the character of republicanism, must be able also to establish its liberality. No charges have been more confidently made against presbyterianism, than those of illiberality, bigotry, and exclusiveness;‡ while the most lofty pretensions to charity, liberality, and comprehensiveness, are continually set forth by other denominations. It may, therefore, be of service to examine this matter, and to offer such observations as our brief limits will admit, in vindication of our most abused and misrepresented church. We are at once willing to admit, that that system of church polity and of doctrine must be most scriptural, which most strongly and most directly tends to foster the holy and heavenly temper of christian charity and true liberality; and that the most unscriptural and corrupt, which generates the greatest amount of illiberality and bigoted exclusiveness. 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one towards another, for love is the fulfilling of the law.' By their fruits, therefore, ye shall know them.

But there is, perhaps, no subject, except that of liberty, on which more confused and erroneous views prevail, than the subject of liberality. For just as liberty is confounded by many with licentiousness, so is liberality, by many others, confounded with indifference; and just as in the one case we are conducted to anarchy and the perpetration of every evil work, so are we in the other case brought to the verge of universal skepticism.

True liberality stands equally distinguished from licentiousness or skepticism, and from implicit faith in the teaching of

**See of late Dr. How's Vind. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. Newman's Lect. on Roman, p. 195. The Charleston Gospel Messenger, Feb. 1840, p. 368.

another; just as true liberty is equally distinct from passive obedience to despotic authority, and from that unbridled independence, which, submitting to no just government or laws, leads necessarily to anarchy and confusion; or as true liberty of thought, the right and duty of private judgment, is widely separated from that fatalism, which would render the mind a mere machine, under the direction of necessary laws, over which it has no control. Liberality is also to be distinguished from what is improperly termed free thinking, by which the mind is thrown loose upon its own vagrant notions, without the government of any rules, or the direction of any method or order.

And as true liberty is found in the just administration of wise and impartial laws, and in the subjection of every member of the body politic to those laws;—as our natural liberty is only properly exercised in furtherance of its true end and use, when determined by wise motives;—and as, further, true freedom of thought consists in thinking justly, in conformity to the real nature of things, and the evidence before us, and in not yielding to the impulse of mere feeling, passion, or prejudice;—so in like manner true liberality lies, not in the confounding of all distinction between right and wrong, or in giving equal approbation to truth and error, but in making essential only that which is truly fundamental; in allowing free difference of opinion in things not clearly essential; in candidly interpreting the views and professions of those who differ from us; and in the ratification of the great fundamental principle of all liberty—that in matters of opinion, which do not interfere with the personal or relative rights of men, as members of civil society, men are amenable only to God, and not punishable by one another. In short, true liberality is most comprehensively expressed by the elegant declaration of Augustine, ‘that in things essential there should be unity; in things not essential, liberty; and in all things, charity.’*

But it is important more carefully to analyse the nature and bearings of true liberality. All virtue has been represented as a course of action midway between two extremes or vices, which are the perversions of the truth for contradictory ends. Liberality is thus found to be the safe and middle passage between the Scylla and Charybdis of bigotry and latitudinarianism. Let us then ascertain the bearings and danger of these respectively.

Bigotry is an attachment to certain doctrines, forms, or party, for other reasons than their intrinsic excellence; and in other measures than is warranted by their importance. It is, therefore, indiscriminating, and generally malicious. Such doc-

*See Dr. Jibot's Disc. of Free Thinking, falsely so called, in Boyle Lect. Fol. vol. ii. p. 740, &c.

trines, forms, or party, may or may not be in themselves worthy of approbation; but when they are adhered to without proper regard to the evidence on which they rest, or under the influence of improper motives, the individual so adhering, is a bigot, and his conduct bigotry. Bigotry therefore implies an obstinate and blind attachment to some particular system; unreasonable zeal and warmth in its defence, and in favor of those who maintain it; and excessive prejudice and illiberality towards those who differ. It gives to such doctrines or forms an undue and extravagant importance, without taking into account other facts and considerations, which ought to be viewed in connection with them. Such doctrines, practices, or forms, may be in themselves correct, or even scriptural, but an importance is attached to them disproportioned to their true value; and consequences deduced from them, and a course of action founded upon them, which are not warranted by a sound understanding, or by any thing in the word of God.* Bigotry, therefore, is so far forth a mental aberration, a species of religious insanity. It possesses its victims with some one subject, and with the advantages and benefits supposed to flow from it, so exclusively, as to prevent the mind from regarding other facts and considerations, which are adapted to remove such erroneous impressions. Like the insane person, the bigot may either form correct data, and then reason incorrectly upon them, or from unsound premises may deduce the most distorted and extravagant inferences. Like him, too, the bigot is blind to all objections, insensible to all difficulties, deaf to all persuasion, and with concentrated energy rushes towards his conclusions, as in themselves certain and inevitable. Like him, too, the bigot reasons plausibly and ingeniously, catching rapidly incidental and partial relations, and making the worse appear the better reason. In short, certain ideas fix themselves in his mind, to the entire exclusion of all others, or at least from that degree of influence with which they should affect his mind, in his estimate of the true nature of the subject, and of its relation to other truths. Such is bigotry.

But there is a not less dangerous extreme on the other side; we mean latitudinarianism, or indifference; and which is the ordinary article found in the market of the world, under the name of liberality. To escape from bigotry, men rush to the opposite extreme, and instead of over-valuing any truths, un-

*'Illiberality of mind,' say the Oxford Tractators, (Oxf. Tr. vol. i. pp. 427, 428,) 'in religious matters, bigotry, intolerance, and the like, is the disposition to make unimportant points important, to make them terms of communion, watchwords of parties, and so on.'

'Now the church catholic acts on the principle of insisting on no points but such as are of importance, of judging of opinions variously, according to their respective importance, of acknowledging no parties, and of protesting and witnessing against all party spirit and party dogmas.'

dervalue all; put truth and error upon the same footing; make essential and unessential truths of equal importance; and thus proclaim the absolute indifference of all opinions, and the equal correctness of all creeds, practices, and sects. Hence has been begotten that monster of modern philosophy—the innocence of error. This boasting pyrrhonism,

Will knit and break religions; bless the accursed;
Make the hoar leprosy adored; exalt heresiarchs;
And give them title, knee, and approbation,
With martyrs, prophets, and apostles.

This is the 'great truth' of modern liberality; or as Junius styles it, 'that shameful indifference about the interests of society, (we say truth,) which too many of us profess and call moderation.' But nothing can be more absurd or impious, than this same idolized liberalism. It is forgotten that even civil liberty and political tolerance, are founded upon, and spring forth from, eternal and immutable truth; that truth which has triumphed over falsehood, and its hateful offspring, uncharitableness, fire, fagot, and all inquisitorial arguments against the persons of heresiarchs. Society itself, all personal and social rights, all the blessings of civil and religious freedom, depend upon the maintenance of truth, and the rejection of error. Admit the principle of liberalism in religion, and you have radicalism in politics, and skepticism in every thing, and thus would the axe be laid at the very root of the glorious tree of human happiness. There is—there must be truth, in opposition to error, politically, morally, and religiously. But all truth is necessarily exclusive. It can admit of no compromise with error. Truth and error are the poison and the antidote—the bane and the balm—the weal and the wo, of humanity. It is one thing to exercise liberality towards the *persons* of opponents, and another thing to approve their sentiments. We may tolerate error—we cannot admit its truth. We may refrain from all imputation upon the motives, from all doubt of the sincerity, and from all judgment upon the consciences of others,—and yet have a conscience of our own. We may allow liberty of conscience to our fellow-men, without coming under any obligation to give up our own liberty of conscience. But if we are called upon to regard those opinions which differ diametrically from our own, as correct, we are required to sacrifice our own liberty. A man's belief is a very different affair, when considered in reference to mere temporal matters, from what it is when religion is its subject; whether, in short, we consider it as it regards his fellow-men, or his God. On all subjects in which man may be regarded as the author, the speaker, and the inquirer, there is ample room for private judgment, for discussion, and for unlimited diversity of sentiment. But in religion, where God is the Author, and his word the speaker—where

there can be but one right standard, and one right interpretation, we are limited by that word; and to be indifferent to it, is either blasphemy or presumption. As it relates to men, belief is beyond their control, or requisition, or penalty, and is the proper object of liberality, of tolerance, of charity, and of kindness, while at the same time it cannot but affect our views of character, and trust-worthiness, and materially influence us in our choice of friends and companions. Belief, as it relates to God, is, however, altogether different. It is a manifestation of our conduct towards Him—of our regard to his will, whether in the way of opposition or compliance—and of our disposition towards his word, whether we receive or deny it. As it relates to God, we are therefore responsible for our belief, and shall be judged by it. In His sight truth is truth, and error error. He cannot approve the one, or condemn the other.

So far, therefore, as any man is called to act or speak for God, he is at once excluded from all exercise of discretion. He can neither sell, alter, amend, lower, depreciate, or confound the truth. He can neither say more nor less than he finds in the written word of God, as he understands it; leaving however, to all, the exercise of their own understandings in the interpretation of the divine oracles. If the gospel is a scheme of divine mercy and grace, and a system of divinely appointed institutions, then modern catholicism is nothing short of infidelity. It is full of contradictions, and is founded not upon evidence, but upon the want of it. It tends to beget and to diffuse a deistical spirit, wherever it is found.* That abstract general christianity† which is no particular kind of christianity, and which pronounces the unimportance of all points on which any christians have differed, can be only a very thinly-veiled deism,

—still promising
Freedom, itself too sensual to be free,
Poisons life's amities, and cheats the soul
Of faith, and quiet hope, and all that lifts,
And all that soothes the spirit. ‡

That there should be among christians unity and love, harmony and co-operation, is undeniable. And that the variance among different denominations is attended with lamentable evils, is no less certain. The preservation of union is not, however, the first, greatest, or most important of christian duties—we are required to be 'first pure.' One great end of the organization of the church was the preservation of the truth, and the overthrow of error. But if all differences of opinion are im-

*See Dr. Emmons's Wks. vol. i. p. 36.

†See Archb. Whateley's Charges and other Tracts, p. 464. And Bampton Lect. p. 44. Also his Christ. Indep. of the Civil Power, p. 105, Am. ed.

‡Coleridge's Poet. Wks. i. 137.

material, where is the standard by which christianity is distinguished from deism? And if there is no limit, of what use is the Bible or the institutions of christianity? None at all. The authority of scripture is at once undermined, and its power shaken, when such sentiments are adopted, since 'contending for the faith,' though not in the spirit of contention, is a necessary part of christian obligation. So also are zeal, energy, and devotedness; but how can these coexist with a principle that embraces, in the arms of charity, all sects, whether they profess arianism, socinianism, materialism, universalism, or any other creed? Such must be, and such have been, the results of this spirit of liberalism, as is manifest in the present and past condition of the churches in France, Germany, in New England, and in Ireland.* 'What do you perceive every where,' says the Abbé La Mennais,† in the 8th ed. of his *Essay on Indifference*, 'but a profound indifference as to duties and creeds, with an unbridled love of pleasure and of gold, by means of which any thing can be obtained? All is bought, for all is sold; conscience, honor, religion, opinions, dignities, power, consideration, respect even; a vast shipwreck of all truths, and all virtues.' 'Atheism,' said Leibnitz, 'will be the last of heresies, and in effect, indifference, which marches in its train, is not a doctrine, for genuine Indifferents deny nothing, affirm nothing; it is not even doubt, for doubt being suspense between contrary probabilities, supposes a previous examination; it is a systematic ignorance, a voluntary sleep of the soul. . . . Such is the hideous and sterile monster which they call indifference. All philosophic theories, all doctrines of impiety have melted and disappeared in this *devouring system*. . . . From this fatal system, *become almost universal*, has resulted, under the name of tolerance, a new sort of temptation.'

To yield up truth, then, is not a moderate, but an immoderate compliance. To compromise in *indifferent* matters is charity and civility; but to do so where the interests of *truth* and *justice* are concerned, is a manifest renunciation both of the one and the other. It is the substitution of the fallible standard of human opinion, for the infallible rule of the divine word.

The truth of any opinion as a doctrine of christianity, depends not upon our view or belief of it, but upon the evidences that it is indeed a revealed doctrine of God;—and the *necessary* character of that truth to the salvation of man, rests upon the

*So also in Hungary. Speaking of them, Dr. Duncan says, 'Through the fires of oppression these once famous churches passed, and shone with all the greater spiritual brightness. Now they enjoy greater ease, but the canker of indifference has blasted all their beauty, and well-nigh eaten away the very life—leaving, I fear, in most cases, a political protestantism instead of a living religion.—Home and For. Miss. Record of the Ch. of Scotl. 1842, p. 45.

†In Palmer on the Ch. vol. i. p. 348.

proofs that it is revealed, *as such*, in the Bible. As long, therefore, as there is stronger proof for one opinion than its contrary, as a doctrine of the Bible, these two opinions cannot be put upon a level, nor can we regard the one in the same light as the other.

Indolence may lead men to approve what they will not examine or understand; but such commendation is not a virtue, but a vice; while those who persist in error through pride or bigotry, or enmity to the truth, deserve not approbation, but condemnation. Besides, to require indifference to what must be regarded as error, is to render the exercise of charity, that chief christian grace, impossible; for what is charity, but the exercise of forgiveness and allowance towards such as are in fault, and the treating with candor and with personal kindness those whose principles we disapprove.* Finally, it is not a little demonstrative of its entire insincerity and hypocrisy, that this cry of liberality is found in the mouths of those who, in reference to what makes for their own interest, are most rigorous with their fellow-men. The liberality of such men is only exercised about those things which belong not to themselves, but to God. Now, experience has shown that the most intolerant of all classes of individuals are those who, skeptical themselves, support religion merely on the ground of expediency—that the worst of all fanaticism is the bigotry of unbelief, and that, of all bigots, the worst is the bigot to modern liberality.‡ As far as principles are concerned, certainly, the latitudinarian is the more likely to be intolerant, and the sincerely conscientious tolerant. A man who is careless about religious sincerity, may clearly see and appreciate the political convenience of religious uniformity; and if he has no religious scruples of his own, he will not be the more likely to be tender of the religious scruples of others; if he is ready himself to profess what he does not believe, he will see no reason why others should not do the same.‡

‘Cruel, then, must that indifference needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty, that shall break asunder the bonds of religion.’

‘Judge by the fruits it bears, the stately tree,||
Not by its seeming liberality,
A thing most noble, if ’t is not abused,
May yet be overstrained; thus, now no more,
Scorned and accounted as a general foe,
Forth from the ambush where he lay concealed,

*See Whateley’s Bampton Lectures, p. 217, 3d ed.

†See Edinb. Rev. Jan. 1837, p. 269.

‡Whateley’s Kingdom of Christ, Essay i. pp. 48, 49. Eng ed.

§Milton’s Prose Wks. vol. i. p. 38.

||The Deity, a Poem, by T. Wragg. Lond. 1834. 2d ed. p. 291.

Stalked Infidelity abroad, unshamed ;
 With wily arts deceived the nations long,
 Like some huge mountain-torrent, in its course
 Widening and overturning, led men on,
 Unto the last tremendous battle-field,
 Of the Lord God Almighty.'

'At the exact close of the prophetic period,' says Dr. Croly, 'in 1793, the 1260th year from the birth of the papal supremacy, a power, new to all eyes, suddenly started up among the nations; an Infidel democracy! France, rending away her ancient robes of royalty and laws, stood before mankind a spectacle of naked crime.

'But persecution had still its work. All the churches of the republic were closed. All the rites of religion were forbidden. Baptism and the communion were to be administered no more. The seventh day was to be no longer sacred; but a tenth was substituted; and on that day a public orator was to read a discourse on the wisdom of atheism. The reign of the demon was resistless. While Voltaire and Marat (infidelity and massacre personified) were raised to the honors of idolatry, the tombs of the kings, warriors, and statesmen of France were torn open, and the relics of men whose names were a national glory, tossed about in the licentious sport of the populace. Immortality was publicly pronounced a dream; and on the gates of the cemeteries was written, 'death is an eternal sleep!' In this general outburst of frenzy, all the forms and feelings of religion, true or false, were alike trodden under the feet of the multitude. Despotism had been subtle, ambitious, and revengeful; republics stern and cruel; democracies wild, capricious, and sanguinary. But there was still a saving principle; religion was not altogether abjured. But now all religion was abjured; and as the act was utterly without example, so were the horrors that instantly followed. Vice itself assumed a blacker hue—'A hundred thousand heads must fall!' was the unequivocal principle of the leaders of the state. The fact outran the calculation, and the massacre amounted to millions. The scaffold groaned from morning till night. The leaders themselves were successively swept away in the cataract of blood which they had let loose. Atheism, the last fury of the mind, had brought in anarchy, the last torture of nations.'

That man, therefore, whose own conscience is tender, and his sense of religion deepfelt and sincere, will be, (so far forth,) the more disposed to respect the conscience of another, and to avoid giving occasion to hypocritical professions. His own faith being founded on genuine conviction, he will seek for the genuine conviction of others, and not their forced conformity. He will remember, that 'the highest truth, if professed by one

who believes it not in his heart, is, to him, a lie, and that he sins greatly by professing it.*

True liberality, then, is not indifference. They are essentially distinct. Indifference, or modern catholicism, consists in looking upon all opinions as equally doubtful, or at least, as equally good. Liberality consists in abstaining from condemning as guilty of evil intention, those who profess opinions which we consider false or pernicious. Therefore, we can have the most ardent zeal for truth, and the most entire tolerance for the persons of those who reject it. We can detest error, and yet cherish him that deceives himself.† We are not obliged, in order to escape from bigotry, to adopt the monstrous conclusion, that religion is altogether a matter of no consequence. True liberality teaches, that religion is a matter between each man's own conscience and God—that no one's religious opinions, so long as he does not molest his neighbor's civil rights, ought to interfere with his own;—and that, as *men*, we should employ our conscience to sit in judgment on ourselves, not on our brother; whose religious errors, however great, and scruples, however foolish, should not prevent us from treating him as a good *citizen*, so long as he shows himself qualified and disposed to act as such.

True liberality, therefore, is easily distinguished from bigotry and indifference.§ The bigoted man so narrows his mind to the compass of his belief, as to exclude every other object; the *liberal* man directs his views to every object which does not directly interfere with his belief. It is possible for the bigoted and the *liberal* man to have the same faith; but the former mistakes its true object and tendency. Indifference, on the other hand, allows every man to think as he pleases; to despise the opinions of others; to hold nothing sacred but his own conceits; and to accommodate his views to his inclinations. Of all mental aberrations, this boasted freedom is the most obnoxious, as it is fostered by the pride of the heart and the vanity of the imagination. Both bigotry and indifference are the offspring of ignorance; while true liberality is the handmaid of knowledge, and the daughter of truth and charity.‡

Patriotism is not a blind attachment to a particular society, nor a hardened indifference to the rights, interests, and welfare of other nations. This sentiment, which, when guided by wisdom and justice, is useful; has, when unrestrained in its intensity, turned states into gangs of robbers; has constituted their mutual fidelity the more dangerous; has aggravated the atroci-

*Whateley, *ibid*, p. 49.

†See Degerando on Self Educ. p. 71. Whateley's Bampton Lect. p. 44. Charges and Tracts, p. 463.

‡Crabbe's Synonymes, p. 432. Eng. ed.

‡See Rennel on Scepticism, pp. 3-5.

ties of war; and generated the worst of all political evils, the tyranny of nations over nations. True patriotism is founded in justice. It breathes the spirit of charity and kindness. It looks with complacency upon the prosperity of others, and seeks for its own country no more than a worthy emulation after whatsoever things are true, pure, and noble.

Now it is equally plain, that the exclusive bigotry which founds its claim to catholicity upon the excommunication of all other churches, or their subjugation to the tyranny of its ecclesiastical uniformity, is not christian patriotism, or the charity and catholicity of the gospel. Enthusiastically attached as are its abettors to the name, they repudiate the reality; and while glorying in their universality, and their privileges, they resemble the Spartans, who, while proclaiming their liberty, were bound by ten thousand absurd restraints, and compelled to talk in a peculiar style, and to assume a peculiar manner. Christian charity is truly liberal in its tolerance of all minor and unessential differences; in its recognition of the rights and privileges of all christian bodies; in hoping the best of all, and thinking evil of none; and in seeking for itself only a pre-eminence in doctrine, order, and worship, as measured by the divine rule.

SECTION II.

The liberality of the presbyterian church, in her general principles as to the nature of the christian church.

That middle position which we have thus defined, the true christian patriotism, equally removed from exclusive bigotry and from latitudinarian indifference, the Presbyterian Church desires to occupy. She holds the truth but in the spirit of charity; and without condemning other churches as fundamentally false, believes her own to be apostolical and true. She despises not other churches, and yet does she hold it to be incontrovertibly plain, that her own denomination is to be preferred to all others. The presbyterian churches proclaim, as they believe, more gospel truth than any others. They present fewer hindrances in the way to that godliness which is in Christ Jesus, than any others. Their constitution and rules they regard as more consonant to the holy scriptures than any others. Greater restraint can be laid upon scandalous vices and sins by them, than by any other systems; while less opportunity is given for the progress of errors than in other denominations. By these, and similar advantages, the presbyterian church commends herself to the preference of all her members. But while

claiming to be more purely scriptural and apostolical, she rejoices in the truth, that 'every church which professes the true *catholic* faith, and imposes only *catholic* terms of communion, and is ready, out of the principles of brotherly love and charity, (that cement of catholic communion,) to communicate with all churches, and to receive all churches to her communion upon these terms, is a truly *catholic* church.*

Our church distinguishes between the presbyterian church, as a true branch of the catholic visible church, and that universal church. 'The visible church,' says our confession, considered as 'catholic or universal under the gospel, (that is, not confined to one nation as before, under the law,) consists of all those, throughout the world, that profess the true religion, together with their children, and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.† The visible church, spoken of in our confession, is therefore coextensive with the human family, and embraces all of every name, age, and country, who profess the true religion. Our confession goes on to show, that under this catholic visible church are to be included all 'particular churches, which are members thereof, and which are more or less pure.‡ Far from excluding any branch of the church of Christ from her definition of the catholic visible church, they are all expressly included, as more or less pure; while the only term of communion, which is laid down as essential to a membership in this visible church, is the profession of the true religion.

Beyond this our church could not possibly go; and therefore does she declare, that beyond this universal church, as thus including all who profess the true faith, 'there is no *ordinary* possibility of salvation.' It is not affirmed, that there is *absolutely* no possible salvation to any others. Neither is it said, that there is no covenanted salvation to any others. All that is taught is, that, so far as the scriptures teach, there is no ordinary possibility of salvation without the knowledge and profession of the true faith.

It is indeed further laid down, that 'unto this catholic visible church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God;' but it is not taught that this ministry can consist only of presbyters, ordained by a presbyterian church; or, that these ordinances can be validly administered only by such, and after the manner prescribed in our form of worship. On the contrary, it is most explicitly taught, in the very next chapter of our book,‡ that 'all saints that are united to Jesus Christ, their

*Notes of the Ch. Exam. p. 13.

†Conf. of Faith, ch. xxv. § ii.

‡Ch. xxv. § 4.

‡Ch. xxvi. § 1.

head, by his spirit and by faith . . . have communion in each other's gifts and graces, . . . are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification, . . . which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto ALL those, who, in every place, call upon the name of the Lord Jesus.†

In like manner, our church declares, among the preliminary principles of the Form of Government, chapter i. section 1, 'that God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in any thing contrary to his word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship; therefore they [the framers of our presbyterian constitution] consider the rights of private judgment, in all matters that respect religion, as universal and unalienable; they do not even wish to see any religious constitution, aided by the civil power, further than may be necessary for protection and security, and, at the same time, be equal and common to all others.'

So far, respecting rights purely civil. In relation to the ecclesiastical rights of religious associations, respecting their own government and discipline, the same chapter continues to say: '2. In perfect consistency with the above principle of common right, every christian church, or union or association of particular churches, is entitled to declare the terms of admission into its communion, and the qualifications of its ministers and members, as well as the whole system of its internal government, which Christ hath appointed. In the exercise of this right, they may notwithstanding err, in making the terms of communion either too lax or too narrow; yet, even in this case, they do not infringe upon the liberty or the rights of others, but only make an improper use of their own.' 3. declares, that our Saviour hath appointed officers in his church to preach, administer the sacraments, and exercise discipline. 4. declares, 'that truth is in order to goodness,—that no opinion can be more pernicious or absurd, than that which brings truth and falsehood upon a level, and represents it as of no consequence what a man's opinions are'—'that, on the contrary, there is an inseparable connection between faith and practice, truth and duty. Otherwise it would be of no consequence to discover truth, or to embrace it.' '5. That while, under the conviction of the above principle, they think it necessary to make effectual provision, that all who are admitted as teachers be sound in the faith, they also believe there are truths and forms, respecting

†This shows the virulent enmity which induces prelatists (such as Dr. How, (see above,) and Romanists, such as bishop Hughes, (see Discussion with Breckinridge, p. 291,) to attempt to confine the above language to professors of the *presbyterian* faith.

which men of good character and principles may differ; and, in all these, they think it the duty, both of private christians and societies, to exercise mutual forbearance towards each other.'

In the Form of Government, chap. ii. the true religion is explained to be 'the holy religion of Christ.' In section 4, it says, 'this catholic church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible; and particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed, more or less purely among them.' Section 5. 'The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error, and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of satan.' Section 6. 'There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the pope of Rome be in any sense the head thereof, but is that anti-Christ,' &c. In the second chapter in the Form of Government, we are instructed, that 'a particular church consists of a number of professing christians, with their offspring, voluntarily associated together for divine worship and godly living, agreeably to the holy scripture, and submitting to a certain form of government.' There is, in all these teachings, a careful and manifest distinction made between the essentials of a church, and those things which are valuable, so far as they sustain and carry out those essentials, but which, in themselves considered, are not fundamental.

We shall now present a connected view of what we understand to be the purport and practical use of these principles; and, in doing so, we shall employ the language of the Synod of Virginia, in its recent Pastoral Letter to the churches under their care, on intercourse with other denominations of christians.‡

'*First*, then, we, as a church, claim no sort of civil rights or immunities for ourselves, which we do not claim equally and indiscriminately for all other denominations of christians; and all that we claim of the civil power, and all that we are willing that it should bestow, is equal protection, for us, and all, in the exercise of our religious duties, and the management of our ecclesiastical affairs. In matters purely religious, we hold that every man, and every society, have an absolute and unalienable right to do whatsoever may seem unto them good, so long as they do nothing inconsistent with the rights of others, or dangerous to the peace and good order of civil society.

'All denominations of christians are equally entitled to the privilege of associating together, of worshipping God in their own way, or preaching and defending their own doctrines, and of controverting the doctrines of others, whensoever, whereso-

‡Adopted, Oct. 15th, 1842, and very generally approved and published.

ever, and howsoever they may choose, provided they trespass not upon the civil rights of others.

'Should it so happen, that all the families of a town or neighborhood had for ages belonged to one of our congregations, this would give us no exclusive right to exercise our ministry there. Any man might legally come and offer to teach his own doctrines to such as were willing to receive him; and we could not justly complain of him as a trespasser upon our rights.

'But, whilst we profess the doctrine of religious freedom, in its widest sense, we must not confound two things so essentially distinct as the rights which we claim under the law of the land, as members of civil society, and the rules of conduct which Christ prescribes to the members of his church, and to the churches as organized associations. The law of the land necessarily suffers many things to be done with impunity which the moral law condemns, and the gospel declares to be inconsistent with the duties which christians owe to one another.

'*Secondly.* We, as a church, concede to others not only the civil, but the ecclesiastical right, to organize themselves under such form of government, and with such rules of discipline, and terms of communion, as they may deem most scriptural and most conducive to their spiritual welfare. The extracts from our standards show, that while we hold some certain form of government to be essential to the existence of a church, which is in its nature an organized society, we do not consider one particular form of government exclusively valid and necessary. We prefer our presbyterian system, as, on the whole, most conformable to the primitive pattern, and most salutary in its practical operation; but we can freely acknowledge, as sister churches in the kingdom of Jesus, those who adopt the congregational scheme, or the episcopal system of three orders of ministers. We recognize the validity of their ministry and sacraments; we commune freely with them, not only in our churches, but in theirs, unless excluded by their rules and principles.

'You know fully our practice of inviting their ministers into our pulpits, and their members to our communion-table. You know also, that you are at perfect liberty, as presbyterians, to meet with them in their churches, and to receive the sacrament from the hands of their ministers. Of course, we do not advise you to forsake your own church and ministry, to attend the meetings of others. This would be an absurd and pernicious custom in any denomination, because it would disorganize the church itself, and destroy all settled principles and habits of order in the members. They whose ears are ever itching for novelty, and who run about from church to church, discover a levity and unsteadiness of mind inconsistent with an enlightened faith, and with any sound principles of piety. Far better

serve God with settled views, though erroneous in some immaterial points, than be 'unstable as water,' and 'carried about with every wind of doctrine.' §

In addition to the sentiments presented in this paper, another consideration must be added, in order to complete our views of the church. 'The presbyterian church in the United States,' says Dr. Rice,** 'lays very great stress on the terms *voluntarily associated*. During many ages, and in many parts of the world, it has been held, that the *church* possesses authority to compel men to receive her doctrines, and submit to her discipline. This pretension grows naturally out of that transfer of power, which it has been maintained that Jesus Christ made to his church. Hence originated *Acts of Uniformity, High Commission, and Star Chamber Courts; the Inquisition*, with all its infernal apparatus; the stake and the wheel, as instruments of conversion. Hence, too, in the name of the God of mercy, of the most holy and ever blessed Trinity, acts of cruelty have been perpetrated without number, of which fanatical and bloody-minded heathens might well be ashamed. A consideration of this subject, and careful examination of scripture, have convinced the presbyterian church, that it is of unspeakable importance to lay sound principles at the foundation of the christian association; and to let it be seen, that religious liberty, from the very nature of the case, belongs to the members of the church. *They form their society voluntarily.*' They maintain, that, 'in respect to God, no person who lives under the sound of the gospel is at liberty to do as he pleases, to embrace the gospel or reject it, as suits his inclination. But in respect to the authority of the church, every man ought, from the nature of the case, to be left to his own will. The reason is, that religion is essentially a matter of choice. It cannot exist in the heart except as it is *chosen*. There is no human power, the exercise of which can cause this choice to be made: there is no human knowledge, which can take cognizance of the heart, and decide on the char-

§A resolution of similar import was passed also within a few years by the Synod of S. C. and Georgia. That these are the views, not merely of the liberal party in our church, but of the 'straitest sect' among us, will be seen from the following quotation from the Baltimore Lit. and Relig. Mag. by Dr. R. J. Breckinridge, for 1840, p. 582. 'THE QUESTION of inter-communion amongst christian denominations is occupying the attention of various conductors of the public press. We beg leave to refer our readers to the January number of this Magazine for the present year, pp. 39-44, where they will find an article headed '*Unity of the Church*,' and signed '*Catholicus*;' in which the whole case is put in a very simple light. That article is a contribution to our pages, by one of the oldest, most admired, and most extensively known ministers of Christ now alive; and we cordially assent to its general principles and spirit. We give its concluding sentence: 'Christians, then, may lawfully associate in separate companies, and under a peculiar regimen, but they may not exclude *any of Christ's disciples from his table, and the privileges of his house.*' The italics are the author's.

**Evang. Mag. vol. ix. p. 300.

acter of its operations. When the church, then, undertakes to do more than declare the will of Christ, it manifestly undertakes to exercise power which it does not possess.'

SECTION III.

The liberality of the presbyterian church, in her doctrine of the sacraments.

Nor is our church less charitable in the views she gives of the sacraments. Dr. How, and other prelatists, have endeavored to fix upon our church the charge of an exclusiveness as abhorrent as their own. Dr. How affirms,†† that 'the standards of the presbyterial societies expressly declare, that there is no *covenanted* possibility of salvation out of the visible church.' In substantiation of this position, he quotes the following passage from our Confession of Faith.‡‡ 'The visible church§§ is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no *ordinary* possibility of salvation.'

He further quotes, from the larger catechism, the two following answers:* 'A sacrament is a holy ordinance, instituted by Christ *in his church*, to signify, seal, and exhibit unto those that are WITHIN THE COVENANT OF GRACE, the benefits of his mediation; and to DISTINGUISH THEM FROM THOSE THAT ARE WITHOUT.' 'Baptism is not to be administered to any that are OUT OF THE VISIBLE CHURCH, AND SO STRANGERS FROM THE COVENANT OF PROMISE, until they profess their faith in Christ, and obedience to him.' He then adds:† 'The position, that the standards of presbyterial societies confine all covenanted possibility of salvation within the pale of the visible church, is thus completely established; the passages cited being of so very marked a character, as to leave no reason for evasion.'

But this conclusion is founded upon a false view of the doctrine of our standards, upon unfair quotations from them, and upon sophistical reasoning. It is founded upon a false view of the doctrine of our standards. The impression here made upon every reader's mind, is, that in the passages quoted above, the terms 'visible church,' are to be understood of 'the presbyterian church,' and that, therefore, out of it there is no ordinary possibility of salvation. This is plain from what is said by this author further on. 'Pardon and salvation, then, are secured

††Vindic. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. N. York, 1816, p. 22.

‡‡We omit his quotation from the old Scottish Confession of Faith, which never was in any way in force in this country, although it will be equally explained by our remarks.

§§Vind. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. N. York, 1816, p. 23.

*Pp. 2, 24, 162, 166.

†P. 25.

by covenant, to such societies as are founded on presbyterial ordination, and to such only. ‡

But from what has been already said as to the doctrine of our standards, concerning the visible church, it will be at once apparent, that this impression is entirely false, since, by the visible church, our church expressly understands 'ALL those, throughout the world, that profess the true religion,' including ALL particular churches, whether more or less pure, and whether prelatical or presbyterian. And therefore does it follow, that it is out of this body, that is, beyond ALL professing christians, that there is no ordinary possibility of salvation, and not out of the presbyterian branch of the church. The sacraments also are here represented as having been given to this catholic visible church, and not to the presbyterian, or to any other branch of it. But for the unfair and partial quotations made by Dr. How, with a design to hide, and thus pervert, the truth, this view of our doctrine would have been manifest unto all men. Nor can his inference be eked out, even from his own most unfair and garbled quotations, but by the most sophistical reasoning. The whole doctrine of the divine covenants was evidently a mystery to this prelatical advocate, who could conceive of no other covenant, than one conferring *ecclesiastical* privileges upon some *exclusively* favored church. 'The covenant of grace,' he would seem never to have heard of. § 'The covenant of promise,' was to him an enigma; and our whole doctrine beyond the depth of his theological researches. In order, therefore, to the 'complete establishment' of his charge, this redoubted champion of the prelacy, translates '*the visible church*,'—which, we have seen, include ALL *particular churches*,—by '*the presbyterian church*.' He also renders 'the covenant of grace,' (wherein as our standards teach, 'God freely offereth unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, . . . and promises to give unto ALL those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe,'**) by—the charter of the presbyterian church. He interprets, thirdly, 'them that are without,' that is, without or beyond this covenant of grace, by 'them that are without the pale of our particular church.' And, fourthly, he translates '*ordinary*,' ('no ordinary possibility of salvation,' &c.) by the *opposite* term of '*covenantcd*.' Such absurdities, one would think, must have been designedly put forth, with malice aforethought, since, in the same chapter of our book from which this author quotes, the true nature and *universal reference* of this covenant of grace is most *fully* declared. ††

‡P. 32, in a note, this sentiment is repeated.

§See also p. 94.

**Conf. of Faith, ch. vii. § 3.

††See sections v. and vi. 'The covenant of grace was differently administered in the time of the law, and in the time of the gospel; under

SECTION IV.

The liberality of the presbyterian church in her doctrine of ordination.

Not less liberal, as has been seen, is our doctrine of ordination and the christian ministry, since by it the greatest possible charity is extended to all other denominations. That we may not frame it to suit a purpose, let Baxter answer; and let him do so at that time when presbyterianism was most triumphant, and when there was, therefore, least inducement to liberalize our views.‡‡ ‘Hence it appears,’ says he,§§ ‘that ordination is one means, conjunct with divers others, for the designation of right qualified persons, described in the law of Christ, for the reception and exercise of the ministerial office. And that the ends of it are: 1. To take care that the office fail not; and, therefore, to call out fit men to accept it, if modesty or impediments hinder them from offering themselves, or the people from nominating them. 2. To judge, in all ordinary cases, of the fitness of persons to the office, and whether they are such as scripture describeth, and calls out. 3. And to solemnize their admittance, by such an investiture, as when possession of a house is given by a ministerial tradition of a key; or possession of land by ministerial delivery of a twig, and a turf, or as a soldier is listed, a king crowned, marriage solemnized, after consent and

the law it was administered by promises, prophecies, sacrifices, circumcision, the paschal lamb, and other types and ordinances, delivered to the people of the Jews, all fore-signifying Christ to come, which were for that time sufficient and efficacious, through the operation of the Spirit, to instruct and build up the elect in faith, in the promised Messiah, by whom they had full remission of sins, and eternal salvation; and is called the Old Testament.’

‘Under the gospel, when Christ the substance was exhibited, the ordinances in which this covenant is dispensed, are the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments of baptism, and the Lord’s supper; which, though fewer in number, and administered with more simplicity, and less outward glory, yet in them it is held forth in more fulness, evidence, and spiritual efficacy, to all nations, both Jews and Gentiles; and is called the New Testament. There are not, therefore, two covenants of grace, differing in substance, but one and the same, under various dispensations.’

‡‡The necessity for elucidating this point, will appear from the following quotations. Dr. How frequently asserts, that presbyterians unmercifully unchurch the entire Greek communion, merely on the ground that they allow a single bishop to ordain; (Vind. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. p. 41;) the Quakers, (p 39,) and in fact the entire church, until the fourth century, when he says ordination by presbyters first prevailed. Mr. Leslie also, in his letter on Episcopacy, [see in The Scholar Armed, vol. i. p. 79,] with that effrontery which seems to have made him reckless, whenever he gave vent to his abhorrence of dissent, ventures to assert as true, that ‘the Presbyterian damns the Quaker; the Quaker damns him; Independent, Baptist, &c. all damn one another, and each denies the other’s ordination, or call.’

§§Disput. on Ch. Govt. Lond. 1659, pp. 148, 149. See also a similar view, at p. 221.

title, in order to a more solemn obligation, and plenary possession; such is our ordination.'

'Hence it appeareth, that as the ordainers are not appointed to judge, whether the church shall have ordinances and ministers, or not, (no more than to judge whether we shall have a Christ and heaven, or not,) but who shall be the man; so it is not to the being of the ministry simply, and in all cases, that ordination is necessary, but to the safe being and order of admittance, that the church be not damnified by intruders.'

'Ordination, therefore, is God's orderly and ordinary means of a regular admittance; and to be sought and used where it may be had, (as the solemnizing of marriage.) And it is a sin to neglect it wilfully, and so it is usually necessary, *necessitate praecepti*, and *necessitate medii ad ordinem et bene ministerii*, or to the validity or success of our office and ministrations to the church; nor in cases of necessity, when it cannot be had, is it necessary, *necessitate praecepti*, neither. 'This is plain truth.'

Those persons,* adds Baxter, are orderly and duly separated to the work of the ministry, where there is a separation to the ministry by mutual consent of the person and the flock; and by the approbation and investiture of the first ecclesiastical offices that are to be had, there is an orderly and due separation to the ministry. But all this is to be found in the ordination used in England, and other reformed churches, without prelates; therefore, &c. This proves not only the validity of their ordination, but the full regularity.'

Again,† 'We have, moreover, in the ordination of the reformed churches, the approbation and solemn investiture of the fittest ecclesiastical officers that are to be had. And no more is requisite to an orderly admission. There being nothing for man to do, but to determine of the qualified person, and present him to God, to receive the power and obligation from his law; it is easy to discern, that where all these concur, (the people's election or consent, the determination of fit ecclesiastical officers, and the qualification and consent of the person himself,) there needs no more to the designation of the man. Nor hath God tied the essence of the church or ministry to a certain formality, or to the interest or will of prelates; nor can any more *ad ordinem* be required, but that a qualified person do enter, by the best and most orderly way that is open to him, in those times and places where he is. And that we have the fittest approvers and ordainers I prove.‡

*Ibid, pp. 221, 223, 227. See similar views in Claude's Def. of the Ref. ii. pp. 230-235, 241.

†Ibid, p. 223.

‡Similar are the views of the French presbyterians, as presented by Claude, in his Def. of the Ref. vol. ii. pp. 230, 231, 233, 234, 241.

What then, on these principles, is our view of the ministry of other denominations of christians? 'As baptism,' says Baxter, § 'is the open badge of a christian, so ordination is the open badge of a minister; and therefore, though a man may be a christian before God, without baptism, yet ordinarily he is not a christian before the church without baptism, till he have, by some equivalent profession, given them satisfaction; and therefore if I knew men to be utterly unbaptized, I would not at first have communion with them as christians. But if they could manifest to me that necessity forbad them, or if it were any mistake and scruple of their consciences, that hindered them from the outward ordinance, and they had, without that ordinance, made as public and bold a profession of christianity, and satisfactorily declared themselves to be christians by other means, I would then own them as christians, though with a disowning and reprehension of their error; even so would I do by a minister. I would not own him as a minister unordained, unless he either showed a necessity that was the cause, or else, (if it were his weakness and mistake,) did manifest by his abilities and fidelity, and the consent and acceptance of the church, that he were truly called; and if he did so, I would own him; though with a disowning and reproof of his mistake, and omission of so great a duty.'

'There is not a word of God to be found, that makes ordination of absolute necessity to the being of the ministry; therefore it is not so to be esteemed. The examples of scripture show it to be the regular way, and therefore ordinarily a duty; but they show not that there is no other way.'

'Objection. By this doctrine you will induce disorder into the church, if all that are able must be ministers, when they are denied ordination; for then they will be judges of their own abilities, and every brain-sick proud opinionist, will think that there is a necessity of his preaching; and so we shall have confusion, and ordination will be made contemptible, by pretences of necessity!'

'Answer. 1. God will not have the necessities of men's souls neglected, nor allow us to let men go quietly to damnation, nor have his churches ruined, for fear of occasioning the disorders of other men. It is better that men be disorderly saved, than orderly damned; and that the church be disorderly preserved, than orderly destroyed! God will not allow us to suffer every thief and murderer to rob or kill our neighbors, for fear lest by defending them, we occasion men to neglect the magistrate. Nor will he allow us to let men perish in their sickness, if we can help them, for fear of encouraging the ignorant to turn physicians. 2. There is no part of God's service that can be

used, without occasion of sin to the perverse; Christ himself is the fall as well as the rising of many; and is a stumbling-stone and rock of offence; and yet not for that to be denied. There is no just and reasonable cause of men's abuse in the doctrine which I here express. 3. True necessity will excuse and justify the unordained before God, for exercising their abilities to his service. But pretended counterfeit necessity will not justify any; and the final judgment is at hand, when all things shall be set straight, and true necessity and counterfeit shall be discerned. 4. Until that day, things will be in some disorder in this world, because there is sin in the world, which is the disorder. But our remedies are these: 1. To teach men their duties truly, and not to lead them into one evil to prevent another, much less to a mischief destructive to men's souls, to prevent disorder. 2. The churches have the power of casting the pretenders (if this case deserve it) out of their communion; and in order thereto, it is not he but they that will be judges. And other remedies we have none till the last day.'

SECTION V.

The objection founded upon the persecuting principles and conduct of presbyterians, answered.

But an overwhelming argument is brought to bear against all these claims to superior liberality, on the ground that the presbyterian church has, in past days, cherished exclusive and persecuting principles, and manifested this spirit in her conduct; and that some presbyterian bodies are still found willing to sanction these principles.** Now to the truth of both these facts, we grant our reluctant and most sorrowful confession. And while much might be said to palliate the guilt of such intolerance, and to show that in comparison with the course pursued by the papacy and the prelacy, it was fitful, temporary,

**Dr. How's Vind. of Prot. Ep. Ch. pp. 47, 48, 374, 375. This charge is not seldom also brought against us by congregationalists, who stand in need of a comon defence. But that, in former days, they made their views of the constitution of a church an article of faith, appertaining to salvation, may be seen by numerous quotations in Paget's Def. of Presb. Ch. Govt. p. 33. As to the lengths to which they then proceeded, see Bastwick's Utter Routing, &c. Epistle to the Reader. See also the History of their proceedings in New England, as given in Clarke's Hist. of Intolerance, vol. i. Pref. and in all other histories. Dr. Lang's Relig. and Educ. in America, p. 125, &c., where he shows that 'Cromwell's own clergy,' accepted sequestered benefices of the Church of England. See further, on this subject, from Mr. Lorimer, on p. 232.

This forms the whole strength of bishop Hughes's argument, in proof of the opposition of presbyterianism to civil and religious liberty. See Discussion.

and partial, while *their* intolerance has been constant, universal, and applied to *opinions* as well as to *forms*;—yet we take refuge in no apology.†† We make no excuse. We are rather willing to join in the execration of such principles, and the condemnation of such acts, (so far as facts will show that they were cherished and carried out,) as utterly alien to the spirit of the gospel, and to the genius of presbyterianism. And that a *portion* of the Covenanters should still maintain these views, is a fact inexplicable for its mystery, inexcusable for its absurdity, and unparalleled for its anomaly.

But what have we to do with the conduct of these brethren, with whom, although agreeing in most points, we differ in *this* matter *toto coelo*; with whom we have no ecclesiastical *connection* whatever; and for whose opinions on this subject, we are *no more* responsible, than we are, as *christians*, for the corruptions of all those who are called by *that name*. We now advocate the claims, and present the sentiments, of 'THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH' of these United States. For on this subject, alterations were found necessary, in order to adapt our standards to the views of our American Zion. We challenge therefore a fair and impartial verdict, and are willing to compare ourselves with any other denomination whatsoever. We do not, for a moment, shrink even from a comparison of presbyterianism, *in general*, with prelacy, *in general*; but in this case we would require, that the *whole* history of prelacy, as developed in the Romish, Anglican, and other churches should be considered; and then the *whole* history of presbytery, as developed in the Waldenses, Paulicians, Culdees, and Scotch, Irish, and American churches should be brought into contrast. In such a comparison, who can doubt the transcendent lustre with which presbytery would outshine prelacy. Its most intolerant enactments would appear liberality itself, and its most persecuting doings, the forthgoings of christian charity, when brought into contrast with the bloody annals of councils, canons, decrees, crusades, test acts, acts of uniformity, Bartholomew scenes and massacres, which constitute such an integral portion of prelatial ecclesiastical history.‡‡ Our present concern,

†† See Dr. Binney's Dissent not Schism, p. 74, though an Independent.

‡‡ Dr. McCrie's Miscell. Wks. Rev. of the Life of Owen. See also presbyterians vindicated from all serious persecution, in Lorimer's Manual of Presbytery, p. 230. The writer says, 'The congregationalists, then, have nothing in point of *practice* of which to boast, over their presbyterian brethren; and in regard to their earlier holding sound *theoretical* views of toleration and religious liberty, the same great historical authority shows, that as correct sentiments were entertained from a much earlier date, by the reformers and first puritans, who were presbyterians; that, soon after the reformation, the same views were common among the presbyterians of Holland and France; that it was not the principles of the sectaries, but of the reformers and their successors, which lay, and still lie, at the foundation of British freedom, civil and religious; that the writings of leading independents, at the period referred to, betray decided

however, is with the presbyterian church, as known in the standards of our American General Assemblies, both old and new school, as compared with the prelatical communion, either Romish or Protestant. The only proper parallel in this case, therefore, is the constitution and principles of our own particular church, in comparison with theirs, and not of all who may bear our name.

Now from the extracts already presented, it must be manifest that there can be no greater liberality, nor any protest against both the spirit, principles, and practice of intolerance, more powerful than that delivered in the standards of our church. In addition to what has been adduced from them, let the following be considered. Chapter xx. of our Confession of Faith, is on 'Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience.' In this it is taught, §§ 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men, which are in any thing contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments, out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.'

symptoms of intolerance and persecution; that it was the extravagant and most injurious proceedings of many of the sectaries, which, by driving matters to extremities in England, created a reaction—lost all the immense advantages of a sound, civil, and ecclesiastical reformation—destroyed the monarch, and recalled persecution, with its horrors, under Charles II.'

'Had this little work not already exceeded the limits which were originally intended, it would not be difficult to vindicate the presbyterians from any serious charge of persecution, in connection with the signing of the 'Solemn League and Covenant,' and kindred subjects. It could be shown from the testimony of such men as Henderson, Dickson, Cant, and Lord Loudon, that men were not forced to take the covenant, or punished for refusal; that any cases of this kind were rare and unauthorized; that the league was most cordially embraced, without any compulsion from church or state, by the great body of the nation; and that any *undue* influence was chiefly employed *against* the covenant. It could be shown, also, from the exhortations of the Westminster Assembly, and the speeches of such members as Coleman, Caryl, Palmer, Thorowgood, &c., that they disapproved of the propagation of religion by force, and that it was mainly the seditious-political, and not the erroneous-religious, against which their exertions were directed, and which gave to their sentiments and proceedings the air of persecution. The case is correctly stated by 'the Reformed Presbytery,' in their Explanation and Defence of Terms of Communion in 1801. 'If any otherwise peaceable and inoffensive subjects, in church and state, had religious scruples in their own mind, both the open doctrine and uniform practice of our pious ancestors recommended all possible tenderness in laboring to have them removed. But, on the other hand, when cruel popish factions, under the fair pretence of only claiming a liberty to serve God in their own way, were plotting the utter ruin of both church and state, and seeking the overthrow of all laws, human and divine; in such a case, indeed, they could not help thinking, that salutary restraint, and well-regulated coercion, were indispensably necessary. And what nation under heaven, properly consulting her own safety and happiness, in time of danger, would not find it advisable to act on the same great principle?'

Again, in chapter xxiii. 'of the civil magistrate,' it is declared, 'civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the word and sacraments; or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or in the least interfere in matters of faith. Yet, as nursing-fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of christians above the rest, in such a manner, that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger. And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of *any* denomination of christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner, as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury, to any other person whatsoever; and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.'

'It is the duty of the people to pray for magistrates, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority, for conscience' sake. Infidelity or indifference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him; from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people; and least of all, to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretence whatsoever.'

So also in Form of Government, chapter i., section 1, as quoted above,* and in chapter viii., section 2, where, speaking of all our ecclesiastical courts, it teaches, 'These assemblies ought not to possess any civil jurisdiction, nor to inflict any civil penalties. Their power is wholly moral or spiritual, and that only ministerial and declarative.'

To this let me add the following extracts from 'An Ecclesiastical Catechism of the Presbyterian Church,' by the author, which has been approved by various portions of our church, and by some of its leading divines.† In chapter v., section 1, 'Of the nature of church power,' it is asked, 'Is the power which church officers possess, such as to affect the civil interests of men?'

*See p. 218.

†A third edition has been called for.

'No; it is altogether ecclesiastical; and such as to affect men only in their relation to the church, and to God.'

'How else may you describe this power of the church? It is spiritual, and addressed to the consciences of those who are subject to it.'

'Have church officers any power or authority, even in ecclesiastical matters, independently, or in themselves considered? None whatever—they act altogether ministerially.'

'Do presbyterians, in our country, ascribe any power to the church, which interferes with the authorities of the state? No; presbyterians maintain, that the church is independent of the state, and distinct from it, in its laws, its administrations, and its objects; and that it is governed by its own laws, which are purely spiritual.'

'Do presbyterians in our country, desire, then, any alliance between their church and the state? On the contrary, they believe, that any such alliance ever has been, and ever will be, equally injurious to the state and to the church; and that it is to be deprecated by every christian, as the baneful source of corruption and intolerance.‡'

Let any man candidly study these passages, in connection with the constitution of this freest and most liberal of all governments, and will he not say that they are, in spirit, perfectly the same, and that, in the principles delivered in these standards, our puritan fathers found the germs, the elements, of

‡The only portions of our standards, besides the doctrines of election and predestination, which bishop Hughes could pervert to a sense opposite to civil and religious liberty, is the explanation given of the Second Commandment, (Breckinridge and Hughes's Discussion, pp. 318, 244, 372,) which, among other things, is said to require '*the disapproving, detesting, opposing, all false worship; and, according to each one's place and calling, removing it, and all monuments of idolatry.*' 'If I understand the reasoning,' says Dr. Breckinridge, 'he means to charge us with holding, that force of some kind is a duty; or that some method of '*removing the monuments of idolatry,*' at war with the rights of others, is expressed. For I suppose he will not say, that if we *oppose false worship,* and remove these *monuments of idolatry,* in a constitutional way, and *without* disturbing the rights of others, this would be *wrong,* or *against* liberty, civil or religious.' 'He will not say that it is persecution, to oppose idolatry by discussion, moral influence, and prayer. The question then is, as to the *manner of doing it.* Does our doctrine utter or imply tyranny, or force, or a hindrance to the free exercise of religious worship? If so, we should like to know it. So far is this from being the fact, that he has himself owned, '*that the Confession of Faith was amended,* (at the adoption of the American Constitution,) *to suit the constitution and the new order of things.*' What he thus admits as '*an amendment,*' to be true, may be easily shown, by reference to all those parts of our standards, which relate to the freedom of worship, and the use of force, by the civil magistrate, in matters of conscience.

'Yet it is not said of *our* particular church, but of all christian denominations, that the civil magistrate should protect them. Religion is one of our *common* rights—and a *civil* right to be protected in it. But Mr. Hughes replies, this '*excludes us idolaters.*' No. We say '*all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies,*' are to be '*protected,*' though it be an anti-christian system. But shall we, for this reason, be *silent* about their errors? May we not use the liberty of speech?'

that perfect civil and religious liberty, which every citizen of this great republic equally enjoys. Real liberality cannot possibly coexist with any system which does not recognize the principle, that individual conviction is the only worthy basis of true faith, and the consequent right and duty of private judgment. In this doctrine, the very essence of real liberality, both political and religious, is involved. It is when this principle is received as *an axiomatic truth*, that the exercise of such liberality is not, (as it is too often represented,) of the nature of a *lenient indulgence*, or a *benevolent concession*, but stands forth, not on the ground of concession, but of principle,—not of indulgence, but of right,—not of favor, but of justice,—not of compromise, but of steadfast maintenance of the truth,—each upholding what he believes right, without denouncing the other as wrong; all uniting for objects in which they agree, without compromising one point in which they differ. §

Now, as interpreted in our standards, christianity sanctions and does not destroy this freedom; elevates and does not de-throne reason; encourages and does not fetter inquiry; secures and does not withhold liberty of conscience; since it enforces only a *voluntary* subjection to its requirements. It is the doctrine of Bossuet, and the church to which he belongs, and not the doctrine of the presbyterian church, that 'all attachment to private judgment is heresy, it being the property of a heretic to have a particular opinion.'** And as this doctrine has been shown to lie at the very foundation of American republicanism, †† in connection with the entire severance of politics and religion, of civil and religious matters, the absurdity of the charge of any connivance at intolerance, as made against our church, is as great as if alleged against the Constitution of the United States itself.

SECTION VI.

The presbyterian church is at once liberal and orthodox.

The presbyterian church does not found her claims to the character of liberality upon an *indiscriminate approval* of all doctrinal opinions, or to the Erastian destruction of all ecclesiastical government and ministerial authority as of divine appointment. She firmly holds, as an article of faith, to the doctrine of one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church, out of which there is no *ordinary* possibility of salvation; but her liberality is

§Prof. Powell, of Oxf. on State Educ. Lond. 1840, pp. 81, 82.

**Variations of Prot. vol. i. p. 17.

††Tocqueville's Democ. in Am.

seen in making THIS, and not the presbyterian church, THE CHURCH; in making this catholic church coextensive with the elect children of God, that is with all, in every place, age, nation, or denomination, who are made partakers of the grace that is in Christ Jesus; in representing it as requiring, for the participation of all its privileges, only the belief of those essential principles, in knowledge of which standeth eternal life; and as embracing, in her visible form, all who even profess the true religion, together with their children. The presbyterian church believes also in the divine appointment of the christian ministry, and in its uninterrupted succession, from the apostles' time until now, and that ministers are the instruments by whom God works in the salvation of men; her liberality is seen in holding up these pastors, not as *legislators*, but only as *ministers* of Christ, and for his people; in not substituting them in the place of God as the sources of grace and blessing; in subjecting them, as much as their people, to the Bible, as the common standard of faith; and in appealing to the conscience and private judgment of all her members. The presbyterian church believes in the necessity of government and order, and has confidence in the wisdom, utility, and scripturality of her own polity; her liberality is seen in not making these essential to the *being*, but only to the *well-being* of the church; in not claiming for any of its *details* exclusive divine authority or right; in assuming power to determine nothing more than those rules and orders of the church, which are in themselves either indifferent or necessary to the accomplishment of *required* duty, and which are undetermined in the word of God; in not enforcing these, as necessary in themselves considered, but as binding only upon those who can voluntarily and conscientiously receive them, and who can, therefore, unite with her; and in not excommunicating or unchurching other denominations, because they adopt different rules, forms, and orders.‡‡ She

‡‡That this is the view taken by the church of Scotland, appears from the following extract, taken from the speeches delivered on the commemoration of the assembly of 1638, p. 37. (See quoted and defended by Mr. Candlish, in his letter to the Dean of Faculty, Edinb. 1839.) 'I cannot enter fully on an argument like this, which would require to be discussed at great length. I may simply refer to the general principles which we hold to be established, by the authority and example of the apostles, as their practice may be gathered from the brief hints and notices given in the New Testament, regarding the churches which they formed. The system which they adopted, is not in any part of the inspired record fully unfolded—and perhaps it was not always uniform. But certain leading features may be traced throughout. Thus, the institution of deacons, charged with the care of the poor and the temporal concerns of the church, is placed beyond question, by the fact recorded in the sixth chapter of the Acts. Then, in addition to this office of a secular character, we find repeated mention made of another order of office-bearers in all the churches, called 'presbyters,' or 'elders,' as being men of grave authority; 'bishops,' or 'overseers,' as having the spiritual oversight of the flock, and described as having rule over the christian people, and watching for souls as those who must give account. And the only distinction which we can

regards the Catholic church as 'a great man's house,' 'in which are many mansions,' which our heavenly Father has well furnished and prepared for all his children. She addresses, therefore, to all a common welcome, saying, come in ye blessed of the Father, and partake with us in all the blessings of His hospitable mansion, and His well-provisioned table. Ye who bear upon you the impress of a divine acceptance, who are clad in the spiritual vestments of a divine calling, who speak the language of heaven's adopted sons, however men may reject, scorn, or denounce you, come in, and let us, as brethren, dwell together in love, endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace, as having one Lord, one faith, and one hope.

SECTION VII.

Testimonies in proof of the liberality of presbytery.

In substantiation of these views, deduced from the standards of the presbyterian church, we might add the testimony of eminent divines, of every period of its history, and in various branches of the presbyterian body. A few out of the many examples which are at hand, it may be well to present.

The Waldenses, in their Confession of 1508, after defining the Catholic church, say: §§ 'But in regard to their own congregation, they thus conceive and teach, that that congregation, as other congregations, be they great or small, is not the holy universal church, but only a part and member thereof, as the

recognize in this last class, is between the elders or presbyters, who merely 'rule,' and those who, besides ruling, 'labor in word and doctrine,' (1 Tim. 1: 17,) a distinction which seems to lay a foundation for the difference which we make between the ruling elder and the teaching elder or pastor, as holding separate offices, or rather separate branches of the same office. Beyond this simple order, we can discover nothing in Holy Scripture, regarding the early government of the christian society, excepting only the extraordinary powers exercised by the apostles themselves, and by evangelists specially commissioned by them, not as settled superintendents of particular dioceses, but as agents employed at large in forming and organizing new churches in all different parts of the world. But in this simple order, we have full warrant for the ordinance of a standing ministry, authorized by Christ himself, to rule his people, and to confer their own office on others, by solemn imposition of hands. We consider also that the New Testament gives evidence of a union between different churches and their office-bearers, and a control vested in councils of these office-bearers, over particular churches and their members. Thus we maintain, in the words of the illustrious McCrie, that the leading principles of presbytery rest on the authority of God, and that its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture. They are simple, and well calculated to preserve order, and promote edification, equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule; establishing an efficient discipline in every congregation, and preserving that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ.—*Commemoration Speeches*, p. 37.

§§ Blair's Waldenses, vol. ii. p. 575.

Corinthians were, of whom the apostle speaks, 1 Corinthians, 12.'

As to the reformers, let Du Moulin speak for himself and them. 'I know that under pretence, that the church of England hath another form of discipline than ours is—(our adversaries, the papists,) charge us that our religion is diverse. But experience confuteth this accusation.' Indeed, so liberal were the views of our reformers, that many of those who were most devoted to the establishment of presbytery, are nevertheless, by an *ungenerous* perversion of their fraternal and kind expressions, in speaking of the English church, constantly held up as favorable to prelacy.*

Knox showed his moderation by officiating to a congregation of episcopalian English exiles at Frankfort; among whom a modified form of divine worship was agreed on—some things being taken from the liturgy of the church of England, others from the practice of Geneva.†

'We do, upon good reason,' said Alexander Henderson, the rebuilder of the church of Scotland, in her second reformation, 'judge the church of England, in the midst of her ceremonies, to have been a true church; and the ministry thereof, notwithstanding the many blemishes and corruptions cleaving unto it, to have been a true ministry; and we shall never deny unto them that praise, whether in debating controversies with papists, or in practical divinity for private christians, which they do most justly deserve. Upon the other part, we are neither so ignorant, nor so arrogant, as to ascribe to the church of Scotland such absolute purity and perfection as hath not need, or cannot admit, of further reformation.'‡

'When they troubled us but with ceremonies,' adds Baillie, 'the world knows we went in with them as far as our duty to God or man could require; but while they would have us, against standing laws, to receive arminianism and popery, and all they please, shall we not bear them witness to their opposition to the truth, though we should die for it, and preach the

*See these views fully presented in Lect. on Apost. Succ. Lect. iii. p. 63, Lect. xvi. and pp. 525, 526. Harmony of Confessions of the Ref. Ch. and the Preface, Lond. 1643. Blondel's Declar. de la Sincerit. des eglises Ref. de France Sedan, 1619. Nubes Testium. pro moderato et pacifico de rebus theologicis et instituenda inter Protestantas concordia, by Joh. Alph. Turretine, Leipsic, 1720, 4to. Lond. Chr. Obs. Feb. 1839, p. 119. Edinb. Presb. Rev. April, 1839, p. 639. Schism by Dr. Hoppus, pp. 463, 485-491.

†McCrie's Life of, Period iv.

‡Life and Times, by Dr. Aiton, p. 13. Dr. Muir's Disc. at Commemor. of the Genl. Ass. of 1638. Glasg. 1838, p. 22. On the liberal conduct of the early Scottish church, see Lectures on the Headship of Christ, Glasg. 1840, pp. 80, 81. See her remarkable liberality in the case of archbishop Bancroft's discourse and conduct. McCrie's Life of Melville, vol. i. pp. 385-390. McCrie on the Unity of the Church, pp. 14, 15.

truth of God, wherein we have been brought up, against all who will gainsay?'§

'I never said nor thought,' said the martyred Renwick, to bishop Paterson,** 'that none could be saved except they were of those principles; but these are truths which I suffer for, and which I have not rashly concluded on, but deliberately, and of a long time have been confirmed, that they are sufficient points to suffer for.'

The Provincial council of London, in their work on the divine right of the Gospel Ministry, published in the year 1654, show the same spirit in their preface, to the reader. They here enumerate, among those with whom they desire union and harmony, 'the moderate, godly episcopal men, that hold ordination by presbyters to be lawful and valid; that a bishop and a presbyter are one and the same order of ministry, that are orthodox in doctrinal truths, and yet hold that the government of the church by a perpetual moderator is most agreeable to scripture pattern. Though herein we differ from them, yet we are far from thinking that this difference should hinder a happy union between them and us. Nay, we crave leave to profess to the world, that it will never, (as we humbly conceive,) be well with England till there be a union endeavored and effected between those that are orthodox in doctrine, though differing among themselves in some circumstances about church government.'††

In the Character of an Old English Puritan, written by the Rev. John Geree, and published in 1646, it is said, 'right discipline he judged pertaining not to the being but to the well-being of the church. Therefore he esteemed those churches most pure, where the government is by elders, yet unchurched not those where it was otherwise.'‡‡

So also in 'A Model of Church Government,' &c., 'by John Drury, one of the assembly of Divines,' it is said, 'First, then, I think myself bound to declare this: that I am under a vow to prosecute, upon all occasions, as long as I live, the ways of evangelical reconciliation amongst PROTESTANTS; that is to say, professedly to seek, and upon all occasions offered to advance, amongst those that have received the holy scriptures for their rule, and keep to the fundamentals of faith and practice, the means of spiritual unity, of peace and of love, by the manifestation of the truth, and in the duties of holy communion. Having, therefore, this opportunity fairly offered, I am obliged, in

§Ibid.

**Hist. of the Covenanters, vol. ii. p. 321.

††Page 4. See also Pt. ii. pp. 20, 22, 23, (defence of the character of the ministers of the English church,) 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 38. See also their Div. Right of Ch. Govt. pp. 120, 121, and Firmin's Separation Examined, addressed to them, p. 107. Also Corbet's Remains, p. 32, &c.

‡‡London, p. 4.

minding my vow, to discharge a good conscience; and for the love which I owe unto the gospel of peace, to the whole church of God, and to the prosperity and flourishing condition thereof in this nation, to make some overtures, which I hope shall give no matter of grievance unto any, but will prove edifying unto all; at least my aim shall be none other, but to stir up thy pure mind, (christian reader,) to the thoughts of brotherly kindness, of meekness, and of peace, to the end that some ways may be taken up, which will help to reconcile the affections of many divided about circumstantial; to preserve and keep entire the unity which remains about fundamentals; and to prevent or cure the manifold misprisions, which increase our confusions, and obstruct the remedies of our diseases.'§§

We might refer to Baxter's works throughout. We will only extract one or two passages in his 'Disputations of Church Government,' written when the presbyterian party were in power.* In the preface he says, 'I know also that the casting out of the ministers of your way, is much that offendeth you: concerning which I shall only say, that I meet with none, or very few, that profess not their willingness that all men of your mind, that truly fear God, and are able and diligent, should be kept in. And if you be angry for the casting out of the ignorant, insufficient, negligent or scandalous, there is no remedy. But be ashamed to reproach us for casting out such from the service of Christ, as Julian the apostate would have cast out from the priesthood of his idols: and let us crave your leave to expect as much devotion in the servants of Christ, as he expected in his enemies.'

Still more remarkable are the following words from his own Life.† 'My censures of the papists do much differ from what they were at first. I then thought that their errors in the doctrines of faith were their most dangerous mistakes. But now I am assured that their mis-expressions and misunderstanding us, with our mistakings of them and inconvenient expressing of own opinions, have made the difference in most points appear much greater than it is; and that in some it is next to none at all. But the great and unreconcilable differences lie in their church tyranny; in the usurpations of their hierarchy, and priesthood, under the name of spiritual authority, exercising a

§§*Lond.* 1647, 4to. Preface. The assembly of Divines split on the subject of toleration, many members advocating liberal views. See Wilson's *Historical Inquiry concerning the English Presbyterians*, pp. 3, 4, 5, 20, 23. That they were willing to accommodate with the Episcopalians, see *ibid.* p. 144, 147, 153, 171. See also their noble liberality, when they could have retaliated, in Neal's *Puritans*, vol. v. pp. 16, 17, 23, and vol. iv. pp. 391, 418, and vol. v. pp. 33, 36, 37, 41, 58.

**Lond.* 1659. Pref. p. 19. See also Neal, vol. iv. pp. 226 and 231, for similar sentiments under similar circumstances.

†Part i. p. 131.

temporal lordship; in their corruptions and abasement of God's worship; but, above all, in their systematic befriending of ignorance and vice.'

'At first I thought that Mr. Perkins well proved that a papist cannot go beyond a reprobate; but now I doubt not that God hath many sanctified ones among them; who have received the true doctrine of christianity so practically, that their contradictory errors prevail not against them, to hinder their love of God, and their salvation; but that their errors are like a conquerable dose of poison, which a healthful nature doth overcome. *And I can never believe that a man may not be saved by that religion, which doth but bring him to the true love of God and to a heavenly mind and life; nor that God will ever cast a soul into hell that truly loveth him.* Also at first it would disgrace any doctrine with me, if I did but hear it called popery and antichristian; but I have long learned to be more impartial, and to know that Satan can use even the names of popery and antichrist, to bring a truth into suspicion and discredit.'

To this might be added the testimony of one who suffered from the tyranny of prelates as much as any other. We refer to Bastwick, in his 'Utter Routing,' &c.; but as the passage is long, we can only refer to it.‡

'I do likewise abhor,' says Mathew Henry, 'all schismatical, that is, uncharitable, proud, censorious, rigid separation, such separation as theirs who condemn the parish churches as no parts of the visible church, who rail at ministers as babylonish and antichristian; this is a horrid breach of the law of christian love, and that which every good heart cannot but rise at the thoughts of.'§

How many pages might we fill from the sainted Howe.** In his deepest sufferings at the hands of the prelates, he declares that one of his chief consolations in suffering was, the 'consciousness that he had no other than kind or benign thoughts towards those whom he has suffered by; and that his heart tells him he desires not the least hurt to those that would do him the greatest; that he feels within himself an unfeigned love and high estimation of divers of them, accounting them pious, worthy persons, and hoping to meet them in the *all-reconciling* world.' The *all-reconciling* world! How beautiful is that expression!

‡The title of this really learned defence of presbyterianism, is one of the most remarkable among the many that are so. It is a 4to. of pp. 662. Lond. 1646. See at pp. 567-570.

§Brief Inq. into the Nature of Schism, Lond. 1717, p. 24. See also his Wks. p. 1137, col. 1.

**See his Life, by Rodgers, p. 323. Lond. 1836. See also at pp. 288, 312, 333, 358, 366.

'We do sincerely profess,' he adds, 'wherein we decline the communion he invites us to; we only displease him and those of his way and mind, out of a real fear of otherwise displeasing God. We agree with them in far greater things than we can differ in. We are of that one body which they themselves profess to be of, so far as mere christianity is the distinction and collective bond of it, and desire to be under the conduct and government of that one spirit. We are called with them in that one hope of our calling, and earnestly expect, (whatever hard thoughts they have of us,) to meet many a one of them in the participation of the blessed hoped end of that calling. We acknowledge that one Lord, that one faith, that one baptism, (or covenant which the baptism of our Lord's appointment seals,) and that one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all. Yet because we cannot, we dare not consent with them to the additions which belong not (and which we fear are unduly affixed) to the religion of christianity.'

Such also were the liberal sentiments of the opponents of prelacy in New England. Thus Mr. Welles, in his *Vindication of Presbyterian Ordination*, in answer to Mr. Leaming, says, 'We, on the other hand, from the same testimonies, believe infant baptism, and the first day sabbath. We accordingly practice them. But then, 'we have not so learned Christ,' as to think it our duty, either by our principles or practice, to unchurch and unchristianize all who differ from us in these points; but, if they are otherwise qualified, cheerfully admit their ministers into our pulpits, and their members to commune, in gospel ordinances.'††

Dr. Chandler, in his plea for the establishment of an American episcopate, and against which there existed such irresistible prejudices, thus speaks of 'the dissenters.'‡‡ 'Whatever notions the dissenters in this country may have formerly entertained concerning the church, yet of late years they have greatly come off from their prejudices; and sentiments of candor, charity, and moderation have visibly taken place. And as to dissenters of other denominations, the subject has been proposed to some of the most sensible of them, who have, with great candor, confessed, that as such an episcopate as has been requested could have no ill effect upon any, they had no objections to offer. Nay, some have even been so generous, as to endeavor to undeceive their more ignorant and illiberal brethren, if the author of these papers has not been misinformed.'

As it regards the present views and sentiments of the presbyterian church in this country, in Scotland, and in Ireland, it is

††New Haven, 1767, pp. 5, 19.

‡‡App. for the Ch. of Eng. n Am. p. 88, and again, pp. 90 and 93.

unnecessary to produce any testimonies beyond what have been offered. §§ The following remarks, by Dr. Candlish, will at once, however, serve as evidence of the truth of our position, and an illustration of the true grounds upon which our liberality is based.* After expressing his profound respect for the church of England, he says, 'And in entire consistency with these more than friendly sentiments, I hold the divine right of presbytery, and I believe that the system of episcopacy is unscriptural, while the line of argument by which it is defended seems to me to lead naturally to the establishment of the authority of a pope. I am aware, that some of those who have avowed their conviction, that 'the presbyterian form is founded on the word of God, and agreeable thereto,' understand this as meaning nothing more, than that the word of God is as much in favor of presbyterianism as of any other model—perhaps, on the whole, rather more so. They consider that the Scripture says nothing very definite on the subject, and furnishes no means of ascertaining very positively, what kind of government the Great Head of the church intended to institute. They say, therefore, of presbytery, as they would almost equally say of episcopacy, or of independency, that 'it is founded on the word of God, and agreeable thereto,' because they think that the word of God affords room for very considerable latitude, and that the hints and directions which it contains, are so general as to admit of several different schemes being viewed as almost equally in accordance with the divine will. I do not quarrel with this explanation of our ordination formula, in those who conscientiously adopt it. But for myself, I take it somewhat more strictly. According to my view of it, it implies, that the word of God has laid a foundation for a certain form of government in the church, and that presbytery is exclusively that form. I believe that the New Testament does contain sufficient elements for a determination of the question,—what is the mind of God in this matter? that it was not the design of our Lord and his apostles to leave it altogether loose; that there is enough to guide one who can use his reason in interpreting Scripture, to a knowledge of what they meant to establish and to sanction. Entertaining these opinions, I cannot regard the distinction between different forms of church government as one of little importance. I love the church of England, but I condemn her episcopacy.'

'Let me try to enlighten the Dean of Faculty on this dark

§§As it regards this country, see Dr. Rodgers's Life, p. 328. Dr. Rice, as quoted. Dr. Miller on the Min. 2d ed. 8vo. p. viii. x. xlviii. pp. 219, 231, 247-258. Dr. Mason's Catholic Commun. and Works, vol. iii. pp. 30, 31. As it regards President Davies, see Bib. Repert. 1840, pp. 190, 191, 201, 204. Dr. McLeod's Eccl. Catech. p. 115. Bib. Repert. 1836, p. 34.

*Remarks on the Dean of Faculty's Letter, Edinb. 1839, pp. 16, 17.

mystery of toleration. It is quite true, that the introduction of the element of divine authority, in support of any religious truth, or any ecclesiastical arrangement, necessarily involves uncompromising hostility to whatever is opposed to it. But there are two antagonist principles which prevent that hostility from becoming intolerance. The one is the principle which leads enlightened christians to make a distinction between the merits of an opinion or system, and those of the individuals who hold it. The other lies in the distinction made between truths held to be essential, and those admitted to be of less vital importance. The first principle allows us to recognize as christians, many individual members of a church, which we denounce as itself antichristian. The second admits of our recognizing churches as christian, even although in some features of their constitution, we regard them as anti-scriptural. These principles of toleration and liberality, which are distinct from the general obligation of christian charity, towards the persons of such as differ from us, and which are directly opposed to the spurious latitudinarian charity of indulgence towards their errors, maintain, amid all its schisms, the unity of the body of Christ. According to the first principle, protestants, who hold the church of Rome to be Babylon, may cherish the hope that not a few in its communion are their brethren in Christ; and Puseyites, who hold the church of Scotland to be no church at all, and who call her Samaria, may admit that some presbyterians may be saved. According to the second principle, we who view episcopacy as an anti-scriptural error, yet satisfied that it may not be an error in essentials, cordially embrace the church of England, as a true church of the living God, having a sound faith, and a scriptural administration of sacraments.

‘I have not time to illustrate these principles. But I think that they deserve the consideration of those who may be carried away by the outcry about intolerance, and especially by the elaborate parallel drawn, between the views held by some of us, in regard to the divine authority of the presbyterial form of government, and the doctrines of the Oxford divines in regard to apostolical succession. It should have been known, that there is the widest difference of opinion between us and them, as to the real nature and essential conditions of a christian church, and that this difference makes the attempt to confound our sentiments altogether unreasonable and unfair. It is not their appeal to scriptural authority on behalf of their doctrine, but it is the doctrine itself, which compels them to exclude from the pale of the christian church all presbyterian communities.’†

†See similar views in Dr. Chalmer's Lect. on Establishments, 8vo. Eng. ed. pp. 180-185, and Letter to the Dean of Faculty, p. 101. Anderson's Def. of Presb. pp. 347, &c. and 379. Edward Irving's Sermons, vol. ii. p. 234. Mitchell's Letters to Bishop Skinner, pp. 7, 85. Manual of Presbytery, by Mr. Lorimer, Edinb. 1842, p. 165.

Never was a more glorious testimony borne to the advancing spirit of true catholic liberality, than by the general assembly of the church of Scotland in 1842, in cancelling the schismatical act of 1799, whereby she recognizes the church as one body, though called by many names, and scattered over many regions of the earth, and opens her pulpits to ministers of other denominations; in receiving deputations from England, Ireland, America, Prussia, and Switzerland; in opening up correspondence with all those churches who hold the Head; in memorializing all christians to unite in a concert of prayer; and in taking measures for the union of all evangelical denominations in some fraternal league.‡

If, then, we would say in conclusion, to every member of the presbyterian church,§ if any man ask you what church you are of, tell him, that you are of that particular church where you dwell; but for the catholic church you know but one, and that you are of. Thrust not yourselves into a corner of the church, and there stand quarrelling against the rest; make not sectaries of yourselves by appropriating Christ, and the church, and salvation, to your party; abhor the very thoughts and name of any universal church of Christ, which is of narrower extent than christianity, and containeth fewer than all true christians, and is pretended to be confined to a sect. It is not the papists that are the catholic church, nor is it the Greeks, no, nor the protestants, much less the new prelates alone; but it is all christians through the world, of whom the protestants are the soundest part, but not the whole. Again, consider what a lamentable case it is, that so great a part of the church do seem to be at a loss about the church, as if they knew not where it is. That they run up and down the house of God, complaining that they cannot find the house, and know not which room it is that is the house. But in the house of God are many rooms and mansions; one for Greeks, and one for Ethiopians, one for Armenians, and Georgians, and Syrians; one for many that are called papists; one for Lutherans and Armenians; one for Anabaptists, and one for many that are truly guilty of schism and separation from particular churches; there is room for Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Erastians; there is room for Augustinians, called Jansenists, and room for Calvinists; but yet no room for any but christians and catholics. Alas, that after so many warnings in plainest words of Scripture, and the history of so many ages, so many christians should yet be so carnal, as to be saying, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos,

‡See the Presb. Rev. Edinb. July, 1842, and Proceed. of General Assembly, p. 4, &c. Also the Plan for Observing the Bi-Centenary of the Westminster Assembly, by the Commission, on Nov. 16th, 1842.

§See Baxter's Works, vol. xvi. pp. 327, 328. Disput. on Ch. Govt. pp. 240-252.

and I of Cephias, that is, Peter; yea, that after Cephias is here named as a party, the papists should be so wilfully blind as still to make him the head of a party! That one is for Rome, and another for Constantinople, and another for Alexandria! When that Augustine hath so long ago decided this point against the Donatists, and told them which is the catholic church, even that which begun at Jerusalem, and is extended over the world, wherever there be christians. Alas, that still men are so stupid in their divisions, as to be crying out, 'here is Christ, and there is Christ; here is the church, and there is the church; we are the church, and you are none of it;' when the body of Christ and its unity is so frequently and plainly described in the Scripture. I know that none are members of the church that deny any essential point of christianity; but I know that many other mistaken parties are. Consider what an uncharitable, dangerous thing it is to give Christ's spouse a bill of divorce; or cast his children out of his family. And in the name of God take heed whilst you live, first, that you never confine the church to a sect or party; secondly, nor ever cast out the least true christians, seeing Christ will never cast them out.'

SECTION VIII.

The illiberal character of Romish and Anglican prelacy.

But to all this, how contrary is the spirit of prelacy. The intolerance which is *necessarily* connected with the prelatie or high-church system, we have already demonstrated from their own recent and standard works, and from their own practical exemplifications of its principles.†† The whole system is essentially bigoted and illiberal in every thing that respects *mere external forms*, while latitudinarian in all that relates to the *essential doctrines* of the gospel. Prelacy shows its claim to liberality and comprehensiveness, by 'receiving within its pale all varieties of opinions,' and teaching, that 'agreement of opinion, even in some of THE CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY, is not essential to harmony of feeling, to christian fellowship, and general union.'‡‡ Thus does it prove, that in its view conformity and external union is of more importance than christianity itself, and that obedience is the sum and substance of the gospel. Changing the being of religion into supersti-

††See Lect. on the Apost. Succ. pp. 171, 318, 319, 324, 325, 326, 342, 344, 469, 470.

‡‡Oxf. Tracts, vol. i. p. 428. Colton's Reasons for Preferring Episcopacy, p. 45, &c.

tion, and becoming more and more earthly and servile, it is in a fair way to realize the picture drawn by Coleridge: §§ 'as more and more estranged from the one in all, it goes wandering at length with its pack of amulets, bead-rolls, periapts, fetishes, and the like pedlery, on pilgrimages to Loretto, Mecca, or the temple of Juggernaut, arm in arm with sensuality on one side, and self-torture on the other, followed by a motley group of friars, pardoners, faquirs, gamesters, flagellants, mountebanks, and harlots.' 'Thus, under the mask of indifference,' says Lord Brooke, 'prelacy hath brought in most abominable superstitions, and most intolerable slavery on the persons, liberties, bodies and souls of men. For they have pressed consciences, even unto gasping; yea, and would not be satisfied, though they daily heard the sighs and groans of those bleeding hearts, which themselves had stabbed with the poisoned sword of Church-Indifference.'*

Prelatists are now mad after their plan of 'catholic reunion' among the divided portions of Christ's church. And what is this plan? Let one of themselves answer. † This plan, 'which forms the secret mainspring of the Tractarian School, is based on two fundamental maxims, which (as *lucus a non lucendo*) they are pleased to term 'catholic principles.' The first is, the absolute necessity to the very being of a church, of a threefold order in a visible priesthood, derived by an unbroken episcopal succession from the apostles. The second is, the duty of entirely renouncing the exercise of private judgment, and of submitting, with implicit deference, to the decrees of general councils. In these two maxims, which practically replace, in their system, the two tables of the law, they place the very essence of the christian church. The church of Rome, therefore, the Eastern or Greek, the Anglican and the Anglo-American, are true churches, have the entail of the covenant, and their reunion is to be sought by all practicable means. All other communions are not churches, but 'protestant persuasions,' groups of heretics or schismatics, having no ecclesiastical character, and which are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Their members, indeed, may, on confession, be received into the church by the sacrament of penance; but the communities themselves are, *de facto*, excommunicated. To seek direct intercourse with them, would, therefore, involve the forfeiture of our own catholicity, would degrade us to their level, and would thus betray that awful privilege of 'making the body and blood of Christ,' which is committed to our own priesthood, in common with the Greek and Romish priests, and to these alone.'

§§ Church and State, &c. Lond. 1839, p. 261.

*Disc. of Episcopacy, Lond. 1642, p. 60.

†The Churchman's Monthly Review. Jan. 1842, p. 12.

'Such is the 'catholic' theory of reunion, which Mr. Hope with calmness, and Mr. Palmer with bitterness and passion, press upon their readers.' Well may the reviewer, an episcopalian of the liberal school, add, 'we know not how to express our sense of the enormous falsehood it involves, or of the awful peril of that course which is thus recommended for our adoption at the present time. First of all, the full testimony of Scripture to the true nature and essential elements of the christian church, is cast away, trodden under foot, and despised. In its room there is put forward a human definition, without one shadow of warrant from God's word; a definition fraught with all the worst elements of spiritual blindness, heartless bigotry, and priestly ambition. We ask for the bread of sound doctrine, and they give us the stone of lifeless forms; we seek for the sustenance of spiritual worship, and they offer us the serpent-sophistries, which palliate and excuse the gross idolatry of Rome. Next, that search for truth which made the Bereans noble in God's sight, that choice which Moses, Joshua, and St. Paul, with one voice enjoin and command, is openly proscribed as the very essence of heresy, in defiance of the clearest declarations of the Spirit of God. The laity, bound hand and foot, are given over as helpless slaves to the guidance of the priesthood, and these again, in the same blind subjection, to their superiors; till, by degrees, all the tightening links of unity gather around the seven-hilled seat of the Babylonian harlot, and the visible church, that noble ordinance for the salvation and spiritual life of ransomed sinners, is turned into one vast engine of spiritual delusion, by which the adversary may lead millions of souls blindfold to their eternal ruin.'

Surely

If there be rule in unity itself,
This is not she.‡

As it regards popery, 'it must be acknowledged,' says M. Villers, himself a Romanist, 'that the spirit of papism is exclusive and intolerant.'§ Now the spirit of an institution cannot cease to act, unless the institution cease also.**

‡Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*.

§*Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation, the work which obtained the prize of the National Institute of France. London, 1805, pp. 79, and 99, 100, et passim.*

**It is true, that popery is advancing. It is true that popery, assuming as it does for the church a divine right to judge for the people what is truth, is, and *must* be, intolerant. It is true, that its history is written in blood, and that no denials, no arguments, or even sophistry, can wipe from its published and current documents, its broad and glaring sanction of whatever oppression, even unto cruel death, may be deemed needful to exterminate *whatsoever* is not submissive to itself. It is true, that, (whatever bright examples or ardent piety, of tender charity, and generous equity, may have been, or may be, found in its communion,) all that is terrible to rational liberty may be feared, if it should be armed with power, giving scope to its persecuting and inexorable *spirit*. That popery is advancing is no light thing—believe and tremble!' *The Cry of No Popery*. Lond. 1842.

That this testimony is true, and that even the free air of this republican country cannot infuse a liberal spirit into a system, which 'owes its establishment and continuance only to the fertility and perpetuity of error,' and which lives, therefore, upon its intolerant exclusiveness and its spiritual despotism, will appear from the following facts. We will first present an extract from 'A Collection of Prayers, Spiritual Exercises, &c., interspersed with the various instructions necessary for forming youth to the practice of solid piety. Originally arranged for the young ladies educated at the Ursuline Convent, Cork. Revised by the Very Rev. John Power, and approved by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes, pp. 518. New York, 1839.'

Whenever a protestant minister raises his voice, to warn his flock against the insidious efforts of the adherents of the pope, to bring our beloved country under the spiritual tyranny of a foreign potentate, the cry of uncharitableness and persecution is raised, not only by papists, but by many nominal protestants. To give our readers a little specimen of the *charity* of holy mother church, towards all who doubt her infallibility, and renounce her communion, we present the following extracts from a dissertation at the end of the volume, on the reasons for adhering to the Roman catholic religion.

'But is it not very uncharitable, to believe that the Roman catholic church, besides being the only true church, is the only one in which salvation can be obtained?'

'It is by no means uncharitable to believe this; no more than it is uncharitable to believe any awful truth which God has revealed.'

'But, at least, is it not very uncharitable, in Roman catholics, to abjure all manner of communication, in religious exercises, with those of every other religion?'

'This abjuration, or refusal, so far from being uncharitable, is, in their mind, enforced by the truest charity. Convinced, as Roman catholics are, and firmly persuaded, that there is, and that there can be, no other true religion than their own, they cannot, consistently, nor candidly, nor lawfully, approve, or even appear to approve, any other religion; which they certainly should appear to do, were they thus to join in these religious exercises, or frequent places of worship belonging to separated communions. Such temporizing conduct has the aspect of prevarication; it is, in short, betraying the truth of God. In their principles they must abhor it, as calculated to delude their separated brethren into an unfounded, and therefore into a most dangerous, security. Charity here compels them to stand off. Besides, esteeming the gift of divine faith to be invaluable, inasmuch as, without faith, it is impossible to

please God, they cannot innocently expose themselves to the danger of losing it.'

'But still, when those of other religions scruple not occasionally to attend at Roman catholic sermons, and at religious exercises in Roman catholic places of worship, would there not be something more brotherly in returning this compliment, than in standing off with such rigor!'

'The preceding answer has anticipated a negative to this question; it is now, in addition, to be observed, that the principles of other religions allow of such communication; the principles of the Roman catholic religion peremptorily forbid it.'

It is truly overwhelming to consider the wantonness with which the salvation of the soul is made to depend upon the belief of points, either notoriously untrue, or incapable of any establishment. Thus we are required to believe in the uninterrupted succession and duration of the Romish Church.†† And yet we know that this is not true as to location, since the popes, with their court, resided at Avignon, for seventy years together;‡‡ nor as to persons, since many of the popes were heretics, or infidels, and therefore no true popes; and since it is beyond the power of any human being to decide who, in many cases, were popes, and who were not; or whether there was any at all. It is equally untrue as to order, either in worship or discipline, which have been both changed and altered; while, as to doctrine, that church is found insisting upon articles of faith, *now*, which the early Roman church, and all the other primitive churches, knew nothing of.

We must also believe that the church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all churches, or otherwise be accursed;§§ and yet truth obliges us to reject this claim, and to grant it to the mother church at Jerusalem. We must further believe that the apocryphal books are canonical, or be accursed;* and yet are we required, by all evidence, external and internal, by St. Jerome, and by pope Gregory I, to believe that this assertion is most glaringly unfounded.†

Now surely this is a very awful position, in which an infallible church should place her members. Believe her, and they must be condemned by God, for believing a lie! Believe the truth, and they must endure the anathematizing curse of this infallible church! Believe all that was made essential to salvation, by any orthodox church, for hundreds of years, and yet reject the superadded dogmas of this upstart church of Rome,

††This is Bellarmine's Third Note, lib. iv. c. 4.

‡‡Bellam. de Pontif. lib. iv. c. 4.

§§Concil. Trid. Sen. 7, de Bapt. Can. 3, et Bulla Pii. iv.

*Concil. Trid. Sen. 4.

†See bishop Williamson, in Notes of the Ch. p. 102, &c.

and you are forthwith abandoned to all the terrors of her abiding curse!

The entire creed of pope Pius, to which every Romanist adheres, is an anathema and a curse upon all other denominations of christians. 'I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemn, rejected, and anathematized by the church.'‡ The church of Rome, on pain of anathema, teaches to be essential to salvation, and requires as a condition of communion, an assent to the following propositions:§

1. That they are accursed, who do not honor, salute, and honorably worship, the holy and venerable images. Deutero-Nicene. See pp. 109-111. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

2. That they are accursed, who do not believe that Christ is present in the holy eucharist, by way of transubstantiation; or who affirm, that, after consecration, the substance of the bread and wine remain in the consecrated elements. Lateran IV, pp. 132, 133. Trent, pp. 238, 239. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

3. That they are accursed, who do not believe that there is a purgatory. Florence, pp. 152, 153. Trent, p. 333. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

4. That they are accursed, who do not receive, for sacred and canonical, the books of Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, two of Maccabees, and the additions to the book of Daniel, to wit, the Story of Susannah, the Song of the Three Children, and the history of Bel and the Dragon. Trent, p. 161. Creed of Pius IV, p. 49.

5. That they are accursed, who deny that confirmation, repentance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony, are truly and properly sacraments. Trent, p. 213. Creed of Pius IV, p. 47.

6. That they are accursed, who shall say that there is not required in the ministers, while they perform and confer the sacraments, at least the intention of doing what the church does. Trent, p. 217.

7. That they are accursed, who deny that the church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all churches. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

8. That they are accursed, who refuse obedience to the bishop of Rome. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

9. That they are accursed, who shall deny that whole and entire Christ, body and blood, soul and divinity, is contained at the same time in every species of bread in the eucharist, and in every particle thereof, and in every species of wine in the eucharist, and in every particle thereof. Trent, pp. 230, 240.

‡See given in full in Cramp's Text Book of Popery, pp. 388, 389.

§See Perceval's Roman Schism, pp. 25-27.

10. That they are accursed, who shall deny that Christ, in the eucharist, ought to be carried about and exhibited to the people. Trent, p. 241.

11. That they are accursed, who shall deny that sacramental confession to the priests, of every sin, was ordained by Christ, and is, by divine authority, necessary for forgiveness. Trent, p. 281.

12. That they are accursed, who shall affirm that the sacramental absolution of the priest is a ministerial and not a judicial act. Trent, p. 283.

13. That they are accursed, who shall say that the anointing of the sick does not confer grace. Trent, p. 288.

14. That they are accursed, who shall say, that by the command of God, all and each of Christ's faithful people ought to receive both species of the most holy sacrament of the eucharist. Trent, p. 296.

15. That they are accursed, who shall say that the masses, in which the priest alone receives sacramental communion, are unlawful. Trent, p. 311.

16. That they are accursed, who shall say that the church has not power to dispense with the Levitical degrees of consanguinity as impediments to marriage. Trent, p. 327.

17. That they are accursed, who shall deny that marriage, solemnized but not consummated, is dissolved by the religious profession of one of the parties. Trent, p. 328.

18. That they are accursed, who shall say, that the clergy may contract marriages. Lateran I, p. 125. Lateran II, p. 126, 127. Trent, p. 329.

19. That they are accursed, who shall deny that the saints departed are to be invoked. Trent, p. 353. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

20. That they are accursed, who shall deny the utility of indulgences. Trent, p. 339. Creed of Pius IV, p. 48.

Clement VI, in his bull of anathema, issued against the emperor Louis of Bavaria, expresses himself thus:** 'May God strike him with imbecility and madness; may heaven overwhelm him with its thunders; may the anger of God, with that of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, fall upon him in this world and in the next; may the whole universe revolt against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish from the earliest generation, and may his memory disappear; may all the elements be adverse to him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be crushed before the eyes of their father,' &c. Such language, adds M. Villers, did not prevent *Petrarch*, playing on the name of this pope, from saying, that he was *clemency itself*; while *Garasse*, and all his worthy successors, delight in repeating, that *Luther* was a *clownish monk*, a *hot-*

**Rainaldi Ann. Eccles. in Villers on the Ref. p. 257.

headed heresiarch, and other pitiful things. Strange blindness of ignorance and fanaticism!

The bull against Henry VIII, is 'the excommunication and damnation of Henry.' That against Elizabeth is 'the excommunication and damnation of the queen.' In like manner does this church damn all infants that have not been baptized by her. 'Whither,' she asks, 'go infants, that die without baptism? Answer. *To that part of hell where they suffer the pains of loss, but not the punishment of sense; and shall never see the face of God.*'

The following also is a copy of an excommunication, found among the papers of Philip Dunn, a Roman catholic bishop, who resided in the county of Wicklow. 'By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the holy saints, we excommunicate Francis Freeman, late of the city of Dublin, but now of Sackmill, in the county of Wicklow; that in spite of God and St. Peter, in spite of all the holy saints, and in spite of our holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of our right reverend father in God, Philip Dunn, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, &c., who serve God daily, he hath apostatized to a *most damnable religion, full of heresy and blasphemy.*' (*Let protestants hear it!*) 'Excommunicated let him be, and delivered over to the devil, as a perpetual malefactor and schismatic. Accursed let him be, and given over, *body and soul*, to the devil. Cursed let him be in all cities, and in all towns, in fields, in ways, in yards, in houses, and in all other places, whether lying or rising, walking or running, leaning or standing, walking or sleeping, eating or drinking, or in whatsoever thing he does besides. We separate him from the threshold, and all good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy Jesus, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God's holy priests, and all holy men, and from all cloisters, from all pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, the popes, have granted to them; and we give him over to the power of the fiend; and let him quench his soul, when dead, in the flames of hell fire, as the candle is now quenched and put out; and let us pray to God, our lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, that all the senses of his body may fail, as now the light of his candle is gone out; except he comes, on sight hereof, and openly confesses his damnable heresy and blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in him lies, make satisfaction to God, our lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, the worshipful company of this church. And as the staff of this holy cross now falls down, so may he, unless he recants and repents.

'PHILIP DUNN,
'BRYAN MOORE, *Register.*'

'We must be further allowed to remind you,' says the able address of the American Protestant Association, 'that notwithstanding the modest guise which that church puts on, in this and other protestant countries, no evidence whatever has been produced, emanating from the *Papal See*, that it has abated its pretensions, or laid aside its persecuting tenets. We are not satisfied with the disclaimers of Roman Catholic laymen or the denials of Romish priests. We insist upon a renunciation from the only authority in the church, which has the right to make one. We demand that the same power which enjoined the persecutions of former days, shall express its disapproval of them, and repudiate the pretended right to persecute for opinion's sake. When proof of this sort is produced, we may listen to the suggestion that popery has put off its intolerance. We do not, however, rest here. We have a witness at hand, who will be deemed both competent and credible as to the point under consideration. This witness is Gregory XVI, the reigning pope; and the document from which we quote, is his famous Encyclical Letter of August 15th, 1832.

'From that polluted fountain of indifference, flows that abused and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving, in favor and in defence of *'liberty of conscience,'* for which *most pestilential error,* the course is opened by that entire and wild *liberty of opinion* which is every where attempting the overthrow of civil and religious institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some, has held forth as an advantage of religion. * * * * From hence arise these revolutions in the minds of men; hence, this aggravated corruption of youth; hence, this contempt among the people of sacred things, and of the most holy institutions and laws; hence, in one word, *that pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state, unbridled liberty of opinion.'*

Again. 'Hither tends that worst and *never sufficiently to be execrated and detested liberty of the press,* for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for, and so actively promote.'

And again. 'Nor can we augur more consoling consequences to religion and to government, from the zeal of some to separate *the church from the state,* and to burst the bond which unites the priesthood to the empire. For it is clear that this union is dreaded by the profane lovers of liberty, only because it has never failed to confer prosperity on both.'

To this testimony, we append the following extracts from the theology of Peter Dens, a book which is used in the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, Ireland. An edition of this work has been published at Mechlin, in the Netherlands, as recently as the year 1838. It is there distinctly asserted, that

'Baptized infidels, such as heretics and apostates usually are,

also baptized schismatics, may *be compelled, even by corporal punishment*, to return to the Catholic faith, and the unity of the church.'

'The reason is, because these by baptism have become subject to the church, and therefore the church has jurisdiction over them, and the power of compelling them, through appointed means of obedience, to fulfill the obligations contracted in baptism.'

Again, it is said, by the same author :

'The rites of other infidels, namely, pagans and heretics, in themselves considered, are not to be *tolerated*; because they are so bad that no truth or advantage for the good of the church can be thence derived. Except, however, unless greater evils would follow, or greater benefits be hindered.'

After stating that heretics are deservedly visited with penalties of exile, imprisonment, and so forth, this author asks :

'Are heretics *rightly punished with death*?'

'St. Thomas answers, (2. 2. quest. XI, art. 3, in corp.) *Yes*, because forgers of money or other disturbers of the state, are justly punished with death; therefore also heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and, as experience shows, grievously disturb the state.'

'Here is documentary evidence of the highest kind, to show that popery is *unchanged*; to prove that the popery of the 19th century and the popery of the 16th are the same. We have it affirmed by a standard authority in the Romish church, that it is *right to put heretics to death*. And we have it officially promulgated by the *present pope*, that LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, LIBERTY OF OPINION, the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, and the SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, are four of the sorest evils with which a nation can be cursed! Both as protestants and as American citizens, we count the rights which are here assailed as among our dearest franchises; and we cannot look on in silence and see the craft and power of Rome systematically and insidiously employed to subvert them. We deplore the necessity which calls for the measure; but, believing as we do, that patriotism and christianity demand it, we have united, and we invite all who love our institutions to unite with us in repelling the aggressions of the papal hierarchy.'

We may, therefore, apply to this doctrine of prelacy, both Romish and Anglican, the words of Shakespeare :

'Nay, had it power, it would
Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
Uproar the universal peace, confound
All unity on earth.'

It is, then, no part of liberality to call this system of prelacy, whether Romish or Anglican, catholic. It should be remem-

bered, to use the words of Coleridge, that the Romish anti-catholic church, would more truly express the fact. *Romish*, to mark that the corruptions in discipline, doctrine, and practice do, for the larger part, owe both their origin and perpetuation to the Romish court, and the local tribunals of the city of Rome; and neither are or ever have been catholic, that is, universal, throughout the Roman empire, or even in the whole Latin or Western church; and *anti-catholic*, because no other church acts on so narrow and excommunicative a principle, or is characterized by such a jealous spirit of monopoly. Instead of a catholic (universal) spirit, it may be truly described as a spirit of particularism, counterfeiting catholicity by a negative totality and heretical self-circumspection; in the first instances cutting off, and since then cutting herself off, from all the other members of Christ's body.††

We are well aware, that in expressing these sentiments, we will be held up as utterly contradicting our own principles of liberality, and as being bigots of the fiercest order. Now it has been justly remarked,‡‡ that persecution for conscience sake, is so odious, and the least approach to it so dangerous, that we deem it impossible to express too great detestation of any measure, which tends to countenance, or seems to encourage it. 'But let us be just as well as liberal.' We speak the truth in Christ, and lie not. We are exceedingly pressed in spirit, and constrained to give our public testimony against the system of European popery. We are sincerely sacrificing our own personal feeling in so doing. Most heartily do we wish we could remain silent, or think otherwise of this dangerous foreign and hostile system. But it is impossible. Woe is unto us if we speak not out, and give a timely warning.

Let that warning be heard. Let our views be candidly examined. Let us, as protestants and presbyterians, have the same freedom of speech, and the same candid and impartial hearing, which are so freely given to our Romish brethren. Why is jealousy to be exercised only towards protestants, and almost exclusively towards presbyterians? Why are we alone to be excluded from all the advantages of the spirit, liberality, and charity, which our reformers have vainly contributed to originate and to foster?§§ Why are *we*, their posterity, who cling, it may be, with an over-fond tenacity to their opinions, to be denied the benefits of that very inheritance they purchased for us with tears and blood? Are we *alone* prone to illiberality, and have Romanists and prelatists become the exclusive possessors of all true charity? Are we so disinherited of our fathers' glory, and have popery and prelacy become so transformed, that

††Aids to Reflection, Lond. 1839, pp. 155, 156.

‡‡See Life of Knox, vol. i. pp. 301, 303.

§§McCrie's Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 25.

whereas *they* are now the presiding genii of all true and genuine liberality, we are the very personification of harshness and bigotry?

And has it come to this, that while the sworn subjects of a foreign prince, who claims over them *infallible* as well as *despotic* authority, are to be allowed all liberty to propagate their unchristian tenets, to defame protestantism, and constantly to ANATHEMATIZE and CURSE us, all this is to be regarded as no more than a just exercise of liberty and self-defence; while we, by whose principles this great republic was originated, and is upheld, are to be reprobated as bigots, and to be heard with the ear of a closed incredulity, when we venture to assert the irreconcilableness of *unchanged and European* popery with true christianity, or with genuine liberty, and when we would warn the republic of those dangers with which, *on this account*, its stability and happiness are threatened? May God forbid.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CATHOLICITY OF PRESBYTERY.

SECTION I.

The catholicity of presbytery in its ecclesiastical system, in contrast with popery and prelacy.

THE polity of the christian church was modelled, as we have already proved, after the discipline of the Jewish synagogue. That system, which seems to have been a development of the simpler and more catholic service of the patriarchal dispensation, was permitted, by divine providence, if not, as is probable, by express divine teaching, to run parallel with the national and typical dispensation of Moses, until it became merged in the christian economy.* The chief characteristics of this system were the simplicity of its rites, and the consequent facility with which it could be reduced to practice in any part of the world. It was not Jewish, like the Mosaic ritual, but universally applicable, under whatever form of civil government it might be introduced. It thus stood in direct contrast to the temple service, which was strictly national and sectarian, and admitted of no alliance or intermixture with any other polity or government. While therefore the temple had its lineal order of priests, and its prescribed and unalterable ceremonies and forms of consecration, the ministers of the synagogue were of no particular tribe or lineage, but were received according to the judgment of its rulers, and by the simple rite of imposition of hands. The sacerdotal service, by being restricted to Jerusalem, was, in this way, prepared for abrogation, while the synagogue service was as plainly capable of extension to every clime, and was therefore truly catholic.

By a strange fatuity, however, that church which arrogates to itself the exclusive attribute of catholicity, has assumed, as its exemplar and standard, the partial, narrow, and sectarian model of the temple service; while we, to whom the very name of catholic is most bitterly denied by this arrogant sect, have in every thing practicable, conformed our polity to the popular, free, and catholic system of the synagogue. In the prelacy,

*Nolan's Cath. Char. of Chr. p. 191. See also Scott. Chr. Herald, for 1839, pp. 627, 653, &c. Browne's Vind. of Presb. Ch. Govt. p. 269. Plea for Presbytery, pp. 316, 322.

accordingly, we find every thing aristocratic, illiberal, and exclusive, with a correspondent imitation of the splendid ceremonies and external rites of the extinct Mosaic institute, in its priests, altars, and sacrifices; while presbyterianism is found rejecting all such burdensome and unprofitable forms, and at once enlarging itself to the full amplitude of the most comprehensive and catholic principles. We have neither priests, altars, sacrifices, nor mediators, but ministers only; whose great business and duty it is, to lead their hearers to the one mediator, who has made the only available sacrifice, 'once offered upon the cross,'—the only altar recognized by christianity. Any attempt to restore such a burdensome ceremony, which was imposed upon the Jews *for their hardness of heart*, must be regarded as equally profane and anti-christian, since it was by its entire removal christianity was enabled to diffuse itself with illimitable freedom. All unnecessary ceremonies serve as a pale to religion, by which its compass is limited, and its diffusion restricted; and their introduction into a religion designed to be universal, is therefore clearly incompatible with its very nature.

There are thus, as presbyterians believe, but two sacramental rites instituted by Christ, the one as a medium of initiation, and the other of communion; both remarkable for their significance, their simplicity, and their adaptation to persons of all ages and countries,—purification by water, and sustenance by bread and wine, being customs universally familiar.‡

As the light of nature teaches that there is a God, and that he is to be worshipped, so will that form of worship instituted by God, and limited by his revealed will, be found to be the simplest that can be conceived, and most contrary to the devices and imaginations of men, who are never satisfied without ceremonies equally formal, gorgeous, and burdensome. Religious worship is therefore to be given to God,—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,—and to Him alone, and not to angels, saints, or any other creature; neither is God to be worshipped by any visible representation, or in any way not prescribed in Scripture. Prayer with thanksgiving; the reading of the Scriptures with godly fear; the sound preaching of the gospel and conscionable hearing of the word, with understanding, faith, and reverence; singing of psalms with grace in the heart; as also the due administration of the sacraments instituted by Christ; are all parts of the ordinary religious worship of God; besides religious oaths and vows, solemn fastings and thanksgivings upon special occasions, which are in their several times and seasons, to be used in a holy and religious manner.‡ Neither are prayer

‡Nolan, as above, p. 244.

‡Conf. of Faith, ch. xxi.

or any other parts of religious worship now under the gospel, either tied unto, or made more acceptable, by any place in which they are performed, or toward which they are directed, so as to make any gorgeous or consecrated temple essential and requisite; but God is equally present wherever he is sought, and is every where to be worshipped in spirit and in truth; as in private families daily, and in secret each one by himself, so more solemnly in public assemblies. §

Such being the simple ritual of the christian worship, as drawn forth in the standards of our church, and its perfect adaptation to the universal family of man, in whatever stage of civilization men may be found; the designed extension of these privileges of the christian church is plainly not less oecumenical. The visible church to which these ordinances are given, is truly catholic or universal, embracing all those throughout the world, of whatever name, age, condition, talent, or rank, that may at any time or manner be led to embrace the true religion, together with their children.** Such is our idea of the church, and beyond this nothing more comprehensive can be possibly conceived. It is the one entire body of which Christ is the head, and of which all are members who have been participants of his one Spirit of grace. It is the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God; including every son and daughter of Adam who have been called to the knowledge of his truth, and excluding none, by whatever name they are called, who profess to be subject unto Him. It is characterized by universality, unity, and the widest charity, and is infinitely removed from sectarianism, exclusiveness, and bigoted and intolerant illiberality.

Nor will this comprehensive and catholic character of the church, as understood by presbyterians, be at all abridged when we contemplate the officers by whom its discipline is administered. Repudiating as judaical and antichristian, the whole theory of a hierarchical caste or priesthood, who constitute in fact the church, and to whom all its authority and privileges are made, of right, to belong; we believe that it was unto the catholic visible church, composed of children and adults, as above described, that Christ gave the ministry, oracles, and ordinances. We believe that it was for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, and not for their own honor, emolument, or dignity, this ministry was instituted; and that it is by no power, sanctity, or priestly mediation on their part, but by Christ's presence and Spirit, according to his promise, these ordinances are made effectual to the accomplishment of the glorious purpose, of uniting all saints to Jesus Christ their head. †† The

§ See Nolan's Conf. of Faith, ch. xxi.

** Ibid, ch. xxv.

†† Conf. of Faith, ch. xxv.

ministry was given to and for the church, and presupposes its existence;—the church was not ordained for the benefit and glorification of the ministry. All the power, authority, jurisdiction, and influence of the ministry, come to it therefore through the church—the body—according to the appointment of Christ the Head. The ordinary and perpetual officers of the church, are therefore only bishops or pastors; the ruling elders; and deacons. But each one of these has exclusive reference to the edification and welfare of the christian people. Bishops, by whatever title they are denominated, or their duties characterized, are the overseers, pastors, ministers, messengers, of the people, deputed by Christ to dispense to them the manifold grace of God, and to act, for them, as stewards of the mysteries of his kingdom. Ruling elders are the representatives of the people, chosen by them, and set apart to watch over their interests in conjunction with the pastors. While deacons have no other duties than to take care of the poor, to distribute among them collections raised for their use, and to superintend the temporal affairs of the church.

Now it is manifest, that wheresoever God by his Spirit gathers together a congregation of faithful men, to profess the truth, and to submit themselves to his ordinances, there may these officers be easily and certainly obtained. If no regularly constituted body is at hand to provide them with a bishop, they can elect one of their number, after seeking guidance from on high, to minister unto them in holy things. They can as certainly choose out from among themselves holy and competent men to act for them as their elders and deacons. And thus does it appear how christianity, as described in the Bible, and developed in presbyterianism, is at once capable of extension to the widest circumference of humanity, and how it contains within itself the germinant principles of vitality, diffusion, unity, and universality.

The catholic character of the presbyterian church, considered as an ecclesiastical system, is thus seen in her constitution. She does not proclaim herself to be 'the church,' or 'the catholic church,' but to be a component part of that universal church, of which there can be but one, the aggregate of all. Wherever there are true christians, there is the church, and there are members of the universal or catholic church. Christian unity, therefore, is to be found not in any uniformity of outward order, or subjection to any external authority, but in the participation of 'the one spirit,' of 'the one baptism,' by which all are initiated into it, and of 'the one faith.'^{††} There must, of necessity, be local and national divisions, and parties. While the

^{††}Eph. 4: 16. See Nolan's Cath. Char. of Christ. pp. 81, 97, 99. Also pp. 90-94.

family of man is locally divided, there must be 'different provincial and local churches.' §§ There cannot, therefore, be *visible* union. But there may be unity among these separate denominations, even where there cannot be a consolidated ecclesiastical government; just as our division into families, districts, and states, does not prevent our national union as a republic. We do not lose our individuality or independent sovereignty, in any of these respects, by our confederation for the advancement of interests common to all alike. And in like manner, we do not cease to be christian, and therefore catholic when we become presbyterian, or methodist, or any other *essentially* scriptural denomination.

Presbyterians do not, however, regard ecclesiastical government as a matter of indifference.* 'On the contrary, it has a close connection with purity of doctrine, rigor of discipline, peace and order. Every society, then, and every individual, as he has opportunity, is bound to make the principles of ecclesiastical polity, laid down in the New Testament, a subject of careful examination. All forms of church government are to be compared with the standard of truth, and that particular one adopted which comes nearest to the principles contained in the Holy Scriptures.' 'But when it is said that the constitution of the church has been drawn up in the scriptures, it is not meant that this is done in a regular and formal way, as in ordinary constitutions. All that is done in the New Testament, is the laying down of fundamental principles; the particular form and application of which is left to the church. The true spirit of these principles must never be violated; but under this restriction there is some latitude, which may bring societies of different forms within the pale of the universal church. If this is not admitted, we must cut off from the church, and from the covenanted mercies of God, societies of all the different forms except one—and the difficult question must be decided which one is *that*? Every different denomination will maintain, in this case, its apostolical purity, and excommunicate every other. Thus the bond of brotherhood will be broken asunder, and the reproach of christianity will be perpetuated. The presbyterian church in the United States has determined, that this evil shall not stain her escutcheon. 'Let brotherly love continue,' is the motto on her banner!† Such is presbyterianism. It is a stand for the sufficiency of Scripture, and the supremacy of Christ; for liberty of private judgment, and of individual practice; for the recognition of all as christian brethren, 'who hold the Head;' for mutual tolerance in matters of secondary import-

§§Mr. Sibthorp's Letter, p. 25.

*Dr. Rice, in *Evang. Mag.* ix. 306, 307.

†See Form of Govt. ch. i. 5. Also in her Confession of Faith, ch. xxvi. 2.

ance, where there is unity in that which is essential; for that universal communion of all christians, which is the only substantial, visible, and possible unity; and the unrestricted intercourse of ministers and churches, notwithstanding their diversity in forms and ceremonies. To make uniformity of discipline, the measure of christian unity, and the basis of christian communion and fellowship, is to put church order in the place of christianity, and the form of the building in the place of Him who built it. 'Christ must be first, fellowship next, and then as much uniformity as will follow from the two.' This is the principle and the spirit of presbyterianism; and hence, instead of being schismatical, it has less of sectarianism, and more of catholicity, than any other system whatever.‡ While we claim for our own order and polity a near conformity to the scriptural platform, we nevertheless hold that in those things that *essentially* belong to divine worship, all *real* christians are agreed, and that in those things which appertain *essentially* to the nature of church discipline, all denominations concur. If *outward* uniformity be the chief good, let it be sought in Romanism. There may the inquirer find quiet silence, and the most passive obedience. But the man who is distracted by the bustling activities and jarring interests of the living world, may find as reasonable a retreat in the church-yard, or the sepulchre. The dead are quiet enough.§

Our very name, for we have none other than christian, manifests our catholicity. We are presbyterians only from our position and circumstances, as we protest against those who usurp the rights of presbyters, and enthrone themselves over them in despotic supremacy. This title we bear in our modern reformation, as a public attestation to the truth, that the true, original, and apostolic episcopacy, was presbytery. But we are not presbyterians, except as a part of our character is put for the whole,—we are presbyterian christians. We are in short presbyterian, because we are bible and apostolic christians. We are not even catholics, a name appropriated by every sect, as by the ancient Arians; by the Greek church, and by the Donatists; and a title which could not have been applied to the christian church, until, by her extension, the christian faith had been

‡See Binney's Dissent not Schism, p. 70.

§'With as good a plea,' says Milton, (Reason of Ch. Govt. Wks. vol. i. p. 103,) 'might the dead palsy boast to a man, it is I that free you from stiches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring. I destroy all noisome, and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapors; yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hide-bound frost; but when the gentle west winds open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil, without thank to your bondage.' See also Herschel's Letter to Sibthorp, p. 38.

generally if not universally preached throughout the world. In the beginning, therefore, as some Romanists confess, the church was not called catholic, while many of those bodies which were afterwards known by this title are now adjudged to be guilty of schism and heresy.** We bear the names of no earthly leaders, as the Lutherans, Zuinglians, Arminians, Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jansenists, Molinists, and Papists; nor are we denominated, from any earthly country or kingdom, as the Roman, or the Anglican churches. One is our master, even Christ. Our kingdom is not of this world, nor our doctrine of man, and therefore do we bear Christ's name, as did the disciples at Antioch; while at the same time, we are not unwilling to hold forth our specific distinction amid the other branches of the church, and to be called The Church Presbyterian. Christian is our name, and presbyterian our surname.

Even, however, as presbyterian, we can present the most irrefragable arguments for our true catholicity. Does Catholicity imply priority? Dr. Edwards,†† a very learned episcopalian divine of the reign of Queen Anne,‡‡ after a careful examination of the several texts bearing on the subject, draws the following conclusion: 'thus we can show the time when WE ARE SURE THERE WAS A PRESBYTERY; BUT WE CAN'T SAY THERE WAS EPISCOPACY AT THAT TIME IN THE CHURCH. This is owned by some of the most celebrated writers of our church; and even Mr. Dodwell, who was thought by his friends to be as able a defender of episcopacy as any they had, confesses there were no such fixed rules as bishops in the church at first. (De Jure Laic. cap. 3, § 14.) Dr. Whitby shows the same, and is as large in the proof of it, (Ann. on 1 Thess. ch. 5.) Dr. Edwards then goes on to chastise a confident braggadocio, the author of the 'Rehearsal,' and asks, 'where, then, is our great boaster, who challenges all mankind to prove that presbyters were made before bishops? Is it not plain, from all the aforementioned scriptures, namely, Acts 11: 29, 30; Acts 14: 23; Acts 15: 2, 4, 6, 22, 23; Acts 16: 4; Acts 20: 17, 28; and Titus, 1: 5; James, 5: 4; 1 Peter, 5: 1; and the suffrage of episcopal writers themselves, that presbyters had the start of bishops, whatever this pretender makes a show of, and notwithstanding his telling us, that this is the single point on which the whole controversy depends? If it be so, he must own himself baffled, and all his pretensions are empty and insignificant.'

Does catholicity imply apostolicity? Every church, as we have seen, constituted by the apostles, was presbyterian. Does it imply universality? We challenge the production of a diocesan church or bishop, for more than two centuries, perhaps

**See Notes of the Ch. Examined, pp. 73, 75.

††See in Lect. in Apost. Succ. p. 136.

‡‡Theolog. Ref. vol. i. p. 523.

we might say three, of the christian era. Does it imply continued succession from the apostles? No one has ever questioned the uninterrupted succession from the apostles' time till now, of the order of presbyters. Does it imply uniformity? On this point of presbyterian order, all those have agreed, who in every age have maintained the gospel pure, entire, and uncorrupted. Does it imply majority in the votes of all existing christian bodies? Four-fifths of all these go for presbyterianism, and against the exclusive assumptions of the Romish hierarchy. §§

On the other hand, it may be shown, that the Romish church is not catholic; that in those very points in which she places most confidence, she is identified with 'the man of sin and mystery of iniquity,' and that, in her opposition and contumelies, we have the brightest evidence of our catholicity. The church of Rome, says bishop Bull,* has quite altered the primitive ecclesiastical government, changed the primitive canon or rule of faith, and miserably corrupted the primitive liturgy, or form of divine worship. 'I have,' says he, 'gone through the several heads of discourse which I proposed to myself, and sufficiently, I think, proved, that the church of Rome hath altered the primitive ecclesiastical government; changed the primitive canon or rule of faith; and, lastly, miserably corrupted the primitive liturgy and form of divine worship. For these reasons laid together, I can never be induced to enter into the communion of the Roman church, as now it is; and for the same reason, (to speak my mind freely,) I wonder how so learned a man as Monsieur de Meaux, can, with a good and quiet conscience, continue in it.'

Now, what bishop Bull has proved by the full establishment of these charges against the church of Rome, has also, we believe, been made good against the prelacy in the present and preceding works. By the introduction of her spiritual despotism, by making her bishops governors of the whole church, and all other pastors to be but their vicars and substitutes, she, too, has quite altered the primitive ecclesiastical government. By binding upon the church a stated liturgy, by introducing prayers for the dead, and by re-adopting many of the forms, rites, and ceremonies of the Romish church, derived through her from paganism, she has greatly perverted the apostolic form of worship. And as that church which has altered the ecclesiastical government and form of worship prescribed by the apostles, either by adding to, or by taking from them, cannot, *so far forth*, be a true, pure, apostolical, and catholic church, therefore must we exclude the papacy and the prelacy from the full

§§See Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity.

*Corruptions of the Ch. of Rome, II, in Vind. of Ch. of Eng. pp. 159, 163, 243, 261.

application of this term. Whereas, the presbyterian church, abiding as she does, in all things, by the model of the apostolic churches, and by their form and order of worship, is truly catholic.

Again, is all christian unity centered in Christ, the head of the entire body of the Church?—then is that catholicity wanting in the papacy, which makes the pope or a general council, the head and center of all churches,—then is that catholicity found in presbyterianism which maintains that ‘there is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ, nor can the pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof.’† Is the cementing bond of catholicity derived from that ‘One Spirit,’ which is ‘the Spirit of Christ,’ and of which, through Him, all the members of the church are made partakers?—then is not the papacy or the prelacy catholic, since they teach us to find this bond of unity in the pope or the prelates; then is the presbyterian church catholic, since it teaches that Christ ‘doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make the ministry, ordinances, and oracles of God effectual to the gathering and perfecting of the saints.’‡ Does catholicity require that the truth, which is the nourishment of the church, should be equally open to all? Then is it not found in the Romish or prelatic churches, which shut it up in the granaries of their own ecclesiastical traditions and priestly interpretation; but in the presbyterian church, which teaches that ‘God’s word is truth,’ that ‘all scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, that men of God may be thoroughly furnished unto every good work;’ and which invites all to ‘search the scriptures,’ and to eat ‘the living bread.’ Does catholicity demand a ritual, adapted to all classes and conditions of men, and in their native tongue, so that all may learn in their own language, the wonderful works of God?—then, surely, it is not found in prelacy, which is adapted only to the educated classes of society;§ nor in popery, which makes ‘ignorance the mother of devotion,’ and an unknown tongue the vehicle of instruction; but in presbytery, which comprehends in its wide embrace all nations, all ages, all conditions, and adapts itself with facility to every modification of the human mind, and to every stage of civilization and refinement, and which proclaims to every man, in his own vernacular language, the glorious gospel of the grace of God. Does catholicity imply the necessity of ordinances which depend, not upon the technical validity of official administration, or the good pleasure of a prelatic aristocracy, but upon the operation of that one and the self-same Spirit, which is imparted alike to all?—then can it never be found in the *opus*

† Conf. of Faith, ch. xxv. sect. 6.

‡ Ibid, sect. 3.

§ Lond. Quart. Rev. Dec. 1839, p. 75.

operatum sacraments of men, but in the simple ordinances of heaven. Does catholicity further suppose the most perfect adaptation to missionary enterprise?—"the prelacy," says Rhenius, 'is not fitted for missionary effort;*' and the papacy, we know, has only succeeded by accommodating itself to the kindred superstitions of paganism; while presbytery is, by its very constitution and design, a church of extension, a system not of rules, but of principles, whose progress has been sometimes in opposition to the ruling powers, sometimes in concurrence with them, yet always reaching forth from sea to sea, and from the rivers unto the ends of the earth. Does catholicity also necessarily involve the existence of some common rule or standard of faith and practice, a rule made by one that is above all, and whose authority is acknowledged by all, and which is alike open to all? Such a rule papists have not, since they have heaped together whole volumes of decrees and councils in this yet unsettled controversy; such a rule prelatists have not, since their tradition and canons cannot be universally known, understood or read, by all; but such a rule presbyterians have, 'in holy Scripture, or the word of God, written and given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life; so that the infallible rule of interpretation of scripture is scripture itself.†† Finally, does catholicity require a catholic governor or judge in all controversies and of all destinies?—we find it not in the undetermined and contradictory decrees of discordant popes, councils, and convocations;—the supreme Judge, by whom all controversie 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, as our church teaches, but the Holy Spirit speaking in the scripture.‡‡

The following sentiments are from M. de Martin, a celebrated Romanist.§§ 'True christianity is not only anterior to catholicism, but also to the name of christianity itself. . . . Christianity is the domain of freedom and of liberty; catholicism is only the seminary of christianity; it is the domain of the rules and discipline of conversion. . . . Christianity fills all the earth equally with the Spirit of God. Catholicism fills only one part of the globe. . . . christianity dilates and extends the use of our intellectual faculties. Catholicism contracts and circumscribes the exercise of these same faculties. . . . Christianity has excited no war, except against sin: catholicism has excited it against men, &c.' . . . 'Now,' adds M. Villers, 'it was against

**Churchman's Monthly Rev. June, 1841, pp. 342, 346.

††Conf. of Faith, ch. i.

‡‡Conf. of Faith, ch. i. sect. 10. See Baxter's Wks. vol. xvi. pp. 334-354.

§§Le Min. de l'homme esprit, in Villers on the Ref. Lond. 1805, p. 11.

catholicism (that is, Romanism,) and in favor of true christianity, that the reform was undertaken.'

What, then, let us ask, are the boasted vouchers of our assailants for their claim to the monopoly of divine grace, and of all catholicity? Prelatists are, we are told, the most numerous and comprehensive—but 'the whore sitteth on many waters,' and 'the waters are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.' They are the most powerful; but 'the great city, (that is, Babylon,) reigneth over the kings of the earth.' They are patronized by kingly and noble favor;—but 'the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her.' They manifest unbroken uniformity and unquestioning obedience;—'the kingdom of the beast was full of darkness.' They proclaim austerities, penances, fastings, and total abstinence from lawful pleasures;—but is not the apostacy described by 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving?' They put down the liberty of reason, conscience, and individual opinion;—that is, 'he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.' They have been always visible in the glory, power, and pomp of hierarchical splendor, but the true church 'fled from the dragon into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God.' They are now flushed with the hope of again crushing all dissentients;—but 'power is given to the beast over kindreds, and tongues, and nations; all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him,' but 'the remnant of the woman's seed keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.' There stands the system in the prophetic mirror of the unerring word, and by this word is it judged, convicted, and condemned.*

Are we every where spoken against, as heretical and schismatical? We may remember, to our great comfort and joy, of what church our Saviour said, that they should be reviled and reproached, and have all manner of evil said against them, and how literally these predicted sayings were fulfilled in the experience of the apostolic churches.† Luke 6: 26, 22: 23. 1 Pet. 4: 14. Math. 5: 11. 1 Cor. 1: 23.

The apostles and primitive christians, says Dr. Rice, were *dissenters*, in the fullest sense of that term; and were treated, both by Jews and Gentiles, as hardly as any high churchman have ever treated those who have borne the name in modern times.‡

*See Hamilton on Missions, pp. 117, 119, 141.

†'As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics, (Milton's Wks. vol. i. pp. 104, 105,) which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight; when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver, of slander, wherein lies your best archery.'

‡Evang. and Lit. Mag. vol. ix. p. 421.

Take the word catholic, therefore, in its primary meaning in application to the church, as 'consisting of all' nations, and the presbyterian church is most evidently catholic, since it opens its arms to embrace all, of all nations, whether Jew or Gentile, who will enter into it. Take the term catholic in that sense in which it is descriptive of the church, considered as the union of all particular churches under one divine Head, for so, 'says bishop Sherlock, the catholic church signifies in ancient writers,'§ and how loudly does the presbyterian church proclaim her catholicity in that protest which she enters against any exclusive appropriation of the blessings of salvation; in that liberality of feeling, with which she fraternizes with all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in truth and sincerity; and in that claim which she advances, to be recognized as a branch of the one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

SECTION II.

The catholicity of presbytery, in its doctrinal system, in contrast with popery and prelacy.

We have now considered the claim of the presbyterian church to the character of catholicity, considered in its ecclesiastical system; but this application of the term catholic, though now the most essential in hierarchical vocabularies, was, in the view of that very antiquity, which is gifted by them with infallibility, a subordinate and undervalued signification. According to antiquity, the church is distinguished as *catholic* by its faith, as *particular* by its form of government. 'Wherever,' says Ignatius, 'Christ is, there is the catholic church.'** He defines *a church* by its form of government, but *the catholic church* by consent of doctrine.†† The language of Tertullian is equally definite.‡‡ Augustine,§§ in his questions on Matthew, says, 'These are good catholics, who follow the entire faith and a good practice.'

The term catholic, therefore, has nothing to do with *ages* and *nations*, but an individual is catholic, and a church is cath-

§See in do. p. 14. It is very remarkable that the Pope himself, in order to reconcile parties in the Council of Trent, sent word to his legates, that if matters could not be otherwise quieted, for the words 'the universal church' might be substituted 'the universal churches.' Meadham's Hist. of the Council of Trent, p. 255.

**Ep. ad Smyrn. § 8.

††See Burgess's Tracts, p. 275, and Ad. Trall. § 3.

‡‡De Baptismo, c. xvii. See above. That the fathers commonly used the term in the sense of orthodox, see bishop Beveridge's Wks. vol. ii. p. 17. Sherlock, in Notes of the Ch. Exam. p. 13.

§§In Blair's Wald. vol. ii. p. 624.

olic, that adheres to the *general rule* of faith, adoring one Lord, observing one baptism, and holding to one doctrine. A church which has maintained such a profession for eighteen centuries, and in all nations, is not more catholic than was the church of Jerusalem in the first century, and in the province of Judea, or than is some presbyterian church in the nineteenth century, and in some remote locality.* True catholicity is therefore synonymous with orthodoxy.

The last claimant to its possession, comes to it under the same conditions required of its first inheritor. Prelational dignity can give no right, nor length of succession any prescription, against 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' The first and the last hold by the same tenure. Catholicity where there is not divine truth, is an absurdity, and divine truth without catholicity, is equally preposterous. To assert the contrary is blasphemy. A hierarchy may claim, or a prelatical succession boast of, the character of catholicity, but a church 'holding forth the truth,' can alone derive the title from the God of truth. And to suppose that catholicity is withheld from such a church, or given to any other body, is absurd impiety, and a contradiction in terms. As nobility in some countries, as in China, mounts upwards, so that he who has it conferred upon him ennobles his ancestors, not his posterity, so does the steadfast profession of the true doctrines of scripture, impart the character of catholicity to all who hold it, and to all their spiritual ancestry. Prelatists, therefore, use the word catholic in a sense, directly opposed to that given to it by the Anglican and other reformers.†

That church, then, which adds to or takes from the faith as once delivered to the saints, so far forth ceases to be catholic. Now the Romish and Anglican churches *have* altered the scriptural rule of faith. This they have done by adding many new articles; by adding to the catholic rule of faith one entirely different, even the traditions and authority of the church; and by explaining articles in that catholic creed, in a new, sectarian, and uncatholic sense.‡ That these churches hold such articles of faith as are additional, not to say contradictory, to the catholic rule, we must now assume as having been abundantly demonstrated, and at once apparent.§ For that church which holds to the Apostles' creed and the Nicene creed, holds those truths which, by consent of all christians, in the first ages of the church, were alone fundamental, and therefore catholic. These constituted for ages the symbols or formularies of the

*See Burgess, as above, p. 293.

†See Goode's *Div. Rule of Faith*, vol. i. xii.

‡See this charge fully sustained by bishop Bull, in his *Vindication of the Ch. of Engl.* (Oxf. ed.) pp. 112-114, 113, 114-117, 123, 149, 167, 216.

§See bishop Bull, *ibid*, pp. 121, 178, 183, 186, 192, 202, 204, 219, 230.

church catholic. This position is fully sustained by our opponents, and established by their own antiquity. Thus the third general council, that of Ephesus, decreed,** 'that it should not be lawful for any one to produce, write, or compose any other creed besides that which was agreed on and defined by the holy fathers, who were met together at Nice, by the Holy Spirit; and those who should dare to compose, produce, or offer any other creed to such as desired to return to the knowledge of the truth, from Paganism, Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever, should, if bishops, be deposed from their episcopal throne; if inferior clergymen, deprived of holy orders; if laymen, excommunicated, or cast out of the church.†† The whole canon is remarkable, and very much to our purpose; but we are especially to observe those words, 'or from any heresy whatsoever.' For hereby the Ephesian Fathers declare, 'that if any person was charged with any kind of heresy whatsoever, he should sufficiently purge himself by the acknowledgment of the aforesaid creed; and that upon his subscription thereunto, or profession thereof, he should be absolved, and received into the communion of the church as a complete and perfect catholic; and that whoever should propose to such a person, any thing else to be believed, as a necessary condition of ecclesiastical communion, should himself be liable to the censure of the church.'

This position, so clearly assumed by antiquity, is sustained not only by prelatists generally, but by the Council of Trent itself.‡‡ 'In their third session, before they come to define any one particular article, they declare it necessary, after the pattern (forsooth) of the ancient Fathers and Councils, (whom they have imitated not half so well as an ape doth a man,) to premise the symbol, or rule of faith, used in the holy church of Rome, (which is indeed the creed of Constantinople,) and beginning with these words, 'I believe in one God,' and this creed they judge necessary to be in so many express words professed by their whole assembly, as 'the principle wherein all christians, that profess the faith of Christ, do necessarily agree; and the only firm foundation, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.' Where, when they profess this creed to be the principle, wherein all christians do 'necessarily agree,' they plainly intimate, (if we poor protestants may presume to understand their meaning by their words,) that there is no absolute necessity that all christians should agree in other things. But their following words are express, wherein they acknowledge this creed to be 'the only foundation,' and, consequently, that nothing is to be laid as a foundation beside; nay, that this creed is

**See bishop Bull, *ibid.*, pp. 104, 105.

††See in *ibid.*, pp. 113, 114, and Cummings's *Apol. for Ch. of Scotl.* p. 7.

‡‡Bishop Bull, *ibid.*, pp. 116, 117.

'the only firm foundation, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.' For who would not here conclude, that, (by the confession of the Trent fathers themselves) whosoever fixeth his feet upon this foundation, and departeth not from any one article contained in this creed, stands sure, as to all points of faith, and is in no danger at all of damnation, or hell-fire, upon the account of heresy?'

'They are true catholics, says Vincentius, in his famous rule, 'who hold that which hath been believed always, every where, and by all.' §§ Now what more we ask, as it regards the evidence of catholicity, what more can be demanded, than the articles contained in these early creeds? When we say nothing, we give the response of very high authorities in this matter.*

The Romish and prelatic churches have, however, immeasurably widened the foundations of catholicity, and by widening have adapted them to the measure of their own sectarian and bigoted exclusiveness. For, to use the words of bishop Bull, † 'how prodigally doth this pack of bold and presumptuous men bestow their anathemas; thundering out hell and damnation to millions of pious souls, who stand firmly upon this only firm foundation, and cannot be proved to have denied any one point reducible or deducible from any article of the rule of faith.'

And how well has the Anglican prelacy bettered the instructions of her 'holy mother,' by her uncatholic and unrighteous decrees, canons, impositions, and anathemas; and driven from her bosom the millions that have come out from the midst of her, and who still protest against her tyrannous usurpation of the prerogatives of Christ.

On the other hand, the presbyterian church holds firmly to this ancient and catholic foundation of the faith. It is embodied in her confession; ‡ it is made the basis of her definition, in the widest possible comprehension, of the visible catholic church; § and at no time have these doctrines, or any of them, been disowned or called in question by any public act of the entire body professing her principles. In fact the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds are, the first verbatim, and the other two substantially, adopted by the presbyterian church.** And while for the guidance of her own bishops and officers, our church has drawn forth other articles from the Scriptures, as the bond of *their* union, and a declaration *to* the

§§ Commonitorium. Eos proprie esse Catholicos, qui tenent id, quod semper, &c. creditum est.

* See bishop Williams, in Notes of the Ch. p. 116; Newman on Romanism and Dissent. passim.

† See bishop Williams, *ibid.* pp. 117, 118.

‡ See *ibid.* p. 398.

§ Conf. of Faith, ch. xxv.

** See Cummings's Apol. for the Ch. of Scotland, p. 7.

people,†† she does not make these a term of church communion, or essential either to the being of a church, or to the character of a true christian. She therefore opens her arms to the embrace of all who hold the Head, and welcomes them to a seat at her communion-table. In her creed, therefore, in her practice, and in her terms of christian communion, the presbyterian church is truly catholic. In this respect, the doctrines she proclaims are the same with those that patriarchs taught their families, prophets the people, apostles the nations, and Christ the world.‡‡ And even as it regards her more enlarged standards, it was the catholic intention and purpose of our church by framing her confession of faith, and by requiring subscription to it from all her ministers and officers, in this way most effectually to guard, preserve, and perpetuate the true faith and order of the gospel,—the primitive and apostolic inheritance,—and thus formally to maintain her connection with the church catholic, by retainning that—all that—and only that—which appertains to the church universal. And since scripture is ‘the depository of the will of our heavenly father,§§ she has therefore gone to it for all her doctrines and institutions. She rests her claims to truth confessedly upon this divine testament, knowing that there is an essential difference between catholic truth, and individual opinion, by whatever fathers or doctors it may be held, or by whatever number of them it may have been expressed. To use a figure adopted by Dr. Wiseman; as the ancient Romans, who repaired and kept ever from destruction the cottage of Romulus, though, compared to later and more gorgeous edifices, it might appear useless and mean to the stranger that looked upon it, so have we ever held fast to the simplicity and purity of gospel truth. Well therefore may we take up the parable, and say to those who would appropriate to themselves the name and virtues of the catholic church, ‘we have ten parts in the catholic church, and we have also more right in it than ye;—why do ye thus despise us?’*

††Our Confession of Faith is not binding on the members, but only upon the ministers and officers of the church. It does not enforce every ‘truth or duty,’ as a term of communion. This, our church never has done. (See Hodge’s Hist. of Presb. Ch. part ii. p. 330.) Nor does it consider even ministers worthy of suspension, except when convicted of ‘dangerous errors.’ (B. of Disc. ch. v. § 13, 14.) See also Hodge, vol. ii. p. 438.

‡‡Cummings’s Apol. *ibid.* p. 10. See also Baxter’s Wks. vol. xvi. p. 287. Dr. Rice in *Evang. Mag.* 9, 192, &c.

§§Dr. Pusey, in *Library of the Fathers*, vol. i. p. 4.

*See Fulke, *Conf. Rhem. N. T. Eph.* 4; 13. p. 258. *Am. Ed.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECURITY, SAFETY, AND EFFICIENCY OF PRESBYTERY.

THERE is perhaps no other argument, which has greater practical influence in favor of Romanists, than the allegation, that, even in the judgment of protestants, they must be on the safer side; and that, while they afford infallible certainty in matters of faith, the religion of protestants can afford no such certainty. These groundless assertions, from which there is no manner of support, have been most diligently repeated by prelatists, in application to the system of presbyterianism. Now the very reverse we believe to be the truth in the case. Protestants do not allow the prelacy of the church of Rome, or of England, to be the safer side, or a safe side at all; nor do they believe that it is able to give certainty in matters of faith. They believe, on the contrary, that the highest security and certainty are afforded by the presbyterian branch of the church catholic. That the Romish and the Anglican churches are both true, that is, *real* churches of Christ, and therefore integral portions of the catholic visible church, we cheerfully admit. In doing so, however, we stand upon the foundation laid in our Confession, and by which 'ALL WHO PROFESS the true religion, with their children,' constitute that church. But among the churches which compose this universal body, there is, manifestly, a great diversity of character, and of claims. Some are pure, some imperfect, some corrupt, and some false. By an imperfect church we understand, a church which continues steadfastly in the apostles' doctrines, teaching the pure word of God, and omitting no great and essential truth of the gospel; but in which the sacraments are not duly administered, or whose order, polity, and ministers, are not perfectly conformed to the scriptural model.

By a corrupt church we understand one, which, while it preserves the great and essential truths of the gospel, at the same time adds other things to these truths, which are not found in God's word, but are rather repugnant to the same; and thus, by human traditions, or any other spurious authority, makes vain the preaching of the truth, and corrupts the administration of divine ordinances.

By a false or apostate church we mean that church which lays any other foundation than Christ and his righteousness; which denies any of the great and essential doctrines of the

word of God; or interprets the word of God according to its own vain imagination. Such a church, whatever else it may possess of order or discipline, and however it may claim the temple, the priesthood, antiquity, or succession, is a false church.†

By a pure church, again, we understand, a society whose confession of faith agrees with the doctrine of Jesus Christ and his apostles; and which is governed solely by the laws laid down in the word of God, or drawn from it by plain and necessary inference. The signs of such a church are soundness of doctrine; a lawful and regular ministry; the prevalence of love among its members and towards all saints; and the due administration of gospel ordinances, including discipline.‡

We distinguish, therefore, between the being of a church, and its well-being; between its existence, and its integrity or perfection; between its essence, and its state or condition at any given period; in short, between that which is essential to its very existence, and those things which may be superadded by the pride, pomp, or circumstance, of vain-glorious man. Of all those things that do not absolutely belong to the essence of the church, but only to its state or condition, it may be wholly or in part deprived, without being destroyed, however grievously impaired.§ It is thus we are able to recognize those bodies as, in their essence, churches, which we must, nevertheless, pronounce imperfect, corrupt, or false, in their state, condition, and superadded doctrines. Thus also are we enabled to hope that within the bosom of such churches there may be many who are true christians, and therefore members of the invisible church; and who, with more or less publicity, bear testimony against their errors. There is, however, great danger in being associated with such bodies, since the human mind, through the influence of depravity, has a natural and powerful affinity to error, by which it is strongly attracted; and an aversion to spiritual truth, by which it is repelled.

Such churches as are imperfect, may be improved; such as are corrupt, reformed; while such as are false, must be subverted and built anew upon the foundation of apostles and prophets. In the mean time, it is the duty of all to examine well the character and creed of the several churches claiming their adherence; to bring them to the law and the testimony; to search and try them, whether they speak and act according to the unerring word; to ascertain from the Scriptures, what is the orthodox faith, and thus to discover where that orthodoxy is maintained in greatest purity and power; and, if thus led to discover the corruption or apostacy of the church to which they

†See the author's *Eccl. Catechism*, 2d ed., q. 30.

‡*Ibid.*, q. 31.

§See *Claude's Def. of the Ref.* vol. ii. p. 209.

belong, to come out from the midst of her, and be separate. And, as the essence of christianity consists in its doctrines, and not in its forms; as true apostolical succession is found in the succession of the truth; we are to estimate the character of any church by its doctrine, rather than by its polity. With a defective or unauthorized ministry, it may have pure doctrine, and thus be no more than imperfect. With the most legitimate and scriptural ministration, it may have corrupt doctrine, and thus be corrupt. Or it may have both false doctrines and unauthorized forms of polity, and in this case be openly apostate.

The Romish church, we are constrained to regard as a false and apostate church. We consider the prelatich church, in its high-church phase, as corrupt; the episcopal, in its low-church form, and other churches, as imperfect; and the presbyterian, though not absolutely perfect, as a true and pure church of Jesus Christ. We can truly and justly glorify God for all that which makes up the essence of a true church; our faith is sound, our piety is pure, our charity is sincere; and God preserves and upholds, in the external communion of our church, those truly faithful and regenerated persons, who constitute the members of the true church.** Our church unites in its constitution three great elements, nowhere else to be found in such full combination, and is at once orthodox, apostolical, and protestant. It is orthodox, or catholic, by the full profession of those early creeds, which embody the testimony of the truly primitive church; by upholding the sufficiency of the Scriptures, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice; and by rejecting all other doctrines and commandments of men. It is apostolical, by holding fast the profession of the apostles' doctrine, fellowship, and prayers, and to that order of ministry, and form of discipline, which they establish. And it is protestant, by exhibiting most fully, in its confession and catechisms, the way in which truth must be applied unto the heart for salvation; bearing full witness to the righteousness of Christ, as the alone ground of pardon and acceptance with God; and to the influences of the Holy Spirit, as the only source of sanctification and holiness. Thus has God, of his singular goodness, combined in our church the three grand elements of purity and perfection; catholic orthodoxy, apostolical order, and protestant fidelity. She is not heretical, because she adheres to the faith once delivered to the saints. She is not schismatical, for she is not answerable for those corruptions, impositions, and anathemas, which separated her from the papacy and the prelacy. 'She is not a usurper; her faith has been professed for eighteen centuries; her polity was estab-

**That this was the opinion of the fathers, see proved by many quotations in Claude's Def. of the Ref. vol. ii, p. 213, &c.

lished in Jerusalem, the mother of all churches, and at Antioch, the mother of all Gentile churches; and both have been maintained, throughout the world, by the earliest, the best, and the purest churches. She is not deficient in means of grace, since she possesses all the privileges of the church; enjoys all the spiritual gifts, promised by Christ to those who seek them; and inherits from Christ's divine charter all the functions of the christian ministry. She is not wanting in authority, for to her belong the authority of apostolical origin, succession, and mission; the ministerial administration of Christ's laws and institutions; and the delegated power of proclaiming the truth as it is in Jesus. She is not found wanting in the certainty with which she fulfils her high office as an ambassador for Christ, the pillar and ground of the truth, since in her rule of faith there is all the certainty which rational beings can require.†† We have the three creeds, which can derive no light from popes or councils, that we do not possess. We have our standards of faith, which were drawn up by the most learned men of a very learned age. And the right use of these means of faith, which a merciful Providence has given us, requires only the ordinary exercise of our rational faculties. We have, also, in those plain words of scripture, 'If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the commandments;' 'Do this, and thou shalt live;' 'Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved;' 'Forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven;' 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them;' infallible directions, both for faith and conduct.'

The presbyterian church is not more fallible than the church of Rome; but she is fallible, not because she is only *a part* of the church universal, but because it is the property of human nature to be fallible. The church of Rome has shown herself fallible in many things, and in nothing more than in that very pretence that she is infallible, and that she is not a part of the universal church, but the whole of it.

The presbyterian church does not pretend to be infallible; but her children have a confident reliance on this instruction, that 'if any one lack wisdom, let him ask of God, in faith, and it shall be given him;' and in Christ's promise of the assistance of God's Holy Spirit to them that ask him. They are, moreover, sure, that by such assistance, and by the sober use of the faculties which God has given them, they cannot be deceived in such things as most pertain unto salvation.‡‡

Our church, therefore, has all the security which can be possibly enjoyed. She is built upon the rock. Her foundation was laid in the counsels of eternity, and completed by

††Burgess's Tracts, p. 307.

‡‡See *ibid*, *ibid*.

apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. Her walls are salvation. Her bulwarks are the sure testimonies of God. Her monuments and towers the everlasting promises. Her armory, the treasury of divine truth. Her provisions, the sure mercies of David—that covenant that shall never be broken. Her hope, the two immutable things which can never fail, the promise and the oath of God. Her anchor, therefore, is sure and steadfast, being entered within the vail. As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so is the Lord round about her, to send peace within her walls and prosperity within her palaces; so that even the gates of hell shall not prevail against her. Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness. Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion. God is known in her palaces for a refuge. As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish her for ever. Selah. 'Let Mount Zion rejoice, let the daughters of Judah be glad, because of thy judgments. Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following. For this God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death.'

We had intended to go fully into this subject, did our limits permit. We were prepared to show, that the system of the presbyterian church is safer than either the Romish or the prelatie, because it holds most purely to the doctrines of the Bible; because it more clearly and fully proclaims the truth; because it affords better protection to the truth; because, as a church, it can be more certainly distinguished; because it possesses a ministry authorized by the commission and charter of Christ; because it maintains, with most fidelity and purity, the form of church order, government, and discipline, established by the apostles, and preserved by the first christians; because it is most adapted to promote spirituality; because it best secures purity of discipline; because it is found to be most destructive to the principles of infidelity; because it most properly administers the sacraments; because it provides for greater unity; because it is most conducive to the promotion of morality, and the prevention of crime; because it is most efficient in its efforts for the extension of the church, and the evangelization of the world; and because it is the most liberal and charitable.

We might also proceed to show how presbyterianism is favorable to the spread of light and knowledge, of civil and religious liberty—but we must forbear. Enough has been advanced to satisfy the most timid conscience, that, while we

deny not the salvability of other communions, there is far greater safety and certainty to be found in the presbyterian church, than in either the Romish or prelatical. Holding the truth in its purity and its entirety; proclaiming it clearly; protecting it against all error; securing most effectually the removal of heresy and error; promoting most surely the revival of sound doctrine and holy practice; perpetuating the apostolic ministry, orders, ordinances, and discipline, in all their simplicity and power; providing for the greatest unity; holding up a shield of defence against infidelity; promoting spirituality; devoted to the advancement of the cause and kingdom of Christ at home and abroad; and doing all this in the spirit of true christian liberality; the presbyterian church proves that she possesses the four great elements of catholicity, unity, publicity, popularity, and universal diffusiveness, and offers a sure and safe retreat to all who are inquiring the way to Zion. She is admirably qualified to instruct the ignorant, to enlighten those who are in darkness, to console the real penitent, to teach the way of salvation to the lost, to edify the believer in Christ, and to guide sincere inquirers to the attainment of everlasting life.

CONCLUSION.

WE have now endeavored to illustrate the catholicity and the liberality of presbytery; and to show how, when weighed in the balances, it is not found wanting, but commends itself to universal approbation and favor. And as others have taken in hand to uphold the republicanism of opposing systems, we have examined into the true principles of republicanism, and demonstrated, we think, the perfect identity with it, of the principles of presbytery, which is the government of the people.

The presbyterian mode of discipline and government, besides its scriptural basis, recommends itself by the following arguments. It is founded essentially on the principle of representation, which pervades American society. It does not make all the members of a church judges; but 'sets those to judge who are most esteemed in the house of God.' It presents a firm barrier against the ambition and encroachments of the clergy—for it unites with the minister a council of wise, prudent, and godly men, taken from the body of the communicants, without whose consent no measure can be carried. It furnishes one of the best securities for preserving the rights of both pastor and people; for it provides to an individual of either order, who may suppose himself wronged, the opportunity of appealing to a higher tribunal, where his cause will be heard without local prejudice, by judicious, enlightened, and impartial men. It secures to ministers of the word and sacraments counsel and support in all their official proceedings, of the best possible kind; for those who are associated with them are acquainted with the views of the people, participate in their feelings, and are able to give sound advice as to the wisdom and practicability of those plans, which require general co-operation, for carrying them into effect. It possesses an advantage also on the score of despatch and energy, as well as of wisdom and the security of equal rights. It unites believers together in one body, and thus is friendly to the spread of the gospel, by furnishing facilities for efficient and co-operative action in promoting the great interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. The general assembly of the church presents the beautiful spectacle of the various members of one vast and extended society, meeting together by their representatives as one in Christ, to unite with heart and hand in the service of their Lord. Such is the system of presbyterian government. §§

§§Sketch of the Presbyterian Church in England.

Presbyterianism, under God, making its appeal to the hearts of the people; resting its confidence upon the affections of the people; looking for its advancement to the activity and co-operation of the people; invoking in all its assemblies, from the least unto the greatest, the presence and counsel of the people; and throwing the responsibility of all its doings upon the equal and controlling voice of the people; is in perfect keeping with that government which glories in being the government of the people. Why has the presbyterian church surmounted every obstacle, and cleared her way through such a wilderness of impassable difficulties, to her present elevation and greatness? Because sustained by the nerves and the sinews of the people. And why has she not achieved still greater triumphs, and enrolled among her friends still greater multitudes? simply because depending, as has been said, upon the force and energy of the people, the engrossing interests of mercantile and agricultural pursuits have deprived her of that measure of zealous devotion to her cause, and co-operation in her designs, without which she cannot prosper. She is framed in adaptation to such an union of the people. She presupposes and requires it for her full development. She is, without it, but as a man with one arm, instead of two—she cannot accomplish even half what she might otherwise perform. Destitute of an intelligent, pious, and devoted eldership, the presbyterian church is seen as a powerful and athletic man whose arms are pinioned, or whose feet are in the stocks. Designed to promote the best interests, and to meet all the reasonable wishes, of her people, the responsibility of her failure, or success, rests mainly upon them. Yes, presbyterian laymen, upon you does it depend, whether this church shall go forward from strength to strength, or languish and decay. Your interest, your prayers, your activity, your liberality, your devotedness, in combination with a faithful ministry, and both blessed of God—this is all we have to look to for success. We claim, as ministers, no exclusive and official possession of the divine gifts. We pretend to no priesthood, to no sacrifice for sins, to no power of plenary absolution, to no authority to enforce confession, to no damnable power beyond the grave. We are of you, and among you, and one with you, and desire that you should account of us as stewards of the mysteries of heaven, ambassadors for Christ, heralds of the cross, and your servants in the gospel.

The cause of Christ among you, is, therefore, thrown upon your best affections; upon your love, and not your fear; your gratitude, and not your terror; your hopes, and not your servile prostration; your liberality, and not your tithed assessments; your willing consecration, and not your slavish and blind obedience. Will you, brethren, abuse this great grace of God, or

undervalue this heavenly birthright, or lightly esteem this august inheritance? May God forbid. Montesquieu has shown, that the principle of a republic, or the spring by which it acts, is virtue—that is, as he understands the term, love of the established government of the republic—devotion to its interests, a preference of these interests by each individual to his own; in a word, what we call public spirit, or patriotism. In such a government, every man should feel, that in promoting the common weal, he is advancing his personal welfare; and should be actuated, therefore, not by the principle of fear, or penurious selfishness, but by love and a generous liberality. Now precisely similar is the constitution, and the principle, of our church. In preference to other churches, she founds her claims to the co-operation and assistance of all her members, upon the liberty and privilege she so abundantly confers.

Presbyterianism, to the carnal eye, does not present the same attractive form which is assumed by her prelatic rivals, who appear before their votaries in all the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance,' of ceremonial forms; but whatever influence over the ignorant and unthinking multitude may in this way be gained, is a dear purchase, when christian truth and duty, and charity, must be impaired for its sake.

We, christian brethren, and our fathers, have possessed a talent of unspeakable value. We have enjoyed, as a church, unlimited freedom and spiritual independence. We have no king but Christ. We call no man master upon earth. We are in subjection to no traditions of the fathers—nor to any will-worship, formality, and superstitions of men. We bow to no deified images. We cringe to no priestly mediators, and lick the dust of no wooden crucifixes. We are the Lord's freemen. We are in bondage to no power on earth. We wear the livery of no spiritual despot. Our government is a government of written laws, and it is administered by our people themselves, without let, hindrance, or tyranny. This, brethren, is a great, a distinguishing privilege.

Of the two great branches of the Reformation in Europe, the Lutheran Churches, and the Reformed—the Lutheran had no spiritual independence, but were wholly subjected to the state. And of the four great Reformed Churches of France, Geneva, Holland, and Scotland,—the Protestant Church of France, planted by Calvin, has been laid waste by the persecution of anti-christ. Geneva is desolate by the withering pestilence of heresy, and the exclusion of the laity from her councils. Holland has been prostrated to the civil power. The Reformed National Church of Scotland has also been subjected to the vassalage of a state establishment, and to the corrupting influence of patronage, and is now, therefore, waging warfare

for her usurped rights. In the prelatic churches every where, and of every name, the priesthood is every thing, and the people nothing. But we are free, we hold by the Head, we maintain professed allegiance to the King of kings, and King of saints. We alone renounce all interference of man, all submission to any earthly laws, and we alone can sit under our vine and fig tree, none daring to molest or make us afraid. The principles we maintain are the religious strength of the country; the grand bulwark that alone can arrest and drive back to their native regions, the pestilential heresies of Popery and Puseyism; and, in proportion as these principles, in harmony with evangelical piety, are understood, appreciated, and advanced, in the same degree will our national greatness and prosperity be secured. *'Columbia sic stabit; Christique arx alta manebit.'*

We would impress upon the people the duty of taking interest in all the affairs of the church, of informing themselves fully of all the claims and advantages she confers, and of fitting themselves to give a reason of their ecclesiastical preference, to every man that asketh them. The life of our system is a spiritual life. It lies in the culture of the mind and heart—the reason and the conscience. 'It is bound up in those principles which must be taught from father to son, from generation to generation, with care, with toil, with sacrifice.' It is a prize above all price. It is a heaven-descended gift, preserved and perpetuated by the blood of martyrs. It is an inheritance more valuable than that of houses or lands, of silver or gold, and which we are bound by every duty to ourselves, to our children, to our country, and to our God, to preserve and perpetuate at every sacrifice. It is a cause, again worthy of martyrdom. It is, brethren, your cause, and not the cause of your ministers. Let not the duty it imposes upon you, as individual christians, as deacons, elders, and officers, as active and efficient agents, as diligent and laborious Sabbath School teachers, as earnest instructors of your children and families in the history, principles, and reasons of our church government and doctrine—let not these be thought irksome. Let them not be regarded as secondary to what you call the more important interests of life. You are assuredly mistaken. In looking after business, you may be neglecting your chief business, which is to secure the liberties, civil and religious, of yourselves and your posterity. Without the active, zealous, and devoted co-operation of all its members, our church may be compared to a human body, 'more perfect as to the skeleton, and more beautifully constructed than than of others, but which from languor of circulation is become somewhat feeble in muscle, incapable of throwing off peccant humors, and ill qualified for energizing with vigor, when compared with a frame less perfectly compacted, but

possessing a more lively circulation, and a more elastic activity.' But let our church be supported by the hearty co-operation of all its officers and members, and it will be found possessed of both these classes of advantages, without their corresponding deficiencies, and be mighty, through God, to the pulling down the strong-holds of sin and Satan.

APPENDIX.

THE PRACTICAL EFFICIENCY OF PRESBYTERY IN PROMOTING MORALITY AND PREVENTING CRIME.

THAT church may be regarded as the most safe and certain, which is found, in its practical working, most conducive to the promotion of morality and righteousness, and to the prevention of crime—'by their fruits ye shall know them,' 'for righteousness exalteth a nation.' This is a very plain and practical test.

Now it is admitted by prelatists, that presbyterianism is at least as conducive to morality as any other system. 'We know,* says a recent able and candid episcopalian writer, 'that there are, and have been, whole nations of professed Calvinists, who, in successive generations, have not appeared at all below their neighbors of other persuasions in the general tone of their morals.'

The doctrines of presbyterianism are adapted to lead to holiness, both of heart and life. Toplady testified† to the superior power of his preaching, in *converting souls*, when he preached the Calvinistic system, than before; and, if conversion to God be the first and best security for individual holiness, and through it, national morality, it is plain that Calvinism must be considered the friend of both. He says, in 1774, 'as to the doctrines of special and discriminating grace, I have thus much to observe, that for the first four years after I was in orders, I dwelt chiefly on the general outline of the gospel. I preached little else but of justification by faith only in the righteousness and atonement of Christ, and of that personal holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. My reasons for thus narrowing the truths of God, were, (with humiliation and repentance I desire to speak it,) these two: first, I thought these points were sufficient to convey as clear an idea as was absolutely necessary of salvation; and, second, I was partly afraid to go any farther. God himself (for none but he could do it) gradually freed me from that fear. And, as he never at any time permitted me to deliver, or even insinuate any thing contradictory to his truths, so has he been graciously pleased, for between seven and eight years past, to open my mouth to make known the entire mystery of his gospel, as far as his Spirit has enlightened me in it. The consequence of my first plans of operations was, that the generality of my hearers were pleased, *but very few were converted*. The result of my latter deliverance from worldly wisdom and worldly fear, is, that multitudes have been very angry. But the conversions which God has given me reason to hope he has wrought, *have been at least three for one before*. Thus, I can testify, so far as I have been concerned, the usefulness of preaching predestination, or, in other words, of tracing salvation and redemption to their first source.‡

In meeting the objection, that the Calvinistic doctrines tend practically to licentiousness, the Rev. Hugh White, curate in Dublin, says,§ 'and here, it cannot surely but excite the unfeigned surprise of every unprejudiced mind, to observe that a directly contrary tendency is manifested in the strenuous upholders of the doctrines of free grace: and that, generally speaking, they are as much distinguished by their peculiar devotedness to

*Christianity Indep. of the Civil Government, p. 46.

†In Lorimer's Manual, p. 278.

‡See a similar testimony by Abraham Booth, in his Death of Legal Hope, p. 46; in Lorimer, pp. 279, 280, and the very remarkable one given by Dr. Chalmers, in his Address to the inhabitants of Kilmanny; in Works, vol. xii, p. 71, &c.

§Sermons, Dublin, 1838, 6th ed. vol. i. pp. 141, 142. See the whole discourse.

the service of God, and the pursuit of holiness, as by the peculiar doctrines of their creed—so that, by a contradiction that would be amusing, were not the subject so serious, their doctrines are condemned as being too loose, and their lives as being too strict!

Bishop Burnet says, 'a Calvinist is taught, by his opinions, to think meanly of himself, (how unlike the picture drawn by bishop Hughes!) and to ascribe the honor of all to God; which lays in him a deep foundation for humility; he is also much inclined to secret prayer, and to a fixed dependence on God.'

The article in the Encyclopedia Britannica on Predestination, contains these remarks. 'There is one remark, which we feel ourselves bound in justice to make, although it appears to us somewhat singular. It is this: that from the earliest ages down to our own days, if we consider the character of the ancient Stoics, the Jewish Essenes, the MODERN CALVINISTS and Jansenists, when compared with that of their antagonists, the Epicureans, the Sadducees, the Arminians, and the JESUITS, we shall find that they have excelled, in no small degree, in the practice of the most rigid and respectable virtues; and have been the highest honor of their own ages, and the best models for imitation for every succeeding age.' This surely is no measured praise; and yet that it is from one who was no Calvinist, appears, not only from the above remark on 'the singularity' of the fact, stated by him, but still more, from the following sentence: 'At the same time it must be confessed, that their virtues have in general been rendered unamiable, by a tinge of gloomy and severe austerity.'

Again. 'In Letters addressed to a Serious and Humble Inquirer,' &c., by the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hampstead Ridwane, (a distinguished episcopal clergyman of England, and no CALVINIST,) it is thus written: 'Among no denomination or description of professing christians, is there to be found a larger portion of humble, pious, and devoted servants of God, persons of a truly christian spirit, zealous of good works, and exemplary in every duty and relation of life, than among those who hold the Calvinistic tenets. I am sure that your observation and your candor will fully justify this statement. And, therefore, so far as this system is to be judged of by its ACTUAL EFFECTS, I think, that on a candid reconsideration of the subject, you will be induced to abandon your objection, and to admit, that it was founded on an erroneous and partial view of the subject.'

A similar testimony is given by another episcopalian, a lieutenant in the English army. 'Having been led to a belief in these doctrines,' he says,** 'now I felt I had power, through Christ strengthening me, to rush into the midst of the battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to give a helping hand to others. Oh! truly they say falsely, who affirm that these are doctrines tending to laxity of moral and spiritual conduct and life; surely they who have felt their power, (and they only can give an opinion,) can testify to the very reverse, and assert that they inspire (under the Spirit's teaching) the christian soldier's heart to begin, and continue to fight the good fight of faith unto death. And why? because he has been assured by the Captain of his salvation, that he shall gain the victory, and come off 'more than conqueror through him that loveth him.'

Such was the influence exerted upon the nation by the prevalence of puritanism. 'During the troubles,' says the Rev. J. Jones, the biographer of bishop Hall and a minister of the church of England,†† 'of the times, on account of the difference between Charles I, and the parliament, puritanism was in one sense productive of much good. The reformation of manners was then very remarkable. The laws against vice and profaneness were so strict, and so vigorously put in execution, that vice was forced to hide itself in corners. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kinds of games, stage plays, and abuses in public houses. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almost twenty years. Profane swearing, drunkenness, or any kind of debauchery, were not to be heard or seen on the streets. The Lord's day was observed with unusual reverence. The churches were crowded with numerous and attentive worshippers three or four times in the day. The peace-officers patrolled

**Church in the Army, p. 151.

††Biography of bishop Hall, pp. 455, 456; in Lorimer, pp. 280, 281. See Burnet's Testim. in Neal, vol. iv. p. 313. As to the Albigenses and Waldenses, see confessions of their enemies, in Faber's Albigenses, pp. 432, 433.

the streets of London and all the public houses were shut up. There was no travelling on the road or walking in the fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Religious *exercises* were set up in private families—as reading the Scriptures, family prayer, repeating sermons, and singing of psalms. This was so general a custom, that we are told a person might walk through the city of London, on the evening of the Lord's day, without seeing an idle person, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praise from churches or private houses. *It is also said, that there was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year, and that even in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy set upon him, that he could never wipe out.*'

'But in our island,' to add the testimony of Mr. Carlyle,‡‡ there arose a puritanism, which even got itself established as a presbyterianism and national church among the Scotch; which came forth as a real business of the heart; and has produced in the world very notable fruit. In some senses, one may say it is the only phasis of protestantism that ever got to the rank of being a faith, a true heart-communication with Heaven, and of exhibiting itself in history as such.'

When puritanism was put down, and prelacy triumphed, what was the result? 'Sad was the state of religion,' says Mr. Strype, 'at this time;§§ the substantial being lost in contending for externals; the churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures. Many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases, and waste of woods, and granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children.—Among the laity there was little devotion; the Lord's day greatly profaned, and little observed; the common prayers not frequented; some lived without any service of God at all; many were mere heathens and atheists, the Queen's own court a harbor for epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish; which things make good men fear some sad judgments impending over the nation.'

Toplady confirms this statement.* 'With that prince, (Charles II.) Arminianism returned as a flood, and licentiousness of manners was co-extensive with it. We have had since that period more than one hundred years experience of the unsanctified effects which naturally result from the ideal system of free will and universal redemption. What has that system done for us?—It has unbraced every nerve of virtue, and relaxed every rein of religious and social duty. In proportion to the operation of its influence, it has gone far toward subverting all moral obedience, and seems to endanger the entire series, even of political and ecclesiastical subordination, &c. Look round the land, and your lordships cannot fail of perceiving that our fiercest free-willers are for the most part the freest livers, and that the belief of universal grace is, in too many instances, the turnpike road to universal sin.'—P. 278. In accordance with these views, Toplady, at a later day, quoted as an illustration of the demoralizing influence of Arminianism, fairly carried out, the case of a zealous advocate of the system, who, 'when he was in fit intemperance, if any one reminded him of the wrath of God, threatened against such courses, he would answer, 'I am a child of the devil to-day, but I have free will, and to-morrow I will make myself a child of God.'—Works, p. 759.

The Parliamentary Committee† on Church Patronage, in 1834, on reporting the result of their labors to the Legislature, remark, 'No sentiment has been so deeply impressed on the mind of your committee, in the course of their long and laborous investigation, as that of veneration and respect for the established church of Scotland. They believe that no institution has ever existed, which, at so little cost, has accomplished so much good. The eminent place which Scotland holds in the scale of nations, is mainly owing to the purity of the standards, and the zeal of the ministers of its church, as well as the wisdom with which its internal institutions have been adapted to the habits and interests of the people.'

‡‡Lectures on Heroes, p. 231. English ed.

§§Ann. p. 98. Neal's Purit. vol. i. pp. 244, 245. See also, pp. 293, 297, 315, 371, 391. Edinb. Rev. Jan. 1841. In Lorimer, *ibid*, p. 281. Neal, vol. iii. pp. 92, 107, and vol. iv. pp. 16, 53, 313, 320, 321, 335, 347, 360, and vol. v. p. 21. See also Edinb. Rev. July, 1838, p. 267.

*In Lorimer, *ibid*, p. 281.

†Lorimer, p. 259.

Graham, in his History of the United States, gives a similar testimony to the working of the system in New England, after it had been long in operation.‡ 'Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England at that time, for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits, that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immorality of every description, were remarkably strict, and not less strictly executed; and being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. There was not a single beggar in the whole province. The general diffusion of education caused national advantages, which were thus vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated, and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to the country.'

'The effects of puritanism,' says Bancroft,§ 'display its true character still more distinctly. Ecclesiastical tyranny is of all kinds the worst; its fruits are cowardice, idleness, ignorance, and poverty. Puritanism was a life-giving spirit; activity, thrift, intelligence, followed in its train; and as for courage, a coward and a puritan never went together. 'He that prays best, and preaches best, will fight best;' such was the judgment of Cromwell, the greatest soldier of his age. . . . The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; and he defended his creed; for, in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was a part of his army, and his most faithful ally in the battle.'

If confirmation of these statements be required, we have it in the present relative condition of the principal Protestant and Roman Catholic countries. Compare Italy with Prussia; compare Spain with England; compare Mexico and the South American republics with the United States. Compare Protestant Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, the North of Ireland, the English Nonconformists, the New England States, and our Presbyterian communities here and there scattered through the land—all Calvinistic in their faith—with any other states or communities on earth, where a different form of faith prevails, and their superior morality and intelligence must be apparent. The superiority of the protestant countries is known and read of all men. To what is it owing? Not to physical causes, certainly; for in these the Roman Catholic countries have the advantage.

Villers, a Romanist, in his work on the Reformation, which obtained the prize offered by the National Institute of France, strongly confirms our assertion. After showing that Romanism engenders 'poverty, indolence, immorality, and all sorts of vices,' and the contrary effects of protestantism, he remarks, 'the contrast** of these indubitable effects of the two religions is more particularly perceptible in Germany and Switzerland, where the different territories which are intermixed, cause the traveller to pass continually from a Catholic to a Protestant country. Does he meet with a miserable mud cottage, covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched rude peasants, and many beggars: he will be in little danger of erring, if he conjecture that he is in a catholic country. If, on the contrary, neat, pleasant houses are seen, offering the spectacle of affluence and industry, the fields well inclosed, a culture well understood, it is very probable that he is among protestants, anabaptists, or mennonites. Thus nature seems to change her aspect, as he who gives her laws enjoys his liberty more or less, and exercises all his powers in a greater or less degree: while, at the same time, nature appears to have delighted in endeavoring to bestow all her gifts upon the catholic nations which inhabit the finest countries of Europe. This singularity is very evident in the limited territory of Helvetia. Let the fertile plains of Solaire be compared with the much less favored soil of Argovia; the rocky sterile land, unprotected from the northern blasts, of the Pays de Vaud, with the magnificent Italian Switzerland, or the well sheltered Valais; the territory of Neufchatel, with the fruitful fields of the country lately subjected to the Abbé of Saint Gall; and finally, even in the states of this monk-prince, let that portion which follows the Roman worship be compared with that, much smaller, which, under the protection of Zurich and Berne, has been able to adhere to the reform; and it will every where appear that the activity and knowledge of man is superior to even the liberalities of prodigal nature, while all her benefits are as though they were lost, to idleness and want of care.'

‡In Lorimer, on the Eldership, p. 155.

§Hist. of United States, vol. i. pp. 462, 463.

**London, 1805, p. 225.

'It is a certain fact,' adds M. Villers,†† 'that more crimes are committed in catholic, than in protestant, countries. The author might instance many facts, which he has collected on this subject. He will be satisfied with foreign authorities. Cit. *Rebmann*, president of the special tribunal of Mayenne, in his *Coup-d'oeil sur l'état des quatre départemens du Rhin*, says, that the number of malefactors in the catholic and protestant cantons, is in the proportion of four, if not six, to one. At Augsburg, the territory of which offers a mixture of the two religions, of nine hundred and forty-six malefactors, convicted in the course of ten years, there were only one hundred and eighty-four protestants; that is to say, less than one in five. The celebrated philanthropist, *Howard*, observed, that the prisons of Italy were incessantly crowded; at Venice, he has seen three or four hundred prisoners in the principal prison; at Naples, nine hundred and eighty in the succursal prison alone, called *Vicaria*; while he affirms, that the prisons of Berne are almost always empty; that in those of Lausanne he did not find any prisoner; and only three individuals in a state of arrest at Schaffhausen. Here are facts; I do not draw any conclusion.'

Mr. Lorimer has taken great pains to collate the amount of crime in Scotland, as compared with that in England and Ireland. After showing that a large amount of the reported crimes in Scotland are mere misdemeanors, and a large amount committed by Irish Romanists,†† he gives the results as follows:§§ 'To prevent Scottish christians, owing to the loose statements which have been made of the unexampled progress of crime in this country, being disheartened in their labors, I may subjoin a comparative view of the rate of crime in England and Wales. We have seen that the commitments for crime in Scotland,

In the years	1832,	were	2431.
	1836,	"	2922.
	1840,	"	3872.

In the same years, the crime of England and Wales was,

In 1832,	20,829	persons	committed.
1836,	20,984	"	"
1840,	27,187	"	"

Now it appears, from the late census, that the population of Scotland is about *one sixth* of that of England and Wales. Were its crime in the same proportion, the Scottish criminals should, at the respective dates, have been 3471, 3497, 4531; instead of which, they were what has been stated; in other words, Scotland had *less* proportional crime than England, by 1040, 575, and 659, in the years referred to; and *that*, though Scotland be a poorer country, and is a stranger to the English poor-law system, which by many is alleged to be a defence against crime, and though, probably, the influx of Irish is proportionately greater into Scotland than into England.

It would scarcely be fair to compare Scotland with Ireland; a protestant with a popish country. I may merely mention the numbers, without expatiating on them. For instance, in Ireland,

In 1832,	there were	16,056	commitments.
1836,	"	23,891	"
1840,	"	23,822	"

Scotland is nearly *one third* of the population of Ireland; were her criminals proportional in numbers, they should have been 5352 and 7963, instead of 2431 and 2922. In other words, Ireland had, *proportionally*, for these years, 2921 and 5041 more criminals than Scotland. But perhaps the most striking fact is, that in 1837, the province of Ulster, the most protestant territory of Ireland, (still one half the population is Roman catholic,) with a population somewhat less than Scotland, had not less than 5605 criminal commitments. In the same year, Scotland had 3126 commitments for crime; in other words, *proportionally*, 2479 fewer criminals than the most prominent part of the sister country!

It is right, however, to state, that, while Ulster suffers in a comparison with Scotland, doubtless from its large Roman catholic population, it gains immensely, on comparison with any other part of Ireland. Thus the one county of Tipperary, in 1837, (population 402,563,) had 4239 crimes, while the whole of the ten counties of Ulster, (population 2,314,104,) had, at

††P. 224. Note.

‡‡See his work on the office of Deacon, Edinb. 1842. pp. 122-132.

§§Ibid. pp. 132, 133. See also his work on the Eldership, pp. 149-155. Glasg. 1841. See also Sketch of the Presb. Ch. in England, pp. 14 and 41.

the same time, as we have seen, 5605; and while in the Tipperary crimes there were one hundred and twenty-four homicides, many of those of Ulster were comparatively trifling. A few years before, too, the military expense of Ulster was only one twelfth of the general military cost; and of twenty-five regiments in Ireland, only two were stationed in that province, while its population was nearly a third of the whole population of the country.'

The practical efficiency of presbyterianism in Ireland is remarkable.* 'What we give,' says the Rev. Mr. Denham of Londonderry, 'to the state in return for our endowment is that sound christian education, which secures the peace and the prosperity of the country, and secures it, too, at an expense vastly less than by any other means hitherto discovered. On examination, it will be found, that the endowment given to the presbyterian church in this country, has been, in place of expenditure, a direct and positive economy. If you take up the expense of the constabulary for the past year, you will find it small in the counties of Ulster in proportion to the number of presbyterians inhabiting those counties. Thus, for instance, in the county of Cavan, where there are few presbyterians, the cost of the constabulary to each inhabitant, is 10 1-2d., while in Down, the cost to each is only 5 1-2d. In Termanagh, where there are few presbyterians, the cost to each is 9 3-4d., while in Derry, it is not 5 1-4d. Again, comparing the cost on the whole province with that on the other provinces, it would be to each inhabitant of Ulster, 7 3-4d., and to each in the rest of the kingdom, 1s. 5 1-2d., making a saving in Ulster of a sum not less than £88,833 18s. 10d.† The jail expense to each inhabitant of the rest of the kingdom, is 2 1-2. Thus saving, on the whole inhabitants of Ulster, £7138 16s. 8d., making a saving on those two items of constabulary and jails, of £95,972, 15s. 8d., being nearly three times the amount paid to all the presbyterian clergy in Ireland.

'The unfortunate persons sentenced to transportation, are sent from all the northern counties to the hulk at Kingstown, previous to embarkation. Out of 3013 who were there in the five years from 1830, only 77 were presbyterians, that is only 1 in every 39. Now each costs the government about £100, or on the whole number £301,300, so that here, by the peculiarly virtuous, and industrious, and peaceable habits of our people, there is another very large sum saved to the nation every year. Allow me here to quote a sentence from a letter transmitted by Lord Normanby, secretary to the colonies, to a commission of the church of Scotland, dated June, 1839: 'while it was recently found necessary (in New South Wales) to appoint Episcopalian and Roman Catholic chaplains for the jails and penal settlements, it was allowed on all hands, that there was no necessity for the appointment of presbyterian chaplains for these establishments, the number of criminals of this communion in the colony, being quite insignificant.' In the seven years from 1828, two hundred and fifty-six persons were hung in Ireland, while by a strict examination of all the jails in Ulster, I have discovered that in the twelve years which have now nearly elapsed since 1828, only *four* presbyterians were executed. It were evidently impossible to make any calculation as to what each of these unfortunate persons cost the kingdom, not merely in the retarding of improvement, and preventing the flow of capital into the country, but even in the mere expense of apprehension, imprisonment, judges, queen's counsel, attornies, executioners, &c. But the sum between the loss and the actual expense, must have been enormous. Yet in this item of expenditure, the presbyterian proportion is so small as scarcely to be named.

'Thus have I shown, by a reference to facts and figures, that if the government give the presbyterian church a small endowment, it is not necessary for her, in order to make an honest and adequate return, to barter away, or part with one fraction of the liberty wherewith Christ has made her free. She makes to the state an ample return in the form of an immense saving of the public funds secured, and of many and most valuable benefits conferred.'

We may well, therefore, conclude with Budin, the celebrated French writer, though a papist, who affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this discipline, will certainly flourish in virtue and piety.‡

*Plea for Presbytery, pp. 409, 410.

†Again, the jail expense to each inhabitant in Ulster, is 1 3-4d.

‡In Milton's Prose Wks. vol. i. p. 132. On the influence of Presbyterianism among the Waldenses, see Dr. Gilly's Waldensian Researches, pp. 145, 189.

NOTES.

EPISCOPACY AND REPUBLICANISM.—Mr. Bartlett, in his *Memoirs of Bishop Butler*, speaking of his plan for introducing the episcopate into this country, says: (p. 123.) 'It is much to be regretted, that the deliberations of the government, upon this reasonable and important measure, should have terminated without its adoption. It is said to have been the opinion of that distinguished statesman, Mr. Pitt, that, had the church of England been efficiently established in the United States, it was highly probable, that those States would not have been separated from Great Britain.' 'We can easily believe,' adds the *Churchman's Monthly Review*, 'that, if this design had been carried into execution, or if the noble undertaking of Berkeley had not been arrested by Walpole, the United States might, at this day, have been a well-ordered possession of the British crown.'

On the dangerous influence of Romanism, we add the following article from the *N. Y. Observer*, with the remarks of Mr. Durbin:

POWER OF ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.—There is a class of christians and newspapers—very good ones, too, in many respects—who treat all apprehensions of danger to our country and her institutions, from the spread of Romanism, as entirely visionary. They are so firmly persuaded that Americans can never regard the solemn follies of saint-worship, the mass, absolution, &c., otherwise than as ridiculous, that they are ready to smile at the simplicity of those who look upon the growing influence of papacy as an object of dread. Others are quite panic-struck, in view of the open avowal and bold defence of some of the worst features of popery among us.

Our own view of this subject is, perhaps, equally remote from both these extremes. While we would not indulge alarm, we believe there is reason for watchfulness. What the efforts of Roman Catholics have accomplished, in modifying the public schools of New York and Philadelphia, our readers already know. They know, also, that the entering wedge of popish influence will be inserted in every seam and crevice in the foundation of that great protestant republican edifice, which our puritan ancestors reared at such vast expense of toil and suffering. The success of these efforts will be limited only by the want of ability in those who make them. It may be well, then, to inquire, what is the relative ability of Romanism in the United States?

The catholic population of this country is estimated at nearly one million, four hundred thousand, and is, therefore, about one twelfth of the numerical strength of our nation.

Unfortunately, the remaining portion is, and probably will continue to be, divided into two great parties; and these parties are so nearly balanced, that Romanism can decide any question it chooses. How this may be done, will appear from the following facts.

The population of the United States was, in 1840, about seventeen millions. In the presidential election of that year, the whole number of votes cast was two millions four hundred and two thousand five hundred and six; that is, more than every seventh inhabitant was an actual voter. If the same ratio be extended to the catholic population, it assigns to them two hundred thousand votes. What a tremendous power, if it be put forth, to decide the balanced elections of our country! The political enthusiasm which animated the successful party, in the election referred to, was great, beyond all precedent, and the majority was the largest ever known in our political history; and yet it was only about one hundred and fifty thousand. It will be seen, then, by comparing this 150,000 majority with the 200,000 votes which Catholics can cast, that Rome may hold the balance of power on any great national question, and still have 50,000 votes to spare!

And we may not flatter ourselves that any important movement takes place here, without its bearings being well considered in the Vatican. Let an emergency arise, in which his Holiness at Rome shall think it worth his while to interfere, and swift as a telegraphic dispatch an unseen signal will be made across the ocean, and repeated over our land; and all factions and subdivisions among Romanists in America will be merged, and the whole mass, under their spiritual leaders, will come up to the polls in a solid phalanx. The great party chieftains—whose trade is politics—who live and move and have their being for objects of selfish ambition—will not be slow to perceive and to conciliate this papal influence. For the sake of its vote, *en masse*, they will give it—not at once, but little by little—the stand-points it demands; and when it gains these, *then* it will throw off the mask, and hold up its proud front, and ask no favors.

It is in this way that we fear Romanism will grow into a dangerous element in our republic. And the obvious defence of our country is, not in the nature of the government, the present intelligence of the people, or the patriotism of political men—but in the life and activity of our Protestant churches; in the zeal of our light-bearing institutions of benevolence—the Bible, Tract, Sunday School, and Missionary Societies; in the prayers of the pious; and above all, and *through* all these, in the energy of that Holy Spirit, who is able to bring communities, as well as individuals, to know the truth as it is in Jesus.

REPUBLICANS BE WARNED.—Mr. Durbin, the eminent Methodist minister, now in England, writes thus to the editor of the *Christian Advocate*:—‘This question of Apostolic Succession involves much more than the conflict between the ‘Established Church’ and the interests of dissent in any and every form. My travels on the continent, and my observations and inquiries in England, fully satisfy me, that there is a close connection between this claim of divine exclusive apostolic succession, and the claim of monarchs to rule, *jure divino*, to be ‘kings by the grace of God.’ For, beyond all question, the principle of the hierarchy has a very warm sympathy with monarchy; and this fact has been well expressed by ‘no bishop, no king.’ Hierarchy and monarchy are about to make common cause in Europe, and then, if successful, the match is to be applied to the explosive elements collecting in America, in the form of foreigners, adopting our country, but retaining their European principles, and in the form of ‘apostolical succession,’ by which men propose to claim the exclusive right to administer the sacraments of the church. The principles of these two sympathetic powers are the same; the one claims to rule the church by a divine right, and the other to rule the people *jure divino*. They have learned wisdom by experience, and neither will claim to be supreme, but agree to be cōordinate and concurrent, and to rule mankind as their common patrimony.’



THE
ROMISH AND PRELITICAL RITE
OF
CONFIRMATION
EXAMINED
AND
PROVED TO BE CONTRARY TO THE
SCRIPTURES

AND THE PRACTICE OF ALL EARLIEST AND PUREST CHURCHES,
BOTH ORIENTAL AND WESTERN.

BY

THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

AUTHOR OF "LECTURES ON THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION," "PRESBYTERY AND
NOT PRELACY THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE POLITY," ETC.

WITH NOTES
ON THE DUTY OF REQUIRING A PUBLIC PROFESSION OF
RELIGION.

NEW YORK:

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1845.

“CONFIRMATION IS TOO OFTEN SO MISTAKEN AND PERVERTED, AS TO BECOME AN EMPTY AND UNMEANING FORM, OR A DANGEROUS SNARE.”—*Archbishop Whately, Charges and other Tracts*, p. 93.

“THE INVENTION THAT WAS AFTERWARDS FOUND OUT, BY WHICH THE BISHOP WAS HELD TO BE THE ONLY MINISTER OF CONFIRMATION, WAS A PIECE OF SUPERSTITION, WITHOUT ANY COLOUR FROM SCRIPTURE.”—*Bishop Burnet on the XXXIX. Art.*, p. 354.

“PROPERLY, THEN, CONFIRMATION WAS A TEMPORARY USAGE, CONNECTED WITH A MIRACULOUS DISPLAY.—IT IS NOT A SACRAMENT, NOR WOULD THAT CHURCH BE UNAPOSTOLICAL WHICH SHOULD REJECT IT.”—*History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity*, by *Dr. Hinds of Oxford*, and *Chaplain to Archbishop Whately*.

See *Cranmer's Ms.*, Vol. 2, Parker Society, p. 80.

This Treatise

IS DEDICATED TO ALL WHO WISH TO BE
CONFIRMED IN THE TRUTH,
AND DELIVERED FROM BONDAGE
TO A RITE
BY WHICH THEY ARE CONFIRMED IN ERROR
AND DELUSION.

PREFACE.

The occasion of this work was that mentioned in its introduction. Since the discourse was delivered which is there alluded to, others, I understand, have been preached in different churches. The subject was, therefore, on several occasions brought to the author's attention, both by facts which confirmed him in the belief that a more than ordinary boldness was manifested in the maintenance of the exclusive pretensions of the Romish and Prelatical churches; and also by the expressed desire that he would discourse upon the subject. And as I had not considered this question in any of my works, because I deemed it unnecessary, I felt that I should be without excuse in declining the discussion.

These facts I mention, not in any controversial spirit, but by way of avoiding controversy. That discourses should be delivered on this subject, in any or in all of the churches in Charleston, was a matter with which I had nothing to do, and of which I do not complain. Neither have I on this occasion either *sought or obtained* an outline of the arguments by which, on any of these occasions, the rite of confirmation was defended, further than information was sought from me as to certain passages of Scripture and facts connected with the question. While, therefore, my present examination of this subject took its origin in the facts alluded to, the discussion itself is conducted without any reference to such discourses, and just as it would have been had no such sermons been preached at all. The work is not, therefore, controversial, but a plain, honest, and fearless defence of the truth, simplicity and charity of the gospel, against the error, superstition, and intolerance of Romanism and High-Churchism, and as the subject is one of general and great present interest, I have adapted the work (which forms the substance of two discourses) to general use, and published it for general circulation.

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CONFIRMATION EXAMINED.

SECTION I.

Origin of this investigation, and the nature of Imposition of Hands explained.

It is my design to call the attention of my readers at this time to the nature of confirmation, as it exists in the Romish and prelatric churches. This I do because the subject has recently been brought forward in a prominent manner in this city,* and led to the inquiry, by some who heard the discussion, how far the positions then advanced, and the passages of Scripture then given in proof, were capable of explanation and reply. I most readily, therefore, embrace the first leisure opportunity of entering upon an examination of this subject, in accordance with the apostolic canon, which requires that we should ever be found ready to give a reason for the doctrines and order of our church, as well as for our personal faith in them, to every man that asketh it.

And I enter on this inquiry upon this occasion, because the subject is intimately connected with the ordinance of baptism, which is now to be administered;† for if the doctrine of confirmation, as held either by Romanists or prelatists, be correct, then is our baptism vain, our Christianity imperfect, and we are still unregenerate, alienated from God, strangers to the commonwealth of Israel; and while wearing the name and profession of Christians, are in God's estimation no better than the impenitent around us.

Confirmation consists in the imposition of hands, with prayer and other ceremonies, for the full admission of baptized persons into the church, and their participation of that further grace which it is necessary to convey. Such is the most general, and least objectionable, exhibition of this rite which can be given. We are therefore led in the first place to inquire into the nature of imposition of hands, as explained in the word of God, that we may understand in what possible sense it can be attributed to this rite. I confine myself to the ceremony of imposition of hands, because the rite takes its origin from passages in which a reference to this occurs, and because if *its* connection with

*In St. Michael's Church.

†The author has a regular season for the administration of baptism every quarter, in connexion with the administration of the communion, when he is accustomed to preach on some topic connected with the ordinance.

this rite can be overthrown, it will be needless to consider the claims of the other ceremonies which the church of Rome makes essential to the proper administration of this rite, such as signing with the sign of the cross, anointing with the oil and balsam, slapping on the cheek, kissing on the cheek (which appears certainly very indecorous and shameful, at least in the case of young ladies, on the part of those who are sworn to such entire non-intercourse with the female sex), the giving of the pax, and the presence of a godfather as "a monitor," "a captain," and "a fencing master!"** As to these forms, I say, and the previous fastings and confessions which are still in use in the Romish church, it will not be very necessary to show that they are as unscriptural as they are absurd, and that they may safely be left to complement the pagan ritual which that church has embodied in her pantomimic caricature of a pure and simple Christianity.* And although many prelatists have approved † of some of these forms which were retained ‡ in the church of England at its first reformation, yet are they obliged to admit that as "neither this, the sign of the cross, nor the unction, having any text of Scripture that is clear on their side; and since it cannot be made to appear that either of them was practised or used by the apostles, we may reasonably suppose that they were taken up at first by the authority and discretion of every church for itself."§

**See Catechism of Council of Trent, Part ii. p. 182, &c., 192, &c.

*On these and the whole form of administering confirmation in the Romish church, see Catechism of Council of Trent, and the Decrees of the Council of Trent, seventh session. See also Martene de Ritibus Antiq. Eccl., tom. i. 253, &c., lib. i. c. 2, art. 4; and Assemanni's Biblioth. Orient. On the paganism of the Romish ritual and practices and peculiar dogmas, see Middleton's Letter from Rome: Stillingfleet' on the Idolatry of the Church of Rome; The Conformity between Ancient and Modern Ceremonies, &c., translated from the French, Lond., 1745; and a recently republished work entitled Paganus Papismus. See also Hough's Reply to the Abbe Dubois, p. 87, &c.; Conder's View of all Religions, p. 20, &c. "Besides," says Calvin (Inst. b. iv. c. xix. § xii.), "even if they could prove themselves to imitate the apostles in the imposition of hands, in which they have nothing similar to the apostles, except this preposterous mimicry, whence do they derive their oil, which they call the oil of salvation? Who has taught them to seek salvation in oil? Who has taught them to attribute to it the property of imparting spiritual strength? Is it Paul, who calls us from the elements of this world, and sincerely condemns an attachment to such observances? On the contrary, I fearlessly pronounce, not of myself, but from the Lord, that those who call oil the oil of salvation, abjure the salvation which is in Christ, reject Christ, and have no part in the kingdom of God. The oil is for the belly, and the belly for oil; the Lord shall destroy both: all these weak elements 'which perish with the using' have no connexion with the kingdom of God, which is spiritual and shall never perish."

†Wheatley on the Common Prayer, p. 399, 400: Palmer's Antiq. of the English Ritual; and the Oxford Tracts.

‡It still requires godfathers. Hey's Lect. in Divinity, vol. ii. p. 463; and Wheatley, p. 395.

§Wheatley, *ibid.* See also Hey's Lectures in Divinity, b. iv. xxxv. 3. 216, vol. ii. p. 460, and p. 484.

Riddle, in his Christian Antiquities, p. 533, says, "In like manner, the

Imposition of hands was a very ancient rite, in common use under the former economy, when a blessing was sought, or a sacrifice offered for any one, with confession of sins (Gen. 48. 14. Num. 27. 18, &c. 2 Kings, 5. 11. Lev. 16. 21, and 24. 14. Num. 8. 12). It was also used under the New Testament economy by our Saviour in communicating his divine blessing, and healing the sick (Matt. 19. 13. Mark 5. 23. Matt. 9. 18); and by his apostles, first in healing the sick (Acts 9. 12 and 17, and 28. 8); secondly, in imparting the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit (Acts 8. 19, and 19. 6. 2 Tim. 1. 6); and finally in inaugurating deacons or presbyters into office (1 Tim. 5. 22. Acts 6. 6, and 13. 2, 3).

These are all the instances in which the use of imposition of hands occurs in the New Testament, and the only purposes for which it was applied. Neither do we find that it was used in the Jewish synagogue except for the single purpose of inaugurating the presidents and ministers of the synagogue into their office. Lightfoot is of opinion that the use of this ceremony had altogether ceased among the Jews from a period prior to the second temple and that it was not in existence during our Saviour's time.*

unction or chrism, *χρῖσμα*, of which we read in the New Testament (1 John 2. 27; 2 Cor. 1. 21), although interpreted by some as relating to the ceremony of confirmation, cannot be so referred with any degree of certainty, and scenes to describe rather a spiritual anointing, or to relate to the kingly and priestly dignity of Christians (1 Peter. 2. 9), or to the possession of extraordinary and miraculous powers. And the same remark would apply to the Scriptural expression *σφραγιζεσθαι*, to seal (Eph. 1. 13; 4. 30; (1 Cor. 1. 22), which denotes the assurance or consciousness of divine favor and assistance. Early expositors refer this expression indeed to baptism; but not to confirmation."

Lightfoot (Works, vol. viii. pp. 459, 460) says: "The ordaining of the elders, and beheading the heifer, is by the three. In this thing, therefore, this present action agreeth with the common usage of the synagogue,—that three persons, Simeon, Lucius, and Manaen, lay their hands on two that were to be sent out, Paul and Barnabas. But in that they lay on their hands, they do, also, recede from the usual custom. After what manner is the ordaining of elders for ever? Not that they should lay their hands upon the head of an elder, but only should call him 'Rabbi,' and say to him, 'Behold, thou art ordained and hast power of judging.'" &c.

"Laying on of hands in the ordination of elders, was hardly used at all, either under the first temple, or before, or under the second temple. It is not under the second temple, if we may believe the Rabbin newly quoted; or at least if it was used, it was abolished at last. And before the second temple where is there any sign or footstep of such a thing?" Vitringa, it is true, is of opinion that Lightfoot has inferred more from the words of Maimonides than is necessary;* and he therefore thinks, both from him and from other Jewish authorities whom he quotes, that there were two methods of induction into office: one by imposition of hands, together with the words "*ecce tu es promotus*," and "now behold be thou promoted;" and another in which the words alone, without any imposition of hands, took place. This he substantiates

*Petrus Cunæus, in his *De Repub. Hebr.*, cap. xii., however, takes the same view as Lightfoot, and is quoted with approbation by the London ministers, in the *Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, part i. pp. 184, 185.

Vitringa and Witsius take a medium course and clearly prove, that while some ordinations were performed with imposition of hands, other officers were appointed with the simple declaration of authority. All, however, agree that there was no repetition of ordination as is now common in the case of Romish and prelatial orders. The Jewish synagogue, from which the Christian church took its model, †† had therefore no ceremony corresponding to confirmation. It is true that at the age of thirteen, the children of the Jews were considered as coming under all the provisions of the law, and denominated "children of the precept," according to Abenesdra; but that there was any ceremony connected with this transition, corresponding to confirmation, there is no evidence whatever. ††

from the Gemara, where it is asked, whether ordination is performed by the hand only? He replies, "Not so, but with the declaration also." † And Tacuthuros is quoted: "But ordination is not performed by the hand only, but also by pronouncing the words only (sed etiam sermone solo)." ‡ Witsius is of opinion that the ordination of the electors (electorum) was by imposition of hands, and that this was different from that by which the senior (*senior*) was created. And with this opinion Vitringa on the whole agrees. § He adds: "Perhaps we may conclude this much, that while the affairs of the Hebrews flourished in Canaan, the presidents and ministers of the synagogue, who depended for their support upon the synagogue, were confirmed in their office by imposition of hands." ** In short, those who are called Presbyters, Rabbins, or Doctors, were ordained.*

†† See the author's work on Presbytery and Prelacy, p. 287, also Vitringa De Vet. Synag., passim, and The Synagogue and the Church, by Rev. J. Bernard, Curate of St. Mary's, Donnybrook. London, 1842.

‡ Abenesdra on Gen. 17. 14, and Grotius on Luke 2. 42, in Critica Sacra, tom. vi. p. 298.

Wheatley on the Book of Common Prayer, page 380, says: "Grotius tells us that at thirteen they were brought to the house of God, in order to be publicly examined; and being approved, were then declared to be the children of the precept, i. e., they were obliged to keep the law, and were from thenceforth answerable for their own sins."

Now this is one instance out of many I have recently met with in both Romish and prelatial writers, in which they take the most unwarrantable liberties with authors, and force upon them a meaning to suit their own purpose, and sometimes in direct opposition to the author's views. What Grotius really says, is: "At ubi de pœnis irrogandis agitur, is qui annum implevit xiii. legibus tenebatur et vocabatur filius præcepti." Vide Abenesdra, &c., see as above, and Grotii Opera, tom. ii. p. 357. Lond., 1679.

As another instance, see Faber on the Albigenses, p. 565, where in the text speaking of the Albigenses, he says: "Their clergy consisted of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; but the order of Presbyters they divided into classes: that of the seniors, and that of the juniors. All these are simple historical facts."

Such are "plain historical facts" when they make for the "three orders." Now in the notes he gives the words of his author whom he had just named, and upon which he subsequently remarks, showing that he knew what he was doing. They are as follows:

"Ordines Catharorum sunt quatuor. Ille, qui est in primo et maximo ordine, vocatur *Episcopus*. Ille, qui in secundo vocatur *Filius major*. Qui in tertio *Filius minor*. Qui in quarto et ultimo, vocatur *Diaconus*. Cæteri,

† Miscell. Sacr., lib. ii. Dissert. iii. 46, De Heb. Synag.

‡ De Vet. Synag., pp. 837, 838.

§ Ibid. 838.

** Ibid. p. 839.

* Bernard's Synagogue and the Church, p. 85; and Whateley's Origin of Romish Errors, p. 107, c. ii. 5.

These, then, are the only purposes for which imposition of hands was used under apostolic direction, and as no one can now, with a *sane* mind, pretend to have the power of "healing all manner of diseases," and conferring all manner of miraculous and supernatural gifts (such as speaking with divers tongues, prophesying, etc.), the only service in which we can find any scriptural authority for employing the ceremony of imposition of hands now is in the ordination of presbyters or bishops, officers which the New Testament every where identify in name, in office, and in authority. §§ Now this is precisely the use which is made of this ceremony in the Presbyterian church, whose fundamental principle it is, to make "the perfect law of God"—which is able "thoroughly to furnish" and guide his church "unto every good work"—the infallible rule of her faith and also of her practice, and thus neither to incur the threatened condemnation of God by adding to, or subtracting from, what "holy men of God who were inspired of the Holy Ghost have written for our instruction, correction and reproof."

SECTION II.

The Romish and Prelatical doctrine concerning Confirmation.

What, then, we would now ask, is affirmed respecting Confirmation? The Romish church, in accordance with the usual tenor of her resolutions, which by their anathematizing and intolerant spirit proclaim how *anti-Christian* and how *contrary* to the gospel she is—has decreed,* Canon, "Whoever shall affirm, that the confirmation of the baptized is a trifling ceremony, and not a true and proper sacrament: or that formerly it was nothing more than a kind of catechizing, in which young persons explained the reason of their faith before the church: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

qui sunt sine ordine, vocantur Christiani et Christianæ. Officium Episcopi est, semper tenere prioratum in omnibus quæ faciunt, scilicet in impositione manus, in fractione panis, et in incipiendo orare; qua quidem servant, Filius major absente Episcopo, et Filius minor absente majore. Reiner, de Hæret., c. vi., in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 304."

Now it is here declared that the orders were four: first, "the Bishop," then he who was called "the eldest Son," then "the younger Son," and then "the Deacon;" and that in the absence of the Bishop, the one called "the eldest Son," and in his absence the one called "the younger Son," could impose hands, break the bread, and pray, that is, the Bishops and the Presbyters were of ONE ORDER, though different in their rank and office. And that this is a wilful perpetration of a Romish fraud, appears from the fact that it is exposed by Perrin, in his History of the Waldenses, trans. by Lennard, London, 1624, p. 53. 4to.

Another flagrant example of this treacherous dishonesty will be given at the end. See Note A.

§§ See Note B, at the end.

*Canones et Decreta Concil. Trid., p. 44, 46, and 123. Lips. 1827.

"2. Whoever shall affirm that they offend the Holy Spirit, who attribute any virtue to the said chrism of confirmation: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

"3. Whoever shall affirm, that the usual administrator of confirmation is not the bishop only, but any ordinary priest: LET HIM BE ACCURSED."

And as it regards the prelatial church, she concurs with her Romish mother in asserting the necessity of this ordinance; in limiting its administration to the bishop; and in excommunicating all who will dare to question its truth or power.* Wheatley, the standard expositor of the Book of Common Prayer, may, I presume, be taken as a fair propounder of the true prelatial belief concerning confirmation.† He says, "Although the Baptism of Water washes away our former guilt, yet that alone cannot prevent the return of sin. It is true, indeed, by the sacrament of Baptism, we are made heirs of God, and admitted and received into the inheritance of sons: but still, till we receive the rite of Confirmation, we are but *Babes in Christ* in the literal sense; we are merely infants, that can do nothing, not able to resist the least violence or opposition, but lie exposed to every assault, and in danger of being foiled by every temptation. Baptism conveys the Holy Ghost only as the spirit or principle of life; it is by Confirmation he becomes to us the spirit of strength, and enables us to stir and move ourselves. When we are baptized, we are only listed under the banner of Christ, marked for his soldiers, and sworn to be faithful; and not till Confirmation equipped for the battle or furnished with arms to withstand the enemy. It is then, also, that we are sealed with the Lord's signature, marked, as it were, for God's sheep, and so secured from being stolen by robbers."

The General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union have just published a little book, called *Susan Harvey*, which we find highly commended by a correspondent of the *Episcopal Recorder*. The narrative, judging from the article in question, is well adapted to produce a favorable impression upon the youthful mind in relation to Festivals and Saints' days. And the great burden that rested upon her mind in prospect of death was that she *had not been confirmed*. "Now, you know," says

*See the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical VI. in "The Clergyman's Assistant." Oxford, 1838; p. 23.

†Oxford, 1819; p. 389. Should any one think this view is changed, I would refer him to Hooker's *Eccl. Polity*, b. v. c. lxxvi. and b. vii. vi. 4. Palmer's *Antiquity of the English Ritual*, vol. 2, p. 198-207. Potter on *Church Government*, p. 245, &c. Oxford Tracts, tract xliii., 12-14. Jones's Works, vol. 3, p. 400. Bishop Seabury on, in *British Critic*, Oct. 1839, p. 312. London Christian Observer, 1838, p. 389. Bethel on *Regeneration*, p. 85, 86. *The Candidate for Confirmation Instructed*, by Bishop Hart.

she, "I have never been confirmed: and it is on my mind always that if I should not live to be confirmed, I should not be able to receive the holy communion: and then how should I be able to *pass through the fire*, if I have not part in my blessed Saviour?"

Her female spiritual instructor does not appear able to answer her question, only by telling her that her pastor did not know that she was at home, else he would have called to see her. And he, when he did come, does not appear to direct her to the Saviour, but merely to "keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in them the remainder of her life," and to encourage her that she might yet live to be "visibly admitted to all the privileges of a child of God, and be sealed by his Holy Spirit in the view of the visible church." What is here meant will be better understood when the reader is told that as the day approached when the bishop was to perform the rite of Confirmation, poor Susan feared that "she might not live to *feel the pressure of the hands of God's Great Shepherd which was to seal to her the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and render her body meet to partake of the body and blood of Him through whose death alone she had hope of life.*"

Now, in contradistinction to all this, the Presbyterian church affirms and teaches that there is no other confirmation than that almighty work of the Divine Spirit by which he strengthens, comforts, and establishes believers in faith and obedience,‡ and which he worketh when, and where, and how, he will. They believe, however, to use the words of Calvin,§ in the propriety of "the custom which was practised among the ancients before this abortive image of a sacrament made its appearance. For it was not such a confirmation as the Romanists pretend, which cannot be mentioned without injury to baptism; but a catechetical exercise, in which children or youths used to deliver an account of their faith, in the presence of the church. Now it would be the best mode of catechetical instruction, if a formu-

‡1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Cor. 1. 8.

§Instit. b. iv. ch. xix. § xviii., vol. 2, p. 542. Eng. ed. In proof of the fact that the practice here alluded to was approved of by Calvin and the reformed churches generally, and that it is grounded on Scripture example and teaching, and is in many ways eminently useful and necessary, I have offered proof in my volume of *Tracts on Presbyterianism*, No. 3. "A Form of Public Christian Profession Scriptural," &c., p. 47; and which, as it has never been confuted, I hold to be sufficient to authorize the adoption of it where it is now neglected. It was practised by all branches of the reformed churches; by Calvin, by the Genevan, and the French churches, and in some substantial form by the Presbyterian church in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and especially by the Seceders. The very fact, too, that the decree of the Council of Trent condemns such a practice, shows that it was then common. Further examination, too, only makes me more strong in the opinion that no pastor or session can admit members without such a form, without usurping a power never given, robbing the people of a power never abandoned, and depriving the church of a benefit which is of great advantage and profit.—See Boyse's *Account of the Ancient Episcopacy*, p. 220.

lary were written for this purpose, containing and stating, in a familiar manner, all the articles of our religion, in which the universal church of the faithful ought to agree, without any controversy: a boy of ten years of age might present himself to make a confession of his faith; he might be questioned on all the articles, and might give suitable answers: if he were ignorant of any, or did not fully understand them, he should be taught. Thus the church would witness his profession of the only true and pure faith, in which all the people of the faithful unanimously worship the one God. If this discipline were observed in the present day, it would certainly sharpen the inactivity of some parents, who carelessly neglect the instruction of their children, as a thing in which they have no concern, but which in that case they could not omit without public disgrace: there would be more harmony of faith among Christian people, nor would many betray such great ignorance and want of information; some would not be so easily carried away with novel and strange tenets; in short, all would have a regular acquaintance with Christian doctrine."

SECTION III.

Confirmation implies the truth of the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, and is therefore unscriptural.

What, then, I now ask, is implied in this Romish and prelati- cal doctrine of confirmation? It implies first, the prelati- cal doctrine of apostolical succession, for it is to be administered only by prelates; and the grace believed to be conferred by it can only be imparted by the hands of one who has received the plenitude of episcopal grace through the mysterious chan- nel of an uninterrupted personal descent from the apostles, and a divine communication of their authority and office. This is no caricature of mine. On the contrary, "it is needful," says the Catechism of the Council of Trent,** "to teach who are the true and lawful ministers thereof, that the faithful may have the very sacrament and grace of confirmation. The Holy Scrip- tures therefore show that THE BISHOP ONLY has the ordinary power of making this sacrament." To teach or affirm contrary to this, is to draw down upon us anathema and excommunica- tion, and therefore damnation.††

Wheatley, on behalf of the prelacy, confirms this opinion, by declaring that "the minister of confirmation MUST be a bishop," "for which reason the honor of dispensing this holy ordinance

**Page 187.

††See the decree above.

was ALWAYS reserved to the ministry of THE BISHOPS."‡‡ Archbishop Potter affirms the same thing, and assures those who are willing to take his word for it, that "the Scriptures describe confirmation not as a temporary institution, but one which is FUNDAMENTAL TO CHRISTIANITY, AND CONSEQUENTLY LASTING AND PERPETUAL."§§

Now this doctrine of apostolical succession, as I have endeavored to prove in my volume on that subject, is a pure fabrication of the hierarchy after it had corrupted the church; usurped the rights of the true clergy, who were declared to be "*inferior*" (!) and entirely dependent on the prelate for their being and authority; and when it had trampled on the ecclesiastical rights of the laity, and utterly expelled them from their free-born inheritance, and their spiritual citizenship. Of this doctrine I have declared, and am prepared to maintain against all opposers, first, that it is not even pretended that it can be found in Scripture. It is *granted* by its advocates that it is not clearly revealed in the word of God; but that it depends upon tradition, and the authority of the fathers.* The doctrine, on the contrary, is actually denounced by Christ; and is opposed to Scripture declarations, warnings, and precepts; to its promises and prophecies; to its facts and decisions, and to the one and only remaining commission of the ministry.† Secondly, that this personal succession cannot be shown to have existed in a valid and unbroken chain. For in order to do this, it must be proved that the ordination of every prelate in this entire succession was valid, first, as to the form of ordination; secondly, as to the subject of ordination; and thirdly, as to the ministers of ordination; which is altogether an impossibility.‡ Thirdly, that this personal succession cannot be proved as a historical fact. It cannot be proved that the apostle Peter, the first link in this chain, was ever at Rome at all, or that he was ever bishop of Rome, or that he ever appointed a successor to himself, as such. Neither can it be decided whether there were one or two bishops originally at Rome, nor who were the first successors in that church; while it is certain that many invalidities have occurred in the progress of this succession, both in its Romish, Anglican, and American branches, and also in all the other prelatich churches; and that it has been broken in numerous instances, and in innumerable ways.§

Fourthly, I have shown that prelates are not in any proper

‡‡On the Common Prayer, p. 394.

§§On Church Government, p. 246-249.

*See full proof of this position in author's Lectures, pp. 73, 83, 87, 99, 103, 133, 134, 136.

†See *ibid.*, lect. vi. and vii.

‡See author's Lectures, lect. v.

§See *ibid.*, lect. viii. and ix.

sense successors of the apostles. Prelates are not successors to the apostles *in fact*. They are not apostles, in the true sense of this *title*, which was limited to the twelve; nor in their *call*, which was immediately from Christ; nor in their *endowments* for their office, which were supernatural; nor in their *office itself*, which was the oversight and instruction of the whole world; nor in their *duties*, which involved the indoctrination, care, and government of ALL the churches.*

Fifthly, this doctrine cannot be sustained on the ground of reason. It is in truth most unreasonable, inasmuch as it substitutes the theory of man for the word of God; the visible organization and ministry of the church, for spiritual Christianity; ordinances, rites, and forms, for doctrines and inward graces; the authority of the church, for the supremacy and headship of Christ; and the means of attaining salvation, by giving efficacy to the truth, for that salvation itself.†

Sixthly, this doctrine necessarily leads to popery, because it invests the church with all authority; because it subjugates the laity and the ministry to prelates; because it consigns to these prelates the interpretation of the word of God; because it has ever formed the basis upon which the system of popery rests its exclusive assumptions; because, wherever it has been carried out, it has led to the introduction of the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Romish church; and because it is now leading extensively to the same results.‡

Seventhly, this doctrine leads to intolerance in spirit and in practice, as is proved from its history in all past ages; from the character and doings of many ancient and modern prelates; from its necessary tendency to exclude the laity from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to consolidate a spiritual despotism; and to claim absolute authority over the persons, conduct, and opinions of its adherents; from its bitter, sectarian, and uncharitable spirit towards all other denominations; and from its clear opposition to civil and religious liberty.§

Eighthly, I have objected to this doctrine because it necessarily implies that the church of Rome is truly catholic, apostolical, and indefectible in doctrine and practice, and that all other churches, being excommunicated by it, are cut off from the church of Christ; and because it is schismatical, leading its abettors, like the ancient heretics, to cut themselves off from all other Christians; to assert that they alone constitute THE catholic church of Christ, and to deny to all other branches of the church either a valid ministry or efficacious ordinances; and

*See author's Lectures, lect. x.

†See *ibid*, lect. xiv.

‡See author's Lectures, lect. xi. and xii.

§See *ibid*, lect. xiii.

because it is thus contradictory to the charity, to the spirituality, and to the divine character of the gospel.**

Nor is this doctrine rejected by us because such claims might be advanced only by prelatists. On the contrary, Presbyterians might far more reasonably urge these claims. For as *ALL THEIR MINISTERS ARE BISHOPS*; as their bishops, at the reformation, were ordained by those in authority; as they can undeniably trace their succession upward through the Romish, the Waldensian, and the Culdee churches, to the very time of the apostles; and as in the apostles' time bishops were presbyters, and acted under the one and only commission given by divine appointment; it is therefore plain, that while their ministerial succession is certain and unquestionable, that of prelates never can be established.

Finally, I have shown that the assertion, that this unbroken succession of prelates is essential to a true church, to a true ministry, and to all hope of covenanted mercy, would destroy *ALL EXISTING CHURCHES*, and thus, all hope of salvation; since there is no church which can establish such a succession. It also fosters pride and ambition among the clergy; lukewarmness, formality, and hypocrisy among the laity; and carnality, contention and animosity among *all* Protestant denominations. It strengthens popery, by conceding its essential principles and its most arrogant demands; and it strengthens infidelity, by implicating Christianity in a doctrine which is in itself unscriptural, in its tendency hurtful, in its evidence baseless, and in its reasoning absurd.

Were it necessary, I might show the dangerous character of this doctrine in undermining all faith in spiritual influences, and in the truth, power, and efficacy of the gospel.†† But recent events are surely sufficient to convince any impartial mind of the fact I have stated. For have we not seen that the belief of this abstract dogma has been sufficient to outweigh plain and positive testimony to the open and scandalous immorality of a prelate who had received the communication of this imaginary prelatical grace? Have not several prelates, many clergy, and many also of the laity of the Episcopal church, declared that such was their faith in this doctrine, and *therefore* in the gracious and holy character of the convicted culprit, (and to some extent self-convicted and avowedly guilty!) that the character, veracity, honor, and chastity of respectable ladies are all to be sacrificed for the sake of cloaking mitred infamy, and upholding the indefectible character of the prelatical succession? Such open and public prostitution of reason and propriety to

**See author's Lectures, lect. xv. xvii. xviii. and xix.

††See this done by Professor Powell of Oxford, in his *Tradition Unveiled*, and especially in the supplement to that work.

the maintenance of sectarian bigotry and exclusive assumptions, demonstrate how powerful is this baneful doctrine to corrupt and demoralize the heart, and to lead, as in innumerable cases it has done, to open skepticism and infidelity. O yes; and when we see a secret tribunal of prelates sitting in judgment upon *themselves*; barring the door, as far as possible, against all light; dragging ladies to their bar, whose testimony was not to be believed on oath, under pain of excommunication, and when they have sacrificed their own reputation and modesty by submitting to such inquisitorial and unwarrantable cross-examination, to have it proclaimed by all true lovers of "THE CHURCH" that the guilty man was innocent, and these innocent receivers of his insults guilty;—it is high time for public opinion to set the seal of its reprobation upon a doctrine so prolific of evil, and so dangerous even to the morals of the community.††

But if this is so, then of course the rite of confirmation,—which implies, and depends for its very existence upon, *the truth and certainty* of this doctrine, and could only have been matured when this dogma was adopted,—must fall with it to the ground, as equally unscriptural and baseless. And so argues Lightfoot, himself an Episcopalian, who gives four arguments to show that confirmation could not be meant by the passages adduced for its support in Acts 8. 17, because the apostleship was a temporary office.§§ And thus also argues Calvin, who says,* "But if any one inquire of them how such a prerogative has been conferred on bishops, what reason will they assign but their own pleasure? They allege, that the apostles alone exercised that right, being the sole dispensers of the Holy Spirit. Are bishops the only apostles; or are they apostles at all? Let us, however, grant that also: why do they

††Look at the influence, too, of this doctrine upon one of the ladies in question, when she could calmly reason with the insulter while in the act of guilt, by telling him that that SACRED hand of HIS, which was then acting as the instrument of lustful passion, had been upon the head of some of her friends.

§§Lightfoot's Works, vol. viii. p. 125, &c. And here we have another example of the gross fabrication of prelatists in order to sustain their cause. Lightfoot's words are, "Utrum apostolatus ordo et dignitas non cum ipsis apostolis, nunquam amplius imitanda, in perpetuum desisse censenda est?" That is, "It may fairly be questioned whether the order and dignity of the apostleship is not to be regarded as having for ever terminated with the apostles themselves, neither is any longer to be imitated." And yet this the *learned* editor, the Rev. John Rogers Pitman, says "is obscure," and therefore, by way of making it plain, he edits it, "First whether apostleship were not an order for ever, (the comma here separates the words,) inimitable in the church;" i. e. unapproachable in its elevated greatness. Thus does Lightfoot tell the English reader the very *reverse* of what he tells the reader of his own words, and thus, too, is Calvin made to father opinions the very opposite of his real sentiments.

*Institutes, b. iv. ch. xix. § x. p. 540. And yet this is the man who is paraded as an authority in proof of the truth and propriety of confirmation, by all the prelatial writers on the subject. See Wheatley and others. We shall see more of his sentiments in a moment.

not on the same principle contend that none but bishops ought to touch the sacrament of the blood in the Lord's supper; which they refuse to the laity, because the Lord, as they say, only gave it to the apostles? If our Lord gave it to the apostles alone, why do they not infer, therefore it ought now to be given to bishops alone? But in this case they make the apostles simple presbyters; now they are hurried away with an extravagant notion suddenly to create them bishops. Lastly, Annanias was not an apostle; yet to him Paul was sent, that he might receive his sight, be baptized, and be filled with the Holy Ghost. I will add one question more: If this was the peculiar office of bishops by a divine right, why have they dared to transfer it to common presbyters; as we read in one of the epistles of Gregory?"

SECTION IV.

Confirmation implies the institution of Christ and his Apostles, which is disproved, and Acts 8. 14-17, &c. examined.

But I have said that confirmation also implies the institution of Christ and his apostles, and this we think can be as clearly proved to be wanting as the former. Both arguments constitute, as it were, the two limbs upon which the body of this assumed rite stands. One of these we have shown to be wanting, and the rite is, to say the least, very crippled; and if the other is found equally deficient we may well conclude that He who gave even the body of man limbs strong enough to bear him up, would not leave an ordinance of his own church crippled and maimed, yea, destitute of limbs altogether.

I affirm, then, that for confirmation, as it is held by Romanists and prelatists, there is no foundation in the New Testament, nor any proof that it was instituted by Christ or his apostles.

That it was not instituted by Christ is manifest, since he employed the imposition of hands only in the exercise of his own personal prerogative in communicating his blessing, or in restoring such as were diseased. Nothing, however, occurs in his personal history from which it could be inferred that he empowered his ministers to institute and perpetuate the ordinance of confirmation. There are, it is true, passages which have been *thought* sufficient to prove that the apostles, under divine direction, did administer this rite, and that prelates as their successors, are still therefore authorized to perpetuate it in the church.

The first of these passages is found in Acts 8. 14-17, where it is recorded, "Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent

unto them Peter and John: who, when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost; for as yet he was fallen upon none of them: only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." That we may properly understand this passage, it must be remembered that the gifts of the Holy Ghost were twofold—ordinary and extraordinary. The ordinary gifts were common to all believers—such as the sanctifying influences of the Spirit—but the extraordinary gifts were gifts bestowed upon particular persons, for particular purposes; such as those given to the apostles on the day of Pentecost. "They were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance," Acts 2. 4. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, the apostle mentions the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit. (See 1 Cor. 12. 4-11.) Here he gives a catalogue of the extraordinary spiritual gifts with which the first ministers and teachers of Christianity were blessed. Now those extraordinary gifts and powers were essentially necessary in the first ages, for the conviction of unbelievers, the confutation of heretics, and the speedy propagation of the gospel. They tended to facilitate as well as to accelerate the spread of Christianity; and it was for this reason that the apostle, when he came to Antioch, procured these extraordinary gifts for twelve men, who became the pastors or elders of the church at Ephesus. (See Acts 19. 1-7; also, Acts 20. 28.) Wherever the apostles made converts to Christianity, it was invariably their practice to select some persons from the converts, on whom they conferred the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, by the imposition of hands; and those persons immediately became qualified to fill the pastoral office, and, as such, were appointed by the apostles to feed and govern the infant church. Now this is precisely what the apostles did in Samaria, as mentioned in the passage before us. God had wonderfully owned Philip as an evangelist in Samaria, so that numbers, through his preaching, were converted to the faith of the gospel. It was then necessary to appoint ministers and pastors over the church at Samaria, and this could only be done by the apostles—for to them was reserved the power of conferring the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; therefore, when the apostles who were at Jerusalem heard that the people of Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John, who, when they arrived, laid their hands upon some members of that church, and immediately they received the Holy Ghost, that is, the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost; and began to speak with tongues and to prophesy. It is true, it is not expressly mentioned in this passage that they began to prophesy and to speak with tongues; yet it is evident that they

did, from the fact of Simon Magus wanting to purchase from them the gift of conferring the Holy Ghost. "And when Simon saw that, through the laying on of the hands of the apostles, the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money," Acts 8. 18. *And when Simon saw!* Is it not evident, then, that those persons spake with tongues and prophesied?* And does not the very word "fallen" teach the same thing, referring, as it does, to the remarkable occurrence related in a preceding chapter, when "on the day of Pentecost there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." This is made still more evident by what is said in chapter 19. 5, 6, of this same book, where it is related of the Ephesian disciples, that when they heard the apostle "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied." So also it is said in Acts 5. 12-16, "And by the hands of the apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; and they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch. And of the rest durst no man join himself to them: but the people magnified them. And believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women. Insomuch that they brought forth the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about unto Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them which were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed every one." These Samaritan disciples, be it remembered, had already believed and been baptized by Philip, and of course with Christian baptism. They had, therefore, already received "the ordinary grace of the Holy Spirit," and needed not to receive it again a second time; and hence what they now received must have been His *extra-ordinary* gifts. This the phrase employed indicates, which is a Rabinnical form of speech, and when not applied to the third person in the Trinity is "very common," says Lightfoot,† "in the writings of the Jews, and in the use of that nation; and evermore in their use and sense meaneth only the extraordinary gifts of the spirit of tongues, prophesying, and the like—so doth it constantly signify in the Scripture: and it is very hard, if not utterly impossible, to find it signifying any other sense."

Neither were *all* who were baptized, and who had professed

*See a letter on this subject, by the Rev. Mr. Godkin, published in an Irish newspaper.

†Lightfoot's Works, vol. viii. p. 127.

their faith in Christ, made partakers of the supernatural signs and gifts imparted on this occasion, for Simon Magus, finding that he had not received them, immediately offered to purchase them.‡ There are other cases again where the apostles communicated these miraculous gifts without any imposition of hands, as on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2. 38-42); and there are cases of baptism by the apostles mentioned, where they neither imposed hands, nor imparted such gifts (Acts 16. 15, and Acts 16. 31-35). Neither is there any reason to believe that women ever received imposition of hands, though they were made partakers of these spiritual gifts by a direct influence from on high.§ And hence we must conclude, that this ceremony was employed by the apostles under a divine impulse, and only when so directed; and that, as it was not given by any fixed rule, or in connexion with baptism as a regular act,** there is neither precept nor precedent upon which any regular use of this ceremony, as a stated rite, can be founded by the church now.

That such is the meaning of these passages is admitted by all impartial critics, including Episcopalians. Dr. Willett, a learned Episcopal writer, gives four reasons to show that the reference here is not to confirmation, but to the bestowment of supernatural and miraculous gifts.†† The same view is taken by many of the Lutheran reformers,‡‡ by Grotius, by Calvin,§§ by Lord Barrington, who dwells at length and with great force upon the subject,* by Dr. Hinds of Oxford, now chaplain to Archbishop Whately,† by Mr. Riddle in his *Christian Antiquities*,*** by Elsley,*†† and by Lightfoot;*‡‡ the Dutch Annotations,§† Rosenmuller,*† Kuinoel,*‡ Wolfius,*§ Schœtgenius,‡§

‡Lightfoot's Works, vol. viii. p. 128.

§Ibid.

**See Lord Barrington's Works, vol. i. pp. 127, 133, and sect. xxiv. p. 141, &c.

††Synopsis Papism., p. 812.

‡‡See the Confession of Wittenburgh, in Harmony of Conf., sec. xiii. p. 409.

§§Institutes, b. iv. c. xix. § vi. vol. ii. p. 536, and Comment in loco.

*Theological Works, vol. i. sec. xxi. &c., p. 109, &c.

†History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 197 and 227, and vol. ii. 77-79.

***P. 352.

*††Elsley on the Gospels and Acts, vol. ii. p. 406.

*‡‡Works, vol. iii. p. 127.

§†Annotations, Lond. 1657, tom. ii. in loco.

*†Scholia in Nov. Test., tom. iii. p. 198, and on Acts 6. 6, 19. 6, p. 384.

*‡Commentarius in Nov. Test., vol. iv. p. 508 et al.

*§Curæ Philolog., tom. iv. p. 660.

‡§Schœtgenius, Horæ Hebr. et Talmudicæ, tom. ii. pp. 953 and 887, 888.

Koppe, †§ Gill, § Adam Clarke, ** Scott, †† Beza, †* and Camerarius, are all of this opinion. §§ Whitby, too, with all his prelati- cal prejudice and bias, is very strong. "Not," says he, * "that all who had been baptized might receive it; for it was never so in any church; no, not at Jerusalem; there being only some among them full of the Holy Ghost, (Acts 6. 3,) and therefore it seems reasonable to say, with Dr. Lightfoot, here, that they were such as the Holy Ghost had pointed out to be ordained ministers, or for the receiving of the prophetic gifts which enabled them (Λειτουργειν) to do sacred offices in the assemblies, where they were." And then he adds, after dwelling on this point, "As for the other opinion, that these hands were laid on to confirm them; if hands were not laid on all that there were baptized, this makes nothing for confirmation; if they were, then Simon Magus must be confirmed, and receive the Holy Ghost. And both these opinions seem dangerous on this account, that the Holy Ghost was never thus conferred but by the hands of an apostle; and consequently, if confirmation and ordination be laid on this foundation, they may be said to cease with the apostles."

Diodati, the "learned professor of Theology" with whom Milton held daily conference at Geneva, confirms the opinions expressed above. † Henry takes the same view. ‡ Such also is the view taken by Clarius, *** Grotius, ††* Benson, ††* Piscator, §§* Poole, *† and Planck. *‡

There is nothing, therefore, in the case before us analagous to confirmation, but every thing contrary to it. The ministers, in this case, were extraordinary, and are not now represented by any officers in the church, in that apostolic and supernatural character in which they acted. The gifts imparted were also extraordinary, and are not now found in the church, whereas the object of confirmation, says Bishop Hobart, is to secure

†§ Novum Testament, vol. iii. p. 99.

§ Exposition, vol. viii. p. 222, who is of opinion that these persons, with the miraculous gifts, were ordained to the ministry.

** Commentarius in loco. He is also of the opinion expressed by Dr. Gill.

†† Commentary in loco.

‡* Novum Testamentum. Cant., 1642, folio, p. 320, on v. 15. He also refers them to the miraculous gifts given as qualifications for presiding over the church.

§§ Commentarius in Novum Fœdus. Cantabrigiæ, 1642, fol., p. 103, on Acts 8. 13.

* Commentary, on Acts 8. 15.

† Annotations upon the Whole Bible, Lond., 1651, on Acts 8. 15, and Milton's Works, vol. i. p. 82.

‡ Commentary upon Acts 8. 15.

*** Critici Sacri. Amstel., tom. viii. p. 160.

††* Ib. p. 178.

‡†* See History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. . c. i. sect. iii. p. 138, &c., and p. 66, &c.

§§* See in Poole's Synopsis, on Acts 8. 15.

†† Annotations upon the Bible, Lond., 1685, tom. ii., on Acts 8, 15.

*‡ See in Coleman's Primitive Church, p. 297.

“the ordinary grace of the Holy Spirit.” And these gifts were imparted in answer to prayer, (see v. 15,) and conferred by the Holy Spirit, and not by any imposition of hands, which was merely an outward symbol of authority and power, which the apostles had special commandment to use.† And since therefore the authority, the gifts, and the office have all ceased, there remains neither institution nor commandment to employ imposition of hands, in the order of confirmation.

We are willing to bring this matter to the test of a principle which is laid down by one of the greatest advocates for the divine right and fundamental character of confirmation. I mean Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Speaking of extreme unction he says, “When the miraculous healing ceased, then they were not Catholics, but heretics that did transfer it to the use of dying persons.” Now by this rule let those be judged who still enforce the necessity of imposition of hands by pretended successors of the apostles,—who can neither show the calling, the qualifications and the gifts of an apostle, nor in any way impart the miraculous gifts which in their case accompanied the imposition of hands,—and may we not say of them what their great defender has said in an exactly parallel case, that since the miraculous effects of apostolic imposition of hands have ceased, then “they are not Catholics, but heretics, who now transfer that empty sign to the use of young persons, and thus delude their minds by the belief that, with it, they have received divine and heavenly grace.”

I would dismiss the consideration of these cases, then, by proposing the following dilemma: Either the Holy Ghost and all his gifts and graces are conferred by confirmation, or they are not. If they are, why is it that they are not now as visible and manifest as they were in apostolic days? Why do their recipients give no evidence of their possession, either in their speech, their powers, or even in their lives? Why is it that, even, according to Dr. Pusey, the instances of those who have been faithful to this grace are “EXCEEDINGLY rare.” So that “there is A FEARFUL AND ALL BUT UNIVERSAL DEFECTION AMONG THEM”?‡ And why is it that while the inhabitants of Roman Catholic countries have universally received both the grace of baptism and the grace of confirmation, they are nevertheless distinguished above all others for their gracelessness, and for their abuse of divine grace to licentiousness, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, fornication, adultery, and open infidelity,§ so

†See Willett's Synopsis, p. 812, 813. Such also was the opinion of the Master of the Sentences, as quoted by him at p. 817.

‡See his Present Crisis, p. 14.

§The testimony of Palmer, author of the Treatise on the Church, will be regarded as about as impartial as could well be given. See vol. i. pp. 344-349, 289, 300. See also Blanco White's evidence against Catholicism, who was himself a Spanish priest.

that whether you travel in Ireland or in Switzerland, you can trace the limits of Romanism and Protestantism by the presence or the absence of morality, industry, intelligence, and piety?

On the other hand, if, as is thus manifest, confirmation does not confer the Holy Ghost or his gifts and graces, why then, in the name of common honesty, does any church now attempt to go through a ceremony for which there is no countenance or support in the word of God; no command; no sign; no promise; and no precedent capable of imitation? Why, like Simon Magus, make gain for the prelatial grace and dignity and asserted supremacy of a *priesthood*, by enforcing the belief in gifts and graces which can never be SEEN, FELT, OR PROVED? And how can a ceremony which thus deludes multitudes with the hope of salvation and security—when God and their own consciences tell them that for them there is no peace, and that they are yet in their sins—be freed from the serious charge of open impiety and guilt?

SECTION V.

Acts 14. 22, examined.

Another passage which is supposed to teach the apostolic appointment of the rite of confirmation is Acts 14. 22, where it is said that Paul and Barnabus went “to Lystra, and to Iconium, and to Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith.” So also in Acts 15. 41, they are reported as “confirming the churches.” And so also Judas and Silas, “being prophets themselves,” “exhorted the brethren with many words and confirmed them.” Acts 15. 32. Here indeed we find *the word* “confirmed,” and this with many is proof positive of the *thing*, since they are led not by the sense but by the sound. So we have seen it is with the word bishop, which is to many an ample demonstration of the scriptural institution of the *prelatial* order of bishops; whereas it really means throughout the New Testament the order of *presbyters* or pastors. Now it is to be remembered that the reference of the word “confirm” to the ecclesiastical rite is of modern origin, and very remote from the true and proper meaning of the term, which signifies “to put past doubt by new evidence, and thus to establish;” and hence the application of the word to the ecclesiastical rite is given by Dr. Johnson as the *eighth* and *last* signification of the word.

The Greek word used in these passages is analogous to confirmation, in its *original* meaning, signifying “to place firmly upon a foundation,” and thus to establish or build up. Hence Tyndale, in 1534, renders the word by the term “strengthen,”

which rendering is followed by Archbishop Cranmer in "the great Bible," published by authority in A. D. 1539.* The restoration, therefore, of the word "*confirm*" by the translators of the authorized version, A. D. 1611, must be regarded—like the use of the word "easter" for passover, "elder" for presbyter, "overseers" for the term bishops, where the connexion would prove that this office and its duties belong to presbyters,†—as intended by these men, who were all prelatists, and who were required to retain "old ecclesiastical words," and in any case they thought doubtful "to keep that signification most commonly retained by the most eminent fathers," as much as possible to favor prelacy and put down Presbyterianism. For not only were *all* the translators chosen from the prelacy, although the petition for the new version came from the Presbyterians, and was at first opposed by Archbishop Bancroft; but their version was subsequently "reviewed by the bishops," including Bancroft, who introduced several alterations, and by Bilson, who had written a work against the Presbyterians; and last of all, was submitted to the privy council and to King James, who had abjured his own repeated oath in favor of Presbytery, and had now of course become its most deadly enemy.‡ Indeed in the preface to the reader, the Translators

*See in the English Hexapla on the passages.

†See Acts 20, 28, see v. 17. So in 1 Peter, v. 2, "the bishopric," or "the office of a bishop," is rendered "*oversight*," because v. 1 shows that it belonged to "presbyters," who are therefore called "*elders*," more effectually to blind the reader.

‡See Jameson's History of the Culdees, p. 330. Johnson's Hist. of English Translations of Bible in Watson's Tracts, and Hist. Acct. prefixed to the English Hexapla, London, 1841; pp. 149, 151-159. See also any history of the times. As to King James's perjury take the following proof. In 1590, (McCrie's Life of Melville, vol. i. p. 385, 386,) at a meeting of the General Assembly, "He praised God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be king in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world." "The kirk of Geneva (continued his Majesty) keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our own neighbor kirk in England, their service is AN EVIL-SAID MASS in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly." (Cald. iv. 198, 204.)

When Bancroft represented that James had dissembled in giving his testimony, the learned king "took an opportunity (Life of Melville, i. 392) of contradicting the insinuation of Bancroft, that he dissembled in the concessions which he had lately made in favor of presbytery."

In 1598, in an apologetical preface to his *Doron*, James, in speaking of the ministers of Scotland, says (Life of Melville, vol. ii. p. 163, 164), "There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdom; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English Church?" And again, speaking of the charge of Puritanism, he says: "I protest upon mine honour that I mean it not generally of all preachers, or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our church, than of the many ceremonies of the Church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed

candidly avow that they sought to steer a course between popery and puritanism.

We are not, therefore, to be carried away by the mere wind of empty sound, from the plain and palpable meaning of these passages, which manifestly refer to that inward and spiritual comfort and edification which were imparted by the miraculous gifts to these infant and persecuted churches. Who ever heard of prelatial confirmation without imposition of hands? and who, by any effort of ingenuity, can find any allusion to imposition of hands here? Or can any other than a prelate confirm?—and yet we here find Judas and Silas, two simple presbyters, confirming the brethren. § On the whole, then, we must conclude, with Archbishop Whately,** that while it is true that “some who would be ashamed to employ such an argument for confirmation themselves, might yet be tempted to leave it uncontradicted, from a doubt of being able to substitute a sound one, which should be, to that individual, equally satisfactory.”

This he justly enumerates among the pious frauds by which even Protestant jesuitism and sectarian zeal will advance a weak and defenceless cause. For, he adds, “Let us imagine a case of some one desirous to receive, and induce others to receive, the rite of confirmation, from supposing it alluded to and enjoined, in the passage of Scripture which describes an apostle as going through a certain region “confirming the churches;” should we venture to attempt removing his conviction from this false basis, and replacing it on a sound one?” “Our separation, therefore,” he further adds, “from the Church of Rome does not place us (nor can we ever be placed in this life) in a situation which exempts us from all danger of falling into corruptions—among the rest, the justification of pious frauds—substantially similar to those with which that church

indifferent), as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy.”

In the same year, 1598, at the Assembly, James solemnly and repeatedly (Life of Melville, vol. ii. 132.) protested (with what truth it is now unnecessary to say,) that he had no intention to introduce either popish or Anglican bishops, but that his sole object was that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the General Assembly, should have a place in the privy council and parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised.” Such were the avowed declarations of James; and yet, as if to demonstrate the truth of Scripture, when it shows the folly of putting confidence in princes, and when it declares that “*men of high degree are a lie*,” he was at this time privately circulating in his *Doron* the most opposite sentiments (Melville, p. 162), and was willing afterwards to proclaim to the world his own base perjury and shameless deceit (see his Premonition to the Apol. for the Death of Allegiance, *ibid.* p. 164). In Bancroft, however, he found a fitting counsellor.

§ Ananias, who was but a disciple, laid hands also on Paul, Acts, 9. 11. Lord Barrington's Wks. vol. i. p. 127.

**Origin of Romish Errors, p. 161, ch. iii., Eng. ed.

is so justly reproached." I will only add one other testimony. "The great apostle," says Dr. Burton,†† "traveled through Syria and Cilicia; and the expression used by St. Luke of his *confirming the churches* in those countries, proves that he must have planted these churches at an earlier period. He now confirmed them: i. e. he gave them such regulations as were necessary for their welfare. Wherever deacons were wanted, he ordained them; he appointed others to the office of elders; and there can be little doubt, that to some or all of these ministers he imparted those miraculous gifts of the Spirit, which were so useful for the instruction of the converts, and furnished such convincing evidence of the gospel."

SECTION VI.

Heb. 6. 1, 2, examined.

We proceed, therefore, to notice the only other passage quoted in proof of confirmation, as a permanent and fundamental rite of the church, and that is Heb. 6. 1, 2, where the apostle enumerates among the principles which constituted first principles in the catechetical instruction of religious inquirers, who were seeking their way from heathenism and Judaism into the light and liberty of the gospel of Christ, the following doctrines—of repentance, of baptism, of laying on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment. The doctrine concerning each and all of these, that is, their nature and design, their relation to Christianity and to the salvation of men, this the apostle considered as the very alphabet, or axiomatic principles, with which the inquirer (or, as he was technically called, the catechumen) ought to be made acquainted and be familiar. These are not "the meat and drink," "the wine and strong meat," which were to be given to those who had become "men in Christ Jesus," but "the milk" and pap which were to be administered to those who were still but "babes in Christ." Such persons having sat under the teaching of the schoolmaster, and imbibed the rudiments of Christian education, were to go on unto perfection, and to the complete development of that hope set before us in the gospel (v. 18), and which alone, like an anchor of immutable security and strength, can hold fast the soul amid all the swelling floods of temptation and sin. The apostle, therefore, does not magnify these principles, but shows that they are "in order to goodness," and that

††Lectures upon the Eccl. Hist. of the First Three Cent., Lect. vi. Oxf., 1839; and see also vol. i. p. 95, Lect. iv.

they are valuable only as they lead to the sanctification of the soul. Instead, therefore, of making them—supposing for a moment that they do contain the doctrine of the church—its sacraments and its order, the very essentials of faith and salvation, and the very channels of heavenly grace, he calls upon his readers to look beyond these for that justification, sanctification, and complete redemption, which are to be found in Christ; and warns them that a man may have become partaker of all the knowledge and ordinances and privileges here enumerated or implied, and yet fall away, and crucify to himself the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame (v. 6). And that church, therefore, which makes these things take pre-eminence of the doctrines of grace, and the life and practice of holy devotedness to Christ, has never got beyond the porch and outer wall of Christianity, and is still found feeding its children with the milk of babes, the husks, hay, and stubble which can never invigorate or impart spiritual strength. And hence it is, says Cartwright, that even “their *confirmed* persons are always such babes, and so *infirm* that they can never learn to call God, Abba, Father, but are always like a shaken reed, and like the waves of the sea which are moved by the winds,” having no root in themselves, and looking, like craven and hungry dependents, for very food and life to their priestly guides.

But can these words, we ask, in *any way* refer to confirmation? Assuredly not. For in such a ceremony, and for *the purpose* now attributed to confirmation, we have found no use made of imposition of hands in the word of God. In imparting miraculous gifts and healing diseases, we do find it used by Christ and the apostles, and by THEM ALONE; but as a ceremony perfecting baptism and imparting a grace which baptism neither promises or gives, NEVER. On the contrary, “Christ baptized not,” and Paul baptized little, and even among the few cases of apostolic baptism there was no connexion with such a ceremony as imposition of hands. Besides these cases in which imposition of hands was employed, we find this ceremony used *by ordinary presbyters*, the pastors of the churches, as at Antioch, and at the ordination of Timothy, in introducing ministers into their sacred office.* As a rite whereby, accompanied with solemn prayer, benediction and official designation, ministers were set apart and invested with authority to teach, and as thus signifying the whole doctrine of the church, its ministry and its authorized proclamation of the gospel, and whatsoever things Christ has commanded in his word—in this sense, “the laying on of hands,” must here be understood. The words cannot refer to baptism, of which, for ages, confirmation was an *imme-*

*See these passages fully explained in Presbytery and Prelacy, pp. 129, 174, and 187. &c.

diac accompaniment, for then would baptism alone, like Pharaoh's lean kine, swallow up the fat kine of that very church and ministry, of which it is but *one* ordinance, and that, the initiatory one; because, further, "we know of a certainty" that in some cases imposition of hands *did not* accompany baptism, as in that of the thousands at the day of Pentecost, of Cornelius, of the Ethiopian eunuch, of the jailor, of Lydia, and of others; and finally, it cannot refer to baptism, because many are of opinion that between the words "baptism" and "laying on of hands," the word *διδασχη* should be inserted, and constitute another principle, to express that catechetical instruction by which converts were prepared for full membership in the church of Christ.†

To apply these words to the present ceremony of confirmation is, therefore, a glaring presumption, and an imposition upon the word of God. No instance of laying on of hands, in such a sense, can be found in the whole Bible. Facts there stated prove, contrariwise, that this rite was not invariably connected with baptism by the apostles, as it was universally when first used in the church at a subsequent period. And the very sense and bearing of the passage demand that the rite, as indicating and holding forth the ministry of the church, and its whole economy and value, should be here understood in accordance with the weight and authority of all impartial and critical inquirers.‡ "It is most probable," says Walch,§ "that the *ἐπιθεσις χειρων*, which the apostle in this place mentions, refers to the ordination of the church ministry: since it is evident, as we learn from 1 Tim. 4. 14, and v. 22, and 2 Tim. 1. 6, that the sacred office was solemnly conferred by the *laying on of hands*.

†So Erasmus and the Greek Scholiasts. See Gillespie's *Miscellany Questions*, p. 21. See Hey's *Lect. on Divinity*, vol. ii. p. 460.

‡Stuart on the Hebrews, vol. ii. p. 138. McLean on the Hebrews, Wks., vol. v. p. 188. Gillespie's *Miscellany Questions*, p. 21. Cartwright's *Confut. of the Rhemists*, pp. 606, 607. *Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, pt. i. pp. 175-177. Dr. Ames in his *Bellarminus Enervatus*, tom. ii. p. 76, who refers it to the *totum ministerium*. Bullinger also confirms this in *loco*. Riddle's *Christian Antiquities*, p. 532. See also a Dissertation on, in Walch's *Miscellanea Sacra* on the Catechetical Instruction of the Apostles, to be seen in the *Biblical Repertory* for 1827. Suiceri *Thesaurus* under the word, tom. ii. pp. 1514-1516. Spanheim *Diatrib. de Impos. Manuum*, tom. ii. p. 871.—Bloomfield, in his *Greek Test.* and *Crit. Digest*, vol. viii. p. 443, ascribes to the best commentators, ancient and modern, the opinion that it refers to the symbol then used of the spiritual gifts vouchsafed to many, and of whose nature they should be informed, and as this accompanied, in his opinion, baptism, it could not of course refer to confirmation. See *Greek Test.*, vol. ii. p. 491. *Wolfi Curæ Phil.*, tom. iv. p. 660. *Rosenmuller Scholia* in *Nov. Test.*, tom. v. pp. 208, and 45, 46. *Koppe* in *Nov. Test.*, vol. viii. p. 99. *Kuinoel Comment.* in *Epist. and Heb.*, p. 177.

§See as above referred to, pp. 61, 63. Of the same opinion are Schmidius, Boltenius, Carpsovius, in *Kuinoel* in *loco*. Gill, in his *Commentary* (see on Acts, 8. 17), thinks that even in that case the ceremony was connected with ordination.

hence the phrase, *laying on of hands* is here used for the ordination, or the constitution itself of the church ministry, as in this sense the term is elsewhere employed. The apostle Paul himself, in those passages just quoted, uses the term to denote the constitution of the church ministry; and it occurs also in the same signification among ecclesiastical writers."
 "In the enumeration of these heads of instruction, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the doctrine of the church ministry very properly succeeds that of baptism. For those who were baptized ought next to apply to the servants of God, so that hearing them, they might make progress in saving knowledge; might receive from them the remission of sins, and the sacrament of the Holy Supper, and might hence obtain the necessary helps for preserving and confirming their faith in Jesus Christ."*

SECTION VII.

Why Imposition of Hands was continued in the Church.

We may here ask, in passing, why imposition of hands should be employed during the apostolic age, and by apostolic men, and yet not remain as a permanent rite in the church; and how, also, a rite thus peculiar, should come to be so generally and so commonly adopted? And to these questions an easy answer may be given, since the same reasons which made it necessary that there should be miracles, and tongues, and supernatural gifts, and inspired men, and prophets, and visible inflictions of divine wrath, and miraculous healing of diseases, made it also wise that there should be some outward signs and symbols by which these high and peculiar prerogatives of the apostles and others gifted by them, should be accompanied, in order to justify them in the sight of others; to bear witness to their authority; to silence clamor and opposition; and to give an outward sign of confirmation and assurance to the recipients of such gifts themselves. This was the true nature of the anointing of the sick, and of the laying on of hands, in connexion with miraculous healing and miraculous gifts. The descent and operation of the Holy Ghost, in his ordinary saving influences, was then, as now, unseen and unfelt, except by the recipient, and therefore the object of faith only. Some assurance was therefore requisite in order to prove that these

*"Paul, from this point of view, designated the whole of the solemn proceeding, without separating it into its various elements, by that which was its external symbol, as in Scripture phraseology, a single act of a transaction consisting of several parts, and sometimes that which was most striking to the senses, is often mentioned for the whole." Neander Apost. Kirch. i. 213.

effects, though impalpable, were real. And this consisted in miraculous gifts and powers, manifested in the one case by prayer and imposition of hands, and in the other by anointing of the body. This subject has been very candidly stated by Dr. Hinds, an eminent Episcopalian writer of Queen's College, Oxford, and at present chaplain of Archbishop Whately. In his *History of the Rise and Progress of Christianity*, which deserves to be more generally known, after having explained why the church continued to claim the power of working miracles he says:† "But not only miracles ceased, because designed solely for the establishment of the church; but the obligation to perpetuate those customs which were connected with miraculous agency ceased also together with it. As instances of these, may be noticed the practice of anointing the sick, and that of laying on of hands by the apostles, subsequent to baptism.

"The first of these customs, evidently, was established as a form of miraculous cure, similar to that wrought by the pool of Bethesda. It was, no doubt, the mode in which the apostles fulfill the Lord's special injunction to 'heal the sick.' When, therefore, such cures ceased, the cessation itself was equivalent to a formal annulment of the practice by God. Nevertheless, as nothing could have been more mortifying to the spiritual pride of a Christian, than the loss of so splendid an appendage to the church as miraculous power, (agreeably to the remarks above made,) the designing, the superstitious, and, perhaps the truly pious themselves, would naturally be slow to admit the evidence that its virtue had ceased. To the dying man and to his distressed friends, even the faintest possibility of success would be a sufficient motive for the experiment. Thus it would be continued, by some from a hope that its efficacy might be renewed; by others from reverence for a custom, which, although ineffectual, had once been blessed by the Spirit; by others, finally, it would be persisted in from a view, created by enthusiasm or fraud, that where no palpable miracle was wrought, a secret miraculous influence must be communicated in lieu of the specific benefit attached to it. Hence, in later ages, its invariable use in a great part of the Christian world as a means of grace to the departing Christian.—Had the custom, when its miraculous use ceased, been in its nature at all applicable to edification, the reverence which retained it for such a purpose, in preference to the introduction of any new ceremony, would have been even praiseworthy. As it is, its

† Vol. ii. pp. 76-79. See also Lord Barrington's *Wks.*, vol. i. p. 133. The same view is presented by Burnet in his *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 352, Page's ed. Lond. 1837.

preservation in the Greek and Roman churches is a curious monument of human weakness."

"The origin and meaning of confirmation is similar. The apostles used to lay their hands on those who had been baptized, in order that they may receive some spiritual gift,—that is, some miraculous sign that the unseen descent of the Holy Ghost on them at baptism was real.—None but an apostle could do this, and it was done, sometimes immediately on baptism, sometimes after a long interval; but all Christians seem to have claimed it as a privilege, whenever they had opportunity of receiving it. The rite was called *confirmation*, and the gift, the sign of confirming. (This much is gratuitous and without any proof.)

"Properly, then, confirmation was a temporary usage, connected with a miraculous display, and indeed, appended to the apostolical office, together with which it ceased. Like the unction of the sick, however, it was still kept up by those who succeeded the apostles in the government of the churches, from a respect for a rite with which such important results had been so long associated."

And thus we find that the ceremony of laying on of hands was applied by the *advancing* church for numerous other purposes, on the principle still adopted by many *enlightened* men that if a little medicine is useful, the efficacy must be increased by the quantity; and therefore that if imposition of hands was useful in one case, it might be made equally serviceable in others and thus still further contribute to the glorification of the prelacy. Of these applications of the form, Spanheim‡ enumerates seven kinds. He shows that this *χειροθεσια*, *laying on of hands*, was administered to persons lately baptized; to new converts, who had not yet approached the sacred font; to the sick; to penitents; to heretics who returned to the Christian church; to newly married persons when the priests gave them the benediction; and to those about to be ordained to the ecclesiastical office. B. Von Sanden, enumerates other occasions, of the use of this ceremony, and says, that the *χειροθεσια* was used as a sign of silence, or of a feigned cause; it was used also in contracting matrimony; in the solemn administration of an oath; in sacrifices; in condemning criminals to death; in the case of persons lately baptized; in conferring benedictions upon others; in healing the sick, and recalling the dead to life; and in ordaining priests.§ And for every one of these applications of the form there is as much foundation as for its use in confirmation.

‡Biblical Repertory, 1827, p. 61—Walch's Treatise.

§Consult also Jo. Caspar. Suicer, and C. Du Fresne.

SECTION VIII.

Confirmation not found in any of the primitive or Oriental Churches.—
When introduced.

We might now close the argument; but we can greatly strengthen our conclusions by an appeal to the history of this rite of confirmation. This ceremony, as we have seen, was preserved in the church, through pride and vanity; and continued for many hundred years to be considered "IN NO OTHER LIGHT than as an appendage to baptism; and during this period, that is, TILL THE NINTH CENTURY, or about the close of the eighth century, even the communion was administered to children of the tenderest age** This is the custom in the Greek Church till the present day, in which anointing, with imposition of hands is administered immediately after baptism and before the ceremony is closed.†† This ceremony, however, they do not

**Such is the statement made in the Pictorial edition of the Book of Common Prayer, Eng. ed. Lond., Knight & Co., p. 428. Of this astounding fact, see proofs in Riddle's Chr. Antiq., p. 536, and every ecclesiastical historian of any character whatever. A volume could be filled with proofs. See this position abundantly confirmed by Martene De Antiq. Ecclesie Ritibus, tom. i. pp. 237, 238, 246, 247. Palmer's Antiq. of the English Ritual, vol. ii. p. 198.

In the recent examination of the General Theol. Seminary in New York, says the Episcopal Protestant, Dr. Ogilby, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, does not seem sufficiently explicit upon several matters involved in the inquiry. He says, "On one occasion I remember having been asked (by a student) whether I *condemned* the practice of infant communion. I replied, that I would condemn those who should practise it *now*; but I declined sitting in judgment upon those Churches, which from the third century to the twelfth, saw fit to observe it. Whether they were right or wrong, I had no right to justify or condemn them."

In one of the supplemental questions addressed to Dr. Ogilby, Bishop McIlvaine inquires, in reference to the above:

"As you have said in your fortieth answer that you have said in your teaching, that you 'would condemn those who should practise *Infant Communion now*,' but 'declined sitting in judgment upon those Churches which from the third century to the twelfth, saw fit to observe it,' and that 'whether they were right or wrong you had no right to justify or condemn them;' be so good as to state on what grounds you would in your teachings condemn those who should practise infant communion *now*, which would be applicable to the case of such Churches as saw fit from the third to the twelfth century to observe it." To this question, and another having reference to the same point, the Professor replies:

"These questions are sufficiently answered, I trust, when I say that the question of Infant Communion has never been ruled by the whole Church. I wholly decline judging other Churches; to their own Master they stand or fall. N. B. These questions also, I answer under protest, as to their propriety."

"Now we know not how it strikes others, but to us it appears passing strange, that a teacher of Ecclesiastical History should question the propriety of his being asked what he was in the habit of saying respecting the practice of Infant Communion as it prevailed in some Churches; and how such a Professor, in a Protestant Church, could hesitate to pronounce such a practice absurd and unscriptural, it is difficult to conceive."

††Ricaud on the Greek Church, Lond. 1679, ch. v. and vi. p. 177; and Hey's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 461.

call confirmation, nor regard as a sacrament, and it is constantly administered by a presbyter.††

No trace of the ordinance of confirmation can be discovered any where, or in any church, in any part of the world, before the third century, when the use of ointment, and no more, is mentioned by Tertullian and Origen, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, and by Cyril;§§ and it depends for much of its support upon forged writings or corruptions of genuine writings of the Fathers.* Even then, however, and among the Latin writers, this anointing was not called confirmation. Cyprian, as late as A. D. 248, calls it *consummation*, that is, the completion of baptism.† The Romish church, in the application of that infallible logic for which it is so notorious, asserts that Christ is the author of this rite, and *proves* the assertion by the authority of Fabian who lived about A. D. 236!‡ In this way they might *as logically* prove that Christ instituted popery, and thus shew *clearly* that darkness is light, intolerance charity, ignorance knowledge, and constant mutability infallibility.

Some of the Schoolmen, the very body-guard of the Papacy, deny that confirmation is a sacrament, or that it was instituted by Christ at all.§ It was not separated from baptism TILL AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY, NOR DECLARED TO BE A SACRAMENT TILL THE TIME OF THE COUNCIL MELDENSE,** THAT IS, IN A. D. 845, OR A. D. 1201.†† Indeed, the permanent separation of confirmation from baptism cannot

††See the names given to it Hey's Lectures, ii. 461, 462; and Cave and Bingham. They justify their ministration by presbyters, from the Apostolic Constitutions. See Riddle's Christian Antiq. p. 539.

§§See Riddle's Christian Antiq. p. 541, and the various authorities there referred to.

*See James' Corruptions of Scrip. Councils and the Fathers by Romanists, pp. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 37.

†Cave's Disser. under *μυρον*; and Hey's Lect. ii. 461.

‡See Catechism of the Council of Trent, p. 184, part ii. § 5; and Hey's Lect. ii. 462.

§Alensis and Holcot, among the number. See also Gregor. Valent. de numer. Sacram. c. 3. Cassand. consult art. 13. Willet's Sym. Papismi, p. 813. Such also was the opinion of the renowned Alexander Alensis (or Hales), called the irrefragable doctor, Forbes ix., iv. 4. Hey's Lect. ii. 461, and of Spalatensis. See Baxter on Episcop. p. 76.

**Riddle's Christian Antiq. p. 539.

††Cave and Bingham, and Hey's Lectures, ii. 461. "The English Jesuits (says Geddes in his History of the Church of Malabar, p. 210), who could not endure that the Pope should put a bishop over them here in England, in their books wherein they labored to prove that there was no need of one, spoke very slightly of confirmation; affirming it to be a sacrament that was not enjoined but only where it might be had *very easily*; that the effects thereof might be abundantly supplied by the other sacraments, nay by ordinary assistances; that the chrism in baptism had not only the signification, but all the effects of confirmation, so far at least as to make it not to be very necessary. In a word, that confirmation was not simply necessary, neither *necessitate medii*, nor *necessitate praecepti*."

be assigned to an earlier date than the thirteenth century. †† THE MATTER AND FORM of the ordinance were enjoined by Pope Eugenius IV., in the Council of Florence, IN THE YEAR 1438. §§ Neither to this day has any fixed time been determined for the administration of this fundamental rite,* the Romanists prescribing the period when children come to "the use of reason," which they suppose may be the case for all the purposes they require it, at the age of seven or twelve years, † though the rite "may indeed be administered to all," at whatever age. And why should not this be the case? since it requires neither faith nor knowledge on the part of its recipients—this most charitable of all churches when she has the truth of God and not the good of man to dispose of, having decreed "that unless there be some hindrance on his part who received it, it (the ceremony itself) gives new grace." ‡ And the Anglican church, scarcely less merciful than her gracious mother, requires that "as soon as children can SAY in their mother tongue the articles of faith, &c., then *shall* they be brought to the bishop * * * that every child may have a witness of his confirmation." §

Nor is this all; for not only is it true that we are anathematized and cut off from the Catholic church for not believing in an ordinance for which there can be shown to have existed no fixed name, no fixed time of celebration, no real or separate existence for centuries after Christ, and no institution by Christ or his Apostles; but for rejecting an ordinance which the most ancient, the most pure, the most wonderful, and the most miraculously preserved of all the churches that have ever existed, did not believe, and which they did not practice.

That this was the case with the primitive churches in Britain, Scotland, and Ireland, even an archbishop testifies. For Usher tells us** "that the Irish did baptize their infants without any consecrated chrism, Lanfranc maketh complaint in his letters to Terduluacus (or Tirlagh), the chief king of that country. And Bernard reporteth, that Malachias in his time (which was after the days of Lanfranc and Pope Hildebrand) did of the new institute the most wholesome use of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and the contract of marriages, all of

††Riddle's Antiq. p. 536.

§§Hey's Lectures, p. 536.

*Hey's Lectures, p. 462.

†Catechism of the Council of Trent, p. 189.

‡Catechism of the Council of Trent, p. 190.

§See Liturgiæ Britannicæ, Lond. 1842, p. 284, 285, where the editions of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604, and 1662, are all given, and Liturgies of King Edward VI., by Parker Society, p. 120, and p. 295. Cambridge 1844.

**Of the religion professed by the ancient Irish, ch. v. p. 34. Lond. 1687, and see p. 24.

which he saith the Irish before were either ignorant of, or did neglect."††

Bernard also, "in his Life of Malachi,‡‡ who went to Armagh in the twelfth century, speaks of the Christian people there as most barbarous and savage, for their rejection of auricular confession, authoritative absolution, the sacrament of confirmation, and other Papal inventions." And as Archbishop Ussher, and many considerations which I have elsewhere adduced, make it manifest that they received the gospel with its ordinances and forms from the Gallic and eastern nations, we must therefore conclude that *they* also, until corrupted and subjugated by the Romish despotism, rejected this rite, and with it, the whole orders and other vain and impious ceremonies of the hierarchy.§§

SECTION IX.

Other Testimonies against Confirmation.

The Waldenses, with all their affiliated branches, the Paulicians, the Albigenses, the Hussites, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Bohemians, the Lollards, and the Wickliffites, rejected the sacrament and divine authority of confirmation.* In a confession drawn up in 1120 by the Waldenses and Albigenses, in Art. XIII. they say, "We do not acknowledge any other sacrament but baptism and the Lord's supper."† And in another article drawn up in 1120, as Leger maintains, they say:‡ "Now

††The words of Lanfranc are: "Quod infantes baptismo, sine chrismate consecrato baptizentur." Epist. ad Tordaloachum Nazaren Lett. ii. p. 22, in Jameson's *Culdees*, p. 206.

‡‡See Irving's Conf. of the Ch. of Scotland, Hist. Acct. p. 36. His words are: "Usum saluberrimum Confessionis, sacramentum confirmationis, etc., quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant Malachias de novo instituit." In Vit. Malachi cap. ii. in Opera Tom. iv. p. 2222, etc.

Bede confirms this, as he only mentions the two sacraments as used by them; see in do. p. 56, and Eccl. Hist. The same thing is affirmed against Boniface by Clement and Samson in the ninth century, in do. p. 59.

§§See the author's work on Presbytery and Prelacy, Book III. ch. i. § 2, 3, 4, and ch. ii. § 1, 2.

*See Blair's History of the Waldenses, vol. i. pp. 174, 175, 239, 240, and Perrin's History of the Waldenses and of the Waldenses called Albigenses, London, 1624.

†See in *ibid.* vol. i. p. 505, and Perrin's History of the Waldenses, Lond. 1624, p. 60.

‡See do. vol. i. p. 522, and Perrin's History of. Part iii. p. 101. See also on Wickliffe and the others, Vaughan's Life of, vol. ii. p. 308, and my work as above.

It is true that recently they have been induced, through the efforts of their very liberal and devoted friends, Dr. Gilly and Col. Beckwith, to adopt a modified form of Liturgy, similar to that adopted in some of the French churches. But even so, their order for confirmation has no essential resemblance to that of the Episcopal church, as the service is conducted by each pastor and does not include imposition of hands. Their

to speak of the chrism, which they at present call the sacrament of confirmation, having no ground at all in the Scripture to this purpose; that first, it must be consecrated by a bishop, and compounded of olive oil and of balm, to be applied to the person baptized, upon the forehead, with the sign of the cross, and with these words:—‘I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee by the sign of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;’ which is performed by imposing of hands, and with a white attire fastened on the head. This is what is called the sacrament of confirmation, which we find not instituted by either Christ or his apostles; for Christ, the pattern of all his church, was not confirmed in his person, and doth not require that there should be any such unction in baptism, but only pure water; and therefore such a sacrament is not found needful to salvation, whereby God is blasphemed, and which was introduced by the devil’s instigation, to seduce the people, and to deprive them of the faith of the church, and that by such means they might be drawn the more to believe the ceremonies, and the necessity of the bishops.”

The churches of Constantinople, of Armenia, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem, while they desire prayer to be made for the Holy Ghost, do not seem directly to notice the imposition of hands. §

The entire Greek church, as we have seen, continues to reject this ordinance to the present day. So do the Russians, using this proof, that as there is but one baptism, so there can be but one unction.** According to Tago Labo, their bishop, the Ethiopian church holds the same opinion. †† Assemanni is compelled to adduce the most irrefragable proof that the Oriental churches, the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, and Nestorians, had no sacrament or ordinance of confirmation. ††† The same is true of the Armenian church. §§ Neither is this rite practiced among

present discipline provides that “The church does not permit the pastor to admit to confirmation of the vow of baptism any but only persons well-instructed in the truths of Christianity, and ready to give a reason for their faith, at least upon fundamental points.”

“The Catechumens whose conduct has been irregular in any respects, are not admitted to ratify their vow of baptism till after they have given proofs of amendment.” Discipline of the Vaudois Church, now in the possession of Rev. Dr. Cheever.

§ See Palmer’s *Antiquities of the English Ritual*, vol. ii. p. 201, and the learned authorities there referred to.

** See authorities in Wellet’s *Syn. Pap.* p. 813. See also Pinkerton’s *Present State of the Greek Church in Russia*, p. 178.

†† See authorities in preceding note.

††† See those given from the original Oriental authorities in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Romæ*, Tom. ii. Index, Tom. i. 532, Tom. iii. 608, and Tom. iv. 271, et seq. See also Palmer’s *Antiq. of English Ritual*, ii. 201. Grant’s *Nestorians*, and Perkins’ *Residence among the Nestorians*. *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, by Smith and Dwight, p. 381, English edit.

§§ See Ricaut on the *State of the Armenian Church*, ch. viii. p. 431, etc. Lond. 1679, and *Missionary Researches*, by Smith and Dwight, p. 306, English edit.

They have a form connected with the baptism of anointing, but no more,

the Mingrelians of Colchis.* The Jesuits, Alphonse Mendez, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Emanuel Almeyda, and Baltazar Tuller, testify the same of the Abyssinian church.†

And to crown this pyramid of towering proofs, and complete this chain of overwhelming testimony, which extends from the very age of the apostles to the present hour, and from pole to pole, till it encircles the entire globe; the rite of confirmation was unknown among the Syrian Christians of Malabar, who are supposed by Episcopalians themselves to have existed there from the time of the second century, until they were discovered by Europeans in the year 1501.‡ Of this the proof is positive and undeniable, since, in the fourth session of the Synod of Diampar, where they were constrained to submit themselves to the Romish See, under Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, it was resolved,§ that “forasmuch as hitherto there has been no use, NOR SO MUCH AS KNOWLEDGE of the holy sacrament of confirmation among the Christians of this bishopric, the heretical prelates that govern it, having neglected to feed the people *in a great many cases* with wholesome Catholic food; therefore, the Synod doth, declare,” &c. And in the second decree, the Synod “to its great sorrow, having been informed, that some ignorant persons in sacred matters and the doctrine of the holy sacraments of the church, being instigated by the devil to persist in their cursed schism, did in several places resist the most illustrious Metropolitan in his former visitation of these churches, so far as not only *to refuse to receive the holy sacrament of confirmation* from him, but did also oppose him publicly in the churches, and that many did absent themselves by pretending that it was an unnecessary thing, AND THAT THEY HAD NEVER SEEN NOR HEARD OF IT BEFORE, and others that they should be affronted by the holy ceremony of the prelates touching their cheek, scurrilously upbraiding those that had received it, with base provoking words, telling them that they had suffered themselves to be affronted and buffeted, with other such sacrilegious expressions, full of infidelity and heresy, arising from the schism wherein they have been brought up: *whole towns conspiring together so far* in this mutiny, *that the despising or receiving this holy sacrament, became the test of their obedience or disobedience* to the said Metropolitan, doth there-

and it is performed by a presbyter. See also *Histoire d’Ethiope*, Tom. ii. Pt. 2. p. 440. Hough’s *Christianity in India*, ii. 47.

*See in preceding note do. p. 156.

†*Histoire d’Ethiope*, Livre i. ch. 37. p. 91. Hough’s *History of Christianity*, ii. 47.

‡See Geddes’ *History of the Church of Malabar*, Lond. 1694.

§Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Diampar in Hough’s *History of Christianity in India*, vol. ii. pp. 573, 574. See also the *History of the Church of Malabar*, together with the Synod of Diampar, by Michael Geddes, Lond. 1694, p. 213, 214.

fore," &c. And were any proof necessary beyond these quotations, the Portuguese historian Gonevea, frequently makes the same avowal.**

The Lutheran church, it is true, has an order of confirmation, but it is merely "for the renewal of their baptismal vows, by such as were baptized in infancy and have come to years of discretion," and is conducted wholly by the minister of each congregation, who imposes hands and gives his right hand to each of the catechumens.†† On this subject Dr. Schmucker remarks:‡‡ "The imposition of hands, although generally practised, is not regarded by us as an essential part of this public ceremony, nor do we attribute to the whole ordinance any other than a moral influence." "It is this public profession of religion and the blessing of God pronounced on the subject, to which specifically the name of confirmation is now given; because the catechumen literally confirms the vows made for him in his infancy. Confirmation among us may therefore be defined, a solemn mode of admitting to sacramental communion, those who were baptized in their infancy. *What we regard as essential in it*, is practised by ALL Christian denominations, which require a profession of religion before admission to sacramental communion."

Similar is the order for confirmation in use in the French Reformed churches, except that it is less formal, and has neither imposition nor giving of hands.§§

Ravel, whose work had the approbation of the French Reformed church, says:* "The wrangling Popish divines maintain the dignity and efficacy of *confirmation* ABOVE the sacrament of BAPTISM itself; for they assert that it is not lawful for any one but a bishop to confer it, whilst they concede that *presbyters* can administer baptism: and they impiously teach that *confirmation* is a *certain perfecting and consummating of baptism*, as if those were to be counted only *half Christians* who are baptized only, and not confirmed; whereas, the apostle testifies that we put on Christ in baptism."

Wickliffe was equally, and very similarly bold in his opinion:† "It does not appear that this sacrament should be *reserved*

**Hough's History of Christianity in India, vol. ii. pp. 47-52, where the shameless attempts made to meet this testimony are exposed. The question is set at rest by the following valuable note drawn up by Professor Lee, and given in his History of the Syrian Church in India. See note B at the end.

††Hymns and Liturgy for the use of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches, p. 38.

‡‡Popular Theology, p. 236. This work was prepared at the request of the Lutheran Synod.

§§See the Liturgy of the French Protestant Church, translation. Published at Neufchatel. Charleston, 1836, pp. 72, 73.

*Bibliotheca Sacra, sub voce, in Powell on the Apostolic Succession, p. 188, 2d edit. English.

†Vaughan's Life, vol. ii. p. 308.

to a Cæsarean *prelacy*; that it would be more devout and more conformable to Scripture language, *to deny* that the *Bishops give the Holy Spirit*, or confirm the giving of it; and that it therefore seems to some, that the brief and trivial confirmation of the PRELATES, and the ceremonies added to it for the sake of pomp, were introduced AT THE SUGGESTION OF SATAN, that the people may be deceived as to the faith of the church, and that the state and NECESSITY OF BISHOPS may be more acknowledged."

Melancthon, on behalf of the Lutheran churches observes:‡ "The rite of confirmation, as retained by Bishops, IS ALTOGETHER AN IDLE CEREMONY: but an examination of youth, in order to a profession of their faith, with public *prayer* for the *pious* part of them, would be useful, and the *prayer* would not be in vain."

Bishop Wilson has declared that the prelatical doctrine of confirmation rests "upon the consent of all the world, which is instead of a command;"§ and Wheatley with equal confidence affirms,** that the history of the church, by testifying the continuance of it in all times and places, after these gifts of the Spirit ceased, shows that it has ever been received and used as a perpetual and standing ordinance of Christianity. I think I need not produce my authorities for this: because, I believe, no one doubts of the universality of the practice."

Now of the utter recklessness with which these positive and unqualified averments are made, I have offered proof from the writings of Romanists and prelatists themselves. Bishop Burnet too does not hesitate "to declare, that after all this, here is no sacrament, no express institution, neither by Christ nor his apostles; no rule given to practice it, and, which is the most essential, THERE IS NO MATTER HERE; for the laying on of hands is only a gesture in prayer; nor are there any federal rites declared to belong to it; it being indeed rather a ratifying and confirming the baptism, than any new stipulation."

And that the early English reformers were of the same mind, may be judged of by the answers returned to the King's interrogatories by Cranmer and all those who favored his opinion in opposition to Stokesley's paper. To the question,‡‡ "Whether confirmation be instituted by Christ? responses: There is no

‡Loci Communes de Confirmatione, Opera, tom. i. pp. 95 and 138. Wittenberg A. D. 1580.

§Sacra Privata, p. 98, Oxford edit.

**Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 388, Oxford, 1819.

‡‡On the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 353.

‡‡See these in Burnet's History of the Reformation, Nares's edit., vol. iv. p. 173. See also Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, Oxford, 1833, vol. ii. pp. 18 and 101, where he is equally strong.

place in Scripture that declareth this sacrament to be instituted of Christ."

"First, for the places alleged for the same be no institutions, but acts and deeds of the apostles. Secondly, these acts were done by a special gift given to the apostles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time. Thirdly, the said special gift doth not now remain with the successors of the apostles."

"What is the external sign?"

"The church useth *Chrisma* for the exterior sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof."

"What is the efficacy of this sacrament?"

"The Bishop in the name of the church doth invoke the Holy Ghost to give strength and constancy, with other spiritual gifts, unto the person confirmed: so that the efficacy of this sacrament is of such value as is the prayer of the bishop made in the name of the church."

It is a further confirmation of the views of these early reformers, that in the Short Catechism of Plain Instruction containing the sum of Christian learning set forth by the King's Majesty's authority for all schoolmasters to teach, A. D. 1553," the whole subject of confirmation is as entirely passed by as it is in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly, and yet this is a work of fifty-five large octavo pages, and contains a full exposition of baptism, the Lord's supper, and every necessary truth. §§

And that these views continued to prevail in the English church, even after the ordinance had been firmly established by Elizabeth, will appear from a letter written to his clergy by Archbishop Whitgift, in the year 1591, in which he complains: * "I am very sorry to hear that my brethren, the bishops of my province of Canterbury, do *so generally* begin to neglect to confirm children, at least to call for, and exact the use both of it and of catechising children in the church by the minister, and of parents to send their children, and to come thither themselves. These wants are now grown *so common* and offensive, by the ill effects which they are found to yield, that I am in conscience urged very earnestly, and in the fear of God, to require your lordship and others my brethren the bishops, according to your pastoral care, and for the duty which you owe to God and his church, both in your own visitations from time to time, and by your archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, to give strict charge unto parents to come themselves, or at least to send their children to the church at such times, and

§§ See printed both in English and Latin, in the Liturgies and Primer of Edward VI., by the Parker Society, p. 485.

* See given in Cardwell's Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England, vol. ii. p. 23.

especially unto ministers to expound unto them, and to examine the children in *that little catechism*, which is allowed by authority; and also at the baptizing of infants to give that charge for bringing them unto the bishop to be confirmed, which by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed."

SECTION X.

Presbyters as well as prelates were formerly allowed to confirm; with concluding remarks on the historical testimony.

But there is another assertion to which prelatical, not to say Romish, writers willingly commit themselves, and that is, as Jeremy Taylor delivers it, that "bishops were ALWAYS and the ONLY ministers of confirmation."† Now this position is just as remote from the truth in the case as the other. It is not the fact that prelatical bishops have been always, or alone, the ministers in confirmation. On this point Bishop Burnet uses strong language: "The INVENTION," he says,‡ "that was afterwards found out, by which the bishop was held to be the only minister of confirmation, even though presbyters were suffered to confirm, WAS A PIECE OF SUPERSTITION, WITHOUT ANY COLOUR FROM SCRIPTURE. It was settled, (that is, by this invented, superstitious law,) that the bishop only might consecrate the chrism; and though he was the ordinary minister of confirmation, yet presbyters were also suffered to do it, the chrism being consecrated by the bishop."

Jerome avers that even in his day, "there was nothing which a bishop can do, which a presbyter cannot do—except ordination."§ Martene, who quotes this, allows that it has been the custom of the Greek church in all ages to confirm (*per simplices sacerdotes*) by presbyters merely, and that it was one objection urged by them against the Latin church that it did not permit presbyters to confirm. He admits further that this practice was common to other churches also, as in Egypt, according to the testimony of Ambrosiaster. This practice was sanctioned by Rabanus; was common in Spain, as appears by the decree of its council; was also common in France, as appears by the decisions of two different councils; and was expressly sanctioned by Pope Gregory, who finding that his attempt to prohibit the presbyters of Sardinia from confirming, was resisted by the churches, altered his infallible decree and

†This is the general position which is constantly assumed.

‡On the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 354.

§Ep. ad Evagr. 85.

continued to them the indefinite exercise of their previous liberty. All this is admitted by this highest Romish authority.** And it is further manifest that the above assertion is contradicted by all the evidence adduced to prove that all the Oriental churches rejected the rite, and that the Syrian church, the Waldenses, the ancient British and Irish churches, never had any ministers higher than presbyters.

What, then, are we to think of writers and preachers, living or dead, in Charleston, or at Oxford, who, EITHER IGNORANTLY OR ARROGANTLY, authenticate such statements as the ones upon which I have been commenting, and which are necessarily involved in the very theory of confirmation as a means of communicating prelatial and saving grace? If, through *ignorance*, they can solemnly announce such things as facts, do they not proclaim themselves fit successors of the worthies of the dark ages; and if they can repeat them through *pride* and a desire to sustain the dignity of their office and the supremacy of *their* church, are they not doing evil for a fancied good, perpetuating fraud for the sake of favor, and blinding their own minds and the consciences of others, for the unworthy purpose of securing their own party and sectarian distinctions? It is, indeed, amazing with what effrontery such men can gather around them the cloak of self-righteous pharisaism, as they coolly say to other Christian churches around them, "Be ye excommunicate and expunged from the list of Christian churches, for ye are holier than ye, and alone possess the promise and the grace of Christ and the privileges of his kingdom." But it is still more amazing how sensible, intelligent and candid men can listen to such exhibitions of ignorant bravado and intolerant bigotry, and not rise up against them in open and manly condemnation. But our wonder, however great, must give place to the fact, however mortifying; and seek in something else than the truth and purity and charity of such a system, for those elements which commend it, in spite of all contrary evidence, to the predilections and unthinking prejudices of many.

Let it, however, be borne in mind, that in this doctrine of confirmation we have a fair type and specimen of prelacy; and in the arguments by which it is sustained, a fair sample of the grounds on which ALL that is PECULIAR to the hierarchy, and claimed by it as par excellence its own, is upheld. And just as assuredly as the torch light of investigation reveals the sand on which is built the fabric of confirmation, does it also disclose "the hay, wood, and stubble," which have been erected on that

**De Antiquis Ecclesie Ritibus, Antwerp, 1736, 4 vols. fol. tom. i. pp. 246, 247. See also Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles, pp. 354, and Riddle's Christian Antiquities, p. 538. See also Binii Concilia in locis.

same foundation, in the orders, rites, and pomps of garments and of garniture, and which all perish and are utterly consumed when tried by the fire of a searching investigation.

SECTION XI.

Confirmation injurious to the character of God, and to his true Ministers.

I will now close this discussion with some reflections. For I would have my readers to understand why it is necessary to spend time in examining and discussing this subject. In itself considered, confirmation is a small matter; but as one of those marks by which Romanists and prelatists distinguish between a true and a false church, between THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, which is the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation, and those conventicles of Samaritans, which can hope for salvation only through uncovenanted mercy, it becomes of essential importance. It is one of the buttresses by which this citadel of error is sustained, and one of the chief means by which it blinds and deludes the souls of thoughtless and unwary men. It is, therefore, in every way, and to a *fatal extent*, injurious, and to be openly reprobated.

IT IS INJURIOUS TO THE CHARACTER OF GOD; to God the Father, whose wisdom, love, and sovereign mercy it would tie down to a mere outward and unmeaning ceremony, and to the ministry of men, of whom we have lamentable experience that they constitute VERY FILTHY CHANNELS for the exclusive communication of divine mercy; to God the Son, who is the only head, legislator, and efficient source of grace and salvation to his people, and who alone can institute and ordain ordinances for their edification; and to God the Holy Spirit, whose prerogative it is to move upon the hearts of men, even as the wind bloweth where it listeth, unfettered and unbound; who cannot, therefore, be tied down to any rites, or ceremonies, times, or places, walls, or persons, and to suppose whom subjected to lawn sleeves, carnal manipulations, holy water, greasy oil, and all the mummeries and dumb signs of paganzed Christianity.††

††See Pagano Papismus, or, An Exact Parallel between Rome Pagan and Rome Christian, in their Doctrines and Ceremonies, by Joshua Stopford, B. D. 1765. Lond. rep. 1844. He quotes the following confessions at p. 3, and numerous others may be seen in Mussard's Conformity between Modern and Ancient Ceremonies, Leyden, 1667, Lond. 1745, see ch. i.

"When I call to mind the institutions of the holy mysteries of ethnicks," says Beroaldus, "I am even forced to believe, that most things appertaining to the celebration of our solemnities and ceremonies are taken thence. As for example: from the Gentile religion are the shaven heads of priests, turnings round at the altar, sacrificial pomp, and many such like ceremonies which our priests solemnly use in our mysteries. How many things (good

is little short of blasphemy against his nature, and an utter denial of his personality and absolute Godhead.

CONFIRMATION IS INJURIOUS TO THE CHARACTER OF CHRIST'S TRUE AND HOLY MINISTRY, and an utter contradiction to that simplicity, meekness, and lowliness, which are characteristic of Christianity. In direct opposition to Christ's warnings, it makes essential to the church those who "lord it over his heritage;" †† who "exercise lordship and authority over his ministers;" who are "called Rabbi, and Father, (right reverend father), and Master;" and transform themselves into the apostles of Christ, saying that they are apostles when they are not;" §§ and has given to these dominion over the faith, and even over the salvation of men. And, whereas, Christ told his ministers that "all ye are brethren,"* without distinction in order or in rank, and has solemnly declared that the Holy Ghost has made presbyters "the bishops of the flock," † this ordinance makes essential to its administration and to the reception of that measure of grace which is requisite for salvation, the administration of an order called *bishops*, who are described as superior to *Christ's bishops*, and to whom their name has been impiously attributed, and makes the true bishops of Christ's appointment dependent upon these man-made bishops for their office, their authority, their rights, and their grace to discharge the duties even of "*inferior clergy*." And it can be shown that through this ambition and usurpation of

God!) in our religion are like to the Pagan religion? How many rites common?"—Apud Wolfium Lection. Memor. tom. i. p. 907.

Baronius confesseth, "That in many things there is a conformity between popery and paganism; that many things have been laudably translated from Gentile superstition into the Christian religion, hath been demonstrated by many examples, and the authority of Fathers. And what wonder if the most holy bishops have granted that the ancient customs of Gentiles should be introduced into the worship of the true God, from which it seemed impossible to take off many, though converted to Christianity."—Annal. tom. i. ad annum 58, p. 606. And he comes to particulars, ad annum 44, p. 382: "Anniversary vigils thou hast in Suetonius de Vespasianiano, cap. vii.; holy water and sprinkling of sepulchres, in Juvenal Sat. 6, and others. Lights in Suetonius de Octavio." Candles and torches, in Seneca and Macrobius. Polydor Virgil having in several chapters described the ancient usages and superstitious ceremonies of the pagan religion, concludes that book with these words: "And such was the beginning of sacred rites and ceremonies among the Romans, a good part of which have we embraced," etc., de inventor. rerum, lib. iv. "The pomp of rites and ceremonies," saith Cornelius Agrippa, "in vestments, vessels, lights, bells, organs, music, odors, sacrifices, gestures, rich pictures, choice of meats, fastings," etc., are not the least part of religion. And then, a little after, he adds, a great part of which, as Eusebius testifieth, hath been taken from ethnicks, and received into our religion.—De Vanitate Scient. cap. lvi.

††Hence even in this country we have now the titles of "The Lord Bishop," "His Grace," with armorial seals, and this even in the Protestant Episcopal church.

§§See the author's Lectures of the Apostolical Succession, Lect. vi. pp. 137-142.

*See preceding note.

†See Acts 20: 17, 28, and 1 Peter 5. 2.

prelates, and the consequent destruction of the parity of Christ's ministers, and the simplicity of Christ's ordinances, the enemy came in like a flood upon the church, and covered its fruitful plains with the mud, the seeds, and the rank weeds, of heathenish superstitions. For, with the introduction of pagan rites, came pagan doctrines; and with the preservation of popish rites in the English and American prelatic church, we have now living proof that Romish doctrines are still prevalent, and growing, and likely to become dominant over Protestant truth, which is shadowed and "sicklied over" with the rank growth, and pestilent miasma of popish rites, garments, and traditions. "Difference of clerical rank has been the very element and principle of all the pomp," pride, ceremonies, gainful errors, priestcraft, hierarchical assumptions, intolerance and persecutions of the nominal church. Had the simple purity of the ministry remained, then there would have been no pope, no cardinals, no archbishops, no prelates, no inquisitions, no established churches; no manifold orders of Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, Knights Templar, and Knights of St. John; no endless varieties of saints and heroes, monks and nuns, cœnobites and anchorites, and the innumerable orders, sects, schisms, crusades, wars, and murders, of the Romish hierarchy. Nor is there in the history of the church universal, a single instance of any church which lost the parity of ministers, which did not lose with it, her purity of doctrine, and her virgin simplicity of form.‡

SECTION XII.

Confirmation is injurious to the Sacrament of Baptism, and to the Recipients themselves. Conclusion.

HOW INJURIOUS ALSO IS THIS ORDINANCE OF CONFIRMATION TO THE TRUE AND HEAVEN-APPOINTED SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM!

‡"The heathen." says Stopford in his *Pagano-Papismus*, p. 261, "had several religious orders, or confraternities, of both sexes: so much is confessed by our adversaries."—Beyerlinck *Magn. Theat. lib. v. p. 366*: Polydor Virgil, *De Inventor. lib. vii. cap. 6*. The Romans had their Vestal, Titian, or Tatian, Augustal, Antonian, Aelian, Aurelian, Faustinian, and Salian Confraternities.—Alexander ab Alex. *Genial. dier. lib. cap. 26*.

Thus our Romanists have several religious orders; as Benedictines, Carthusians, Bernardine, Prædicators, Carmelites, Johannites, Antonites, Lazarites, Sclavonians, Gregorians, Ambrosians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Templars, the Servants of Mary, the Brethren of the Cross, the Soldiers of Jesu, the Bare-footed, the Poor Brethren, the Brethren of St. James, the Brethren of St. Sophia, the Brethren of St. Helen, the Order of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Order of St. John, the Order of St. Briget, the Order of Whippers, the Order of Basil, the Order of the Sepulchrits, the Order of Wilhelmities, the Order of Wenceslaites, the Order of Purgatory, the Order of the Dark Valley, the Order of Joseph, the Order of B. Mary de Mercede, with many more, to the number of sixty-five, enumerated by Tileman Heshusius.—*Errore Pontif. loc. 25*.

Mussard, who was a Huguenot clergyman, traces the Pope and the Romish orders of clergy distinctly to the same source, see ch. ii. and iii.

Without it baptism is declared to be imperfect, and insufficient to accomplish "that whereunto God hath sent it." Man, forsooth, must supply what was lacking in this divine appointment, and complete that which God had only begun. For in whatever light we consider baptism, whether as the sign and seal of the regeneration of the soul, the forgiveness of sins, the burial and mortification of the old man, the resurrection and quickening again of the new man, and the reception of all the benefits of the covenant of grace; or whether we regard it as the actual communication of these blessings by an *opus operatum* efficacy, as Romanists and many prelatists affirm; in either case, confirmation, by being made necessary in order to supply grace sufficient for the full salvation of the recipient, assuredly vaunteth itself over God's own sacrament, so that, to use the illustration of that heroic and persecuted man, Thomas Cartwright, "as Ishmael the bastard would have displaced Isaac, the right begotten son, so this bastard ordinance of confirmation lifteth itself above the lawful sacrament of baptism." Bap-tism, we are told, "is not perfect without it," and in the epistle ascribed to Eusebius and Melciades bishops of Rome, it is affirmed that "CONFIRMATION IS MORE TO BE REVERENCED THAN THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM;"§ and as to Prelatical writers, without seeking out the extravagancies of the most ultra among them, it is enough to quote the sentiments of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, of whom Bishop Heber says:** "There is, indeed, a *dangerous consequence* attendant on both Taylor's arguments, that, by *limiting the gift of the Holy Ghost to confirmation*, he *makes BAPTISM* taken by itself, OF NONE EFFECT, or at most, of no further effect, than as a decent and necessary introduction to that which would be, on this hypothesis, the main and distinctive consignation of a Christian."

Surely, therefore, when we thus perceive the true nature and tendency of this ordinance, and how, like the holy days of man's devising, which obscure and give up to profanation the holy Sabbath of God's institution, it vilifies and supersedes the holy sacrament of baptism, we may well say with King James, (who was not easily horrified with prelatical profanity,) when he heard the reasoning of his divines at the Hampton Court conference,†† "that arguing a confirmation of baptism as if this sacrament without it were of no validity, is plainly blasphemous."‡‡

And may I not add, that THE ORDINANCE OF CONFIRMATION

§See authorities of, in Cartwright's Confutation, p. 277, and Willet's Syn. Pop. p. 817, etc.

**See Works, vol. i. Life of him by Heber, and Review of his Works on Confirmation.

††See the account of, in The Phœnix, Lond. 1707, vol. i. p. 139, &c.

‡‡See also Calvin's strong remarks, in Institut., b. iv. ch. xix. pp. 538, 539, vol. ii.

IS ALSO INJURIOUS TO ITS RECIPIENTS AND TO THE CAUSE OF TRUE SPIRITUAL RELIGION. "It is," as Archbishop Whateley allows, "too often so mistaken and perverted as to become an empty and unmeaning form, or a dangerous snare." §§ In the case of those who consider that, in accordance with the Anglican rubric, all the qualification required for its reception is a competent knowledge of the catechism and other formularies, it is the former. Such persons regard it in the same light as the ancient youths did the forms by which their entrance upon the years of maturity was signalized (of which custom confirmation is doubtless a Christianized representation,)* as a kind of holiday display and season of festivity, gratulation, and pride; but as to any serious belief in the necessity of regeneration as a prerequisite qualification, they dream not of it. They have been taught, as Bishop Mant words it, to "believe in baptismal regeneration, and that there is no other regeneration," and they now therefore confirm their belief that there is no other, by becoming communicants while impenitent and unconverted, and by thus swelling the ranks of fashionable, well-bred, and well-fed Christians, who worship God on Sunday, and perhaps on some other holy days, and live the rest of their time to eat and drink and be merry. †

§§ Charges and other Tracts, Lond. 1836, p. 93.

*The ceremonies connected with this event are thus alluded to by Adam, in his Roman Antiquities, who refers to various authorities: "The ceremony of changing the toga was performed with great solemnity before the images of the lares, to whom the bulla was consecrated, sometimes in the capitol, or they immediately went thither, or to some temple, to pay their devotions to the gods, (in a consecrated church.) Then the young man was conducted by his father or principal relation to the forum, accompanied by his friends, (whose attendance was called OFFICIUM SOLENNE TOGÆ VIRGILIS, the ceremony of taking up the manly robe,) and there recommended to some eminent orator, (his godfather,) whom he should study to imitate, whence he was said *forum attingere vel in forum venire*, when he began to attend to public business, (and go to the communion.) This was called *dies togæ virilis*, or *dies tirocinii*, and the conducting of one to the forum, TIROCINIUM; the young men were called TIRONES, young or raw soldiers, because then they first began to serve in the army.

"When all the formalities of this day were finished, the friends and dependents of the family were invited to a feast, and small presents distributed among them, called SPORTULÆ. The emperors on that occasion used to give a largess to the people, CONGIARIUM, so called from *congius*, a measure of liquids. Servius appointed, that those who assumed the toga virilis should send a certain coin to the Temple of Youth.

"Parents and guardians permitted young men to assume the toga virilis, sooner or later than the age of seventeen, as they judged proper; under the emperors, when they had completed the fourteenth year. Before this they were considered as part of the family, afterwards of the state."

†It would seem now-a-days, if one may judge by Charleston, that the rule is to act by contraries, for although it is now, when I write, the season of LENT, it is the very "dog-day" season of gaiety, when the wealth, and mind, and thoughts, even of communicants, are *lent* to fancy-balls, the preparation of "costumes," the race-course, theatres, &c. Such persons, it is true, have, as we are informed, been publicly *advised* not to come to the ensuing communion, though they will be, I suppose, perfectly welcome to any subsequent communion. And by way of comforting their hearts under this severe *recommendation*, it has been lately enacted that in future no

OH, HOW TERRIBLE is the delusion with which this ceremony ensnares the consciences of multitudes! All that impenitent and worldly souls desire is such "A FORM of godliness" as will satisfy their conscience and quell its anxieties, and yet not interfere with their enjoyment of the pleasures, the pomps and the honors, of the world. And in what possible way could this be more effectually provided, than in this very FORM of confirmation? This *form* is sanctioned by "THE CHURCH," claims inspiration and divine institution, and thus meets, as such persons imagine, all the claims of God upon their hearts. Such is the authority of confirmation, and the influence it is capable of exerting. And what is its nature? Not now to refer to the idolatries and anti-Christian absurdities which are taught in the Romish apostacy, and to confine our remarks to the prelacy, we remark that in the first place all that is required by *the rubric* as a qualification for the rite, is that the candidate "can SAY the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and can also ANSWER to such other questions as in the short catechism are contained." And this they are to do when they have "now come to years of discretion." So that, as far as the law goes, there is not the slightest necessity that the candidate should have "knowledge to discern the Lord's body," or that he should have experienced that spiritual and saving change which Christ declared to be necessary, even for those who had been already baptized and circumcised, and made members of his outward, true, and visible church.‡ In the second place, in the catechism which the candidates are to be able "TO SAY OR ANSWER," they are taught that by baptism "they WERE MADE members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of God." This they are taught that it is their solemn duty now and ever "TO BELIEVE." (2, 3.) And this is again fully taught them in another part of even this *short* catechism; and that the *general* teaching of the Episcopal church is to this effect, is proved by the explicit authority of Archbishop Whately, who is so moderate on many subjects. For in his explanation of confirmation, under the head of "Explanation of Words in the Service," where the Bishop, "in all the plenitude of Episcopal grace" and authority, thanks God "WHO HAST VOUCHSAFED TO REGENERATE HIS SERVANTS (i. e., all who can say the creed, &c.,) by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them FORGIVENESS OF ALL THEIR SINS." Archbishop Whately says the term "*regenerate* means born again so as to

non-episcopal heretic, whether Presbyterian (who rank as *arch-heretics*) or any other denomination, are to be permitted to approach the consecrated altar of an Episcopal communion, destitute as they are of WATER-REGENERATION, and CONFIRMATION-GRACE. Such an excommunication will surely strike terror and dismay into the hearts of all who are exposed to the bolts of such man-created thunder.

‡See John c. iii.

become new creatures," and refers in proof to the passages in the catechism and to the third chapter of John. § And thus does this ceremony, IN THREE WAYS, lift up its voice against a fundamental doctrine of God's word, and ensnare the souls of men; pronouncing them to be new created in Christ Jesus, and having all their sins forgiven by the necessary, operation of their baptismal service; and in virtue of it, ratified and confirmed as regenerate and completely forgiven, whenever they can "SAY" the catechism and other formulas, and make the necessary promises. Surely, all the efforts of a few evangelical men cannot lift up a standard against such a flood of ungodliness as is thus poured into the church, since it is confessed that there is "an almost universal defection" among the recipients of these outward rites throughout the Anglican church.

On the other hand, to those who have been led by devout and "too superstitious" mothers to believe that "there is some mystical virtue in the rite of confirmation," though the recipient may not exactly understand its meaning,** it becomes "a dangerous snare." It binds their souls in the chains of superstition and slavish fear. They become the victims of priestcraft, and are led to look for grace, comfort, and salvation, to rites and forms and priestly ministrations, and not to that blood and righteousness of Christ, which are able to cleanse from all sin, and to give peace and joy and assurance to every troubled soul. Thus are they in bondage all their lives through fear, and are chained down in darkness and death, while the sunshine of life and heavenly blessedness is shining resplendently above and around them. Promising them liberty, they are brought into a worse bondage than before, a double bondage to sin and remorse and fearful forebodings, and to a vicarious dependence on the grace of priestly mediators, who may be lusting after their persons instead of seeking the salvation of their souls. And what can pastors in such a church do? If they refuse to present such persons for confirmation, this "fundamental rite" of *the church* falls into neglect, and thus even if conscious of their unfitness, they may be tempted to hand them over to the bishop †† to be confirmed, not in grace, but in their gracelessness and hopeless impenitency. And if such pastors are themselves evangelical, and refuse to present any but those who have given satisfactory evidence of their conversion, (not to say that their decision may be arbitrarily overruled by a Puseyite bishop) ‡‡ of what value,

§ See p. 16 of this separate Pamphlet.

** Whately on Romish Errors, p 161, Eng. ed. c. iii. § 6.

†† So says Archbishop Whately, Origin of Romish Errors, p. 161, as above.

‡‡ See Ecclesiastical Republicanism, by the author, where this is shown, and the spiritual despotism *latent* in the canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, is unmasked and developed. And if, as has occurred, a Puseyite bishop, who believes in all that Carey believed, and in all that Pusey has

we ask, in such a case, is the rite of confirmation, and what grace can it impart, which has not been already given, or which will not be received through a faithful use of the Lord's supper, and the other means of holy living? The answer is and must be, none.

The conclusion, then, of the whole matter is, that to really converted and regenerated persons this rite is useless, if not rather positively dangerous, as it may lead them to rely upon it for some mysterious PRELITICAL grace, since they do not approach it until possessed of that very HEAVENLY grace which it is affirmed to convey, and which they, by the supposition, already enjoy; and that in reference to all others the rite is either "an empty and unmeaning form," "a dangerous snare," or A CONFIRMATION IN IMPENITENCE AND SIN.

Right thankful may we be, therefore, that our churches are delivered from this ceremony, since the Devil has wiles and snares enough, without digging for him new and dangerous pitfalls. And most grateful should we be to God that this source of hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, which shuts up the bowels of compassion of Romanists and prelatists against all who reject it, has not been retained to poison the fountain of our feelings, and throw over so many, of whom we can hope charitably, the dark mantle of condemnation and death. And if, as we have seen by the confession of its advocates, the participation of confirmation cannot prevent "*an almost universal defection*" among the regenerated and confirmed children of THE CHURCH, we need not fear the charge of presumption or rashness, if we hope better things of those upon whose heads the hands of consecrated prelates have never passed.

To conclude: either confirmation is essential to full membership in THE CHURCH, and therefore to salvation, or it is not. If it is, then what has become of the millions who have communicated in that church without baptism, or at least without confirmation? In Roman Catholic countries it is declared that in large dioceses, through the inability or indifference of the bishops, numbers die without confirmation. §§ "Such a sentiment," says Calvin,* "condemns all the apostles, and a number of martyrs, who, it is certain, had never received this unction. For the holy chrism, the perfusion of which would complete their Christianity, or rather make them Christians from being no Christians at all, had not then been manufactured. But these chrismatics abundantly confute themselves, without my

taught, even in his Sermon on the Eucharist, where a minister refused to baptize a child, could himself become sponsor and thus constrain baptism, why may he not also secure admittance to confirmation of those who have received *water-regeneration*, when they can SAY the creed. &c.

§§ See in Willet's Sym. Pap., and Cartwright's Confut., p. 277, &c.

*Institt., b. iv. c. xix. § ix. p. 539, vol. 2.

saying a word. For what number of their people do they anoint after baptism? Why then do they suffer such semi-Christians in their own community, from an imperfection which they might easily remedy? Why do they, with such supine negligence, suffer them to omit that which cannot be omitted without great criminality? Why do they not more rigidly insist upon a thing so necessary and indispensable to salvation; unless any one be prevented by sudden death? Surely while they suffer it to be so easily despised, they tacitly confess it not to be of so much importance as they pretend it to be."

Archdeacon Blackburne in his critical commentary on Archbishop's Secker's letter concerning bishops in America† argues "Shall we then lay it down for a rule, that it belongs to the nature of Episcopal churches, that all their members should be *confirmed*? If it does not, the colonists may do without it. And that it does not, appears from the practice, and indeed from the constitution of the Church of England. In several Diocesses there are no confirmations for several years. By Canon cxii. if persons of the age of sixteen do not communicate, they are to be presented to the Archbishop, by the minister, churchwardens, &c. In consequence of this canon, thousands receive the communion who were never confirmed, because they never had an opportunity. And when such communicants present themselves for confirmation, they are told, it is not proper, after they have communicated; which shows that, how useful soever confirmation may be, where it can be had, where it cannot, it is, by the constitution of the Church of England herself, unnecessary. And after this, would it be sufficiently respectful to my Lords the Bishops, or indeed to our excellent establishment to say, that such and such people of Cumberland, for instance, or Northumberland, or the Welsh counties, are denied confirmation, unless they will go to London for it? Or that they are in effect prohibited the exercise of one part of their religion?"

I find, too, from Dalcho's History, that while it is true, as we have seen, that in all her other colonies, the members of the Church of England were allowed to get to heaven as well as they could without this "fundamental rite," that confirmation was administered in South Carolina for the first time in the year 1813, "to a considerable number of persons many of whom were in advanced years."‡

Now if the grace of confirmation was essential to enable all these millions of souls to live holy lives, it was equally necessary to enable them to die holy and happy deaths; and where then can they all be now, if there is neither a purgatory nor a

†Philadelphia, 1771, p. 10.

‡See Hist. of the Prot. Ep. Ch. in S. C.

limbus patrum—where the negligence of their pastors here may be rectified, and their salvation completed?

And if, on the other hand, these facts show the utter absurdity and downright blasphemy of such a conclusion as to the eternal state of millions, it demonstrates the PRACTICAL UNBELIEF OF BOTH THE ROMISH AND THE PRELITICAL CHURCHES IN THE DIVINE ORIGIN OR NECESSITY OF THIS ORDINANCE; IMPRESSES UPON THE RITE ITSELF THE SEAL OF MAN'S DEVISING; AND STAMPS WITH UNUTTERABLE SCORN AND CONDEMNATION THE HARD-HEARTEDNESS OF THAT BIGOTRY WHICH, FOR THEIR REJECTION OF SUCH A RITE, CAN ANATHEMATIZE, EXCOMMUNICATE, AND EXCLUDE FROM COVENANTED MERCIES MILLIONS OF CHRIST'S FREE-BORN AND HEAVEN-BORN CHILDREN.

A FORM OF PUBLIC CHRISTIAN PROFESSION ON FIRST UNITING WITH THE CHURCH.

SCRIPTURAL, REASONABLE, AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
PRACTICE OF THE PRIMITIVE AND OTHER CHURCHES

We will now offer some remarks on that form of public profession of religion, which is commonly used in Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in this country. Where this form has not been in use, and its many advantages therefore unknown, opposition to it may naturally be expected. Against any thing which has the *appearance* of innovation there will always exist much prejudice, especially if what is thus enforced makes any demand upon self-denial, or requires any effort and feeling. In those prejudices which array themselves against a public introduction to the church and a public profession of faith, the author has in time past participated. Feeling confident, however, that it would not be employed without good reason, he carefully examined the subject, and the result was a very deep conviction of its importance and propriety. That others may look at it in the same point of light, and regard it with similar feelings of approbation and interest, the grounds upon which this judgment was formed shall now be given. A public profession is, we think, of great importance.

1st. Because it is Scriptural.

2. Because it is in accordance with the custom of the primitive church.

3d. Because it is in some form retained in every church; and

4th. Because it is reasonable and advantageous.

Such a form is Scriptural. To understand the allusions which are made to this subject in the New Testament, it will be necessary previously to consider the practice of the Jewish church, as this was in very many things imitated in the Christian church, and is particularly followed in the Presbyterian form of church government, which is modelled after the government and discipline of the Jewish Synagogue.

There is, then, sufficient evidence to prove that proselytes to Judaism, both they and their children, were introduced to full membership in the Jewish church by baptism and circumcision. This practice is thought by Jewish writers to be as old as the time of Jacob; and all the nation of Israel, as with one mouth, assert that they and their proselytes were always brought into the covenant by baptism. "Whensoever," says Maimonides,

“any heathen will betake himself and be joined to the covenant of Israel, and place himself under the wings of the divine majesty, and take the yoke of the law upon him voluntarily, circumcision, baptism, and oblation, are required; but if it be a woman, baptism and oblation;” and in the Babylonian Gemara it is written, “He is not a proselyte until he be circumcised and baptized.”§

It is also as unquestionable, that when candidates for admission to the Jewish church were thus baptized, the proselyte was examined as to his faith, and required to make a public profession of his belief. In this matter the Jews were very scrupulous, for the admission of a proselyte was deemed no light matter, since, if not truly sincere, such persons were thought to be very dangerous.** When a proselyte or proselytess came to be admitted into the Jewish church, it was therefore inquired whether the individual entered into that religion for riches, or preferment, or fear. If the answer was in the negative, the officiating minister then proceeded to state all the difficulties he would encounter in sustaining his profession; if still firm, the fundamental doctrines of the Jewish law were repeated to him with the penalties and rewards attached to them, and he was told that if obedient, he would obtain the life of the world to come; if disobedient, he would endure everlasting misery. All of which, if the individual truly professed that he believed and was willing to receive, he was forthwith circumcised.

When recovered from this painful operation, he was brought to the water, and while standing in it was again acquainted with the great and small commandments, and upon signification of his assent to them, or if an infant, upon the assent of the parents, baptism was administered.††

Such is a brief declaration of the order pursued by the Jews, in the introduction of a proselyte to the full participation of all the privileges of their church. If necessary, we might abundantly confirm the truth of these statements here given. All that is essential to our present purpose is the fact, that in the admission of a converted heathen to the Jewish church, some form of public renunciation of his previous errors, and adoption of his new faith, was adopted. This fact will not, we presume, be questioned by any.

With this in view, let us then proceed to examine certain passages in the New Testament, which, it is to be remembered, were written by Jews, and *primarily* with a special reference to Jews, who were always the first to whom the divine message

§Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 55-56. See also vol. iii. p. 38, where infant baptism is taught. See also Lewis's Heb. Rep., vol. ii. p. 457.

**Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 60.

††See Lightfoot, vol. ii. 60, 61; vol. v. 62-64; and Lewis's Heb. Repub. vol. ii. pp. 458-467.

of salvation was presented. We shall find that there is, in some passages, a manifest allusion to this familiar and existing practice, while others can only be rescued from apparent obscurity by interpreting them as having reference to it.

There are a number of passages in which the very word profession, occurs in some one of its forms. Such are the following:

"Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life, whereunto thou art also called, and hast professed a good profession before many witnesses." 1 Tim. vi. 12. ††

"That if thou shalt confess, with thy mouth, the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." Rom. x. 9.

"Seeing, then, that we have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession." Heb. iv. 14.

"While by the experiment of this ministration, they glorify God for your professed subjection unto the gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men" (2 Cor. ix. 13);—that is, "for the obedience of your confession to the gospel, or your obedient profession of the gospel."

"Whosoever therefore will confess me before men, him also will I confess before my Father which is in heaven." Matt. x. 3.

"Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man confess before the angels of God." Luke xii. 8. ††

If it were necessary, we might take up these several passages in detail, and inquire whether they are not all founded upon the supposition of some form of Christian profession, correspondent to what had been always customary in the Jewish Synagogue, and by which those who embraced the gospel were intro-

††These words, says Schleusner, are to be explained of that ingenuous and truly sincere profession, which in reverence is made to God—which we have made to Him of faith in this High Priest. See his Lex. in Vet. Test.

††The original word in these passages, is *ὁμολογία*, and the verb *ὁμολογέω*. I have carefully examined into the meaning of these words, in the Greek Lexicographers. Schleusner gives as the first and proper meaning of the noun, "assent, consent—a covenant;" and by metonymy, "that concerning which it is thus covenanted or agreed"—also, "a league." In the Septuagint, the word answers also to the word, vow, and signifies, "voluntary oblation." Bretschneider sanctions this interpretation, adding, as a full New Testament meaning, "public profession." Leigh gives the meaning, "to bear witness of one, plainly and sincerely, and to acknowledge us as his own; frankly and boldly to profess what we hold in matters of religion." Whence in ecclesiastical history, those professions which Christians made publicly before their judges, and in view of torture and death, were called by this name, and by a corresponding one, confessions. [See Leigh's Crit. Sacra, and Suiceri Thesaurus, p. 475, tom. ii.] In the Greek writers, this term means, "openly to say, affirm, witness, and declare, etc., what is openly affirmed."

duced into the church, and became publicly known as the disciples of Christ—which would therefore expose them to opposition and reproach—call attention to their conduct—and which they would feel bound to maintain, even unto death. That such is the allusion, can scarcely be doubted. Nor is that more general explanation commonly given of these passages, inconsistent with this; but on the contrary, corroborative of it. There are, however, other references in the New Testament, in addition to these, which can be explained only on the assumption of the truth we are endeavoring to establish. We can show very clearly, for instance, that in the primitive church, those who manifested a desire to join the church, were arranged in classes, where they were for some time instructed in the Christian doctrines, and when prepared, were publicly baptized, on their making a profession of their faith.†† Now, to this practice there seems indubitable reference in the New Testament. Thus, in his epistle to the Romans (ii. 20), the apostle addresses the Jew as one who was “an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the law.” The correspondent Jewish practice is here plainly mentioned, and allusion evidently made to the catechumen and his class, the Jews being accustomed to call their proselytes “new born infants or babes.”

In Rom. vi. 17, we read of “a form of doctrine which was delivered unto you,” which Dr. Hammond thus paraphrases: “that summary of Christian doctrine, to the belief and practice of which ye were delivered up and solemnly consecrated in your baptism.”*

In 2 Tim. i. 13, allusion is also made to this “form of sound words,” which Archbishop Tillotson, in accordance with Doddridge and others, explains of that profession of faith which was made by Christians at their baptism.† This also must be the meaning of 2 Tim. ii. 2, where the words “many witnesses,” seem plainly to refer to the congregation of people, who were present at the time of Timothy’s baptism when he made a public profession of his faith.

In Heb. v. 12, it is said, “For when from the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat.” That is, “whereas you ought now to be fit to teach or prepare others for baptism, you require again to be instructed with the catechumens.”

In Heb. vi. 1, the apostle urges those whom he addressed not

††See a dissertation on the Caechetical Instruction of the Apostles, by Walch, in the Biblical Repertory, for 1827, pp. 40-88.

*See also Doddridge’s Paraphrase, Macknight, Bloomfield, Benson, Rosenmüller, etc., etc.

†See also Whitby on 2 Tim. ii. 2.

to be satisfied with that amount of knowledge they had obtained while preparing for their Christian profession, but to seek for a more enlarged acquaintance with the Christian doctrine. "The doctrine of baptisms," (or of baptism, the plural being used for the singular,) cannot receive any other satisfactory explanation than "the form of doctrine which was professed at the baptisms of Christians;" or if the plural is retained, it will refer to the knowledge of the difference between the Jewish and Christian baptismal profession.‡

Luke i. 14, "That thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." There is here the same allusion. The object of the Evangelist was to establish Theophilus more thoroughly in "the belief of those things which were taught him in order to prepare him for baptism."§

A similar phrase occurs in Acts xviii. 25, "This man was instructed in the way of the Lord: and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John." Here, as in Luke, the Greek word is "catechumenos," that is, one catechetically instructed, or instructed as a catechumen,** in order to baptism. So in Gal. vi. 6, "Let him that is taught in the word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things." The first part of the sentence may be rendered, "Let him that is thus catechetically instructed," which words would be unintelligible without the explanation we have given.

The necessity of this open profession of the fundamentals of religion in cases of adult baptism, or by those who brought their children to the Lord in this appointed sacrament, is taught by Christ himself in Matt. xxviii. 19-20, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." The ministers of Christ are here commanded to "disciple all nations"—that is, so to instruct them that they may be prepared for a profession of their faith, and by becoming disciples may be thus introduced to the Christian church.

To these examples may be added Heb. x. 23, "Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering." "Faith is here," says Owen,†† "taken in both the principal acceptations of it; namely, that faith whereby we believe, and the faith or doctrine which we do believe. Of both which we make the same

‡This passage is illustrated at length by Walch, in the *Biblical Repository* for 1827, pp. 50-67, as containing the topics of the catechetical instruction of the apostles.

§See Hammond in loco.

**See Poole's *Synopsis* in loco.

††On the Hebrews, vol. vi. p. 525.

profession, of one as the inward principle; of the other, as the outward rule. This solemn profession of our faith is two-fold. 1. Initial. 2. By the way of continuation in all the acts and duties required thereunto. The first is a solemn giving up of ourselves to Christ, in a professed subjection unto the gospel, and the ordinances of divine worship therein contained. This of old was done by all men, at their first accession unto God in the assemblies of the church. The apostle calls it, the beginning of our confidence, or subsistence in Christ and the church, chap. iii. 6. And it was ordinarily, in the primitive times, accompanied with excellent graces and privileges."

So also the passage in 1 Peter, iii. 21, "The like figure whereunto baptism doth now save us—not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but *the answer of a good conscience toward God.*" "The word translated 'answer,'" says Steiger, "is most commonly referred to the questions which were preferred to the candidates for baptism, and which contained a confession of their faith, and also a renunciation of the Devil. (Comp. August. ad Catech. 1. iv. c. 1: Ambrose de Sacrament. c. ii. Lo Tertullian Antigorasticus, Cyprian.) This very generally received interpretation Grotius and Clericus endeavored to confirm from the judicial phraseology."††

There is an expression in 1 Cor. xv. 29, which has excited much controversy, but which, in this view, is susceptible of explanation: "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" The meaning of this much controverted passage appears to be this: "If there is no resurrection, why have such individuals, at their baptism, professed their faith in this resurrection of the dead, as being made certain to them by the fact of the resurrection of Christ, the first fruits of them that sleep? Why, if they have any doubts on the subject of the resurrection, did they make this public declaration of the faith in which this doctrine is expressed?" That this interpretation of this passage is most probable, and was early adopted in the church, we might adduce abundant testimony to prove.§§

Hear also the words of the apostle as contained in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 4: "There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling." We are here reminded, as we may interpret it, that there is "one body of doctrine which is every where professed at baptism." This, we apprehend, is what is meant also by "the mystery of faith," which is to be held in a pure conscience (1 Tim. iii. 9), "the mystery of godliness" upon which, as upon a pillar, the per-

††Steiger on the First Epistle of Peter, vol. ii. p. 241.

§§See a Treatise on, in Thesaurus Philolog. tom. ii. pp. 562-564; see also Suiceri Thesaurus, where he quotes Tertullian, Peter Martyr, etc., etc. Also Dr. Hammond on the New Testament.

manence and purity of the Christian church rests—that “truth as it is in Jesus,” to which, at baptism, every believer had given his assent. This is that “*faith*” for which, as the apostle Jude admonishes us, we are “earnestly to contend, as having been delivered to the saints,” not only in the sacred volume, but in that public profession also which was made of it on entering the Christian church. This form of profession was also, we think, in the apostle’s view, when Christians are declared by him to be “baptized into Jesus,” and “into his death,” and “into Christ.” The ordinance of baptism was the instituted way by which public admission into the church of Christ was obtained; and when persons were thus introduced, and as necessary to such admission, a public profession of their faith was given in the presence of the many witnesses who would be, on such an occasion, necessarily convened. This gave origin to the Christian symbols or creeds, which at first were very brief, because little controversy had arisen upon points of doctrine, but which were gradually extended to their present form, as one and another doctrine esteemed fundamental was disputed or denied. These symbols were, to the early Christians, as an ancient writer beautifully says, what similar armor, and the same watchword, and the same mode of combat were to an army; it preserved them from stratagem and deceit—it discovered the traitorous hypocrite who would come to them to deceive and destroy—while it bound them to each other and in one solid mass, by the force of sympathy and mutual agreement.*

We have thus, with all brevity, made a very cursory examination of the New Testament, in its bearing upon this subject. Our hypothesis is, that from the very beginning of Christianity a public profession of their faith, more or less formal and detailed, was required and given, by all who were added to the church of Christ. We felt authorized to make this supposition from the fact, that such a profession of faith, according to the usage of the Jewish synagogue service, was demanded, as an essential prerequisite to an enrollment among true Israelites, from all their proselytes. Of this fact there can be no reasonable doubt. Now it is also admitted by the most learned investigators into the origin of the Christian church, that being founded at first among the Jews, and addressing itself to the Jews, it was moulded in its ecclesiastical forms and polity by the usages of the Jewish Synagogue. There is, therefore, the greatest possible antecedent probability, that the forms and order of worship in the Christian church would be found strictly analogous, as far as admissible, to those followed in the Jewish Synagogue. It is also further evident that this being so, and the Christian worship and government being accordant

*See quoted in Suiceri Thes. vol. ii. p. 1085, fol.

to a form and order already in use, and perfectly familiar to all the churches, and to all who were particularly addressed in the New Testament, we are not to expect very *distinct* and *positive* declarations on subjects about which there would be no discussion, no difficulty, and for which declarations therefore, there would be no urgent need. All which we are reasonably to expect in the New Testament will be, that if such practices were introduced into the Christian church its language will be found adapted to such existing customs—that it will not contradict and plainly set them aside—or that it will contain expressions and allusions which harmonize with them, or appear evidently to imply their existence.†

Now when with this view we open the inspired volume and peruse its contents, we do in fact find that it most wonderfully accords with these previous expectations—that it does harmonize with the supposition of the transference to the Christian church, of those regulations of the Jewish Synagogue, which were not a part of the Jewish ceremonial, and therefore did not pass away with it—that it does frequently imply their continuance—that it does appear frequently to allude to them—and that only on this supposition, many passages can be fully understood. We are therefore brought, by the amount of this incidental testimony, (which will not be injured should any one or a few of the interpretations on which it rests be questioned,) to the conviction that a form of public profession of faith was used in the Christian church from its very commencement.‡

†Hence it is that, as Presbyterians, we rightly argue that, inasmuch as in the Jewish Synagogue there were Bishops, or Presbyters, or Angels, Elders and Deacons, the very silence of Scripture as to any other or higher orders of ministers, and the *express* use of these terms, thus used and thus familiar, is irrefragable proof that no other officers than these were continued after the apostles' time in the Christian church.

‡That the argument founded upon these incidental allusions is strong, is shown from the rule of interpretation laid down by eminent writers, and which is thus stated by Bishop Bethel—"Undesigned and incidental testimonies, which do not come down to us in the shape of precepts or dogmatical determinations, but of appeals to the converts, and allusions to received opinions or customs, are a strong confirmation of the truth and general reception of the opinions to which they allude."

And that these interpretations of Scripture are not novel, may be shown by the authority of Principal Hill, who thus speaks, in his Lectures on Divinity: (see vol. iii. pp. 301, 302.)

"The following phrases, which occur in different epistles, 'the form of sound words, the principles of the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of baptism,' probably mean some such short summary of Christian doctrine, as we know was used in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, for the instruction of persons who came to be baptized. Peter's joining to baptism, 1 Pe. iii. 21, 'the answer of a good conscience toward God,' seems to imply, that in the apostolic age, questions were always proposed to them. And this is confirmed by the expression, Heb. x. 22, 'Having our bodies washed with pure water, let us hold fast the profession of our faith.' The most natural interpretation of which words is, that persons at their baptism, were required to make a declaration of their faith; and we know that, if not from the beginning, yet in very early times, there was

Having thus ascertained, by an examination of the New Testament, that it contains numerous and evident allusions to the pre-existent custom in the Jewish Synagogue, of requiring from all its proselytes before their full admission to it, a public profession of their faith; and also many passages and allusions which imply the adoption of such a practice by the founders of Christianity, we are prepared to inquire into the order pursued by the primitive churches. If it shall be found that their practice accords with what we are thus led to believe, was pursued by the apostles—and that in this practice there was, as to the *principle*, perfect unanimity, and unvarying consent, while in the order actually pursued there was the greatest permitted freedom and variety, we shall have no reason left for regarding this custom as unauthoritative, or as one of but little practical importance.

Now, in inquiring into the worship and order of the early Christian church we find it was UNIVERSALLY, AND WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTION, THE CUSTOM OF EVERY CHURCH, IN ADMITTING MEMBERS, TO REQUIRE FROM THEM A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THAT FORM OR COVENANT OF FAITH WHICH EACH WAS AT LIBERTY TO FRAME FOR ITSELF FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. § This may be proved by a reference to the nature and design of creeds, and to the order actually pursued in the admission of members.** “The creed” was early called a symbol. This word was applied to those signs or marks delivered to the novitiates of heathen mysteries when admitted to the knowledge of those peculiar doctrines which were hidden from the multitude. †† By the use of these symbols, those who were thus initiated knew each other, and were freely received into the nocturnal observances, and more secret mysteries of the body to which they were attached. The creed was in like manner called a symbol, because it also was concealed from the idolatrous part of the community, and only made known *fully* to those who seemed sincerely anxious to be received into the Christian church. And the very purpose for which the creed was originally adopted was,—that it might be a form of pro-

joined with this declaration, a renunciation of former vices, and a promise to lead a good life.

“It appears from this deduction, that baptisms was, in its original institution, a solemn method of assuming the profession of the Christian religion, a mark of distinction between the disciples of Christ and those who held any other system of faith.”

See also Bishop Andrewes on the Decalogue, p. 7. Fol. Lond. 1650.

The Magdeburgh Centuriators allow that there were four kinds of confessions allowed in Scripture, of which this was one. Cent. i. in Gillespie's Aaron's Rod. p. 172.

§ They were thus introduced, both privately, as Origen shows, *Contra Cels.* c. iii.; and publicly, in the Christian assemblies, in reference to which Cyprian denominates them “audientes.” *Epistle 117*, l. iii.

**See Hinds' *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 235.

††See full on, in King on the Creed, pp. 15-22.

profession, and serve as a sign or token of mutual recognition, harmony, and peace. Now, although the Apostles' Creed, as it is commonly called, was not framed, at least in its present form, by the apostles themselves, nor yet all at once, certainly some form or creed existed at a very early period, though afterwards modified as circumstances required.‡‡ That this was the true origin of the creed is declared by Bishop Pearson—"From this sacred form of baptism did the church derive the rule of faith, requiring the profession of belief in the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, before they could be baptized in their name." "They who were converted to Christianity were first taught, not the bare names, but the explications and description of them in a brief, easy, and familiar way, which when they had rendered, acknowledged, and professed, they were baptized in them; and these being regularly and constantly used, made up the rule of faith, that is, the creed. The truth of which may sufficiently be made apparent to any, who shall seriously consider the constant practice of the church, from the first age unto this present, of delivering the rule of faith unto those who were to be baptized, and so requiring of themselves or their sureties an express recitation, profession, or acknowledgment of the creed.§§

The term "baptism," thus came to be used by the Fathers as synonymous with "a profession of faith." Thus Clemens says, "How can we hope to enter the kingdom of God, unless we keep our baptism pure and undefiled.)* He thus calls baptism a "seal."† Ignatius says, "Let your baptism remain as your shield, your faith as your helmet."‡ So Hermas calls baptism "a great and holy vocation,"§ that is, a "token of external profession." Thus Jerome "The symbol of our faith and hope is not written on paper, and with ink, but in the fleshly tables of the heart.)*" Peter Chrysologus, an author of the fifth century, frequently uses similar language.††

‡‡King do. p. 33; and Bingham, vol. iii. p. 90.

§§See on the Creed, pp. 47, 48; see a similar testimony by Schmucker, in Bib. Reposit. 1838, p. 120; and in proof of this point, see numerous quotations from the Fathers, in Pearson on the Creed, p. 19.

*Clem. 2 ad Cor. vii.

†Id. 10. 3.

‡Ep. 37. 6.

§Hermas Com. 4. 3. Thus also, Mr. Newman speaks of the "baptismal profession, the creed of the church," Lect. pp. 272 and 281.

**Ep. ad Psam. ix.

††See in Hinds' Rise of Christ, vol. ii. p. 237.

That each church was anciently at liberty to frame its own creed, may be clearly proved. Hinds himself, an Episcopalian of Queen's College, Oxford, in his History of the Rise of Christianity, testifies:

"This being so, however intimate the union may be among orthodox churches, the particular circumstances of each may require a different formula of belief, as well as of conformity; even as two confederate monarchies, or democracies, would not require precisely the same statutes and forms of administration. And so, although the Apostles' Creed be

Let us now attend to the mode by which, at this period, members were admitted into the Christian church. At a time when Christianity was not established, but was nevertheless spreading, many individuals would be frequently baptized, who had been educated in the principles and practices of heathenism. Of course, baptism was to such the seal of their initiation into the faith of Christ. That they might be prepared for this open renunciation of idolatry, and this solemn profession of Christi-

the substance of the earliest creeds, and the precise language, to a certain extent, yet there may have been many creeds from the first, shaped by each church with reference to its peculiar dangers of faith from without, or the prejudices of its own members within. Thus, as far back as we can trace the history of the early creeds, that of Jerusalem was always distinct from that of Cesarea or Antioch; and all these, again, from those of Alexandria, or of Rome; and this during the period of harmony between these churches.

"The gradual infringement on the independent character of each separate church, until it was extinguished by the papal usurpation, is a subject well worthy of more detailed discussion than is compatible with the limits of this inquiry. Among the primitive churches, each formed its own creed, its own liturgy, and regulated its own ceremonies and discipline. The first encroachment took its rise from an apparent convenience. When the ruling powers of the world were generally Christians, each kingdom was made to have the same liturgy, etc., for all its churches. To give an instance: when Spain and Gallia Narbonensis became one distinct kingdom, it was decreed by a council, that there should be exact uniformity through all the churches of these provinces.* The same principle which thus produced an exact conformity among all the churches of the same nation, became the ground of enforcing it, at length, on all the churches of the empire. The first change was in the boundary line of a church, which was made political instead of ecclesiastical. Men's minds being familiarized to this, and churches being considered as national bodies, it was no very revolting step which was taken by the Romish church, when it made itself the metropolitan of national churches; and gradually claimed that conformity of its decrees, and that obedience to its laws, which the metropolitan church of every nation had acquired a right to expect from all churches within the political pale of its jurisdiction. It was this miscalled Christian unity which the reformation violated; and it is against such a universal catholic church, that all Protestants are accused of being guilty of heresy and schism."**

The creed in use in the Eastern church, was very different from the Apostles' Creed.† So is there the greatest variety in the form of Renunciation, where we might most expect exact uniformity. The reader may see in Clarkson on Liturgies, pp. 105, 106, 107, *more than twenty variations* in this form of words as already referred to.

"And thus we find [this writer adds],‡ not only those of the Greek and Latin churches differing, or such as lived at a greater distance, and in the parts of the empire remotest one from another, but those of the same country and the same church, where, if any where, uniformity is to be looked for; we may observe it in Tertullian, Cyprian, Optatus, and Augustine.

"Nor do several persons only differ herein among themselves, but we may see in divers instances, one and the same person express this usage variously; whereas, he that is not circumscribed by others, nor will be imposed on by the imperious, is constant to himself many times, and varies

*"When churches became subject to one political head, and national churches arose from that distinction, then it was thought convenient by all the Bishops of such a nation, to unite more closely in rituals and circumstantialities of divine worship, as well as faith and substantialities." Bingham's *Ecc. Antiq.*, book xvi. ch. i. sec. 13.

**See Hinds' *History of the Rise of Christianity*, vol. ii. pp. 253-255.

†See *Apost. Const.*, b. vii. ch. 42.

‡See pp. 108, 109.

anity, they were, for some months previous under preparatory instruction, during which time they were called *catechumanoi*, in the Greek church, and *competentes* in the Latin church; the former implying by its derivation, that they were "instructed by catechists," the latter, that they were seeking together the honor of being initiated into Christianity. When they had been thus sufficiently instructed, and had given satisfactory evidence of their fitness, they were brought before the congregation where, previous to their baptism, (if not already baptized,) three things were required of them.

1st. A separation from, or renunciation of, the Devil.

not in the use of as many, or more words than this form consisted of; and so it is represented by Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, and Origen.

Now, if in so short a sentence as this, and that universally used in some terms or other, with a general harmony as to the sense, and wherein also there is nothing of prayer, and so none of that reason which there is for freedom in praying, they were not limited, nor did tie themselves to a set of words, who can believe they were, or would have suffered themselves to be confined to an unvariable form of words in praying at baptism?

"And that there were none limited to any forms of prayer, is made evident, more directly by that of Basil, where, mentioning the several prayers used in baptizing, he declares there were none of them to be found in writing."

As it is of importance that this point should be well understood, we will adduce the further testimony of Bishop Burnet.

"These words of his do import a standard, or *fixed formulary*, by which all doctrines were to be examined. Some have inferred from them, that the apostles delivered that creed, which goes under their name, every where in the same form of words. But there is great reason to doubt of this, since the first apologists of Christianity, when they deliver a short abstract of the Christian faith to all, vary from one another, both as to the order, and as to the words themselves; which they would not have done, if the churches had all received one settled form from the apostles. They would all have used the same words, and neither more nor less.

"In the first ages, in which the bishops or clergy of the several churches could not meet together in Synods to examine the doctrine of the new bishop, the method upon which the circumstances of those ages put them, was this: the new bishop sent round him, and chiefly to the bishops of the more eminent sees, the profession of his faith, according to the form that was fixed in his church; and when the neighboring bishops were satisfied in this, they held communion with him, and not only owned him for a bishop, but maintained such a commerce with him as the state of that time did admit of.

"But as some heresies sprung up, there were enlargements made in several churches for the condemning of those, and for excluding such as held them, from their communion. The council of Nice examined many of those creeds, and out of them they put their creed in a fuller form. The addition made by the council of Constantinople, was put into the creeds of some particular churches, several years before that council met. So that, though it received its authority from that council, yet they rather confirmed an article which they found in the creeds of some churches, than made a new one."

In rejecting the claim of what is called the Apostles' Creed, to any such origin as the name imports, he further adds: "None of the first writers agree in delivering their faith in a certain form of words; every one of them gives an abstract of his faith, in words that differ, both from one another, and from this form. From thence it is clear, that there was no common form delivered to all the churches."

Of the Apostles' Creed he further says, "Ruffin was the first that published it (in the 4th century), it is true he published it as the creed of the church of Aquileia."

2nd. A covenant of obedience, or the giving themselves up to the government of Christ.

3d. A profession of faith.

By the first, in a form of words prepared for them they renounced the Devil, his works, his worship, and all his pomp. By the second, they promised to live in obedience to the laws of Christ; and by the third, they declared their faith in the fundamental articles of Christian doctrine, as embraced in that particular form of creed which was in use in each separate church. Every church required the catechumen to repeat its own creed, which was thus a public declaration that his faith was the same with that of the church into which he was to be received. †† Irenæus, who lived in the second century, and who was acquainted with a Presbyter who had conversed with the immediate successors of the apostles, mentions, that at baptism, the minister made an exhortation, and proposed a form of confession to the person to be initiated. †† Justus Martyr, who lived still earlier, and who describes the ceremonies of baptism, says it was only administered to those who, to their confession of faith, added also a promise or word, that they would live according to the rules of Christianity*—they must, says he, both profess to believe the truth of those things which they had been taught, and also promise to live answerably to their knowledge. † The same thing is certified by Tertullian, who lived in the second century, and by the author of the Apostolic Constitutions. † Rufinus (A. D. 397) relates that in his days, “the ancient custom was retained at Rome, for persons to be baptized publicly to recite the creed:” † and Salvian, who lived about the same time, says, that at baptism, “Christians professed their faith in God, the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ his Son.” In all the accounts we have of baptism in ancient writers,” says Bingham, “there is express mention of this profession, and of its accordance with apostolic practice.”** Some, in the days of Augustine (A. D. 395), pleaded hard to be exempted from the vow, although they willingly made the renunciation and profession, against whom that father wrote his work “Of Faith and Works.” †† Others wished to shorten the form of profession, but none questioned its Scriptural propriety. †§ This profession was made very solemn; in some cases being repeated three times with the hands and eyes lifted to

†† See Hill's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 254.

§§ Lardner, vol. iii. pp. 435, 6; and Bingham, vol. iii. p. 217.

* See Bingham, vol. iii. p. 226.

† Do. p. 229.

‡ Do. p. 24.

§ King on the Creed, p. 30.

** Bingham, vol. iii. p. 221.

†† Do. 224.

†§ Bingham, vol. iii. p. 228.

Heaven, and even audibly, so as to be heard by those present. It was also, at first, made in public before many witnesses, which was a circumstance grounded, as was believed, upon apostolical practice, and rarely dispensed with. §§

"It was usual at Rome," St. Augustine tells us, "to make this confession publicly in the church, in some eminent place appointed for the purpose, that they may be seen and heard by all the congregation. But sometimes, to favor the modesty of some very bashful persons, who could not speak without trembling in such an awful assembly, the presbyters received their confession in private: and this they offered to Victorinus, a famous rhetorician, upon his conversion; but he chose rather to make his confession in public, saying there was no salvation in rhetoric, and yet he had always taught that in public, and, therefore, it would not become him to be afraid of making a public confession of God's word before the meek flock of Christ, who had never been afraid to repeat his own words in the schools of the heathen, who, in comparison of Christians, were only to be reputed madmen."*

That this order was not peculiar to the Western churches, but was also found in the Eastern churches, will appear from the Apostolical Constitutions, which is a collection of the usages of that church, compiled probably in the fourth or fifth century. The person to be baptized, is to be "catechised in the word of piety, and instructed in the knowledge of God:" and he is also "to learn how to renounce the Devil, and the joining himself to Christ," and being thus prepared, he declared his renunciation in these words:

"I renounce Satan and his works, and his pomps, and his worships, and his angels, and his inventions, and all things that are under him. And after this renunciation, let him in his association say, I associate myself to Christ, and believe, and am baptized into one unbegotten being, the only true God, Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, from whom are all things; and into the Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, the first born of the whole creation, who, before the ages was begotten, by the good pleasure of the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven, and those on earth, visible and invisible, who in the last days descended from heaven, and took flesh, and was born of the holy Virgin Mary, and did converse holily, according to the laws of his God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after his passion the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sit-

§§ See Neander on, in the 4th century in the Biblical Repertory for 1832, pp. 21, 221.

* Bingham, vol. iii. p. 231.

teth at the right hand of the Father, and again is to come at the end of the world with glory, to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And I am baptized into the Holy Ghost, that is, the comforter, who brought in all the saints from the beginning of the world, but was afterwards sent to the apostles by the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; and after the apostles, to all those that believe in the Holy Catholic church. Into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come.†

When this form was, to any extent, first discontinued in the church, we are not able precisely to state. When it was left off, says Bishop Andrews, the church soon became darkened and overspread with ignorance.‡ That it was substantially, and in some form adopted by the reformers, he affirms. Erasmus thought it very important, that baptized children should have the meaning and importance of baptism, and the profession made in it, explained to them—and that if, after being catechetically prepared, they ratified this profession, they should be considered as members of the Catholic church.§

A confession of faith, which was an enlargement of the apostles' creed, was early adopted in the English congregation at Geneva, and received and approved by the Church of Scotland, in the beginning of the reformation.**

Calvin's views on this subject may be seen from the following quotation from his Institutes:—

“It was an ancient custom in the church, for the children of Christians, after they were come to the years of discretion, to be presented to the Bishop, in order to fulfill that duty which was required of adults who offered themselves to baptism. For such persons were placed among the catechumens, till being duly instructed in the mysteries of Christianity, they were enabled to make a confession of their faith before the Bishop and all the people.—Therefore, they who had been baptized in their infancy, because they had not then made such a confession of faith before the church, at the close of childhood, or the commencement of adolescence, were again presented by their parents, and were examined by the Bishop, according to the form of the catechism which was then in common use.

“I sincerely wish that we retained this custom, which I have stated was practiced among the ancients, before this abortive image of a sacrament, (that is, confirmation,) made its appear-

†Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, B. vii. sect. 41.

‡See on the Decalogue, pp. 7, 8, fol.

§Dupin, 16th cent. p. 36.

**This beautiful form may be seen in Irving's Confessions of Faith of the Church of Scotland, pp. 125-133, and in Dunlop's Confessions of Faith.

ance. For it was not such a confirmation as the Romanists pretend, which cannot be mentioned without injury to baptism, but a catechetical exercise, in which children or youths used to deliver an account of their faith, in the presence of the church. Now, it would be the best mode of catechetical instruction, if a formulary were written for this purpose, containing and stating in a familiar manner, all the articles of our religion in which the church of the faithful ought to agree, without any controversy; a boy of ten years of age *might present himself to make a confession of his faith*; he might be questioned on all the articles, and give suitable answers: if he were ignorant of any, or did not fully understand them, he should be taught. *Thus the church would witness his profession of the only true and pure faith*, in which all the people of the faithful unanimously worship the one God. If this discipline were observed in the present day, it would certainly sharpen the inactivity of some parents, who carelessly neglect the instruction of their children, as a thing in which they have no concern, but which, in that case, they could not omit without public disgrace: there would be more harmony of faith among Christian people, nor would many betray such great ignorance and want of information: some would not be easily carried away with novel and strange tenets: in short, all would have a regular acquaintance with Christian doctrine.”††

In the directory of church government anciently contended for, and, as far as the times would permit, practised by the first Nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and which was drawn up by the famous and learned Thomas Cartwright, it is enjoined—

“Let them which before have not been received to the Lord’s table, when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the minister seven days before the communion, that if there be any cause of hindrance, there may be stay made betime, but if there be no such thing, let them proceed (where need may be) to the examination of their faith, before the communion. Let them only be admitted to the communion, *that have made confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the discipline*; unless they shall bring letters testimonial of good credit from some other place, or shall approve themselves by some other sufficient testimony.”‡‡

During the discussions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, we are informed that, in the report of the committee concerning baptism, it was debated, “whether the parent, at the baptizing of his child, is to answer any question or make any profession of his faith and stipulation, on behalf of the

††Calvin’s Instit., B. iv. ch. xix. vol. ii. pp. 535-542.

‡‡See Neal’s Puritans, vol. v. app. p. 18.

child." "The Scots," says Lightfoot, in his Journal, "did urge it mightily, *because of the use of it in all the reformed churches.*" §§

In the directory of worship, drawn up by that assembly, and still retained by the Presbyterian church in this country, it is declared:

"Those who are to be admitted to sealing ordinances, shall be examined as to their knowledge and piety.

"When unbaptized persons apply for admission into the church, they shall, in ordinary cases, after giving satisfaction with respect to their knowledge and piety, MAKE A PUBLIC PROFESSION OF THEIR FAITH IN THE PRESENCE OF THE CONGREGATION; and thereupon be baptized."*

That such forms of covenanting were in use among the Puritans, may appear from the confession of faith, drawn up and publicly signed by all those who, in 1629, arrived at Salem, in New England, and laid the foundation of the Church of Christ in this country.

Baxter, in his Reformed Liturgy, which was presented before the Westminster Assembly for acceptance, there enjoins, that no individual "shall be admitted by the minister to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, until they have, at years of discretion, understood the meaning of their baptismal covenant, *and with their own mouths, and their own consent, OPENLY BEFORE THE CHURCH RATIFIED AND CONFIRMED, AND ALSO promised, that by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavor themselves faithfully to observe and keep such things as by their mouth and confession they have assented to.*" He adds, "If the person be able and willing, let him, before the congregation, give the aforesaid account at large, of his knowledge, faith, and obedience; but if unable to do so, let him publicly assent to what has been privately given to the minister." ‡

It is shown by many and undeniable proofs in Mr. Wilson's Historical Inquiry into the principles, opinions, and usages of the English Presbyterians, from the restoration of Charles II, that they uniformly required a public profession of faith from all who were admitted to the church, as they did from all who were ordained, until somewhere about the latter end of the 18th century, when error had greatly increased. This practice they believed to be conformable to primitive and apostolic

§§ See Lightfoot's Works, vol. iii. p. 315.

* See Directory for Worship, ch. ix. sec. 3 and 4, on which see some observations at the end of the Discourse.

† Baxter's Works, vol. xv. p. 493.

‡ In the conference towards a compromise, in the reign of Charles I., Mr. Baxter proposed, among other things, "that the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament." Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 685.

usage. He makes the following quotation, as illustrative of their views:

“But as to the use of *public professions of faith*, to satisfy the church for the admittance of members, or to satisfy other churches to hold communion with any particular church, a form of words, which is neither obscure by too much conciseness, nor tedious or tautological by a needless multiplication of words, I take to be the fittest. To which ends, and because the ancient churches had once a happy union on those terms, I think that this is all that should be required of any church or member (ordinarily) to be professed:—

“In general, I do believe all that is contained in the sacred canonical Scriptures, and particularly, I believe all explicitly contained in the ancient creed; and I desire all that is contained in the Lord’s prayer, and I resolve upon obedience to the ten commandments, and whatever else I can learn of the will of God.”§

After the restoration, in a paper of proposals, addressed by the Presbyterian clergy to his majesty, one request was, that “*a personal public owning of the baptismal covenant*, might precede an admission to the Lord’s table.”** That such a practice was not uncommon to our nonconformist forefathers, will further appear from a form of public covenanting, adopted by the Rev. Matthew Mead and his church, in 1679.††

In the work of the Rev. John Willison, on “The Church’s Danger, and Minister’s Duty,” he urges upon ministers the necessity of carefully instructing the people. After giving a series of questions, on which they are to be examined, he adds, “Thus let the ministers take pains to instruct young folks in the nature and articles of the covenant of grace, and to have them engaged with some solemnity, to own and adhere to them, at their first admission to the Lord’s supper; and let them, with solemn and fervent prayer, recommend and give up those young communicants unto the Lord. Such a course hath been found, by experience, very much to contribute to the welfare and prosperity of this church.”‡‡

This custom was also preserved in the French Reformed churches. In the preface to the Liturgy, established by the churches in the principality of Neufchatel and Valengin, we are informed that, “during these two weeks immediately preceding the communion, general catechetical instruction is given on every Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, after twelve o’clock; and on these catechisms, the catechumens who present them-

§See page 178.

**From Calmy’s *Life of Baxter*, pp. 139-141, quoted in Wilson’s *Hist. Inq.* p. 22.

††See in his *Sermons*, p. 19.

‡‡See *Works*, vol. i. p. 218.

selves to be received for the confirmation of the baptismal vow, and for the participation of the eucharist, are publicly examined. On the Saturday evenings before the celebration of the Lord's supper, there is a sermon of preparation, with prayers. The same course is observed on the use of the public fast days."§§

In the "Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France," chap. xiv. canon i, it is expressly enjoined, that "no person shall be received into communion in the church, till such time as he *have first PUBLICLY* renounced all the superstitions and idolatries of the Romish church, and in particular the mass."* This puts it beyond controversy, that in these churches, some such form as is now advocated was in use.

It was also required, that no person should be allowed to present children in baptism, until they "shall have communicated at the Lord's table," or if not, "they shall protest seriously, that they will do it, and in order to do it that they will suffer themselves duly to be catechized."†

That this practice of the Reformed churches is still preserved in them will appear from the following quotation from the Tour of the Rev. Theodore Fleidner, in Holland and England. In reference to the churches of Holland, in which there has been a sad corruption of doctrine, as it relates to the matter on hand, he says, "The confirmation, or declaration of profession of the faith, takes place without any pomp whatever, in the house of the pastor, and in presence of one or two elders. According to a synodical ordinance of 1816, all persons privately confirmed, must *at least, in open presence of the congregation, be established in their confirmation, by replying to the following questions proposed to them by the minister after the sermon:*

I. If they believe from the heart, the doctrine they have owned.

II. If they have also received, by God's grace, to abide in this doctrine, to forsake sin, and to live a Christian life.

III. If they submit themselves to the superintendence of the church, and in case of committing a fault, to its discipline."‡

Were it necessary we might greatly enlarge these proofs, but will only briefly add references to others which have occurred to us in our reading. Howe is very express in his testimony in favor of such a form.§ In the time of the Commonwealth, the Congregationalists made an *explicit* covenant essential to the *being* of any church. This the Presbyterians denied. They alleged, therefore, that an *implicit* covenant was sufficient, but

§§See the Liturgy of the Fr. Prot. Ch., p. 17, Charleston, 1836.

*See Quick's Synods of France, vol. i. p. 54, fol.

†See do. p. 66.

‡See the Edinb. Presb. Rev. 1835, p. 264.

§See Rogers's Life of, p. 75.

allowed that the other was not *wrong* and might be employed. An *explicit* covenant was accordingly agreed upon by six Synods and approved by the author from whom I quote.** This is the true ground of difference between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians. The former made such a covenant essential to the *being* of a church; the latter “prudential, for the better order and expediency of the service of God,” as it is stated in “A Review of the Survey of Church Discipline,” by Mr. Hooker.††

As baptized persons, when they claim the privileges of the church, are bound to show that they are as fit to partake of the sacrament as they were of baptism, therefore should they as publicly show forth this fitness; so argues Gillespie.‡‡ Rutherford in his “Due Right of Presbyteries,” argues the question at length, and allows that such a covenant is implied, that an *explicit* covenant is allowable, and that it is sometimes formally made, but that it is not essential to the constitution of a church. He thinks that all who have been heretical, infidel, or openly sinful, ought to be required publicly to make confession of their faith, even though they had been baptized, and this he gives as the opinion of all the reformed churches.*

In the Laws of the Church of Geneva, made in accordance with Calvin’s views, it is provided that the child before admission to the communion “shall make a confession of his Christian the opinion of all the reformed churches.§§

Willison, in his Sacramental Catechism, says, as to the practice in Scotland: “And accordingly I have known ministers after much pains taken with young candidates in private, they have called these young communicants together in a public manner, catechising them, and opening up the nature of the gospel covenant, and with some solemnity asking each of them their consent thereunto, &c. Unto all which they joined suitable directions and encouragements, concluding by giving up and recommending these young persons to God in solemn and fervent prayer, which method I have known accompanied with great tenderness and many tears. . . . yea, and very moving impressions upon the whole audience. And I doubt not but such seasons have been to some the time of their espousal to the Lord Jesus Christ, which they are to remember with thankfulness and praise.”

We might add still further testimonies, but forbear.

**Separation Examined, etc., by Rev. G. Firmin, Min. of the church in Shalford, in Essex. Lond. 1652. 4to. With a Dedication to the London Ministers. See p. 82.

††By D. C. London 1651. 4to. See pp. 124 and 97—106, 108—11, etc.

‡‡Aaron’s Rod Blossoming, p. 482, etc.

§§Lond. 1644, 4to. pp. 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 99, 122, 123, 125, 126.

*Lond. 1643, p. 6.

Having thus clearly established the fact, that forms of public profession of faith were sanctioned by the Reformers, and especially by our Presbyterian forefathers, in Scotland, in England, and elsewhere, we shall proceed to show that this practice was no less common among the Independents.

In a work written by the Rev. Matthias Maurice, who was born in South Wales, A. D. 1684, entitled "Social Religion Exemplified," and reprinted, with notes, by the Rev. Edward Williams, D. D., the author gives a delineation, in a dialogue form, of what he believed to be the truly Scriptural and Apostolic order of the Church of Christ. In describing the services of a communion Sabbath, he thus speaks, p. 59 :

"It was agreed that Yefan should go before them in the work of the day: he then stood up and read, with an audible voice, the confession of faith, which contained the principal heads of divinity;—much to the same purpose with what we call the *Assembly's* and the *Savoy* confessions.

NEOPHYTUS. Then the doctrine we call *Calvinism* is, I see, a great deal older than *Calvin*.

EPENETUS. Aye, to be sure; for he took it out of the Bible, and so did these. But *Yefan*, having read it distinctly through, said to the people—If thus you believe with the heart, and if thus you are ready at all times to confess with the mouth, stand up and signify it by lifting up the hand: *which they unanimously did*.

Then *Yefan* read the *covenant*, the people all sitting, and told them, that this was the holy engagement they were now going to enter into before the Lord; and having read it to them, he said he would now read it *for* them and himself, and desired they would all stand up, with their right hand lifted up towards heaven; and, at the conclusion, they all said, *amen*. And *Yefan*, the company being seated, said—"But Christ, as a son over his own house, whose house are we if we hold fast the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope, firm unto the end; the house of God, the church of the living God; no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth up an holy temple in the Lord, in whom we also are built together, for an habitation of God through the Spirit."

NEOPHYTUS. Well, great was such a day's work; but you will oblige me with, at least, an abstract of the *covenant*?

EPENETUS. It ran thus: "We, poor sinners, having destroyed ourselves—yet, being brought through grace and everlasting love, to look unto him on whom our help is laid—under

a sense of exceeding sinfulness, repent and mourn before the Lord; and do here openly, and without reserve, resign ourselves and ours up wholly unto Christ, the complete Saviour of sinners, in church fellowship and communion—resolving and promising in his strength, to believe his *promises*, live by faith on him, obey his *precepts*, hearken to the voice of his *providence*, serve him and each other according to all the laws, statutes, and ordinances of his house—taking the written word for our rule, aiming in all at the *glory* of God our Saviour, our prophet, priest, and king—each other's edification, the increase of Christ's kingdom, and the good of all mankind, under the special direction and by the assistance of the Spirit of the Lord."

"Thus, you have a plain account of the first church at the Caerludd, matter and form. First, they were converted by grace, and so fitted for a spiritual house; and then, under this holy engagement they associated together, and became *formally* a church of Christ."

The account given of the church of Northampton, will be found to describe equally, the custom in the New England churches generally, at the time of Edwards. "When a person desired to join the church, he visited his minister, declaring how the Lord had been pleased to work his conversion; if the minister found the smallest ground of hope, he propounded him to the *church*, after which, some of the brethren, with the minister, examined him again, and reported their opinion to the church. After this, all the congregation had public notice of his design, and he publicly declared to them the manner of his conversion. All this was done to prevent the polluting of the ordinance, by such as walk scandalously, and to prevent men and women from eating their own condemnation." It was formerly "the general custom of Independent churches, to require from candidates for admission, *besides* a confession of faith, a statement of religious experience, either orally delivered, or committed to writing."*

Dr. Owen seems to have thought some such form both scriptural and proper. Thus, after enumerating the qualifications requested for admission to the church, he says, "It is required, that these things be testified by them unto the church, with the acknowledgment of the work of God's grace towards them, and their resolution, through the power of the same grace, to cleave unto the Lord Jesus Christ with full purpose of heart, and to live in all holy obedience unto him."† This practice is, at this time, in some form, generally followed by Congregational churches, both in this country and in Europe.

*Wilson's Hist. Inq. p. 28.

†See Works, vol. xix. p. 563.

We are thus prepared for our third proposition, which is this: that such a public profession is, in some form, retained in every church. It is so universally, in the baptism of infants; for in this case, the parents make a public profession in the name and on behalf of their children. And confirmation in the Episcopal church is nothing more than a corruption of this primitive form of public profession of religion.

In the Methodist churches, every individual, before admission to the sacrament, is expected to give a public statement, before the members of the church, of his Christian views and experience. This is also, in some form, the practice of the Baptist churches.

If, therefore, some form of public admission to the church is not adopted by Presbyterians, it must be acknowledged that, in this respect, they would stand alone. They would be found to differ, not only from all other evangelical churches, but also from themselves, if we are to be instructed in this matter by our own directory, and the example of former generations. The neglect or abandonment of this scriptural practice in this country, because in the exact form herein recommended it is not pursued, at least generally, in Scotland or in Ireland, is altogether inexcusable. For it is common in both those countries, for the candidates for admission to the participation of the Lord's supper to be, for some time previous to the communion Sabbath, publicly catechized in the church, and thus thoroughly prepared for the solemn duty before them. During this catechetical examination, full opportunity is given to ascertain the qualification of the several candidates, and their ability worthily to eat and drink at the Lord's table, and to discern the Lord's body; and to keep back from that sacred feast, any who give evidence of ignorance, or unworthiness. In this way, also, are they generally made known to the people, and formally and solemnly introduced to the communion, while they are more particularly examined and received by the church session. In some churches, still further means are taken for securing the important ends aimed at in this form of profession. Thus it was formerly the practice in Scotland, "for the clergyman to examine the congregation, previous to every communion, both to ascertain what improvement they had made in knowledge, and as a means of communicating instruction upon those subjects where they were most deficient, and required it most."*

In 1645, the Assembly ordained, "that in administration of the Lord's supper, congregations be still tried and examined before the communion, according to the by-gone practice of the King."† "Something of the same kind continues to be done,

*History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. 57.

†Acts of Assembly, p. 162.

although probably nowhere in the same formal manner as before."‡

In the year 1706, it was further enacted: "It is recommended to the several ministers, to take as strict trial as can be, of such as they admit to the Lord's supper, *especially before their first admission thereto*—and that they diligently instruct them, particularly as to the covenant of grace, and the nature and end of that ordinance as a seal thereof, and charge upon their consciences the obligations they lie under from their baptismal covenant, and seriously exhort them to renew the same."* In 1648, it was provided, "that persons grossly ignorant be debarred from the communion; that for the first and second time they be debarred, suppressing their names; for the fourth time, that they be brought to *public repentance*."† The testimony of Mr. Willison and others, has also been already adduced.

Now, even were these regulations fully carried into operation in this country, it would not render less valuable and instructive, the practice here insisted on. But surely, it is preposterous to object to this plan where those services are not at all observed, and thus to introduce members to the church of Christ, without any of that publicity and strictness which is recognized as necessary in the forms, at least, of our own and all other evangelical churches.

It only remains, therefore, that we should briefly show, that such a public profession and engagement is reasonable and advantageous. We believe it is so every way, and that it must be so, we may safely conclude from the scriptural authority on which it rests, and the universal adoption of it by every Christian denomination.

This practice is reasonable, because it is a measure which reason would at once dictate as proper, in introducing to any public body, where a knowledge of the character and qualifications of candidates is necessary, a new member. It is a measure which, in some analogous form, is adopted by every society, whether scientific or political. It gives importance to the occasion, and dignity both to the candidate and to the society of which he is to become a member. Besides, such a solemn and imposing introduction has formed the threshold of admittance into every species of august and imposing mystery, connected with religion. And where can it be more necessary, than when a man is to take upon himself the holy name of Christian—to profess himself to be the disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be ready in the midst of a world of enemies, to "glory only in His cross?" What more suitable way could be devised of impressing upon the mind, the nature of

‡Alexander Hill's Practice of the Ch. of Scotland, p. 12.

*Acts of Assembly, p. 164.

†See do. p. 258.

that high and holy calling which is thus assumed—the importance of those doctrines which are thus professed, and the irrevocable nature of that covenant which is thus contracted? What could more affectingly draw out the sympathy and love of Christians, one toward another, and call forth their prayers and awaken their interest on behalf of a new associate in the trials and the joys of the Christian life? The primitive church thought that by this form, and the caution, deliberation, and publicity which it required, men would be made most truly sensible of the nature of the Christian religion, and of their great obligations to continue steadfast in that faith and obedience to Christ, which they had in this way so solemnly avowed, not only before men, but in the presence of God and the holy angels. To this sacred form and pledge, would the early preachers of the cross often appeal, that they might arouse the slumbering conscience of the formal professor; pointing him backwards to this voluntary consecration of himself to the Lord who bought him; and forwards to that judgment bar, where, by his words, he would be justified, or, by his words, be everlastingly condemned. Thus it was that Chrysostom, in his last discourse to the people of Antioch, expostulated with them, and entreated them with tears, to live only to that God they had avouched to be theirs.* By this, too, it was hoped the church would be delivered, in some good measure, from hypocrites and deceivers, and be also leagued together by this “oath of their holy warfare,” (as it was called,) in inseparable amity and unconquerable fidelity to their Lord and Master.

And shall we shrink back from the cross, in the profession of that cross? Shall we refuse to give a reason of the hope that is in us, to all men? Shall we be less willing to bear public testimony to the Lord who bought us, who redeemed us with his precious blood, and in whom we rest our hopes for salvation? Or is it less necessary now, while infidelity and error abounds, to raise up a standard in the midst of the people—to proclaim the great doctrines of our salvation, and to hold forth the lamp of light and of life? Is there not something beautiful, something most consonant to the solemnity of the occasion, and to the circumstances of all present, when those who in time past have been the servants of sin to obey it, who have neglected and forgotten God, and provoked him to his utmost wrath, having been reconciled to him by his Son, come forward, and, as the Psalmist sings, in the presence of the great congregation, take the cup of salvation into their own hands, and pay their vows unto the Lord; renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil; take upon them the name of

*See Bingham, vol. iii. p. 234.

Christ's disciples; give themselves to him and his service; are welcomed in love and confidence by an affectionate people, and thus lay deeply that foundation, upon which they can rest amid all the buffetings of temptation and distress? There is—every heart responds to the declaration that there is—the most unfeeling and obdurate spirit feels that there is—something in all this which testifies, that of a truth, it is not of man, but from God.

From the experience of thirteen years, during which time he has employed this form in the admission of nearly four hundred persons to the church, the writer can testify that the result, as far as he has known, has never been injurious, and always positively good. The testimony of the late Dr. Waddell, to this point, is peculiarly strong, and it is borne out by the concurrent experience of many in all portions of our church. On the other hand, many clergymen and elders have expressed the opinion, that in the absence of such a form, they have felt that there was a great deficiency in the order of our church, and the irreparable loss of one of the most powerful means of exercising that religious influence which it is the duty of the church to extend over its members, in every Scriptural and proper manner.

That this practice involves publicity, and an effort of great self-denial and devotion on the part of all who unite themselves with the church, is, we think, a chief argument in favor of it, and no valid objection against it. For surely in this age of the church, when it is more reputable to be a consistent member of a Christian church than to be unconnected with it, it is altogether necessary, that every barrier should be placed in the way of an indiscriminate profession—and a touchstone of sincerity provided, which in addition to a mere private interview with the Church Session, may serve to detect, or rather to repel, those who are not in truth and sincerity what for carnal purposes they would willingly profess themselves to be. That this has been the actual and practical working of the system, in our experience of its influence, we could bring striking facts to prove; while all objections to it have as uniformly vanished, when the preparation of the heart from this great duty of consecration to the Lord has been given from on high.

There is but one objection, as it appears to us, of any *real* weight against this practice, and it is this: that by it, creeds may be introduced into our churches, contradictory in their doctrinal sentiments to the Confession of our Faith, and therefore subversive of orthodoxy. We say this is the only valid objection to this plan, for as to the variety of these forms, this we have shown is accordant to primitive usage, as founded upon Scriptural examples. But in answer to this objection,

it may be replied, that inasmuch as our Confession of Faith is not designed to be made fully binding, in all its declarations, upon the members, but only upon the ministers and elders of the church,* if some such public confessions are not employed, *no public confession of their individual faith will be given or received by the members of the church.* And further it may be replied, that while the introduction of such church creeds will require such a confession from every member of the church, their most perfect orthodoxy and accordance, as far as they extend to the Confession of our Faith, may be certainly secured, simply by each Presbytery doing its duty to each church under its care. For if each church is required, by each Presbytery, to submit its form of public confession for its examination and approval; or if each Presbytery would prepare a form of public admission to be used in common by all its churches; it is at once manifest that this practice, instead of opening a door for error, might become a bulwark of orthodoxy, and a defence of the faith as it was once delivered to the saints.

It has indeed been further objected, that "such a rite must be entirely null and void; while he who seeks for a new admission to the visible church, by that very act renounces his former admission to it in baptism—denies and tramples under foot the privileges which, by the divine appointment, are connected with it; and as he cannot be introduced again into the church by the vain and impious ceremony by which men dare to supersede the effects of baptism, he falls headlong from the church of Christ."† But this objection comes with a very ill grace from those who, in addition to the initiatory rite of baptism, hold also the necessity of the rite of confirmation, to a proper admission to the full participation of the ordinances of religion. This rite is public—it embodies a public confession of faith, and it implies the certain manifestation of a fitness, on the part of its recipients, for the worthy participation of all the benefits to be derived from the observance of the Lord's Supper.

Now, in like manner, this public profession of faith and covenant engagement, is regarded as the voluntary ratification, by each individual who makes it, of that covenant with God and his church, made on his behalf in baptism. In this way, the individual takes upon himself the vows made for him by

*That in holding this view of our Confession of Faith, as being a bond of ministerial and official, and not of Christian communion, I am presenting the views held by Presbyterians, I might clearly show. It is sufficient, at present, to refer to Dr. Janeway's Discourse on "The Duty of the Prebyterian Church," pp. 19, 32. President Hill's View of the Church of Scotland, pp. 150-153. Carlile (of the Scots' church, Dublin), on the Use and Abuse of Creeds and Confessions, p. 25, etc.

†Palmer on the Church, vol. i. p. 411.

his parents, if he has been baptized in infancy—recognizes their obligation and necessity—makes profession of his personal belief in the great doctrines of the Bible—expresses his determination in the strength of divine grace from this time forth to live as becometh a disciple of Christ and a member of his church—and is thus received and acknowledged as a member of that *particular* church in which such a profession is made.

Such a form of introduction into the full enjoyment of all the privileges and benefits of the church of Christ, is therefore in no way opposed to, but on the contrary confirmatory of the unquestionable truth, that by their baptism, the right of the children of such as are already members of the church, to a membership in the same, is recognized and sealed. In this way, such persons avouch their claim to that privilege, avow their belief in those principles which are necessary to its enjoyment, and thus enter upon that inheritance to which they were aforetime heirs, but for which they were as yet unqualified.

That this exhibition of the scripturality and propriety of such a form of public admission to the church, may serve to remove prejudice against it, and to open the way for its universal introduction into every church, is the desire and the prayer of the author.

In the number of the Biblical Repertory, for January, 1840, pp. 26-30, this practice is formally objected to, but, as it appears to the author, on insufficient grounds.

The principal objection made against it seems to be, that it is a Congregational, and not a Presbyterian custom, and in accordance with Congregational rather than Presbyterian principles.*

*It is declared by this reviewer, that this whole practice is novel to Presbyterians, and opposed to the genius of Presbyterianism. If thi be the fact, it is not a little surprising, that one of the publications of the "Presbyterian Board of Publication," should contain the following statements, (see "A Guide to Communicants," etc., pp. 31, 32, 33.)

"In addition to what has now been stated, there is a particular view of the ordinance of the supper, which demands our most serious and deliberate consideration. It ought to be viewed by us as a most solemn form of self-dedication to God, and as a renewal of our baptismal engagement. In the ordinance of baptism, believing parents dedicate themselves and their infant offspring to God the father, Son, and Holy Ghost—they make a public profession of their faith in the great doctrines of the gospel; and they engage to trian up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. When children, thus devoted to God, arrive at the years of discretion, and are capable of acting in their own name, they are required voluntarily to take on themselves the baptismal engagement—to make a public profession of their faith, in their own persons—and to dedicate themselves entirely to the service and glory of God. This is what has been termed by our older divines, personal covenanting with God. Whatever objections some may have to the mode of expression, the thing

Now suppose it is a Congregationalist practice, if it has been found, as used by them, to do good, and to serve many valuable purposes—and if it is not contrary to our principles, but rather a departure from pure Congregationalist principles, in favor of our own—and if those evils to which, in the unprotected system of Congregationalism it might lead, may be effectually guarded against by the discipline of Presbyterianism—then surely it ought to be joyfully admitted.

The following testimony to the working of this plan among the Independents in England, is strongly in favor of this reasoning:—

“Among the Independent denominations of the United Kingdom of Britain, who require every one desiring admission into their connexion to give a confession of his faith in his own language, I must say,” testifies the Rev. James Carlile, of the Scots’ Presbyterian Church, in Dublin, “I never met with one by whom the great fundamental doctrines, as laid down in the Westminster Confession of Faith itself, were not preached in purity.”*

It is said by the Reviewer, (see p. 28,) “We are Presbyterians; we hold it to be expedient and agreeable to Scripture and the practice of the primitive Christians, that the government of each church should be conducted by a bench of elders,” &c.

Now, on the same principles precisely, do we claim for this practice, the character of genuine Presbyterianism, *because* “it is expedient and agreeable to Scripture and the practice of the primitive Christians.”

It is also argued, that our Directory requires such a public profession only from adult unbaptized persons, and not from any others, and therefore, it is concluded, such was never designed.

But a contrary conclusion forces itself upon our mind, from the persual of this chapter, (see chap. ix. Confession of Faith, p. 436.) In this chapter there is no direction whatever as to

itself must be acknowledged by all true Christians, to be reasonable and scriptural. It is neither more nor less than an act of public consecration to God; and it implies a solemn promise and engagement that we will ‘walk worthy of our high calling,’ and that in the strength of his grace, we will study ‘to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, by a conversation becoming the gospel.’ On occasions of this kind a few simple questions, such as the following, may be addressed by ministers to those of their congregations who have become candidates for communion, and with regard to whose attainments and character they have previously satisfied themselves.”

Then follows a complete form for such a public introduction to the church, (see pp. 33-36), similar to one adopted by the Tenth Presbyterian Church, in Philadelphia. The author also possesses copies of several such forms, and among others, that prepared by the Rev. Dr. Plumer, for the Presbyterian church of Petersburg, Va., and by the Rev. John McDowell, D. D., for the use of the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.

*See on the Use and Abuse of Creeds and Confessions, p. 48.

the precise mode in which persons shall be introduced into the church, except what relates to "the public profession in the face of the congregation, to be given by unbaptized persons." This, therefore, is the exemplar after which, in the admission of other persons, each church is left to frame her particular order.

Why, I ask, should unbaptized, and not other adults also, be required to make such a public profession? To approve their piety? Not at all; for it is only "after giving satisfaction with respect to their piety," (see sec. iv.) they are to be thus received. To ascertain their orthodoxy? Not at all; for they must also give previous satisfaction of their "knowledge." What reason then can possibly be given, why unbaptized adults should *publicly* make profession of their faith, after having given satisfaction to the Session, and publicly ratify their covenant with God, which will not also show the propriety of requiring such a public profession from those who, for the first time, by their own voluntary act take upon themselves, and ratify that same covenant, which on their behalf had been made *for* them, but not *by* them, in infancy?

This much at least is unquestionable, that such a public profession of faith in the face of the congregation, even after individuals have been approved by the Session, is not contrary to, but accordant with, the genius and polity of Presbyterianism.

There is not a single sentence in the whole Confession of Faith, as far as we have yet seen, that restrains any congregation from adopting such a form—that expresses any disapproval of it—that otherwise orders the arrangements for this particular occasion. It is left to each church to take such order in the premises, consistent with Scripture, as shall seem to it wise and necessary. And it is expressly *required*, that such a form shall be used in the case of unbaptized persons, (which, in a new and heathen country, would of itself be a universal requisition of every single person uniting with the church,) leaving each church to conclude, that if deemed advisable it may also be employed in every case.

Consistency demands this course, for otherwise Presbyterianism requires this public profession in all heathen countries, of every member, and in Christian countries, of some individuals—and in *many* churches, even at home, of all. As, therefore, it must be adopted in some cases, and may be made highly edifying and useful in all cases, it should in all cases (under proper direction) be introduced.

But that we may thoroughly settle the matter, let us look further into this subject. The Church Session, it is said, has, by our Form of Government, the constitutional right and

power to receive members into the church.* This is fully granted. The question however is, when is a member received fully into the church? Of course, not until he is baptized. The Session, therefore, if they are bound, as a Session, to consummate the act of receiving an applicant into the church, should baptize him at the very time in which he makes before them a creditable profession of his faith. Where, in all the Scriptures, is the administration of this ordinance separated for days or for weeks, from that profession of faith on which its propriety is based? When not baptized, the individual is not admitted to the church. He must be baptized before this birthright becomes his, and if he can only be received as a member, by the body of the Session, that baptism should be performed by it in connexion with the profession of his faith made before them; for this profession, it is allowed, "*should immediately precede*" baptism.†

But what are the facts in the case? The applicant is not baptized by the Session, in their presence, and in immediate connexion with his profession of his faith, but by the minister, on some subsequent occasion, in the presence of the congregation. And since baptism alone, as a prerequisite ordinance, can entitle him to a membership in the visible church of the Redeemer, it is consequently plain that he is not fully received by the Session, but by the officiating minister. If, then, the Session can thus manifestly delegate their power to the minister, it is accordant to Presbyterian principles that the minister alone, in the presence of the congregation, should consummate, in whatever form is chosen, the act of receiving members into the church of Christ.

But further. In the case before us, the unbaptized person is declared to have given "satisfaction with respect to his knowledge and piety," to the Session, or in other words, he has made a credible profession of his faith in Christ. What then remains to entitle him to membership in the church? Nothing more than baptism. Having declared his belief in the Saviour, it only remains that he should be baptized into His name.

Why then is he required to do more? Why is he required to make another profession of his faith? Why is he required to make another "public profession?" Why is he required to make this profession, not only publicly before the Session, as the public representative court of the church, but once again "in the presence of the congregation?" A profession of faith is necessary, in order to baptism. But this he has already given. This profession must be given in a form satisfactory to the Session; but this has been rendered. Nothing remains,

*See chap. i. sects. 1, 6.

†Biblical Repertory, 1840, p. 28.

therefore, but baptism, to complete the union of the individual with the church: and yet more is required, even "*a public profession of his faith, in the presence of the congregation.*" Most manifestly is it thus made apparent, that such a form of public profession before the congregation, is not inconsistent with the fact, that the Session of the church alone has the power to receive members into the church, and therefore that such Congregational professions of faith are not necessarily contrary to, but consonant with, the principles of Presbyterianism.

Once more we remark: It is unquestionably true that the Session alone has the power "to receive members into the church." But has not the Session also power to receive members into the church, in that form and order which they shall deem to be most proper and advisable? Where, in all our Book of Discipline, is the Session prohibited from receiving members into the church by a public profession of their faith, in the face of the congregation, and this after they have given previous satisfaction to that body by a credible profession of faith? And why may not the Session, after being thus satisfied, authorize the minister thus publicly to receive this profession in the presence of the people, for the mutual benefit of them and of the individual thus received? And why is this less Presbyterian, or more inconsistent with the power of the Session, than the authority given to the minister to require such a profession, after it has been previously made, and by himself, and in the presence of the people, receive the unbaptized adult into the church of Christ?

And further still. Baptism implies and requires as a prerequisite, a public profession of faith in Christ. This is made in infancy, for and in behalf of the child who is baptized, and it is positively required that baptism shall be "usually administered in the church, in the presence of the congregation."

Now, when an individual, thus baptized in infancy, unites himself with any particular church, he assumes all his baptismal vows and obligations; he ratifies, in his own person, what was then done for him in the person of another; and he declares that profession of faith to be his, which was then made on his behalf; and on thus making his own personal confession of faith in the Redeemer, he is admitted to that spiritual inheritance to which he had previously a Christian birthright. Why then, I ask, should this profession and these solemn obligations be made and acknowledged, in the one case publicly, and in the presence of the congregation, and not merely before the Session, and in the other, be made and acknowledged in private before the Session, and not publicly in the presence of the congregation?

These are not two covenants, as has been intimated, but one covenant; but in the one case, this covenant is made for and in behalf of the individual, he being a child; in the other, it is made with and by the individual, he being a man. In the one case, a title is presented and secured: in the other, that title is claimed, and the inheritance fully entered upon. There is therefore equal—nay, there is evidently much more reason for the public profession of faith in this latter case, even that of adults, than in the case of infants. There is such a propriety every way, and in every view of the transaction, both as it regards the individual, the church, and the impenitent around. Besides, in most cases the individual does not join the same particular church in which he was baptized, and therefore it is still more proper that he should make a public profession of that faith, in the open denial of which he has hitherto lived, in the presence of that particular church into which he is now to be received.

Our Book of Discipline, therefore, beyond contradiction, is not hostile to, but in favor of a public profession of faith, by all adults when received into the visible church.

The following is the Form adopted, and in use in the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, and printed in the "Manual for the use of the Members of the Church."

ADDRESS TO THE CANDIDATES.

You have thus presented yourselves* before Almighty God, with a view to dedicate yourselves† to his service, and to be recognized as members of his visible church. By a public contract, you are about to surrender yourselves to your Creator: to avouch the Lord to be your God; Jesus Christ your Redeemer; and yourselves his servants for ever. You are surrounded by witnesses who attest the compact into which you enter. The all-seeing eye of Jehovah is upon you; and his holy angels are spectators of this scene. Brethren, we trust you have not rashly come up hither. And in this confidence we invite you to approach, with a holy boldness, unto the great Head of the Church; casting all your anxieties and cares upon Him, and relying upon Him alone for grace and strength to fulfill your solemn engagements.

PROFESSION OF FAITH.

You believe that there is one true God, constituting in his incomprehensible essence, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead. You believe in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and that

*The singular or plural may be used, as required.

†Or to renew your dedication. This may be used when any one joins on certificate.

they contain the only rule of faith and practice. You believe in the fall of man, in his entire depravity by nature, and in the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. You believe that, by his humiliation, obedience, and death, Christ made such a satisfaction to divine justice as is sufficient to expiate all sin, and to remove and wash away all the guilt incurred by both original and actual sin, from all who rest upon him in truth and sincerity. You believe in the doctrines of a general resurrection, and a future judgment; in the everlasting blessedness of the righteous, and in the endless punishment of the finally impenitent.

COVENANT.

And now, in the presence of these witnesses, you do solemnly surrender yourselves to the Lord Jehovah, receiving him as your portion, and acknowledging him to be the supreme object of your love. Depending upon divine grace for assistance, you hereby sacredly bind yourselves to glorify God by obedience to his laws, and by a diligent observance of his ordinances. You promise to separate yourselves from the world, so far as its engagements would cool your attachment to piety, or bring a stigma upon your holy profession. You are now willing to consecrate a reasonable portion of your time, influence, and property to the cause of Christ; to co-operate in every good work; to live not unto yourselves, but unto him who died for you; and in your closets, in your families, and in the world, to act as becometh the gospel of Christ, and as you are required in the word of God. You pledge yourselves to obey the laws and regulations of this particular church, and to submit to its discipline, while you continue members of the same, throwing yourselves upon its care, and affectionately regarding its interests.

CONCLUDING ADDRESS.

Beloved in the Lord, your engagement is now sealed. The contract you have formed, no power on earth can dissolve. These engagements will follow you through time, and accompany you to the judgment seat. We, who are members of this church, affectionately welcome you to a fellowship with us. We hail you as participants in the same glorious hope and blessing of the gospel.

And now, when you depart from this place, carry with you the salutary recollection, that the eyes of the world are upon you, and that as you henceforth conduct yourselves, religion will be disgraced or honored. Remember that your engagement is not with man, but with God. The negligence, therefore, or the folly, or the coldness of others around you, can

never furnish an excuse for your own dereliction. You stand or fall each one of you by yourselves. Abide, then, near a throne of grace; be diligent in duty; watchful in life and conversation; and you shall be assured of the fulfillment of that promise, "that he who has begun a good work in you, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ."

NOTES.

NOTE A.—Page 231.

The following article appeared in the Presbyterian.

PIOUS FRAUDS.

The Rev. Mr. Crusé's Translation of Eusebius—and its mistranslations in favor of Prelacy.

MR. EDITOR—Archbishop Whately has a chapter in his work on the Origin of Romish Errors, on Pious Frauds, and the tendency of all parties to adopt them, in support of what they believe to be the truth. The Archbishop was evidently familiar with the fact that it was very common with writers of his own denomination to give partial and unfair translations in order to *make* certain writers speak in favor of their system. Of this policy—of which I have noticed several instances already, and will have occasion before long to notice others—I send you a glaring example in the case of the Rev. Mr. Crusé, who was or is Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. It is from the Rev. Dr. Killen of Belfast, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Assembly's incipient College, and the able opponent of the Rev. Mr. Boyd on the subject of Episcopacy. His closing suggestion will, I hope, be responded to by some suitable individual. Ought not a society to be formed in order to warrant an association at Princeton, to produce and publish such a series of patristical authorities?

Yours, very sincerely,

THOMAS SMYTH.

BELFAST, DECEMBER 30, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR—When I had the pleasure of seeing you on this side the Atlantic, a few months ago, we had some conversation respecting the extreme incorrectness with which certain of the Fathers have been translated by some Episcopalian interpreters. At the time I happened to mention the version of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, by the Rev. C. F. Crusé, M. A., of the University of Pennsylvania, as a case in point, and as it is right that the gross errors of that work should be exposed, I propose in the following communication to notice several instances in which the translator has done great injustice to the testimony of the bishop of Cæsarea. The entire publication is a libel upon the character of your American literature, but it is rather singular that some of its most palpable blunders are calculated to damage the argument in favor of Presbyterianism. To a few of these I shall now direct your attention. I quote from the edition of Crusé's translation, published by Bagster, London, 1838.

You are aware that Maurice, and some other advocates of diocesan episcopacy, have labored hard to show that *village bishops* were created by the party spirit which agitated the church during the age of Constantine and his sons. We can prove, however, from Eusebius, that these dignitaries existed at least as early as the *second* century; and yet Mr. Crusé, in his version, has contrived to strangle the evidence on the subject. Thus in Book v. ch. 16, we read of "*bishops*," (ἐπισκόπους), one of whom is "*Zoticus of Comana, a village*," (Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κομάνης κώμης). Mr. Crusé entirely omits the word "*village*," and renders the cause, simply, "*Zoticus of Comana*." (See his translation, p. 179.) Every one must see that the translator has suppressed a portion of the original, and that the omission is calculated to impose upon an Episcopalian reader. It conceals from him the fact that the early bishops were not confined to great towns—that they were scattered all over the country—and that, to use the language of Gibbon, a Christian diocese might be "*reduced to a village*."

I need not tell you that the early rural bishops, who about the beginning of the fourth century began to be contemptuously designated *chorepiscopi*, have proved nearly as troublesome to modern high-churchmen as they were to those by whom prelacy was originally introduced. It is very plain from the epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians (section 42), that they were instituted in the days of the apostles, and that they were at first of the same rank as the city bishops. We learn from Eusebius that, in the third century they were distinguished by the same name, and that they were thickly planted in some districts of the East. Thus, in a letter concerning Paul of Samosata, preserved in Book vii. ch. 30, mention is made of "bishops both of the neighboring rural districts and cities, and presbyters,"—(ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους.) Here it is clear that rural and city bishops are represented as numerous, and that they are mentioned without discrimination; but Mr. Crusé completely garbles the evidence thus presented, for he renders the words—"bishops and presbyters of the neighboring districts and cities." See his translation, p. 281.) Every one acquainted with the elements of Greek literature, must see of the unfairness of this translation.

The advocates of diocesan episcopacy are not very forward to admit that the people have a right to elect their ministers, and they have often evinced a disposition to explain away those plain proofs from antiquity, which may be deduced to demonstrate the practice of the early church. One of these is found in Eusebius, Book vi. ch. 29, where we are told that "the whole people"—(τὸν πάντα λαόν) concurred in the nomination of Fabianus of the bishopric of Rome. Mr. Crusé renders the Greek words—"the whole body," (see his translation, p. 227), and as it is difficult to ascertain from the context whether the meeting consisted of clergy or laity, he has thus contrived to conceal a testimony which speaks strongly in favor of popular privileges.

In another place, Book v. ch. 16, Mr. Crusé represents the early Christians as holding "frequent conversations," in many places throughout Asia, respecting the heresy of Montanus. Was the translator afraid plainly to tell his readers that *Synods* were so common at so early a period? The word "conversations" is gratuitously introduced, and though *Synods* are not expressly named in the original, it is clear from the context that the statement refers to such ecclesiastical conventions.

I might easily point out many other errors and absurdities in this translation of the great work of the father of ecclesiastical history, but I forbear. I have already produced sufficient evidence to prove that the version is miserably executed.

Could you not induce some of your American scholars of the true Presbyterian stamp, to furnish a translation of the works of the early fathers? Some of them have given abundant evidence of their qualifications for the task, and he who would accomplish it, would render an important service to the cause of our ecclesiastical literature. Faithful translations of the apostolic fathers, and of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens, Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and others, are very much wanted. Our Puseyites here are up and doing, for they have already published in what they call "A Library of the Fathers," an English version of large portions of our early church writers.

I am, my dear sir, yours very sincerely,
REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D., *Charleston.*

W. D. KILLEN.

NOTE B.—Page 231.

Many believe in prelatical bishops on no better authority than the undoubted existence of the word *Bishop* in the New Testament, and the fact that by a most daring fraud on Scripture and the rights of Presbyters, the "rulers of Presbyters" alone, i. e. prelates, are called by that name in the Romish and prelatical churches. May I ask any who have not examined the subject and are not afraid to know the truth, and the whole truth, in the case, to read the author's work on "Presbytery and Prelacy," book i. c. iv., from which I make an extract:

"There was a time when it was denounced as heresy to maintain this position. Two of the charges alleged by Epiphanius against Aerius were, that he taught that the apostle, in the third chapter of his first epistle to Timothy, enumerates the qualifications, not of prelates, but of presbyters, and that in Titus 1. 5, 7, Paul considered bishops and presbyters the same persons, calling them indifferently by either name.* Even since that time the opinion now advanced, has been controverted with all imaginable zeal and learning, as by bishop Pearson and Dr. Hammond.† At length, however, the truth has prevailed against all opposing error, and it is now admitted by the highest prelatic authorities, that in scripture the terms bishop and presbyter designate one and the same office. Of this important concession, we will adduce some proofs. Bishop Onderdonk says,‡ 'the name bishop, which now designates the highest grade of the ministry, is not appropriated to that office in scripture. That name is there given to the middle order of presbyters; and all that we read in the New Testament, concerning bishops, (including, of course, the words 'overseers' and 'oversight,') is to be regarded as pertaining to that middle grade.' 'That presbyters were called bishops,' says Dr. Bowden,§ 'I readily grant; and I also grant that this proves that the officer who was then called a bishop; and consequently the office was the same.' Dr. Chapman is still bolder, declaring that 'the Episcopalian cannot be found who denies the interchangeable employment of the terms bishop and presbyter, in the New Testament.**

"This term bishop, it would appear, was in use in this interchangeable application, even in Old Testament times. 'Yea,' says archbishop Ussher,†† 'in the xi. of Nehemy, we find two named bishops, the one of the priests, the other of the Levites, that dwelt in Jerusalem. The former, so expressly termed by the Greek in the 14th, the latter, both by the Greek and Latin interpreter in the 22d verse, and not without approbation of the scripture itself, which rendereth the Hebrew word of the same original in the Old and by the Greek *episcopos* in the New Testament.' That the terms bishop and presbyter continued to represent the same office and persons, even to the close of the apostolic government and of the inspired records, is admitted by Hooker, who would have us believe, that for this reason the term angel is employed in the Book of Revelation.‡‡ Such, also, is the judgment of Hadrian Saravia.§§ To this may be added the opinion of archbishop Whitgift. 'I know,' says he, 'these names be confounded in the scriptures, but I speak according to the manner and custom of the church, even since the apostles' time.*† But we may go still higher, and give the avowed opinion of eleven bishops, two archbishops, and many other doctors and civilians, in the famous 'Declaration made of the functions and divine institution of bishops and priests,' where it is said, 'the truth is, that in the New Testament, there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons, or ministers, and of priests or bishops.' Bishop Burnet in his Vindication of the Church of Scotland,*‡ says: 'and I the more willingly incline to believe bishops and presbyters to be the several degrees of the same office, since the names of bishop and presbyter are used for the same thing in Scripture; and are also used promiscuously by the writers of the first two centuries.' It is an argument of some weight in favor of the position that in the apostles' times the office of bishop and presbyter was one and the same, that the Syriac version, which was probably made early in the second century, and whose authority is very great, always renders the term '*bishop*' by a word which corresponds to 'elder' or presbyter, as in Acts 20. 17, 28; 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2; 1 Tim. 3. 1, &c. On this subject Michaelis remarks, 'we know that the distinction between bishops and elders was introduced into the Christian church in a very early age, yet

*See Dr. Wilson's Prim. Gov. of the Ch. pp. 146, 147.

†See in Peirce's Vind. of Presb. Ord. part ii. p. 55.

‡Episcopacy tested by Scripture, in Wks. on Episcopacy, vol. ii. p. 420.

§Wks. on Episcopacy, vol. i. p. 161.

**Dr. Chapman, Sermon to Presb., p. 238.

††The original of Bishops, in Scott's Coll. of Tracts, vol. xii. p. 268.

‡‡Eccl. Pol. b. vii. ch. v. § ii. p. 100, vol. iii. Keble's ed.

§§On the Priesthood, pp. 60, 85, 118.

*†Defence of the Answer to Cartwright, Lond. Fol. 1574, p. 383.

*‡See Conf. 4, p. 165, ed. ii.

this distinction was unknown to the Syriac translator.† To this opinion bishop Marsh appends the following note: 'this proves ONLY that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that he made a proper distinction between the language of the primitive, and that of the hierarchical church.§ That in scripture, the names of presbyter and bishop were interchangeably applied to the same office and order, is allowed, also, by many of the ancient fathers.**

"What, then, was the reason, for thus tampering with the divine authority; for thus casting imputation upon the divine wisdom; and altering a divine arrangement? One of their own party has said, that 'a self-originated upstart may take a man's name, and claim his inheritance; but when his title comes to be examined, the true right will appear, and justice will take place.†† And so will it be in the present case. For the change in these names manifestly proves, that a change had taken place in the relations of the two offices or orders to which they had been applied.‡‡ Otherwise, the change would have been unnecessary, and sound policy would have forbidden it, since 'a veil of mystery is hereby artificially thrown upon the subject, which would never have existed, if the original name of apostle had been suffered to remain unaltered.'§§ Nor can all the skill of man wipe off from prelatists, the unescapeable imputation, that by this exclusive appropriation to the order of prelates, of the term bishop, which belongs exclusively to presbyters, they intended to palm the order of prelates upon the world, under the cover of a divinely instituted title, and thus to procure for it that divine origin, authority, and pre-eminence, to which it has no scriptural claim. Nor have all the learned advocates of prelacy, with all their sophistry, been able to defend her, in this matter, from manifest sacrilege, and a violation of 'the sacredness of divine truth.* And if prelatists will resent this charge as calumnious, let them inform us when, where, by whom, and upon what authority, this change was made, and why that title, which was signed, sealed, and delivered over to presbyters, as their perpetual right, was employed by prelates, to cover the nakedness of their pretensions to a divine charter?"

NOTE B.—Page 260.

"It may not be amiss to enter here, a little minutely, into the consideration of this question; as the Romanists have, since the times of Menezes, assumed that every Eastern church has, in common with itself, the Seven Sacraments; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penitence, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony.

"It appears, however, from the Acts of the Council of Diamper, held under Menezes in 1599, that the Christians of St. Thomas held only three Sacraments: namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, and Holy Orders. This was remarked by La Croze (p. 342) and opposed to the erroneous statement of Renaudotius, in which he had assumed, as above remarked, an universal consent with the Church of Rome in the use of the Sacraments.

"La Croze moreover asserted (p. 205) that the Eastern churches had not recognized even the number of seven Sacraments prior to the times of the Crusades, when they had probably adopted it, (and metropolitans and other similar corruptions,) in imitation of the Latins. Assemán, however, (tom. iii. part ii. p. 391, &c.,) in his refutation of La Croze, objects that the Christians of St. Thomas had, in this particular, deflected from the faith of their forefathers; and then professes to show, from what he deems ancient authors in the Syran Church, that not only the number of seven Sacraments was acknowledged, but that the very Sacraments of the Romish Church were originally held by the Nestorian Church.

"The first author, however, that he produces, is Ebed Jesu, Metropolitan

†Intro. to the N. T. vol. ii. part i. p. 32.

‡Ibid, vol. ii. p. 553.

**Bingham's Eccl. Ant. b. ii. c. i. vol. i. p. 41, and c. xix. p. 189.

††Jones's Wks. vol. iv. p. 495. Essay on the Church.

‡‡See this argument employed by Burnet, on the xxxix. art. p. 436.

§§Dr. Chapman's Sermons to Presb. of all Sects, p. 239.

*See Bishop Bull's Vind. p. 258.

of Soba, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. With respect to the other authors, whose names he mentions (p. 240), some of whom lived as early as the seventh century, it is sufficient to remark, that not one of them has acknowledged the existence of seven Sacraments, much less identified them with those of Rome. La Croze has moreover shewn (p. 342), that, prior to the twelfth century, no mention is made of the seven Sacraments, even among the writers of the Latin church; and that Allatius could not, in like manner, produce one testimony to the same effect from the ancient Greek Fathers.

"Ebed Jesu, (Bib. Orient. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 240,) does indeed acknowledge seven Sacraments, yet these do not coincide with those of Rome: 'There are,' says he, 'seven Sacraments, which are, according to the intention of the Divine Books, 1. Orders, which is the completion of all the Sacraments; 2. Holy Baptism; 3. The Oil of Unction; 4. The Offering of the Body and Blood of Christ; 5. The Remission of Sins; 6. The Holy Leaven; 7. The signing of the Life-giving Cross:' where no mention is made of the Sacraments of Confirmation or Matrimony.

"With regard to Confirmation, Menezes was well aware that it was wholly unknown in India; for in the Acts of the Synod of Diamper (Geddes, p. 213), he says: 'Forasmuch as hitherto there has been no use, nor so much as knowledge of the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation among the Christians of this Bishoprick,' &c. Father Simon, Renaudotius, and Asseman, have, however, evaded this, by the sweeping observation that Menezes knew nothing at all about the matter; and adding, that the Sacrament of Confirmation in the East is included in that of Baptism. It is remarkable (Geddes, p. 210), that the Jesuits in England had formerly recourse to the same expedient; and asserted, moreover, that Confirmation was not very necessary, and might be dispensed with. It should follow, if this mode of arguing be granted, that the Syrians acknowledged eight Sacraments, which effectually destroys the fancied agreement in number.

"But it does not appear from the Syrian writers themselves, that any such construction ought to be put upon the use of the Holy Oils in Baptism. 'The oil,' (Bib. Orient. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 247,) says Elias, Bishop of Anbara, who flourished early in the tenth century, 'with which the priest anoints the heads of baptized persons, is a *mystical sign* of the confidence which the saints do hence receive.'" And Timothy II., Metropolitan of Mosul and Arbela, A. D., 1318, says (Bib. Orient. tom. iii. p. 261), 'So water, oil, the Priest, and the prayers of the Priest, are the substantial parts of Holy Baptism, if one of which be wanting, Baptism is by no means complete.' Words to the same effect, are used by George, Metropolitan of Arbela, who flourished about the middle of the tenth century. What is cited by Asseman from Joseph II., in which he reproaches the Nestorians for not acknowledging the Sacrament of Confirmation, vanishes, when we know that this Joseph is one of the sham Patriarchs that was set up by Pope Innocent XII., A. D. 1696, and whose authority was never acknowledged at Mosul. It appears therefore that the Christians of St. Thomas had not deflected from the usage of their forefathers in not acknowledging the Sacrament of Confirmation; and that the citations made by Asseman himself tend to prove the statements of La Croze, which they had been intended to refute.

"Asseman and Renaudotius, however, go still further, and would prove, from the use of this holy oil, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction as acknowledged in the Eastern Churches: but not to mention that this would swell the number of Sacraments to nine, and that Ebed Jesu does not admit it in his enumeration of the Sacraments, and that (Bib. Orient. tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 276) George of Arbela only mentions the laying on of hands upon the sick as one of the duties of the Priest, it cannot follow by any just mode of arguing, that Extreme Unction was ever yet considered as a Sacrament in the East.

"It would hardly have been expected that Asseman would have attempted to show that Matrimony was considered as a Sacrament by the Syrians, when Ebed Jesu had excluded it from his enumeration of them; yet that nothing may be left untried to support the faith of the Church, he has attempted this also. 'Simon Sulaka,' says he, 'when a monk at Rome in 1553, expressly enumerated Matrimony in the number of the Sacraments.' The account given by Geddes (Hist. Church Mal. p. 12), of this Simon Sulaka, is, I think, a sufficient refutation of his statements. 'In the year 1552, one Tum Sind, or Simon Sulacan, a monk of the order of St. Pacho-

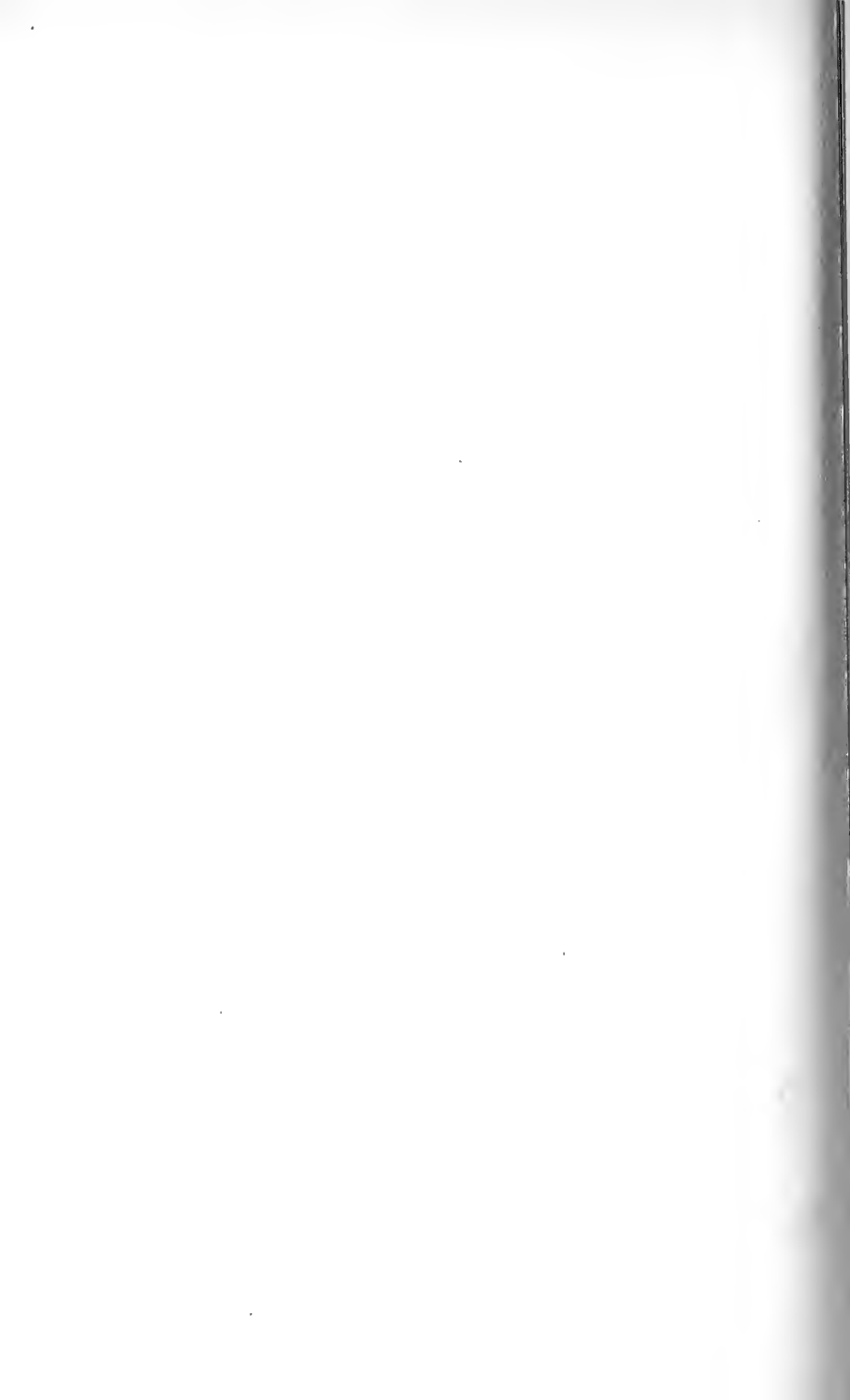
mius, who pretended to have been chosen Patriarch of Mosul, or Selucia Parthorum, or Babylon, for they are all the same, by the whole clergy of Persia and Assyria, came to Rome and submitted himself to the Pope. . . . He presented letters and a Confession of Faith to the Pope, which he pretended were sent by all the Eastern Bishops. In these letters the Pope's supremacy was exalted as high as if they had been written by a parasite Canonist, &c. . . . Tum Sind, after he was dismissed at Rome, instead of returning to Babylon, went and lived in an obscure place, called Charamet, or Amed, &c.

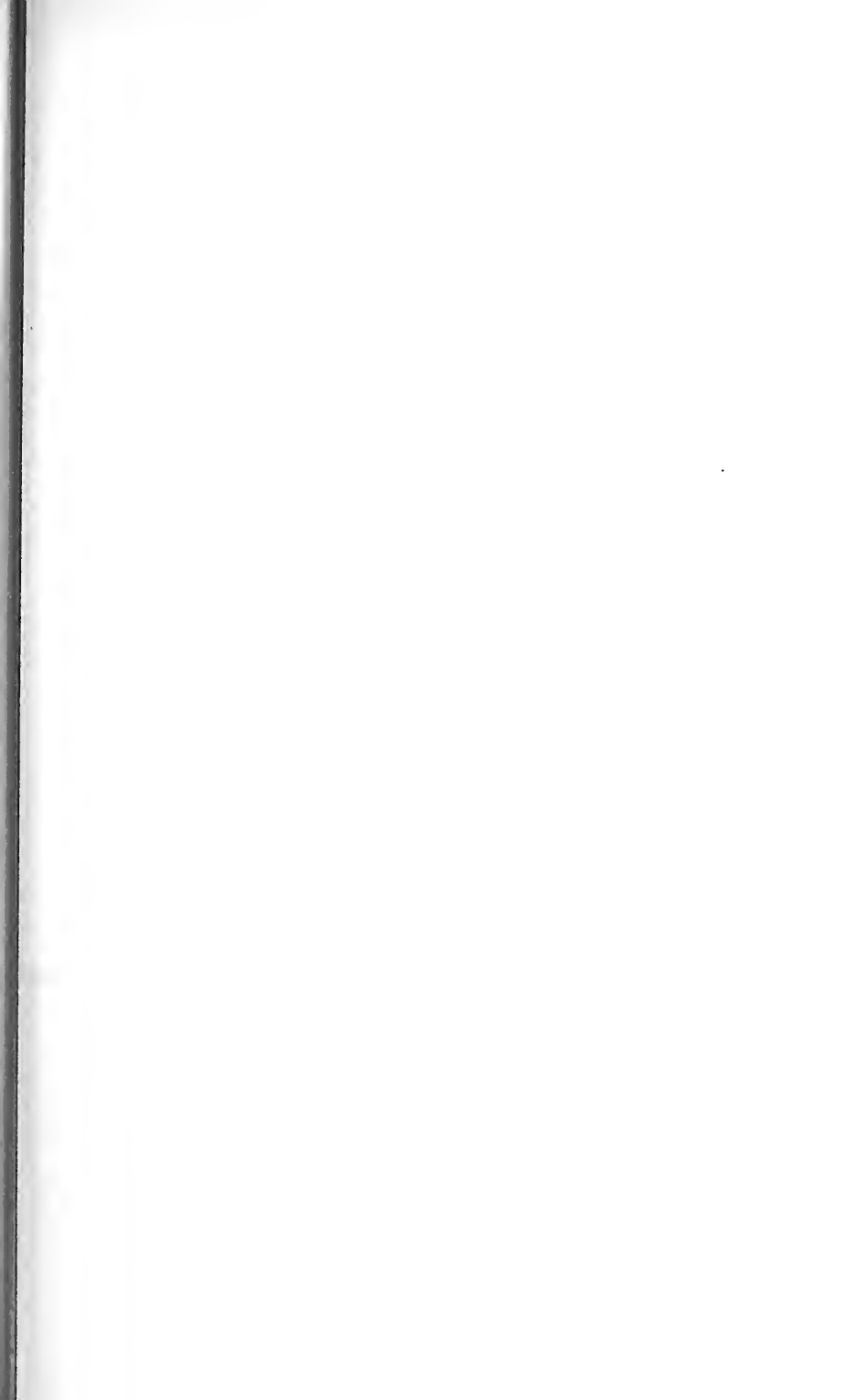
"As to the citation from Ebed Jesu (Bib. Orient, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 318), in which St. Paul's words are translated, 'This is a great Sacrament, but I speak of Christ and the Church,' it is unnecessary to dwell upon the refutation of such sophistry.

"It may, perhaps, not be amiss here to remark, that the matter of the Holy Leaven, as also that of the Oil, is considered among the Christians in the East as a Sacrament, supposing they have preserved them from the apostolic times. This is a great proof of their superstition and ignorance, which we may reasonably hope that a revival of true religion among them may induce them to disregard.

"The attempt of Asseman to show that Auricular Confession was in use among the Syrians, is no less ridiculous than that of endeavoring to establish the Sacrament of Matrimony: for it is well known that Joseph II., whose words he cites to this effect, was, like Simon Sulaka, a sham Patriarch of Amed, set up also by the Pope: he died A. D. 1714.

"It would be superfluous to enter into the question of Transubstantiation, as it is evident, from Asseman's own citation (Bib. Orient. tom. iii. pt. ii. pp. 294, 295), that some of the best and most ancient writers, of both the Nestorian and Jacobite community, did not hold it: and consequently that the Christians of St. Thomas could not with propriety be accused of innovation in this particular."







CALVIN AND HIS ENEMIES.

A Memoir

OF THE

LIFE, CHARACTER AND PRINCIPLES

OF

CALVIN

BY THE

REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

Quid enim tota ejus vita nisi tempestas veluti quædam
perpetua fuit?—MORUS.

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

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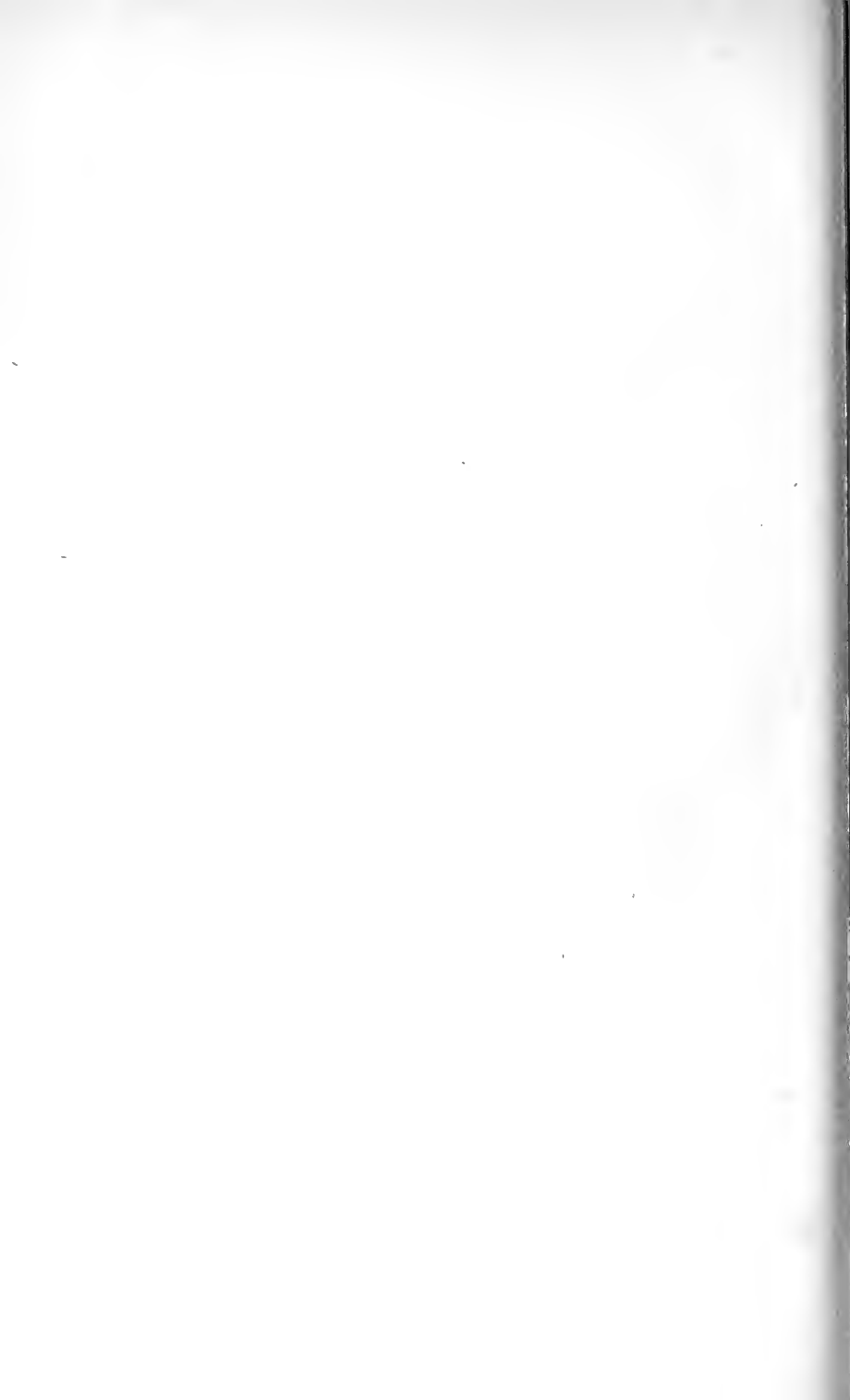
PREFACE.

The fact that John Calvin was led, by the grace of God, to embrace and defend all the essential principles of doctrine and polity, which distinguish the system of Presbyterianism, has exposed him to the unceasing calumny of all those to whom that system is unpalatable. Romanists, prelatists, and errorists of every name, have vied with one another in their efforts to blacken his character and detract from his fame. The defence of Calvin against these misrepresentations is necessary for the glory of that God who called him by his rich grace; for the honour of that truth in whose cause Calvin lived and died; and for the maintenance of that church to which he was attached, and which is built upon the foundation laid by apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. And this defence is in a peculiar manner the privilege and duty of Presbyterians, with whom Calvin has been so generally identified.

Actuated by these views, the alumni of the Theological Seminary at Princeton appointed the author to deliver a discourse in vindication of the life and character of Calvin, at their anniversary meeting in May, 1843. The substance of the following little work was accordingly delivered in Philadelphia, in the Second Presbyterian Church, during the sessions of the General Assembly. At the request of the alumni, it has since been published in some of our religious papers; and it is now prepared by desire of the Board of Publication of the Presbyterian Church, for publication as one of their volumes.

That it may lead the members of our beloved Church more highly to estimate and prize the character and achievements of Calvin; that they may thus be excited to bless God, (who raised up Calvin, and qualified him for his work) for his past dealings with his Church, while they humbly look for his continued guidance and protection—and that the inhabitants of this country may be brought by it more deeply to appreciate the influence of Calvin, and of the system he advocated, in securing those blessings of religious and civil freedom by which they are distinguished, is the sincere prayer of

THE AUTHOR.



THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER
OF
CALVIN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Presbyterians, that is the great body of the Reformed Church throughout the world, have been very commonly denominated Calvinists; not that they are followers of Calvin, either in doctrine or in discipline, since the doctrines and discipline embraced by Presbyterians existed previous to the appearance of Calvin, and were adopted, and not originated, by him. Calvin, however, being the great theologian of the Reformers, so well defended, so clearly expounded, and so perfectly systematized these principles, as to connect with them, wherever they are known, his illustrious name. The term Calvinist was first employed in the year 1562, in reference to the standards of the Huguenots or French Reformed churches, which Calvin drew up; from which time it came to be employed as characteristic of all those who adopted similar doctrinal principles.* These principles, however, no more originated with Calvin than did the Bible, for they are the very same which were held forth by the apostles—which were proclaimed in all the apostolic churches—which were maintained by the ancient Culdees, by the Waldenses, and by other pure and scriptural bodies—and which were eminently defended by the celebrated Augustine, and by other divines, in every period of the Church.

As Presbyterians, we hold no principles which are not found in the word of God. We claim no antiquity less recent than the primeval organization of the Church of God on earth. In our Christian form, we build upon the only foundation laid in Zion, the foundation of apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. We call no man master upon earth. We know no man after the flesh. We call neither Abraham, nor Moses, neither Paul, nor Augustine, neither Luther, nor Calvin, "our Father." We are in subjection to no

*Scott's Continuation of Milner, p. 472.—Waterman's Life of Calvin, p. 210.

man, nor do we wear the name or livery of any. We are Christians in doctrine, and Presbyterians in polity, our doctrine being deduced from the Scriptures, and Presbytery being the only polity known to the Apostles, or to the apostolic and primitive churches of Christ.

But while we so speak, let us not be supposed to disparage the name and character of Calvin, or to deprecate, as either shame or reproach, the application of the term Calvinists. In the great body of Calvin's principles—though not by any means in all—we concur. To the life, character, and conduct of Calvin, we look with reverence and high esteem. And while we apologize not for his errors or his infirmities, yet were we required to be called by any human cognomen, there is perhaps no other man, since the days of the Apostles, by whose name we would prefer to be designated.

The reputation and character of this distinguished Reformer have been opposed by every artifice of ingenuity, sophistry, and malignity. The vilest and most baseless calumnies have been heaped upon his memory. The most senseless and improbable stories have been invented to blacken his character, and to detract from his illustrious fame. A single event, distorted, misrepresented, and in all its circumstances imputed to his single agency, although consummated by the civil authorities of the republic, and although in accordance with the established sentiments of the age, has been made to colour his whole life, to portray his habitual conduct, and to cover with infamy the man and his cause. Now, in these very efforts of his enemies, Romish and Prelatist, and in their nature, source, and evident design, we find a noble testimony to the genius, power, and worth of Calvin. He who opposes himself to existing customs and prevalent opinions, must anticipate resistance in proportion to the success with which his efforts are accompanied. And while such opposition, in itself considered, does not prove that such a man is right in his scheme of reformation, but only that his plan involves the subversion of established forms, yet may we learn the character of such an intended reformation, and of such a bold reformer, by the very nature of that opposition which is brought to bear against him. And if, as in the present case, we find that, in order to withstand the overwhelming influence of such a man, his enemies are driven to the invention of forgeries, and the grossest fabrications, we may with certainty infer, that his personal character was irreproachable. In like manner, when these enemies are led to meet the arguments of such a man, by personal invective and abuse, we may be equally assured that his is the cause of truth and righteousness, and theirs the cause of error. Truth is strong in her conscious and imperishable virtue. She seeks therefore the

light, courts investigation, and offers herself to the most impartial scrutiny. Error, on the contrary, having no inward strength, is weak and cowardly. She seeks the covert and the shade. She clothes herself in the garments of concealment. She assumes borrowed robes and names, and endeavours by artifice and treachery to accomplish her base designs. In Calvin, therefore, we have a tower built upon the rock, rearing its lofty head to the clouds, visible from afar, and open to the observation of all men, which, though the floods roar, and the winds arise against it, yields not to the fury of the tempest—because its foundations are secure. In the enemies of Calvin, we behold the secret plotters of his ruin, who, conscious of his invincibility when opposed by any fair or honourable onset, dig deep within the bosom of the earth, and there concealed by darkness, and buried from all human sight, ply their nefarious arts to sap, and undermine, and by well concerted strategem, to overwhelm in destruction an innocent and unsuspecting victim.

CHAPTER II.

CALVIN WAS ONE OF THE MOST EMINENT OF ALL THE REFORMERS,
AND REMARKABLE FOR HIS COURAGE.

“Calvin,” said Bishop Andrews, “was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour.” “Of what account,” says his great opponent, Hooker, “the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased: so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfulest in Calvin’s writings; his books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by.” And again, concerning his Commentaries and his Institutes, which together make up eight parts out of nine of his works, Hooker adds, “we should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are, which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutes of Christian Religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture, according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsayed, and of glory above them, if they consented.”

Such was the estimation in which Calvin was held by his cotemporaries, both continental and Anglican. To Cranmer and his associates in the English Reformation, he was all in all.

They sought his counsel, leaned upon his wisdom, were guided by his directions, and sustained by his consolations. His name is found enrolled with honour in the Book of Convocation as late as the seventeenth century, and his spirit still breathes through those Articles which have preserved the Protestantism and the orthodoxy of the English church.*

Among the continental Reformers, Calvin was equally pre-eminent. Giants as they were in intellect, in acquirement, and in prowess, he towered above them all, like Saul among the people of Israel. Where all were great, he was greatest. Though naturally less bold than Luther, he was enabled to manifest a superhuman bravery, and was, even in this respect, not a whit behind that noble champion of the truth. "He was," says Bayle, "frighted at nothing." Exquisitely sensitive and timid by constitution, he was, from his earliest years, obliged to bend to the inflexible rule of duty, and thus became habituated to self-sacrifice. When God called him by his grace to the knowledge of the truth and power of the gospel, he took up his cross to follow Jesus, suffering the loss of all things, and not counting his life dear unto him. The storm of persecution was then at its height. Its fiery bolts were spreading consternation and alarm throughout all France. The Parliament was on the watch. The spies of the Sorbonne and of the monks were found creeping into churches and colleges, and even into the recesses of private dwellings. The *gens d'armes* patrolled the highways to hunt down every favourer of the reform.† Then it was that Calvin enlisted as a good soldier under the Captain of Salvation; buckled on the armour of God, and threw himself boldly on the Lord's side. His whole subsequent course proves that, through the grace of God, he was valorous even to daring. At the risk of his life, he ventured back to Paris, in 1532, in the very midst of abounding persecution, that he might defend the truth. While the whole city of Geneva was in a fervent rage, he hesitated not to suspend the celebration of the communion, and when publicly debarred the use of the pulpit, to appear in it as usual. When the plague had broken out, and was carrying death and destruction around, Calvin was found ready to offer himself as a chaplain to its infected victims. During his contests with the libertine faction, he frequently attended the summons of the senate when his life was exposed to imminent danger from the swords of the contending parties, many of whom were anxious for an opportunity, according to their summary mode of punishment, to throw him into the Rhone. In the year 1553, through the influence of Bertelier, the grand council of two hundred, de-

*London Christian Observer, 1803, pp. 143, 144.

†See D'Aubigné's Hist. of the Ref. vol. 3. p. 643.—Eng. Ed.

creed that all cases of excommunication should be vested in the senate, from which body Bertelier obtained two letters of absolution. The resolution of Calvin, however, was taken, and he was not to be daunted. He first procured the senate to be called together, stated his views and his determination, and endeavoured, but in vain, to induce them to revoke their indulgence granted to Bertelier. He received for answer, that "the senate changed nothing in their former decision." After preaching, however, on the Sunday morning previously to the administration of the Lord's supper, in a solemn tone, and with uplifted hand, he uttered severe denunciations against profaners of the holy mysteries: "and for my own part," said he, "after the example of Chrysostom, I avow that I will suffer myself to be slain at the table, rather than to allow this hand to deliver the sacred symbols of the Lord's body and blood to adjudged despisers of God." This was uttered with such authority, and produced such an effect, that Perrin himself immediately whispered to Bertelier that he must not present himself as a communicant. He accordingly withdrew; and the sacred ordinance, says Beza, "was celebrated with a profound silence, and under a solemn awe in all present, as if the Deity himself had been visible among them."

But there was another scene which occurred amid those factious commotions by which Calvin was continually distressed, which deserves to be immortalized. Perrin and others having been censured by the consistory, and failing to obtain redress from the senate, appealed to the council of two hundred. Disorder, violence and sedition reigned throughout the city. On the day preceding the assembly, Calvin told his brethren that he apprehended tumult, and that it was his intention to be present. Accordingly, he and his colleagues proceeded to the council-house, where they arrived without being noticed. Before long, they heard loud and confused clamours, which were instantly increasing. The crowd heaved to and fro with all the violence of a stormy ocean chafed into ungovernable fury, and ready to overwhelm its victims in destruction. Calvin, however, like Cæsar, cast himself, alone and unprotected, into the midst of the seditious multitude. They stood aghast at his fearless presence. His friends rallied around him. Lifting his voice, he told them he came to oppose his body to their swords, and if blood was to flow, to offer his as the first sacrifice. Rushing between the parties, who were on the point of drawing their swords in mutual slaughter, he obtained a hearing; addressed them in a long and earnest oration; and so completely subdued their evil purposes, that peace, order, and tranquility were immediately restored.

Such, by the grace of God, was the weak, timorous and

shrinking Calvin. Firm as the mountains of his country, he stood unmoved amid the storms that beat around him. He lifted his soul undaunted, above those mists, which, to all others, shrouded the future in terrific gloom, and exercising a faith strong in the promises of God, could behold afar off the triumphs of the cause. As the twelve apostles, when left to themselves, fled like frightened sheep at the approach of danger, when endued with power from on high were made bold as lions, so did the perfect love of Christ's truth and cause cast out all fear from the bosom of Calvin. Even in point of courage, therefore, he was not inferior to the very chiefest of Reformers. But in learning, in sound and correct judgment, in prudence and moderation; in sagacity and penetration; in system and order; in cultivation and refinement of manners; in the depth and power of his intellect; Calvin shone forth amid the splendid galaxy of illustrious Reformers, a star of the first magnitude and brightest lustre.

Such was the man whose life and character I now review.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENIUS AND THE WORKS OF CALVIN.

In his early youth, Calvin manifested that genius and eloquence which characterized him as a man. The same intensity of will, the same rapidity of thought, the same retentiveness of memory, the same comprehensiveness of judgment, which enabled him to discharge the inconceivable labours of his maturer years, gave him an easy victory over all his competitors for college fame, so that it became necessary to withdraw him from the ordinary ranks, and to introduce him singly to the higher walks of learning. In his twenty-third year, he published a commentary on Seneca's *Treatise De Clementia*, full of learning and eloquence. In his twenty-fourth year, we find him at Paris, preparing orations to be delivered by the rector of the university, and homilies to be recited to their people by the neighbouring clergy. During the next year, he gave to the world his work on the sleep of the soul after death, in which he manifests an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with the works of the early Fathers. Thus, in the morning of his life, before others had awaked from the dreams of boyhood, or realized the responsibilities of maturer life, he was pronounced by Scaliger, who was indisposed to give praise to any, to be the most learned man in Europe. He was only in his twenty-sixth year, when he published the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, with an address to the persecuting King of France which has ever been esteemed a

production unrivalled for classic purity, force of argument, and persuasive eloquence. Designed as a defence of the calumniated Reformers, and an exposure of the base injustice, tyranny, and corruption of their persecutors, this work became the bulwark of the Reformation, and the stronghold of its adherents. It was made the Confession of Faith of a large portion of the Protestant world, and the text book of every student. It was recommended by a Convocation held at Oxford, to the general study of the English nation, and long continued to be the standard work in theology in the English universities. The Pope makes it one of his anathematizing charges against Queen Elizabeth, that the impious mysteries and Institutes, according to Calvin, are received and observed by herself, and even enjoined upon all her subjects to be obeyed.* According to Schultingius, the English gave these Institutes a preference to the Bible. "The Bishops," he says,† "ordered all the ministers, that they should learn them almost to a word; that they should be kept in all the churches for public use." He informs us also that they were studied in both the universities; that in Scotland the students of divinity began by reading these Institutes; that at Heidelberg, Geneva, Lausanne, and in all the Calvinistic universities, these institutes were publicly taught by the professors; that in Holland, ministers, civilians, and the common people, even the coachman and the sailor, studied this work with great diligence; that esteeming it as a pearl of great price, they had it bound and gilt in the most elegant manner; and that it was appealed to as a standard on all theological questions. According to this writer, and the Cardinal Legate of the Pope, these Institutes were considered more dangerous to the cause of the papacy than all the other writings of the Reformers.

As an author, Calvin's fame will go on brightening more and more. The Latin language was in his day the language of the learned, and of books. But "what Latin?" asks Monsieur Villers. "A jargon bearing all the blemishes of eleven centuries of corruption and bad taste."§ And yet the French Encyclopedists testify that "Calvin wrote in Latin as well as is possible in a dead language;"†† and an Episcopalian of Oxford in 1839 has said, that "for majesty, when the subject required it, for purity, and in short, every quality of a perfect style, it would not suffer by a comparison with that of Cæsar, Livy, or Tacitus."‡

The modern idioms also were at that time in the same unculti-

*Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. 2, p. 347.

†Waterman's Life, p. 137.

§Villiers' Essay on the Reformation, p. 238.

††Article, Geneva.

‡Pref. to Calvin's Comment. on the Psalms, vol. 1, p. 18.

vated rude state, into which long want of use had plunged them. Now what Luther did for the German, Calvin accomplished for the French language; he emancipated, he renovated, nay, he created it. The French of Calvin became eventually the French of Protestant France, and is still admired for its purity by the most skilful critics.*

Of his Institutes we have already spoken; "the most remarkable literary work to which the Reformation gave birth." Not less valued was his Catechism, now too much neglected and unstudied. He published it in French and Latin. It was soon translated into the German, English, Dutch, Scotch, Spanish, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and was made one of the standards of the Church of Scotland, the basis of the early Catechism in the Church of England, and the model of the Catechism published by the Westminster Assembly of Divines.†

The judgment of his great opponent, Arminius, upon Calvin's merits as a commentator, has been sustained by the verdict of three centuries, and his present advancing reputation. Arminius says, "after the Holy Scriptures, I exhort the students to read the commentaries of Calvin, for I tell them that he is incomparable in the interpretation of Scripture, and that his commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian Fathers, so that in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the pre-eminence to him beyond most others, indeed beyond them all."‡

But the labours of Calvin were as multiplied and arduous as his achievements were marvellous. The Genevian edition of his works amounts to twelve folio volumes. Besides these, there exist at Geneva two thousand of his sermons and lectures, taken down from his mouth, as he delivered them. He was but twenty-eight years in the ministry altogether. He was always poor, so as not to be able to have many books. The sufferings of his body from headache, weakness, and other complaints, were constant and intense, so that he was obliged to recline on his couch a part of every day. It was only the remnants of his time, left from preaching and correspondence, he devoted to study and writing. And yet, every year of his life may be chronicled by his various works. In the midst of convulsions and interruptions of every kind, he pursued his commentaries on the Bible, as if sitting in the most perfect calm, and undisturbed repose. His labours were indeed incredi-

*D'Aubigné, 3. 639, 641. French Encyclop. as above, Taylor's Biogr. of the age of Elizabeth, 2. p. 17.

†Waterman, 35. Waterman's edition of it, Hartford, 1815. Irving's Confessions of Faith, Appendix, and Pref. p. 124, and Neal's Puritans, 1. 224.

‡In Scott, 497. See the similar judgment of Scaliger in Bayle, 265, and Beza, 120, 204.

ble, and beyond all comparison. He allowed himself no recreation whatever. He preached and wrote with headaches that would, says Beza, have confined any other person to bed.

Calvin was a member of the Sovereign Council of Geneva, and took a great part in the deliberations, as a politician and legislator. He corrected the civil code of his adopted country. He corresponded with Protestants throughout Europe, both on religious subjects and State affairs; for all availed themselves of his experience in difficult matters. He wrote innumerable letters of encouragement and consolation to those who were persecuted, imprisoned, condemned to death for the Gospel's sake. He was a constant preacher, delivering public discourses every day in the week, and on Sunday preaching twice. He was Professor of Theology, and delivered three lectures a week. He was President of Consistory, and addressed remonstrances, or pronounced other ecclesiastical sentences against delinquent church members. He was the head of the pastors; and every Friday, in an assembly called the *Congregation*, he pronounced before them a long discourse on the duties of the evangelical ministry. His door was constantly open to refugees from France, England, Poland, Germany, and Italy, who flocked to Geneva, and he organized for these exiled Protestants, special parishes. His correspondence, commentaries, and controversial writings, &c., would form annually, during the period of thirty-one years, between two and three octavo volumes; and yet he did not reach the age of fifty-five. When laid aside by disease from preaching, he dictated numberless letters, revised for the last time his *Christian Institutes*, almost re-wrote his *Commentary on Isaiah*, frequently observing that "nothing was so painful to him as his present idle life." And when urged by his friends to forbear, he would reply, "Would you have my Lord to find me idle when he cometh?" "O, the power of Christian faith; and of the human will! Calvin did all these things—he did more than twenty eminent doctors; and he had feeble health, a frail body, and died at the age of fifty-five years! We bow reverently before this incomparable activity, this unparalleled devotion of Calvin to the service of his Divine Master!"

CHAPTER IV.

CALVIN VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF AMBITION, AND HIS TRUE GREATNESS AND WONDERFUL INFLUENCE SHOWN.

Gifted with such powers of mind, and stored with such treasures of knowledge, who can question the sincerity of Calvin's adherence to the principles of the Reformation? He has been charged, however, with ambitious motives, and with aspiring to a new popedom. Shameless calumny! With the pathway to honour, emolument and fame opened to him, did he not choose, like Moses, "rather to suffer with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season?" Did he not resign the benefices which he held, and which by a covert conduct, he might still have retained, and throw himself poor and unpatronized among the houseless wanderers who were everywhere spoken against as not worthy to live? Did he not design to spend his time in retirement, as deeming himself unfit to take part in the noble strife? Was he not led to visit Geneva by the invisible hand of God, who had obstructed his route through Dauphiny and Savoy to Balse or Strasburgh, where he meant to retire? Was it not after many refusals, and the extremest urgency, he consented to remain in that city? And when appointed Professor of Divinity by the consistory and magistrates, did he not earnestly decline the office of pastor, which they also insisted upon his undertaking? When banished from that place did he not again seek retirement, and with manifest reluctance resume the duties of professor and of pastor, which Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and the Senate of Strasburgh conferred upon him? And when the whole city of Geneva entreated his return among them, did he not say, that "the further he advanced the more sensible he was how arduous a charge is that of governing a church, and that there was no place under heaven he more dreaded than Geneva?" How did he praise and exalt Melancthon and Luther!* How did he bear with their opposition to his views, and their silence, when he wrote to them in friendship! Did he not, when he had succeeded in founding the College at Geneva, prefer Beza to the presidency, and himself become a professor under him?† Did he not as late as 1553, in a letter to the minister of Zurich, call Farel "the father of the liberties of Geneva and the father of that church?" Ambitious! "a most extraordinary charge, says Beza, to be brought against a man who chose *his* kind of life, and in this state, in this church, which I might truly call the very seat of poverty." No! the love of truth and of the cause

*Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. 3. 175, 414, 382, 387.

†Ibid. p. 466.

of Christ was the master passion of his soul. He realized what millions only profess, and judging with the apostle, that if Christ died for all, then were all dead, and that He thus died that they, who are made alive by his Spirit, should not henceforth live unto themselves, he consecrated his body, soul and spirit unto God. "Since," says he, "I remember that I am not my own, nor at my own disposal, I give myself up, tied and bound, as a sacrifice to God." When, therefore, he was driven from Geneva by a blinded faction, amid the lamentations of his whole flock, he could say, "Had I been in the service of men, this would have been a poor reward; but it is well—I have served HIM, who never fails to repay his servants whatever he has promised." When the people of Strasburgh consented for a season to lend his service to the people of Geneva, they insisted on his retaining the privileges of a citizen and the stipend they had assigned him while resident among them. Was it ambition that led Calvin resolutely to decline the generous offer? Was it ambition which led him to settle at Geneva, where his stipend, which was one hundred crowns a year, barely supported his existence, and which nevertheless he pertinaciously refused to have increased? Did he not for years abstain from all animal food at dinner, rarely eating anything after breakfast till his stated hour for supper—and was not the whole amount of his remaining property, including his library, which sold high, less than three hundred crowns? Let the infidel Bayle, who was struck with astonishment by these facts, put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.*

The charge of ambition is founded upon the innate and surpassing greatness of Calvin. An exile from his country, without money, without friends, he raised himself, by merit alone, to a dominion over the minds of men. His throne was in the hearts of those who knew him; his sceptre, truth; his laws, the silent influence of principle. Consider the difficulties which he encountered at Geneva. When he arrived at that place, in 1536, the city had neither religious nor political organization. Calvin undertook the task of giving it both.† But in order to do so, he had first to cleanse the Augean stable, for to this the demoralized condition of Geneva might be well compared. The long reign of ignorance and superstition, the extreme corruption of the Romish clergy, the relaxation of manners consequent upon intestine feuds and open war, the licentiousness, anarchy and insubordination resulting from the first excesses of unrestrained freedom, the disorders occasioned by party spirit and factious demagogues, and the secret attachment of many to the discarded system of popery—these were causes sufficient to lead

*Bayle's Dict.—art. Calvin. BB. and Scott, 489.

†Dr. Taylor's Biography of the Age of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 24.

to the unparalleled dissoluteness of a city, where great numbers of houses of ill fame were recognized and licensed by the magistrates, with a regular female superior who bore the name of *Reine du Bordel*. Calvin proved himself to be not only a theologian of the highest order, but also a politician of astonishing sagacity. Morals became pure. The laws of the state were revised and thoroughly changed. The ecclesiastical tribunals were made independent of the civil, and a system of the strictest discipline established. The sect of the Libertines was overthrown. The most powerful factions were dispersed. The enemies of truth and purity, though often triumphant, and always violent, were made to lick the dust, so that the wickedness of the wicked came to an end, and righteousness prevailed. The effects of Calvin's influence, says a recent and prejudiced historian, "after the lapse of ages, are still visible in the industry and intellectual tone of Geneva."* From having been a small and unimportant town, Geneva became the focus of light, the centre of attraction, and the source of incalculable influence upon the destinies of Europe and the world. Calvin's seminary supplied teachers and ministers to most of the Reformed states of Europe. Geneva was honoured with the title of the mother of Protestantism. Lodgings could with difficulty be found for the multitude of students that came to sit at the feet of the man whom Melancthon called "the divine." It was to this "metropolis of Presbyterianism" all the proscribed exiles who were driven from other countries by the intolerance of Popery, "came to get intoxicated with presbytery and republicanism," to carry back with them those seeds which have sprung up in the republic of Holland, the commonwealth of England, the glorious revolution of 1688, and our own American confederation.

Would you see the amazing power and influence of Calvin, read the history of his triumph over Bolsec, one of those hydras of faction that successively shot up their revegetating heads in Geneva.† Behold Troillet, another of his enemies, when about to die, sending for Calvin, that he might confess his faults, declaring that he could not die in peace without obtaining his forgiveness. Behold him at Berne, debating against Castalio and others with such power that his opponents were henceforth excluded from that Canton. Thus, like another Hercules, armed with the simple club of God's holy word, did he destroy the

*Hist. of Switzerland. Lond. 1832: p. 227.

†Scott, *ibid.* 404, and Waterman, 70. "Those, says Rousseau, who regard Calvin as a mere theologian, are ill-acquainted with the extent of his genius. The preparation of our wise Edicts, in which he had a great part, does him as much honour as his Institutes. Whatever revolution time may effect in our worship, while the love of country and of liberty shall exist among us, the memory of that great man shall never cease to be blessed."

numerous monsters who threatened to overthrow the truth as it is in Jesus.

How wonderful was the influence, under God, of this single man! The Reformed Churches in France adopted his confession of faith, and were modelled after the ecclesiastical order of Geneva. To him England is indebted for her articles, for a purified liturgy, and for all her psalmody.* To him Scotland owes her Knox, her Buchanan, and her Melville, her ecclesiastical system, and all that has made her proudly eminent among the nations of the earth. To him Northern Ireland is indebted for the industry, manufactures, education, religion, and noble spirit of independence and freedom which she received from her first settlers, the followers of Calvin.† To his letters, dedications, and exhortations, every nation of any eminence in his day, was accustomed to pay profound respect. These writings had a salutary influence even upon the Romish church. Her shame was excited, abuses were abandoned, discipline enforced, and the necessity of a reformation confessed. Nor was this influence merely ecclesiastical or political. The increase of his own church was, we are told, wonderful, and he could say, even during his life, "I have numberless spiritual children throughout the world." His contemporaneous reputation was even greater than his posthumous fame, because all parties united in rendering him honour. Many Romanists, says Bayle, "would do him justice if they durst." Scaliger said, he was "the greatest wit the world had seen since the apostles," while the Romish bishop of Valence called him "the greatest divine in the world."‡ The Romanists too have been forced to acknowledge the falsity of their infamous calumnies published against his morals.§ Such was the terror he had inspired in this great apostasy, that when a false report of his death was circulated, they decreed a public procession, and returned thanks to God in their churches for his death.†† Every pious, eminent, and learned Reformer was his friend. It was the power of his reputation, proclaiming abroad their own condemnation, that led the General Assembly of Geneva to adopt a decree for his return—to acknowledge the great injury they had done him, and implore forgiveness of Almighty God—to send an honourable deputation to him, to persuade him to accept their invitation—to go forth in throngs to welcome his return—and to allow him a secretary at the public expense. In short, it would be no difficult matter, as has been said, to prove, that there is not a parallel instance upon record, of any single

*Sibson in Beza's Life, Am. ed. pp. 111, 112.

†Waterman, p. 34. Scott, *ibid.* 370. Beza's life, p. 101.

‡Bayle's Dict. Vol. ii. p. 268; note X.

§*Ibid.* p. 265, and note 2.

††Waterman, p. 135.

individual being equally and so unequivocally venerated, for the union of wisdom and piety, both in England, and by a large body of the foreign churches, as John Calvin.

The full extent to which the living influence of Calvin extended, is only now being fully demonstrated. "A few days before he expired, in 1564, Calvin was in his library with Theodore de Beza, and, showing him the immense correspondence he had kept up, for above a quarter of a century, with the most evangelical Christians and the highest personages of Europe, proposed to him to publish it for the Church's instruction. This wish of the dying Reformer was but tardily and partially accomplished in the sixteenth century; but a literary man, and a Christian of our days, Mr. Jules Bonnet, Docteur es Lettres, has undertaken, after the lapse of three hundred years, to fulfil Calvin's wish; and five years spent in travelling in Switzerland, in France, and in Germany, with careful studies and researches in the libraries of these different countries, have enabled him to form a collection which will throw a fresh light on the history of the Reformation. This correspondence, which terminates only on Calvin's death-bed, embraces every period of his life, and contains at the same time the familiar effusions of friendship, grave theological statements, and elevated views of the politics of Protestantism. We see in it the Reformer reproving, with all respect and dignity, the Queen of Navarre, Marguerite de Valois, sister of Francis I., exhorting the young King of England, Edward VI., as a Christian Mentor speaking to his Telemachus, conversing with Melancthon, Bullinger, Knox, Conde, Coligny, the Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII., Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry IV.; we see him withstanding libertines, strengthening martyrs, upholding all the churches.

"This important publication appears to be* a remarkable event in the history of the Church and of theology. As documents, these letters will compel the odious calumnies which have been circulated, to yield to the impartial witness of truth. We shall learn from Calvin's own mouth what his thoughts, wishes, and pursuits were, and we shall find in his most familiar writings the secret of the revolution of which he was, in this world, the instrument. Certainly Luther is the *first* Reformer; but if Luther laid the foundation, Calvin built thereon. If, on the one hand, we consider the Lutheran Reformation imperfect in some respects, and, on the other, the Calvinistic imperfect also, I agree to it; but powerful, more complete, better organized, and full of action. If we compare the Lutheran nations of Germany, rich in intelligence, in missionary zeal, but who are still far from understanding and practising some ques-

*Says D'Aubigné.

tions, in particular that of religious liberty, with the nations which have passed chiefly under Calvin's influence—Holland, Scotland, England, the United States—these free people, some of whom stretch their sceptres over all seas, and to the very extremities of the world, it is impossible not to perceive that Luther and Calvin are the greatest men of modern times; the most eminent Christians since St. Paul; at least, if we consider their influence on the human mind. How, then, could we fail to study the familiar letters of Calvin, that most powerful instrument in the hands of the Lord?"

This correspondence has already attracted the attention of eminent men. In particular the *Paris Journal des Debats* has devoted an interesting article to the subject, from which we quote the following lines:

"Let us bring before our minds the state of excitement in which the ardent disciple of the Reformation (Calvin) must have lived, when from Paris, from Lyons, from Chambery, he received tidings of the tortures endured by his co-religionists. History has not sufficiently dwelt upon the atrocity of these persecutions, nor on the resignation, the courage, the serenity of the sufferers. There are there pages worthy of the early ages of the Church; and I do not doubt that a simple history, composed from the documents and the correspondence of the times of these sublime struggles, would equal in beauty the ancient martyrology. Calvin's voice in these moments of trial attains a fulness and elevation truly marvellous. His letters to the martyrs of Lyons, of Chambery, to the prisoners of Chatelet, appear an echo from the heroic days of Christianity; pages from the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian. I confess that before I was introduced by Mr. Bonnet to this sanguinary scene of martyrdom, I had neither understood the nobleness of the victims nor the cruelty of their executioners."

CHAPTER V.

CALVIN VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF ILLIBERALITY, INTOLERANCE, AND PERSECUTION.

But we will pass on to another view of Calvin's character. A truly great mind, conscious of its own resources, and more fully sensible than others of the difficulties surrounding every subject of human speculation, is always calm, and tempered with moderation, equally free from bigotry and indifference. It has therefore been attempted to deprive Calvin of his glory, by the allegation that he was illiberal, extravagant, and intolerant—a furious bigot and extreme ultraist—and the most heartless of persecutors. Such charges, in such an age and country

as this, are, it is well known, the most offensive, and the most sure to cover with obloquy, the man and the cause with which they are identified. But the very reverse we affirm to be the truth in this case. Calvin was liberal in his views, moderate in his spirit, and tolerant in his disposition.

Who had endured greater calumny, reproach, and hatred, at the hands of the Romanists, than Calvin? and yet he allowed the validity of Romish baptism, and the claims of Rome to the character of a Church, not merely as comprising many of God's elect children, but as having "the remains of a church continuing with them."* Against whom did Luther and his coadjutors utter severer language, than against Calvin in reference to the sacramentarian controversy? And whom did Calvin more delight to honour than Luther? How did he study to cover the coals of this pernicious discord, and if possible, entirely to quench them? "I wish you," he says, writing to Bullinger and the other pastors of Zurich, against whom Luther had used an inexcusable wantonness of language, reproach, and anathema, "I wish you to recall these things to your mind: how great a man Luther is, and with how great gifts he excels; also, with what fortitude and constancy of mind, with what efficacy of learning, he hath hitherto laboured and watched to destroy the kingdom of antichrist, and to propagate, at the same time, the doctrine of salvation. I often say, If he should call me a devil, I hold him in such honour, that I would acknowledge him an eminent servant of God." And does not the whole Protestant world now, including the Lutheran Church itself, acknowledge that the doctrine of Calvin on the Lord's Supper is true, scriptural, and catholic, and that Luther's was as certainly extravagant and wrong?

In how many ways did he endeavour to preserve the peace and harmony of the churches; to lead to compromise on matters of order and discipline; to encourage submission to ceremonies and forms which were in themselves "fooleries," rather than produce rupture, and give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme;—to prevent schism, disunion, and alienation,—and to bind together with the cords of love the whole brotherhood of the Reformed Churches! "Keep your smaller differences," says he, addressing the Lutheran churches, "let us have no discord on that account; but let us march in one solid column, under the banners of the Captain of our salvation, and with undivided counsels pour the legions of the cross upon the territories of darkness and of death." "I should not hesitate to cross ten seas, if by this means holy communion might prevail among the members of Christ."

*"However broken and deformed it may be, a church of some sort exists," and in proof of this, he quotes 2 Thess. ii. 4. See his letters to Socinus in 1549, and Scott, *ibid.* 400.

Nothing can be more liberal than his views as to the character of other churches. "Let the ministers, therefore," he says,* "by whom God permits the Church to be governed, be what they may; if the signs of the true Church are perceived, it will be better not to separate from their communion. Nor is it an objection, that some impure doctrines are there delivered; for there is scarce any church which retains none of the remains of ignorance. It is sufficient for us, that the doctrine, on which the Church of Christ is founded, should hold its place and influence." Hence has it happened that the most absurd attempts have been made, even in our own day, to represent Calvin as the friend and defender of Prelacy, which he spent his life in opposing—that liberality which made him willing to bear, for a time, with the "tolerable fooleries" of the ritual of the English Church, being most ungenerously interpreted into a warm and hearty approval of its unscriptural forms which Calvin as openly and constantly condemned.†

Equally liberal and moderate was Calvin in his doctrinal tenets. He steered the safe and middle course between Antinomianism and Arminianism—and between Fatalism and Latitudinarianism. No one has ever been more belied. Garbled extracts have been made to give expression to views which their very context was designed to overthrow. Doctrines have been fathered upon Calvin, which had existed in the church from the Apostles' days, and in every age. And erroneous opinions, both doctrinal and practical, have been attributed to him which he spent his life in opposing, and of which no confutation could be found more triumphant than what is given in his own works. But while these are unknown or unread, youthful bigots, and learned fools, expose their shame by retailing and perpetuating stereotyped abuse. It were enough to repel all such criminations by the fact, that for every doctrine Calvin appeals to the Bible—that he exalts the Bible above all human authority, including his own—that he claims for all men liberty of conscience and of judgment—and that he charges all men to search the Scriptures, and thus to try his doctrines whether they be of God.

And as this charge is based by many upon the doctrines of predestination, decrees, and divine sovereignty, let it be remembered that these were not peculiar to Calvin, but were common to him, with the greatest divines of all ages, and with all the Reformers. He was, too, a Sub- and not a Supra-lapsarian, teaching that God's decrees had reference to man's foreseen condition and necessities, and were not the causes of them. He

*Letter to Farel from Strasburgh, 1538, in Waterman, pp. 249, 250.

†See Calvin's views on the subject of Episcopacy, fully vindicated and established, by Dr. Miller, in his recent letters to Bishop Ives, and also in his work on the Christian Ministry, 2d ed. 8vo.

does not represent God as arbitrary. He utterly repudiates, and constantly opposes, fatalism.† He always inculcates the duty and necessity of using means; condemning the confounding of "necessity with compulsion," and rejecting the supposition as absurd, that "man's being actuated by God is incompatible with his being at the same time active himself."* He teaches that the means of grace, such as exhortations, precepts, and reproofs, are not confined to those who are already pious, but are God's means of awakening the careless, converting the sinner, and leaving the impenitent without excuse. He teaches, therefore, that sinners are constantly to be urged to attendance upon God's ordinances, and to the diligent and prayerful use of all the means by which they may be convinced, converted, and saved.‡ He strenuously upholds the free agency and responsibility of man.§ He rejects the doctrine of reprobation, as it is vulgarly believed, since he attributes the final condemnation of the wicked to themselves, and not to any arbitrary decree of God.††

While Calvin held firmly to the great fundamental doctrine of imputation, and to the doctrine of a limited atonement, he nevertheless rejected all such views of the sacrifice of Christ as would make him to have suffered just so much for each one that was to be saved by him, so that if more or fewer had been appointed unto salvation, he must have shed accordingly more or fewer drops of his precious blood, and suffered more or less severe dying pangs. Calvin on the contrary, recognized in the death of Christ, a sacrifice adequate to the sins of the whole world, and which made provision for all whom it should please the Father to enable and dispose to avail themselves of it.‡‡

†Institutes, B. I., ch. xvi. §§ 8, 9.

*Ibid. B. II., ch. iii. § 5, and B. I. ch. xviii. § 2.

‡Instit. B. II., ch. v. §§ 1, 4, 5, &c.

§See numerous extracts in proof, in Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. ii. pp. 508, 521, 525, 379, 385, 405.

††Instit. B. III., ch. xxiv., is entitled "Election Confirmed (i. e., made surely known to us. Scott, *ibid.* p. 577) by the divine calling, the just destruction to which the reprobate are destined, *procured by themselves.*" In the epistle of the pastors of Geneva, (Calv. Epist. p. 63-65, in Scott 406,) we find reprobation most offensively spoken of as proceeding "from the bare will and pleasure of God"—*nudo Dei placito*—when no such thing as we should understand by the words is meant. This appears from what presently follows: "It is beyond controversy, that the perdition of men is to be ascribed to their own wickedness;" and that the punishments which God inflicts on them are "deserved." It would seem that all which they mean, and which Calvin generally, at least, means by such obnoxious language, is, that among a *fallen* and *guilty* race, God, according to his sovereign pleasure, chooses whom he will to bring to salvation, and whom (according to the title of Calvin's work on Predestination) he will "leave in their ruin." This appears to be the constant meaning of Calvin, in the work which he now published on these subjects.

‡‡On Romans v. 18,—"The free gift came on all men to justification of life," he remarks, "The apostle makes it a grace or favour common to all, because it is proposed (or set forth) to all; not because it is actually extended to (conferred on) all. For, though Christ suffered for the sins

He therefore fully and frequently proclaims the universality of the gospel promises, and the duty of all to receive and embrace them.* While he teaches that original sin is natural, he denies that it originated from nature. "We deny," says he, "that it proceeded from nature, to signify that it is rather an adventitious quality or accident, than a substantial property, originally innate, yet we call it natural, that no one may suppose it to be contracted by every individual from corrupt habit, whereas it prevails over all by hereditary right." "No other explanation therefore can be given of our being said to be dead in Adam, than that his transgression not only procured misery and ruin for himself, but also precipitated our nature into similar destruction, and that not by his personal guilt as an individual, which pertains not to us, but because he infected all his descendants with the corruption into which he had fallen." And again—"We are, on account of this very corruption, considered as convicted and justly condemned in the sight of God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocence, and purity. And this liability to punishment arises not from the delinquency of another, for when it is said that the sin of Adam renders us obnoxious to the divine judgment, it is not to be understood as if we, though innocent, were undeservedly loaded with the guilt of his sin, but because we are all subject to a curse, in consequence of his transgression, he is therefore said to have involved us in guilt. Nevertheless we derive from him not only the punishment, but also the pollution to which the punishment is justly due."†

He allows that even as fallen, "the soul of man is irradiated with a beam of divine light, so that it is never wholly destitute of some little flame, or at least a spark of it," though "it cannot comprehend God by that illumination," the remaining image of God being but the ruin of the original, and "confused, mutilated, and defiled."‡

His doctrines, therefore, as he frequently shows, cut up by the roots all presumption, prevent despair, encourage hope, and in an eminent degree enforce and cherish holiness both of heart

of the whole world, and is offered by the mercy of God to all indifferently, (without exception or distinction,) yet all do not embrace him." On 1 John ii. 2, he says: "Christ suffered sufficiently for the whole world, but efficaciously only for the elect." And finally, as early as the year 1535, in a preface to the New Testament in French, he says:—"At the appointed time the Messiah came, and amply performed whatever was necessary for the redemption of all. The benefit was not confined to Israel alone; it was rather to be extended to the whole human race; because by Christ alone the whole human race was to be reconciled to God."

*Instit. B. III., ch. iii. § 21, and ch. xxii. § 10, and ch. xxiv. §§ 6, 8, 16, 17, and Scott, p. 597.

†Instit. B. II. ch. i. §§ 10, 11, and B. II. ch. 1, §§ 6, 8.

‡Ibid. B. I. ch. xv. §§ 4 & 6; B. II. ch. ii. § 12, and B. II. ch. 1, §§ 13, 19, 22, 24, and ch. iii. § 4.

and life.* His doctrines also make special provision for the salvation of all elect children, whether baptized or unbaptized, whether Christian or pagan; nor did he ever discountenance the idea that all children dying in infancy may be regarded as among the elect, and therefore as assuredly saved.† He also approved the baptism of the infants of all baptized parents, whether communicants or not, recognizing the covenant right of such children to the seal of those privileges to which they have a natural and necessary claim.

I may also mention, as interesting as this time, that Calvin approved of a public form for the introduction of professors into the Christian church.‡

Now let these views of Calvin be compared with those of Luther and Melancthon on the subject of predestination, or with those of Beza, his own coadjutor; or with those of the English Reformers and the Lambeth articles; and will they not be allowed, by every impartial judge, to be at once liberal, moderate, and wise? While these doctrines, by which alone many know Calvin, were not peculiar to him, it is also true that they were not dwelt upon with any undue prominence, but insubordination to other subjects.§ And when the unparalleled consistency with which, through his whole life, Calvin continued to maintain the same views, is contrasted with the variation of others, how illustriously do they exhibit the superiority of his intellectual powers. Not that he was infallible—far from it. He too was human, fallible, and chargeable with error. In making assurance of salvation necessary to a true faith—in questioning the peculiar and permanent sanctity of the Sabbath day—in supposing that Christ descended to hell, or endured on the cross the torments of hell—Calvin certainly erred, and is not by any to be believed or followed.††

But we proceed to remark that Calvin was not intolerant in spirit or in practice. It is true, that Servetus was, at his prosecution, brought to trial for conduct the most criminal, and

*In his *Instit. B. IV. ch. xvi.* where he argues against those who affirmed that regeneration cannot take place in early infancy—"God," says he, "adopts infants and washes them in the blood of his Son," and "they are regarded by Christ as among his flock." Again, (*Instit. B. IV. ch. xvi. § 31, p. 461, see also pp. 435, 436, 451,*) he says of John iii. 36, "Christ is not speaking of the general guilt in which all the descendants of Adam are involved, but only threatening the despisers of the gospel who proudly and obstinately reject the grace that is offered them; and this has nothing to do with infants. I likewise oppose a contrary argument; all those whom Christ blesses are exempted from the curse of Adam and the wrath of God; and it is known that infants were blessed by him; it follows that they are exempted from death."

†*Instit. B. IV. ch. xix. §§ 4, 13.*

‡"If you read the letters of Calvin, you will find very little about predestination, and very much about all the other doctrines of Christianity."

§See *Scott's Contin. of Milner, vol. 3, pp. 545, 550, and 583, and Bib. Repertory, 1831, p. 421.*

††*Instit. B. III. ch. xxiv. § 4, and ch. xiv. §§ 17-21.*

opinions the most horrible, which in the face of the laws and of repeated admonition, he continued to propagate with pestiferous zeal. But that Calvin did more than this, in the whole course of his life, to give occasion to the charges of persecuting intolerance so loudly proclaimed against him, we positively deny. To affirm, as many do, that he sought the burning of Servetus—that he influenced the Senate in securing his death—that he aided or abetted in his execution—or that he did not use his best endeavours to procure a mitigation of his sentence—is an atrocious calumny against the truth of history, and an act of black persecution against the memory of a great and good man. We have already offered proof of the liberality and moderation of Calvin even towards opponents. Many similar facts illustrative of his great forbearance might be adduced. His benevolence no one can dispute. Nor can any one question his humble and unambitious spirit. The earlier editions of his Institutes contained also the following eloquent argument in favour of toleration. “Though it may be wrong to form friendship or intimacy with those who hold pernicious opinions, yet must we contend against them only by exhortation, by kindly instructions, by clemency, by mildness, by prayers to God, that they may be so changed as to bear good fruits, and be restored to the unity of the church. And not only are erring Christians to be so treated, but even Turks and Saracens.”*

This, then, was the natural spirit, and the genuine creed of Calvin. But it was diametrically opposed to the spirit and to the universal sentiment of the age. The Romish Church had diffused the notion that the spirit of the judicial laws of the Old Testament still constituted the rule and standard of the Christian Church. Of necessity, therefore, a regard for the public peace, and the preservation of the Church of Christ from infection, required the punishment of heretics and blasphemers.† Toleration of errorists was deemed sinful, and their destruction a Christian duty. Men were taught to believe that temporal penalties were God’s appointed means for making men virtuous and religious. The gibbet, the stake, the cell, and various other modes of torture, were therefore the chief arguments employed. Priests became inquisitors. The pulpit was the inciter to slaughter; and *Te Deums* resounded through cloistered walls in commemoration of the deaths of infamous heretics. Persecution, in short, was the avowed policy of both the Church and the State for the suppression of dangerous opinions. Now the Reformers, be it remembered, were all Romish theologians, trained up in the bosom of the Roman

*Dr. Taylor’s Biography of the Age of Elizabeth, vol. 2, p. 46.

†See Clark’s Hist. of Intol., vol. 1, p. xviii. and xxi.

Church, and imbued with these fatal sentiments, which were everywhere applauded.*

The liberty of the Reformation, also, had been abused to the greatest licentiousness, both of opinion and of practice. Such heresies in doctrine, and excesses in conduct, were all employed as arguments against the Reformation. While, then, tolerance of error was a standing reproach in the mouth of Rome, against their cause, the Reformers, deluded in their first principles, blinded by the universal opinion of all parties, and driven, in self-defence, to oppose themselves to all heresy, continued to approve and to act upon those views which are now condemned as intolerant and persecuting. Calvin, therefore, was led to think that his previous views would encourage heresy, and injure the cause of Reform; and for once he allowed his better judgment to be warped, and fully endorsed the principle that heresy must be restrained by force. But still he utterly disclaimed all right or power on the part of the Church to employ that force. He transferred it altogether to the civil authorities, that is, to the hands of the community generally, by whom it has been ultimately abolished. Tried, therefore, by the universal judgment of his age, Calvin was not intolerant; and when condemned by the free and liberal views of the present time, he meets his sentence in common with all men, whether civilians or theologians, and with all the Reformers, whether continental or Anglican.† So that the whole guilt of the persecuting tenets of the Reformers must ultimately rest upon that mother from whose breasts these all had drawn the milk of intolerance, and by whose nurture they had been trained up in the way of persecution. The Romish Church, therefore, as has been truly said, is answerable for the execution of Servetus.‡

If, however, there ever was a case in which the execution of

*Viller on the Reformation, p. 260.

†Scott's Contin. vol. 3, 420, 432, 435, 437, 438. D'Aubignë Hist. of Ref., vol. 3, p. 630. Beza's Life, pp. 109, 110, 156, 197.

‡"To appreciate," says D'Aubignë, "the Reformer's sentiments as regards heresy, we must do something similar to what is done when we wish to appreciate the strength of a river; we must separate it into two forces. We must thus separate Calvin's feeling against heresy. One force was excellent, it belonged to Calvin; the other is deplorable, it belongs to the age he lived in. The part that belongs to Calvin is the horror he feels for false doctrines, which attack the glory of God in Jesus Christ. Would to God we felt more of this horror for all that is false and evil! But to the sixteenth century belongs the idea that the faults committed against the *first* table of the law, or against *God*, ought to be punished by human tribunals, and by such a punishment as would be inflicted for faults committed against the *second* table, or against *man*. This was a Judaizing error: the sixteenth century had not yet understood that all that belongs to the theocracy of the Old Testament cannot be applied to the Christian Church. Calvin, in this respect, was a man of his age; Melancthon was also. It is sad, but can we be surprised at it? A longer period of time and greater discernment is required to perceive these errors than those which assault our faith in a more direct manner. I know almost only Luther who, on this point (religious liberty,) was in advance of his age.

the penalty of death could have been properly inflicted, it was in that of Servetus. Never had man so blasphemed his Maker, so outraged Christian feeling and all propriety, so insulted the laws in force for his destruction, and so provoked the slumbering arm of vengeance to fall upon him.*

Servetus had been driven from every attempted residence on account of his unbearable conduct. He had been tried and condemned to be burned to death by the Romanists at Vienna, from whose hands he had just escaped when he came to Geneva.† He was well aware of the intolerant character of the laws of the city of Geneva, enacted against heretics by the Emperor Frederick I., when under imperial and Romish jurisdiction—which had been often exercised before that time—and which were still in force.‡ Calvin, regarding his sentiments and conduct with just abhorrence, and believing it to be his duty, for the reasons stated, to oppose them, gave him previous notice, that if he came to the city of Geneva, he should be under the necessity of prosecuting him. There was therefore no previous malice in Calvin towards him. When Servetus had come, and Calvin had brought his character and opinions to the view of the authorities, his interference in the matter there ceased. He never visited the court, except when required to do so. The Senate, instead of being influenced by him in the course they pursued, were, the greater part of them, at that very time, opposed to him.§ The whole matter also, *before* sentence had been passed, was, at Servetus' request, submitted to the judgment of the other cities, who unanimously approved of his condemnation.††

It was the sentiment of the age, that those who obstinately persisted in heresy and blasphemy were worthy of death. Even the gentle Melancthon affirms, in a letter to Calvin, that the magistrates "acted rightly in putting this blasphemer to death;" and in a letter to Bullinger, the same mild and cautious and truly Christian man declares, "*I have been surprised that there are men who blame this severity.*"

Servetus himself maintained this principle in his "Restitution of Christianity," the very work which led to his trial and condemnation. The justice of such a punishment towards himself, Servetus repeatedly avowed, if guilty of the charges against him. And this punishment Servetus continually demanded to be inflicted on Calvin, on the ground that by the laws of the state it was required that the person who lodged an accusation against any one should sustain it and make it good, or failing

*Beza's Life, pp. 163, 203. Philad. ed.

†Scott, *ibid.* 423. Beza, *ibid.* 163.

‡Scott, *ibid.* 347, 356, 374, 430, 443. Beza *ibid.* 167, 180, and 199.

§Scott, *ibid.* pp. 434, 440. Beza's Life, *ibid.* 168, 233.

††Scott, *ibid.* 427, 436. Beza's Life, *ibid.* 169, 195.

to do this, should suffer the punishment which would have been due to the accused. This punishment, Servetus was led to believe he would be able to inflict on Calvin, since in the council of two hundred, before whom the case was first argued, the opponents and determined enemies of Calvin—the Libertines—predominated.

There is, however, no probability that Servetus, under the circumstances, would have been visited with the punishment he suffered, *merely* for his opinions.

For what then, it has been asked, was he condemned? Not for heretical opinions of any sort merely, or chiefly, we reply. His opinions and doctrines were doubtless heretical enough, according to the standards of judgment at the time; heretical they would in any age be pronounced by the great body of the Christian Church. But it was not so much his opinions in themselves, as *the manner in which he stated and defended* them, which gave offence. The elder Socinus was teaching substantially the same doctrines at Zurich without molestation. But not content with simply maintaining and defending calmly but earnestly what he thought to be truth, Servetus it seems had from the first set himself to assail with terms of bitterest obloquy and reproach, nay with ribaldry and unmeasured abuse, the opinions of those who differed from him. He made use of language which could not fail to shock the minds of all sober and pious men who held the doctrines of either the Catholic or the Protestant Church. He calls persons of the Godhead delusions of the devil, and the triune God a monster, a three-headed Cerberus.

It was this bitterness and intolerance of spirit, this entire want of reverence for the most sacred things, this deliberate insult and outrage of the religious feelings of the entire Christian world, that armed the entire Christian world against him, and made him a marked and outlawed man long before he ever saw Calvin or Geneva. Some thirteen years before his trial he sent back to Calvin, with whom he was then corresponding, a copy of his Institutes, with the most severe and bitter reflections and taunts upon the margin, and sent him several letters of the most abusive and insulting character.

The same spirit was exhibited on his trial. He manifested neither respect for his judges, nor a decent regard for the religious sentiment of the age. In the most insulting manner he heaped upon Calvin the most undeserved reproaches and the most abusive epithets, dealing so much in personalities and invectives as to shame even his judges, and wear out the patience of men, many of whom were inclined to look favourably upon his cause. So far was this abuse carried, that unable to bear it longer, the entire body of the clergy, with Calvin at

their head, arose on one occasion and left the tribunal, thus closing the examination.

On his final trial thirty-eight propositions, taken from his last work, were handed him. His answer, says a dispassionate historian, "was more like the ravings of a maniac than the words of reason and truth. He exhibited a surprising indifference in regard to the erroneous doctrines which were imputed to him, and sought mainly for hard epithets to apply to Calvin. He accused him * * * * of being a murderer and a disciple of Simon Magus. The margin of the paper containing the propositions was covered with such expressions as the following—'Thou drestest,' 'Thou liest,' 'Thou canst not deny that thou art Simon the sorcerer.'"

Another historian says of this reply of Servetus, "It is no presumption to say, that in point of abuse and scurrility this defence stands unrivalled by any one that was ever made by any defendant, however infatuated, in the most desperate cause."

It was not, then, so much his opinions and dogmas, as the manner in which he maintained them, that occasioned the final decision of the judges, and the almost unanimous verdict of the Christian world against Servetus. "If Servetus had only attacked the doctrine of the Trinity by arguments," says an able writer, "he would have been answered by arguments, and without danger of persecution by the Protestants he might have gone on defending it, until called to answer for his belief by Him whose character he had impugned. Argument was not that which Calvin and his contemporaries opposed, by the civil tribunal. It was insult and ribaldry, and that too against the Most High, whose character they would defend in the midst of a perverse and rebellious generation." "If ever a poor fanatic thrust himself into the fire," says J. T. Coleridge, "it was Michael Servetus."

What, then on the whole, was Calvin's agency in this affair? Simply this. He brought an accusation against Servetus, when to have done otherwise would have been a virtual betrayal of the cause of the Protestant Reformation, as well as a disregard of the laws of his country.

The position of Calvin was such that under the circumstances he could hardly do otherwise. He stood at the head of the Protestant clergy, not of Geneva alone, but of Europe, and of the age. The reproach of heresy was resting, in the estimation of the Catholic world, upon the entire Protestant body, and especially upon Calvin and the clergy of Geneva. They were regarded as anti-Trinitarians, and Geneva as a receptacle of heretics. Servetus was known and acknowledged to be a teacher of the most dangerous errors, and in the common esti-

mate of both Catholic and Protestant, was a man worthy of death. If the clergy of Geneva, the leaders of the Reformation, failed to proceed according to the laws against such a man, thus throwing himself into the midst of them, what could they expect but that the opprobrium of heresy would justly fasten itself upon them in the general opinion of men? It was in fact a matter of self-defence with them to show the world, both Catholic and Protestant, that they had no sympathy with men who undertook the work of reform in the spirit, and with the principles of Servetus. It was due to themselves, due to the cause of Protestantism, due to the State under whose laws they dwelt.

As by law required he substantiated the charge he had made. This he did; this, and nothing more. With the condemnation and sentence of Servetus he had nothing whatever to do. The trial was before a civil tribunal, the highest and most august in the State. Every opportunity of defence was afforded the accused. Calvin himself furnished him the books he needed from his own library. The trial was conducted with extreme patience and deliberation. The case was finally submitted to the churches of Switzerland for their decision. With one voice they declared the accused guilty. In the meantime the King of France energetically demanded his death as a condemned heretic, who had escaped from his dominions. On political grounds therefore, and these alone, his condemnation was at last given. His punishment is decided by the united councils after a deliberation of three days, and so far from triumphing in its severity, Calvin, at the head of the clergy, petitions, but in vain, for its mitigation.

We do not defend, in all this, the condemnation and death of Servetus. It was a great mistake; call it if you will a crime. But let the blame rest *where it belongs*; not on John Calvin, but on the men who decreed that death, and on the age which sanctioned and demanded it.

And when it is remembered that at this very time the flames were consuming the victims of Romish persecution, and also of those condemned by Cranmer, who is called a pattern of humility—that Davides fell a victim to the intolerance of Socinus*—that the English Reformers applauded the execution of Servetus—that his punishment was regarded as the common cause of all the churches in christendom—and that for fifty years thereafter no writer criminated Calvin for his agency in this matter—may we not say to those who now try Calvin by an *ex post facto* law, by a public opinion, which is the result of the very doctrines he promulgated—let him that is guiltless among you cast the first stone? In thus singling out Calvin as

*Scott, *ibid.* 439. Williams' *Relig. Liberty*, p. 135.

the object of your fierce resentment, you manifest the very spirit you condemn—a spirit partial, unchristian, and unrighteous. So much for the charge of intolerance.*

CHAPTER VI.

CALVIN VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF A WANT OF NATURAL AFFECTION AND FRIENDSHIP.

Equally futile and untrue is another charge made against Calvin, that he was entirely destitute of tenderness and all natural affection, and that no expression of kindness can be found in his writings. That his intellectual powers were pre-eminent, and held his passions, appetites and desires in complete subjection to the dictates of prudence and calm sobriety, is unquestionably true. But that Calvin possessed deep feeling, and was susceptible of the strongest and most tender emotions, we believe to be incontrovertibly certain. "I had intended," he says, on his return to the people of Geneva, who had so cruelly treated him, "to address the people, entering into a review of the past, and a justification of myself and my colleagues; but I found them so touched with remorse, so ready to anticipate me in the confession of their faults, that I felt that such a proceeding would not only be superfluous but cruel." "It was beautiful," says Beza, "to observe the union of these three great men—i. e., Calvin, Farel, and Viret—in the service of their common Master." When Farel wished to visit him in his last illness, Calvin wrote him, saying: "Farewell, my best and most worthy brother. Since God has determined that you should survive me in this world, live mindful of our union, which has been so useful to the Church of God, and the fruits of which await us in heaven. Do not fatigue yourself on my account. I draw my breath with difficulty, and am expecting continually that my breath will fail. It is sufficient that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his servants in life and in death. Again, farewell with the brethren."

After the death of his friend Courault, he says, in a letter to Farel, "I am so overwhelmed, that I put no limits to my sorrow. My daily occupations have no power to retain my mind from recurring to the event, and revolving constantly the oppressive thought. The distressing impulses of the day are followed by the more torturing anguish of the night. I am not only troubled with dreams, to which I am inured by habit, but I am greatly enfeebled by the restless watchings which are extremely injurious to my health."

*See further remarks in Appendix, No. 1.

On the death of Bucer, he thus writes: "I feel my heart to be almost torn asunder, when I reflect on the very great loss which the Church has sustained in the death of Bucer, and on the advantages that England would have derived from his labours, had he been spared to assist in carrying on the Reformation in that kingdom."

Look, also, at his letters of consolation, addressed to those confessors for the truth who had been unable to make their escape from persecution.*

On the death of his son, he wrote to Viret, saying, "The Lord has certainly inflicted a heavy and severe wound on us, by the death of our little son; but He is our father, and knows what is expedient for his children." And when his wife was taken from him, we behold in Calvin all the tenderness of a most sensitive and affectionate heart. Writing to Farel, to whom he gives a detail of her illness, he says: "The report of the death of my wife has doubtless reached you before this. I use every exertion in my power not to be entirely overcome with heaviness of heart. My friends, who are about me, omit nothing that can afford alleviation to the depression of my mind." Again, "may the Lord Jesus strengthen you by his Spirit and me also in this so great calamity, which would inevitably have overpowered me, unless from heaven he stretched forth his hand, whose office it is to raise the fallen, to strengthen the weak, and to refresh the weary." Again, writing to Viret, he says, "Although the death of my wife is a very severe affliction, yet I repress as much as I am able, the sorrow of my heart. My friends also afford every anxious assistance, yet with all our exertions, we effect less, in assuaging my grief, than I could wish; but still the consolation which I obtain, I cannot express. You know the tenderness of my mind, or rather with what effeminacy I yield under trials; so that without the exercise of much moderation, I could not have supported the pressure of my sorrow. Certainly it is no common occasion of grief. I am deprived of a most amiable partner, who, whatever might have occurred of extreme endurance, would have been my willing companion, not only in exile and poverty, but even in death. While she lived, she was indeed the faithful helper of my ministry, and on no occasion did I ever experience from her any interruption. For your friendly consolation, I return you my sincere thanks. Farewell, my dear and faithful brother. May the Lord Jesus watch over and direct you and your wife. To her and the brethren express my best salutation."

Now, if these proofs of the tenderness of Calvin are not sufficient, let any one read the account of his closing scenes, and

*Scott's *Contin. of Milner*, p. 374.

he will find the most touching manifestations of an affectionate and tender spirit. As a brother, friend, husband, father, and minister, Calvin displayed warm, steady, and unshaken friendship and regard.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH WE OWE TO CALVIN AS AMERICAN CITIZENS AND CHRISTIANS, ILLUSTRATED.

Such was Calvin, and such the triumphant defence of his character against all assaults, which he has left behind him in his unspotted life, his unimpeachable character, his familiar epistles, and his everlasting works. His wisdom, learning, prudence, and unapproachable excellencies as an author, no one has ever dared to dispute. The star of his fame has continued to shine with ever increasing brilliancy in the intellectual firmament, and still guides many a voyager over the dark and uncertain sea of time to the sure haven of everlasting blessedness. Such is the rich inheritance he left us, who would desire to be followers of him, as far as he followed Christ. But this is not all. To him we are indebted for other treasures, dearly prized by every American citizen.

We look, for instance, to our system of common schools as the great hope of American freedom, in the intelligence they everywhere diffuse. Now, Calvin was the father of popular education, and the inventor of the system of free schools. None of the Reformers perceived more clearly the advantages of education, or laboured more earnestly to promote it.

Next to our common schools, we prize our colleges and theological seminaries as the nurseries of citizens, statesmen, and ministers, capable of guarding the affairs of a great and free people. Now the building and complete endowment of the college and seminary at Geneva, was among the last acts accomplished by Calvin—it having been opened in 1559, with 600 students. “Even now, when Geneva has generally deserted the standards of the original Reformers, and joined those of Arius and Socinus, her sons rejoice in the great triumph achieved by the wisdom of Calvin over the power of Napoleon, who, on conquering Geneva, wanted courage to make any change in the system of education, which had been planted more than two hundred years before Bonaparte was born, by this distinguished friend of genuine Christianity, and a truly scriptural education.”

We hail the birth-day of our country's liberty. We still commemorate the declaration of our national independence. We glory in a country more rapidly extending its territory, its

population, and its riches, than any other upon earth—in laws the most just and impartial—in a government the most equitable, economical and free—and in the enjoyment of a religious liberty more perfect and complete than can be paralleled in the history of man. The star spangled banner awakens the envy and the admiration of the world—and our glorious republic is the fairy vision which excites the emulous desire of imitation in the bosom of every well-wisher to the advancement of society. But whence came all these? “The pilgrims of Plymouth,” says Bancroft, “were Calvinists; the best influence in South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France; William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan, were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honour the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty.” Yes! Calvin was a thorough-going republican. The Institutes of Calvin carry with the truths of Christianity the seeds of republicanism to the ends of the earth. “Indeed,” says he,* “if these three forms of government, which are stated by philosophers, be considered in themselves, I shall by no means deny, that either aristocracy, or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, far excels all others! and that, indeed, not of itself, but because it very rarely happens, that kings regulate themselves, so that their will is never at variance with justice and rectitude; or in the next place, that they are endued with such penetration and prudence, as in all cases to discover what is best. The vice or imperfection of men, therefore, renders it safer and more tolerable for the government to be in the hands of many, that they may afford each other mutual assistance and admonition, and that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors, and masters, to restrain his ambition. This has alwas been proved by experience, and the Lord confirmed it by his authority, when he established a government of this kind among the people of Israel, with a view to preserve them in the most desirable condition, till he exhibited, in David, a type of Christ. And as I readily acknowledge, that no kind of government is more happy than this, where liberty is regulated with becoming moderation, and properly established on a durable basis, so also I consider these as the most happy people, who are permitted to enjoy such a condition; and if they exert their strenuous and constant efforts for its preservation, I admit that they act in perfect consistence with their duty.”

“Calvin,” says Bishop Horsley, “was unquestionably, in theory, a republican; he freely declares his opinion that the republican form, or an aristocracy reduced nearly to the level of a republic, was of all the best calculated, in general, to an-

*Inst. B. IV. c. 20. § 8.

swer the ends of government. So wedded, indeed, was he to this notion, that, in disregard of an apostolic institution, and the example of the primitive ages, he endeavored to fashion the government of all the Protestant churches upon republican principles; and his persevering zeal in that attempt, though in this country, through the mercy of God, it failed, was followed, upon the whole, with a wide and mischievous success. But in civil politics, though a republican in theory, he was no leveller."

Geneva, the mother of modern republics, is the monument of Calvin's fame; and as Montesquieu says, should celebrate, in annual festival, the day when Calvin first entered that city. Politically and ecclesiastically, Calvin honoured the people; assumed their intelligence, virtue, and worth; and entrusted them with the management of affairs. He taught, also, the spiritual independence of the Church; its entire separation from civil government; and the supreme and exclusive headship of its only lawgiver and sovereign, the Lord Jesus Christ. These were the grand truths taught and illustrated by Calvin; truths which drew the lovers of freedom to Geneva, which sent them away burning with the thirst for liberty and republicanism, which aroused the slumbering people of Europe, which convulsed France, confederated the states of Holland, revolutionized England, Presbyterianized Scotland, colonized New England, and founded this great and growing republic.*

This, too, is an age of missions. The missionary enterprise is the glory of the Church, the regenerator of society, the precursor of the millennial reign of peace and happiness, and the hope of the world. With generous emulation, all branches of the church catholic strive for the mastery in this glorious achievement, while Ichabod is written upon any denomination from whose battlements the gospel banner is not unfurled, and whose laggard troops come not up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Now it was Calvin

*"He lived in a day when nations were shaken to their centre, by the excitement of the Reformation, when the fields of Holland and France were wet with the carnage of persecution; when vindictive monarchs on the one side threatened all Protestants with outlawry and death, and the Vatican on the other sent forth its anathemas and its cry for blood. In that day, it is too true, the influence of an ancient, long established, hardly disputed error, the constant danger of his position, the intensest desire to secure union among the antagonists of Popery, the engrossing consciousness that this struggle was for the emancipation of the Christian world, induced the great Reformer to defend the use of the sword for the extirpation of error. Reprobating and lamenting his adhesion to the cruel doctrine, which all Christendom had for centuries implicitly received, we may as republicans, remember that Calvin was not only the founder of a sect, but foremost among the most efficient of modern republican legislators. More truly benevolent to the human race than Solon, more self-denying than Lycurgus, the genius of Calvin infused enduring elements into the institutions of Geneva, and made it for the modern world the impregnable fortress of popular liberty, the fertile seed-plot of democracy."—*From an address to the public, by G. Bancroft, Esq.*

who led on this mighty enterprise, and gave birth to this modern crusade against the powers of darkness. He alone, so far as we know, of all the Reformers, while battling with surrounding foes, remembered the waste places of the earth which are full of the habitations of horrid cruelty, and connected his name with the very earliest attempt to establish a Protestant mission in the heathen world. He united with the admiral de Coligny in establishing a colony on the coast of Brazil, to which he sent Peter Richter and several others from Geneva, who were accompanied with numerous French Protestants.* Presbytery and missions are therefore coeval, coextensive, and inseparable. They went hand in hand during the first six centuries. They again clasped hands in indissoluble union at the era of the Reformation. They have lived together in wedded peace, harmony and zeal. And whom God hath so joined together, let no apathy or unbelief, or opinions, ever put asunder.

To bequeath to us, his spiritual descendants, these incomparable blessings, Calvin early sacrificed the glittering crown of academic fame, and certain worldly aggrandizement and honour—became an exile from home, kindred, and country—endured calumny, reproach, persecution, banishment and poverty, wore out his weak and suffering body with excessive and unremitting toil—and at the early age of fifty-four, sunk into the tomb.†

*Scott, *ibid.* pp. 462, 464.

†There is another blessing for which, as Christians, we are indebted to Calvin, and which cannot be too highly estimated; I mean congregational psalmody. Calvin encouraged Marot to make his metrical version of the Psalms. He wrote a preface to them, when first published, in 1543. He took care to have them set to music by the most distinguished musicians. He then introduced them into the public service of the church. The mode of singing psalms in measured verse was thus first introduced by Calvin, at Geneva, in 1543. From that church the practice went forth into all the reformed churches in France, and was introduced into England by the Presbyterians who resided at Geneva, and established an English church there during the *Marian persecution*. The English exiles, while at Geneva, commenced and completed a translation of the Scriptures into the English language. The principal translators were Miles Coverdale, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Anthony Gilby, or Gibbs, Thomas Sampson, William Cole, and William Whittingham. They divided the chapters into verses, and added notes in the margin, and also tables, maps, &c., and published it, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, in 1560. The psalms, versified and set to music, as in the church of Geneva, were annexed to this Bible. This version has been known as that of Sternhold and Hopkins. The initials of the name of the versifier were prefixed to each psalm. Thus the psalms, versified in English, came into England, and were allowed, first, to be sung before the morning and evening service; and at length they were published with this declaration:—*Psalms set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches, before and after morning and evening prayer, as also before and after sermons*. And in a short time they superseded the *Te Deum*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, which had been retained from the Romish Church. Bayle, *Art. Marot*; Neal, p. 109; Heylin, pp. 213, 214; Rees' *Cy.*, art. Bible; Burnet, p. 290; Waterman's *Life of Calvin*, p. 403.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF CALVIN'S LIFE.

Let us, then, before we take our leave, draw near, and contemplate the last act in the drama of this great and good man's life. Methinks I see that emaciated frame, that sunken cheek, and that bright, ethereal eye, as Calvin lay upon his study-couch. He heeds not the agonies of his frame, his vigorous mind rising in its power as the outward man perished in decay. The nearer he approached his end, the more energetically did he ply his unremitted studies. In his severest pains he would raise his eyes to heaven and say, How long, O Lord! and then resume his efforts. When urged to allow himself repose, he would say, "What! would you that when the Lord comes he should surprise me in idleness?" Some of his most important and laboured commentaries were therefore finished during this last year.

On the 10th of March, his brother ministers coming to him, with a kind and cheerful countenance he warmly thanked them for all their kindness, and hoped to meet them at their regular Assembly for the last time, when he thought the Lord would probably take him to himself. On the 27th, he caused himself to be carried to the senate-house, and being supported by his friends, he walked into the hall, when, uncovering his head, he returned thanks for all the kindness they had shown him, especially during his sickness. With a faltering voice, he then added, "I think I have entered this house for the last time," and, mid flowing tears, took his leave. On the 2d of April, he was carried to the church, where he received the sacrament at the hands of Beza, joining in the hymn with such an expression of joy in his countenance, as attracted the notice of the congregation. Having made his will on the 27th of this month,* he sent to inform the syndics and the members of the senate that he desired once more to address them in their hall, whither he wished to be carried the next day. They sent him word that they would wait on him, which they accordingly did, the next day, coming to him from the senate-house. After mutual salutations, he proceeded to address them very solemnly for some

*See in Appendix. Speaking of his will, Bayle, the great infidel philosopher, says:—"For a man who had acquired so great a reputation and authority, to content himself with a hundred crowns a year salary, and after having lived till near fifty-five years of age with the greatest frugality, to leave behind him no more than three hundred crowns, his library included, is something so heroic, that it must be stupidity itself not to admire it. To conclude, such a will as this of Calvin's, and such a disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those who cast their eyes on the philosophers of ancient Greece, say of him, *non inveni tantam fidem in Israel*. I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." See his Dictionary, fol. 2. art. Calvin.

time, and having prayed for them, shook hands with each of them, who were bathed in tears, and parted from him as from a common parent. The following day, April 28th, according to his desire, all the ministers in the jurisdiction of Geneva came to him, whom he also addressed: "I avow," he said, "that I have lived united with you, brethren, in the strictest bonds of true and sincere affection, and I take my leave of you with the same feelings. If you have at any time found me harsh or peevish under my affliction, I entreat your forgiveness." Having shook hands with them, we took leave of him, says Beza, "with sad hearts and by no means with dry eyes."

"The remainder of his days," as Beza informs us, "Calvin passed in almost perpetual prayer. His voice was interrupted by the difficulty of his respiration; but his eyes (which to the last retained their brilliancy,) uplifted to heaven, and the expression of his countenance, showed the fervour of his supplications. His doors," Beza proceeds to say, "must have stood open day and night, if all had been admitted who, from sentiments of duty and affection, wished to see him, but as he could not speak to them, he requested they would testify their regard by praying for him, rather than by troubling themselves about seeing him. Often, also, though he ever showed himself glad to receive me, he intimated a scruple respecting the interruption thus given to my employments; so thrifty was he of time which ought to be spent in the service of the Church."

On the 19th of May, being the day the ministers assembled, and when they were accustomed to take a meal together, Calvin requested that they should sup in the hall of his house. Being seated, he was with much difficulty carried into the hall. "I have come, my brethren," said he, "to sit with you, for the last time, at this table." But before long, he said, "I must be carried to my bed;" adding, as he looked around upon them with a serene and pleasant countenance, "these walls will not prevent my union with you in spirit, although my body be absent." He never afterwards left his bed. On the 27th of May, about eight o'clock in the evening, the symptoms of dissolution came suddenly on. In the full possession of his reason, he continued to speak, until, without a struggle or a gasp, his lungs ceased to play, and this great luminary of the Reformation set, with the setting sun, to rise again in the firmament of heaven. The dark shadows of mourning settled upon the city. It was with the whole people a night of lamentation and tears. All could bewail their loss; the city her best citizen, the church her renovator and guide, the college her founder, the cause of reform its ablest champion, and every family a friend and comforter. It was necessary to exclude the crowds of visitors who came to behold his remains, lest the occasion might be misrepresented.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of Sabbath, his body, enclosed in a wooden coffin, and followed by the syndics, senators, pastors, professors, together with almost the whole city, weeping as they went, was carried to the common burying ground, without pomp. According to his request, no monument was erected to his memory; a plain stone, without any inscription, being all that covered the remains of Calvin.

Such was Calvin in his life and in his death. The place of his burial is unknown, but where is his fame unheard?

As Cato said of the proposed statue for himself, so may it be said of Calvin's monument: "There are so many monuments in this world of ours, that it may be much better if people ask, Where is Cato's monument? than to say, There it is." So is it with Calvin. He hath built himself a monument in the hearts and lives of millions, more enduring and more glorious than any columns of stone or brass.

What needs great Calvin, for his honoured bones,
The labour of an age in piled stones?
Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
Under a starry-pointing pyramid?
Dear son of Memory, great heir of Fame,
What needest thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou, in our reverence and astonishment,
Hast built thyself a live-long monument.*

To conclude, we may unite with a late episcopal reviewer of the character of Calvin, in hoping "that the time is not far distant, when new Horsleys will be raised up to break in pieces the arrows of calumny, and to make all the followers of the Prince of Peace and truth ashamed to join the ranks of the infidels, in using the poisoned weapons of shameless detraction for the purpose of vilifying the character of one of the most holy—the most undaunted—the most laborious, and the most disinterested followers of a crucified Redeemer."†

*The following are the lines of Beza, in reference to Calvin's tomb:

Why, in this humble and unnoticed tomb,
Is Calvin laid, the dread of falling Rome,
Mourned by the good, and by the wicked feared,
By all who knew his excellence revered;
From whom ev'n Virtue's self might virtue learn,
And young and old its value may discern?
'Twas modesty, his constant friend on earth,
That laid this stone, unsculptured with a name.
O happy turf, enriched with Calvin's worth,
More lasting far than marble is thy fame.

†The Rev. Mr. Sibson, A. B., of Trinity Coll., Dublin. in his *Transl. of Beza's Life*, pp. 118. 119.

CHAPTER IX.

A SUPPLEMENTARY VINDICATION OF THE ORDINATION OF CALVIN.

In preparing this vindication of the character and life of Calvin, I was not led to notice the question which has been raised by his enemies, the Romanists and Prelatists, whether Calvin was ever ordained. This question did not fall under the general view of Calvin's life and character, which it was my object to take. The question had been often met, and triumphantly answered; and appeared to me to possess little interest or importance at the present time. Circumstances, however, have changed. The baseless attempts to fasten upon Calvin an approval of diocesan episcopacy, having been completely foiled, and the calumnies against his general character having been repelled, his enemies have taken refuge in this forlorn hope, and are now heard on every side exclaiming, "Ah, but Calvin, after all, was never ordained." It is really amusing to see the baby-artifices which suffice these profound scholars! these inimitable logicians! these exclusive possessors of all grace! "Calvin was never ordained," say our prelatist friends. "Calvin was never ordained," shout the Romanists. "And it is not even attempted to prove this all-important fact," they both proclaim in loudest chorus. We will now, then, meet these same confident boasters, and accept their challenge to discuss this question.

And, in the first place, we remark, that it is a matter of no practical importance whatever to Presbyterians, whether Calvin was or was not ordained. This whole outcry is mere noise, *vox et præterea nihil*, got up in order to drown the voice of reason, and turn away attention from evident defeat.

Let it then be fully understood that the validity of Presbyterian ordination depends, IN NO MANNER OR DEGREE, upon the ordination of Calvin. He may have been ordained or not ordained, while of our ordination there can be no manner of doubt. Were the validity of our ordinations made to depend upon the personal succession of a line of single ordainers, were Calvin a link in that line, and were our present chain connected with him, then, indeed, there would be some sense and some force in the objections made against Calvin's ordination. It is on this ground we boldly deny that any valid *prelatical* ordination exists, or can be shown to exist, either in the Romish, Anglican, or American Episcopal churches. But we hold to no such doctrine. Our ordination depends not upon one prelate, but upon many presbyters. So that even if invalidity could be shown to attach to any one of the number of presbyters officiating in any given case, it does not affect the whole, and consequently does not injure that ordination which is given by the

whole. Did Calvin ever ordain *ALONE*? Did Calvin ordain *alone* all those from whom our present ordinations spring? Preposterous assumption! which all the boldness of reckless malignity has never dared to make.

Suppose, then, that Calvin, while unordained, had united with the Presbytery of Geneva, in conferring ordination upon others. Were not the others, Farel and Coraud, ordained, and ordained, too, by Romish prelates? Were not Luther and Zuinglius, and many others, prelatically ordained? And subtracting, therefore, the invalid co-operation of Calvin from the ceremony, was there not still validity enough to secure a valid result? On the ground of scripture, of reason, and of the theory of Presbyterian ordination, most assuredly there was. And whatever our opponents may choose to say of the validity of Presbyterian ordination, *generally*, they cannot, without betraying absolute absurdity, affirm that it depends, in any degree, upon the fact of Calvin's ordination. This whole question, therefore, is merely one of literary curiosity and historical research.

But we proceed a step further, and affirm that Calvin's character and authority as a minister of Jesus Christ, did not depend upon his ordination. Ordination does not confer upon any man either the character or the authority of a minister of Christ. The qualifications which fit any man for this high office can be imparted only by God through Christ, and by the effectual operation of the Holy Spirit. Without these, no man is a fit subject for ordination, which presupposes their existence. The authority to preach the gospel arises also from that commission which Christ has given to all those whom he—as the only Head of the Church, to whom all power in heaven and on earth has been given—has qualified for the work. It is a blasphemous assumption, in any church or body of men, to claim the power of imparting to others either the qualifications or the authority to preach the gospel. Ordination, therefore, is not in itself absolutely essential to a true ministry, since there may be the qualifications and the authority to use them, without it. Ordination is merely the appointed method whereby any given branch of the Church declares their belief that the individual ordained is qualified and authorized by God to preach the gospel, and whereby they commend him to all those for whom they act, as worthy of their confidence, and entitled to all the respect and consideration due to a minister of Christ. Ordination, therefore, is essential to the *regularity* but not to the *validity* of the ministry. And should any church have such unbounded confidence in the qualifications and call of any man for the office, as to allow him to minister among them without a special ordination, he would be no less certainly a minister, because admitted in an unusual way to the exercise of his gifts and calling.

In ordinary circumstances, of course, no such case could occur. We speak hypothetically. But is it true that Calvin was never ordained?—then do our remarks apply, in all their strength to him. Who ever doubted his qualifications for the ministry? Not, surely, the ministers and magistrates of Geneva, when they, almost by violence, compelled him to enter upon his duties. Having, then, as the whole reformed world believe, the qualifications and call which fitted him for the ministry, Calvin had also the authority of Christ for engaging in its work. And if the churches thought it unnecessary that he should be formally set apart by ordination, Calvin's authority as a minister of Christ is not the less, but even the more evident; since it was believed by all to be accredited by *extraordinary* gifts and calling.*

But still further, we affirm, that Calvin was authorized to preach by the Romish Church itself. He received the tonsure at the hands of the Romish prelate, which is the first part of the ceremony of ordination, and qualifies for holding benefices and cures. The hair then cut from the crown of the head, shows, as is taught by Romanists, that the individual partakes of the sovereignty of Jesus Christ.† In virtue of this office and authority, "it is certain" that John Calvin delivered some sermons at Point L'Éveque, before he left France.‡ He had ordination sufficient, therefore, in the judgment of the Romish Church, to warrant his preaching. And since the power this Church professes to give in ordination for the priesthood, is idolatrous and blasphemous,§ and is not attempted or believed in by the Reformed Churches, Calvin received from the Romish Church all that authority which is deemed sufficient for those duties which are recognized by Protestants as proper and peculiar to the ministry.

But we advance still further in our argument, and assert that it is a matter of the most certain inference that Calvin was ordained in the Reformed Church, and by the Presbytery of Geneva.

That a Presbytery existed at Geneva, before Calvin reached that city, is beyond doubt. Beza expressly declares that, when Farel, by his denunciation, overcame the purpose of Calvin to pass by Geneva, "Calvin, affrighted by this terrible denunciation, gave himself up to the will of the Presbytery and the magistrates." (*Presbyterii et magistratus voluntati.*)††

*See these views fully and literally sustained by the Confession of the French Churches, article xxxi., Quick's Synodicon, vol. 1, p. xiii.; and by many other reformed bodies and authors as given in Henderson's Rev. & Consid. pp. 252-263.

†See Broughton's Eccl. Dict. Vol. 2, 468.

‡Beza's Life.

§The offering of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ by transubstantiation.

††Calvin. i. Opp. folio. 1.

That it was the established and uniform belief of the Reformers, that ordination in the ordinary circumstances of the Church was necessary and very important, and that their practice was consistent with this belief, is equally certain. Unless this is denied, it is unnecessary to produce the proofs which are at hand.*

Nay more, it is beyond doubt that this was the judgment not only of all the other Reformers, but also of Calvin himself. He insists, in many parts of his *Institutes*, (his earliest theological work,) upon the importance and necessity of ordination by the imposition of hands. (See Book IV. chap. iii. § 16, and chap. iv. § 6, 10, 14.) These sentiments, which Calvin had published just before going to Geneva, he ever after held, as is manifest in all the subsequent editions of this work, and in the Confession of the French Churches, which he drew up, and in which ordination is declared to be essential to a regular ministry.

The inference, therefore, is unavoidable, that since there was a Presbytery at Geneva when Calvin went there since all the Reformers, and Calvin in particular, insisted on the necessity and scripturality of ordination! and since Calvin is expressly said to have given himself up to the Presbytery, he must have been, and he was, ordained. No particular record of the time and manner of his consecration is necessary. There is circumstantial evidence more than sufficient to establish the fact in any court of law.

But still further. Calvin himself bears witness that he was ordained. Thus in his preface to his *Commentaries on the Psalms*, he says: "As David was raised from the sheepfold to the highest dignity of government, so God has dignified me, derived from an obscure and humble origin, with the high and honourable office of minister and preacher of the gospel."† But, since Calvin himself publicly and constantly taught the necessity of ordination to the ministry, in making this declaration he asserts also the *fact* of his ordination. Thus, also, when Cardinal Sadolet attacked the character of his ministry, he formally defended it in a long epistle addressed to that distinguished man.‡ In this defence he says: "Sed quum ministerium meum quod Die vocatione fundatum ac sancitum fuisse non dubito, per latus meum sauciari videam, perfidia erit, non patientia, si taceam hic atque dissimulem. Doctoris primum, deinde pastoris munere in ecclesia illa functus sum. Quod eam provinciam suscepi, legitimæ fuisse vocationis jure meo contendo." "Hoc ergo ministerium ubi a Domino esse constiterit,"

*See Seaman's *Vind. of the judgment of the Reformed Church concerning Ordination*. London, 1647.

†Hoc tamen honorifico munere dignatus est, ut evangelii præco essem ac minister. Op. Tom. iii.

‡Ad. J. Sadoletum Responso, &c., in Op. Tom. viii. p. 105, &c.

&c. That is, "when I see *my ministry*, which I doubt not was founded and sanctioned by the vocation of God, wounded through my side, it would be perfidy and not patience, if I should remain silent and dissemble in such a case. I filled (or enjoyed the honour of) the office, first of professor, and afterwards of pastor in that church, and I contend that I accepted of that charge, having the authority of a lawful vocation." "Since then, my ministry has been established by the Lord," &c. If, then, the testimony of Calvin—published to the world, in the face of the Reformed Churches, and in full view of their sentiments and practice on the subject of ordination, in both which he concurred, can be relied on, then is his introduction to the ministry by a regular ordination, beyond all controversy certain.

But still further. We have the evidence of the Reformers and Reformed Churches themselves, that Calvin was ordained. No one stood higher among them as a minister and a leader. He was chosen Moderator of the Presbytery at Geneva, and continued to fill that office till his death. He sat in the Synods of the Swiss churches. When driven from Geneva he retired to Strasburg, where he was again constrained to enter upon the duties of a professor and a pastor, by the agency of those distinguished men, Bucer, Capito, Hedio, Niger, and Sturmius. Bucer also, in a letter addressed to him in 1536, expressly calls him "my brother and fellow minister." Now all these Reformers, as we have seen, held that ordination was both scriptural and necessary; and since Calvin himself was of the same opinion, we must regard their testimony to his ministerial character and standing, as proof positive of their belief that he was regularly ordained.

Beza, in his life of Calvin, seems to declare that he was ordained as plainly as language could do it. He says: "Calvinus sese presbyterii et magistratus voluntati permisit; quorum suffragiis, accedente plebis consensu, delectus non consionator tantum (hoc autem primum recusarat) sed etiam sacrarum literarum doctor, quod unum admittebat, est designatus, A. D. MDXXXVI." That is, "Calvin surrendered himself to the disposal of the Presbytery and magistrates, by whose votes, (the people having previously expressed their willingness,) having been chosen not only preacher, (which office he had, however, at first declined,) but also professor of divinity, he was set apart [or inducted into office,] in the year 1536." Now the very office and duty of a Presbytery is, among other things, to admit and ordain men to the ministry. But Calvin was admitted to the ministry by a Presbytery composed of Reformers, who strongly insisted upon the importance of the rite of ordination. Calvin, also, concurred in their views of this ordinance,

as introductory to their ministry. And Beza says, that having been elected pastor by the people, and having been approved by the votes of the Presbytery, "he was set apart," that is, in the regular way, by ordination. Beza never dreamt that, in after times, a fact so necessarily implied in his statement, and in all the circumstances of the case, could or would be questioned.

This clear testimony of Beza is confirmed by that of Junius, the learned Professor of Divinity in Leyden. In opposition to Bellarmine, he affirms that the Reformers who preceded Calvin, held and practised Presbyterian ordination, and that by some of these, his predecessors, Calvin was himself ordained.*

Certain it is that neither Romanists nor prelatists at that day, ever questioned the fact that Calvin was ordained in the manner of the Reformed Church. The Romanists did not. Cardinal Bellarmine says that "neither Luther, nor Zuingli, nor Calvin, were bishops, (*i. e.* prelates,) but only presbyters; † thus evidently assuming as undeniable that they were all presbyters, and therefore ordained as such. Cardinal Sadolet seems also, from the controversy between him and Calvin, fully to have admitted Calvin's ordination according to the order of the Reformed Church, but to have denied the validity of such orders, because administered out of the Romish Church. And hence the object of Calvin, in his reply, is not to establish the *fact* of his ordination, but the validity and scripturality of the orders of the Reformed Church.

Neither did prelatists then question the ministerial character and standing, and the consequent ordination of Calvin. Dr. John Philpot, arch-deacon of Winchester, martyr in 1555, in proving that the Reformed is the true Church, by the "spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof could never be able to resist," says, "Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly, learned *ministers* of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion. Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutes, who is *minister* of Geneva?" To this his Popish inquisitor, Dr. Saverson, replied, not by denying the ordination or ministerial character of Calvin, but by blackening the character of the Reformers generally—"a godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses and runagate traitors," &c. "I am sure," replied Philpot, "you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church *where he is a minister*, as it is your Church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports." ‡ This title he proceeds to give Calvin again in

*Animadversiones in Bellarm. Controv. V. Lib. cap. 3, in Dr. Miller on Min. p. 407.

†Controv. V. Lib. cap. 3, in Dr. Miller on Min.

‡See Examinations and Writings of Philpot, Parker Society edition, pp. 45, 46.

the very next sentence.* Bishop Jewell, the authorized expounder of the sentiments of the English Church, replies to the Jesuit Harding, "touching Mr. Calvin, it is a great wrong untruly to represent so reverend a father and so worthy an ornament of the Church of God. If you had ever known the order of the Church of Geneva, and had seen four thousand people or more, receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion, you could not, without your great shame and want of modesty, thus untruly have published to the world, that by Mr. Calvin's doctrine the sacraments are superfluous."—Defence of the Apology; see in Richmond's Fathers of the English Church, vol. viii. p. 680. Such also were the views entertained by Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Hooper, Bishop Hall, and many others. Hooker implies the ordination and perfect ministerial standing of Calvin, in all that he says of him. He calls him "incomparably the wisest man (*i. e.* minister) the French Church did enjoy, since the hour it had him." Speaking of the Genevan clergy, he calls them "pastors of their souls," and then adds, "Calvin being admitted *one* of their preachers," that is, one of these pastors, for they had no preachers, except their regularly ordained ministers, "wherefore taking to him two of *the other* ministers," &c.†

Bullinger also, the cotemporary of Calvin, of whom it is said that "all the fathers of the English reformation held him in great esteem," and that "he did much service in the English Church;" to whom Bishops Grindal and Horn, in a joint letter to him, "attribute chiefly the favourable change which had taken place in the feelings of the people toward the Church;"‡ and whose catechism was selected by the University of Oxford, as one of those books which the tutors were required to use; most explicitly sustains the ministerial character of Calvin. In a work published by order of the convocation of the English Church in 1586, *cum gratia et privilegio regiae majestatis*, and as a manual for preachers,§ he speaks of Calvin in these terms: "John Calvin, a godly and learned man, who with great commendation teacheth in the Church at this day, my fellow minister, and most well-beloved and dear brother."††

"Stancarus also, the Polish Reformer, wrote a work 'Adversus Henricum Bullingerum, Petrum Martyrem et Joannem Celvinum, et reliquos Tigurinæ ac Genevensis ecclesiæ ministros, ecclesiæ Dei perturbatores,' etc., Basle, 1547. This work

*Foxe's Exam. of Philpot.

†Eccel. Pol. Pref. vol. i. pp. 158, 159, Keble's ed.

‡Strype's Mem. II. 1. p. 531, 532, Oxf. ed. Strype's Grindal, p. 156, Oxf. ed.

§Wilkin's Concilia, &c., vol. iv. p. 321, 322.

††Bullinger on the Sacraments, Cambridge, 1840, p. 287.

was replied to by Semler, and is referred to by Bishop Jewell in a letter to this Swiss reformer. Now here we have Calvin expressly denominated *a minister* by a Romanist, in a controversial work written against him, and in the same sense in which Bullinger and Peter Martyr are called ministers. And it remains to be shown that Roman Catholic theologians are in the habit of applying the term 'minister' to persons whom they believe to be in no sense or manner ordained.* In "A Christian Letter of certain English Protestants, unfeigned favourers of the present state of religion authorized and professed in England, under that reverend and learned man, Mr. R. Hooker," written in 1590, it is said: "The reverend fathers of our Church call Mr. Calvin one of the best writers (Whitgift Def. of Ans. p. 390;) *a reverend father* and a worthy ornament of the Church of God, (Jewel Apol. Def. of, pt. II. p. 149, and Fulke against Stapleton, p. 71;) not only defending the same doctrine, but also discharging him of slanderous reports wrongfully laid against him; knowing that by defaming the persons of ministers, the devil of old time laboured to overthrow the gospel of Christ." See quoted at length in Hanbury's edition of Hooker's Works, vol. i. p. 22, 23. The whole is very strong. See also Wordsworth's Eccl. Biogr. vol. iv. p. 269; vol. v. p. 544, &c. Of the opinion of the English Church, as to the ordination of John Calvin in 1586, there can, therefore, be no longer any question.

Such, then, is the accumulated evidence in proof of the certain and necessary ordination of Calvin. It can only be denied by those who are willing, for sectarian purposes, to shut their eyes against the clearest light. It is asserted by Calvin himself, by Beza, and by Junius. It is implied as necessary in the practice of the whole Reformed Church, of which Calvin approved, and which the Presbytery of Geneva must have carried out. It was allowed by Romanists and prelatists of his own age, and is implied in the estimation in which he was regarded by the whole Reformed Church.

But even were the ordination of Calvin doubtful, we have shown that he was so far ordained by the Romish Church as to be authorized to preach; that his authority as a minister depends not on the ceremony of ordination; and that, inasmuch as our present orders are in no degree dependent upon his, their validity is in no way connected with the fact or certainty of Calvin's ordination.

While the validity of Romish and prelatical ordination hangs upon the baseless assumption of an unbroken line of personal successors of the Apostles—a mere figment of the imagination, and without any foundation in scripture, reason, or fact—our ordination is traced up directly to Christ and his apostles; is

*See Zurich Letters, 1558—1579, Parker Society, p. 127.

based upon the clear evidence of Scripture, and the undoubted practice of the primitive Christians; and is transmitted, not through one line, but through many, and not through any one order of prelates, but through the whole body of pastors and ministers who have successively existed in every age of the Church.

APPENDIX I.

THE CASE OF SERVETUS.

It had been a favourite design of the late celebrated Dr. McCrie, to publish the life of Calvin, and to set at rest the question of Servetus's death, by instituting original researches in the archives and public library of Geneva. This labour was entrusted to his able son, the Rev. John McCrie, who visited the above city for that purpose, and devoted more than a year to collecting valuable historical data for his father. But the venerable Doctor died when on the eve of undertaking the work which was to crown his literary career. The Rev. John McCrie accepted as a sacred inheritance from his father, and a fruit of his laborious investigation, the now easy and distinguished task of rehabilitating the Reformer in public opinion, when a premature death disappointed the expectations of his friends and relatives.

The rehabilitation of Calvin, however, was delayed only to become the more sure by being entrusted to his enemies, and taking place in the very city where the scenes reproachfully ascribed to him were enacted. A Unitarian clergyman of considerable talent and learning, the Rev. A. Reilliet, stimulated by the example of Dr. McCrie, ransacked the archives of Geneva, investigated carefully all the manuscripts and correspondence of the times, preserved in the public libraries of Europe, which bore on this case; and although avowing bitter hostility to Calvinism, yet, as an impartial historian, he published, in 1844, the detailed result of his investigations, which is a complete verdict of acquittal of the mischievous and ungrounded charges brought against Calvin, in reference to Servetus's death.

The conclusion to which Mr. Reilliet arrives, upon evidence which can never be contested, may be summed up as follows: Servetus, although opposed to the Trinity, was anything but a modern Unitarian. While the latter denies the divinity of Christ, *he* denied his humanity, and considered him the absolute God; thus he was one degree further removed from Unitarianism than the orthodox; otherwise, a thorough Pantheist, who asserted, even before his judges, that the bench on which he sat was God.

When Servetus came to Geneva, he had just escaped from the prison at Vienne, where the Romish bishops had him sentenced to be burned by a slow fire. He concealed himself in a tavern under an assumed name. But learning that the ministers had lost all influence upon a government which hated their rigid morals, that Calvin at the time was thwarted by them in everything, and that Geneva had become untenable for him, he emerged from secrecy, in the hope of placing himself at the head of a political party, and driving both Reformers and the Reformation from Geneva, and substituting his own rules and tenets. The trial of Servetus was equally that of Calvin; indeed, the fate of the latter was at times the more imminent of the two, the President of the Court, and influential members of the Council being his avowed and personal enemies. The struggle was forced upon him; the acquittal of the one was to be the sentence of the other. The awe of the Protestant governments might have saved Calvin from death, but not from imprisonment or perpetual exile, if Servetus had succeeded.

The Court was partial to Servetus, and would fain have saved him, if his triumphant overbearance had not ruined his cause; yet, they would not pass sentence upon him, but left the case to the decision of the four Protestant governments of Berne, Basle, Zurich, and Schaffhausen. These all urged that the sentence of the Romish Bishops be carried out against Servetus, and left no other alternative to the weak government of Geneva. *In the meantime the King of France claimed energetically the execution of the heretic who had escaped from his Kingdom under sentence.* Servetus entreated as a favour to be executed in Geneva, and not by the slow fire of the Romish Bishops.

A most important point established by Reilliet is, that the condemnation of Servetus was *purely political*. He was sentenced by the magistrates of Geneva, not as a heretic, but as a *rebel*, who attempted to subvert the constitution of Geneva. The purely theological quarrel disappeared before this

motive for condemning him. The judicial sentence in the list of charges brought against Servetus, does not mention at all, either the attacks against Calvin, or those against the ministers of Geneva. Servetus well understood that if he could free himself from the suspicion of being a man of bad repute, and dangerous to the public tranquility, his doctrine by itself would not form a sufficient motive for condemning him, or, at least, would not draw down a very severe castigation.

When the sentence was irrevocably passed, Calvin and his colleagues used their efforts to have the punishment mitigated, by at least substituting the sword for the fire, but "the little council rejected the request of Calvin. It is to him, notwithstanding, that men have always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile, which he wished had never been reared!"

WHO ARE CALVIN'S REVILERS?

Calvin thought heresies injurious to the Church and to the State deserved to be punished with civil penalties, and he gave evidence to prove that Servetus was such an heretic. This he did in the sixteenth century, when such was the universally prevalent opinion. It is therefore concluded that Calvin was a ferocious bigot and monster of cruelty—that such is the spirit of the system of religion he taught—and that such, therefore, is the *spirit* of every one who now believes that system.

And who are they that, against all charity and reason, and common sense, thus teach and affirm? They are, first, Papists; secondly, Unitarians; and thirdly, Infidels. In retorting upon them the shamelessness of their conduct, I will use the language of another.

1. What effrontery can be more gross than the Popish denunciation of Calvin for his share in the trial, and his supposed share in the condemnation of Servetus! The Church of Rome may well bear a grudge at Calvin. He has been, and by the influence of his writings and of the churches which he had a hand in forming, he continues to be one of their most formidable foes; but this constitutes no reason for such impudent injustice as that with which she is chargeable when she hunts his memory as a persecutor. We do not refer to Rome's *systematic* and wholesale persecution—we ask, from whom was Servetus fleeing when he came to Geneva, where he was apprehended and tried? He was fleeing from the Romish Inquisition at Vienne, in France. He was about to be condemned by that body to the flames, for the very heresy for which he was subsequently condemned at Geneva. Meanwhile, he made his escape. Did the Romish Church in tenderness, and relenting here, allow the matter to drop? No; though the accused had fled, she pursued the case—condemned Servetus to the flames—burnt him in effigy amid a pile of his works, sharing the same fate—pronounced him an outlaw, liable to the stake the first moment he returned to the territory of France. Nay, hearing that he had been apprehended at Geneva, whither he had gone—not kidnapped by Calvin, but as to the safest asylum then existing—she applied to the Genevese magistrates to have him delivered up to her summary justice, requesting that he might be sent back to them, that they might "inflict the said sentence (of death), the execution of which would punish him in a way that there would be no need to seek other charges against him!" The magistrates refused to surrender their prisoner. Not that they had any wish, probably, to carry out the trial; it would have saved them much trouble to have resigned him into the hands of those from whom he had fled; but by the laws of Geneva, often, and even recently acted upon, the magistrates were not entitled to surrender an accused prisoner, even though the crime were committed beyond their territory. They were bound to try the case for themselves. It is owing to this accident, and nothing surely could be more purely accidental, that Servetus was burnt at Geneva by Protestant and Erastian magistrates, and not at Vienne by Popish inquisitors. But for this accident we should never have heard of "Calvin and Servetus." The name of the latter would have been lost among the thousands and tens of thousands of Romish *autos-da-fe*; and Gibbon would have had all the cruelty without being "scandalized." It may be added, that on the poor man himself being asked, whether he would remain at Geneva, or go back to Vienne, he implored them to try him at Geneva, and asked them, "above all, that they would not send him back to Vienne." "This," adds Reilliet, "was, amid

two evils, to shun the more certain." Servetus had had experience of the intolerance of Popery and of Protestantism, and, contrary to the opinion of Gibbon, he thought himself safer with the latter. And here as we have seen, he would probably have escaped, had not the Popish king of France demanded his execution.

Such is the connection of the Church of Rome with the case of Servetus; and is it possible not to be filled with disgust when Papists chime in with the infidel cry against the Reformed Church, and, above all, against John Calvin, as the atrocious persecutor of Servetus to death? From the language which is often used, one would suppose not only that the Church of Rome was unstained with human blood, but that she had been a sorrowing and sympathizing defender of Servetus during all the days of his trial, and particularly on the day of his execution; that she had stood by him when Protestant Christendom was up in arms against him; and that she fain, at any sacrifice, would have rescued and honoured him. How widely different the facts of history! Servetus was twice condemned to be burnt; and the first condemnation to burning was by the Church of Rome! and, marvellous to tell, her educated supporters have the face of brass to turn around and denounce Calvin, and all who hold the theological views and system of Calvin, as the exclusive persecutors of Servetus, and in representing him as guilty of a crime so atrocious as to overbalance and obliterate all the *autos-da-fe* of the Romish Church through revolving centuries! Was ever such matchless effrontery manifested out of the Church of Rome? Ah, the insolence and credulity of Popery!

2. And now in regard to Infidelity. She came too late into the world in an avowed form to be a very open persecutor, unless, indeed, we class many of the leading officials of the Romish Church, including popes and cardinals in the number. There can be little question that, under a thin disguise, not a few of them were sceptics; and if they were persecutors, as we know they were, then we have a specimen of persecution in its most shocking form—persecution by men for not believing what they themselves do not believe. But the tolerance of Infidelity is not confined to such cases. Socinianism may be fairly ranked with scepticism. It disclaims all that is *peculiar* in divine revelation. Now none have been greater partisans of Servetus—none more fierce denouncers of Calvin, than just the Socinian party. Indeed, if there were any religious body bearing the Christian name, to which Servetus might be said to belong, the Socinian would be that body. His creed was nearer to theirs than any other. His party have all along given themselves out as the friends of free inquiry, of candour, and toleration—indeed, they have assumed a monopoly of such qualities. They are, *par excellence*, the men of liberty, civil and religious. All else are but bigots and slaves. The small amount of what they believe, and its freedom from the mysterious, they hold, gives them an advantage over others in the way of loving and practising freedom.

But what says history in regard to their *practice* of freedom? Though but a small party, seldom allied with civil power as a religious body, they have continued to give full evidence that the spirit of intolerance is not limited to Popery or orthodox Protestantism—that it is natural to man and that there is nothing in their religious system, as there is in evangelical religion, to stay or extinguish it. Early in the days of the Reformation, Francis David, superintending office-bearer of a Socinian Church in Transylvania, was thrown into prison, where he died, by his own Socinian friends. For what reason? Because he held that Christ, being a creature, should not be prayed to, while Socinus held that he should be so worshipped. This was all the difference in belief between David and Socinus—an inconceivably smaller difference than between Calvin and Servetus; for both "rational Christians" held that Christ was merely a creature; and yet there was imprisonment, terminating in death. Does this discover remarkable candour and liberty? Does it afford any ground for the Socinians to triumph, not over Calvin—for he had nothing to do with the *sentence*—but over the Erastian magistrates of Geneva when they condemned Servetus as a blasphemer as well as a heretic, to the flames? It would seem that indifference and scepticism in religion do not diminish severity in judging of others. Socinus, according to the difference at issue, was a greater persecutor than the magistracy of Geneva. Nor was this a solitary instance; the same spirit has appeared in later times. The Socinians assembled at Zurich in 1818, and the Socinian authorities, in

Church and State, as well as the Socinian populace in the Canton de Vaud in 1824, and for several years together, not forgetting the same parties in Geneva itself, at the same period, all betrayed a spirit of as real persecution as ever appeared in Christendom; and then, it is to be remembered, that these intolerant and violent proceedings appeared not in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, but in the first quarter of the nineteenth, at a period boasting of its advancement in knowledge, and liberality, and freedom. In short, with the exception of Popery, which persecutes *upon principle*, and which, therefore, is ever at home in the business, the latest persecutors in Christendom have been the Socinian or sceptical party—the very party which, all the while, has been making a boast of its love of free inquiry, and almost monopolizing the name of freedom. Persecuting proceedings at the present moment, in the same quarters of Switzerland, show, it would seem, that Socinianism and Infidelity do not mean to make any change in the intolerant character which has hitherto belonged to them. Republicans in civil politics, and Socinians, if not Infidels in religion, have the honour, along with old Popery, of being the persecutors of 1846. Perhaps at the existing moment the former surpass the latter. It would be difficult, in any Popish country, pretending to any measure of light or freedom, to parallel the legislative proceedings and the practical doings of the Canton de Vaud, under Socinian and Infidel rule, during the last six months.

But, to bring out the tolerance of Infidelity proper, we must turn back for a little into the last, the eighteenth century. Avowed Infidels have great credit to themselves as the friends and patrons of freedom, and have even cried out bitterly against the supposed severity and intolerance of evangelical religion, particularly in its Calvinistic form. They have had no patience for the uncharitable and persecuting spirit of "the saints," and hence "Calvin and Servetus" has proved quite a stock in trade to them. But have they really any great ground of boasting? The fact of their being obliged to go so far back—nearly 300 years—for a single case, is rather against their theory. We do not need to turn so far back for illustrations of the persecuting character of Infidelity. Montesquieu, in his "Esprit des Loix," lib. 12, c. 5, has the candour to say: "I have not said that it is not necessary to punish heresy. I have only said that it is necessary to be very circumspect in punishing it." We dare say that none of the much-calumniated Reformers of the sixteenth century would quarrel with the statement. Is it necessary to remind the reader of the sentiment of Rousseau? "The only way to hinder fanaticism (in other words, evangelical religion,) is to *restrain* those who preach it. I see but *one way* to stop its progress, and that is to combat it with its own weapons. Little does it avail to reason or convince; you must lay aside philosophy, shut your books, *take up the sword, and punish the knaves.*" Not long after the days of Rousseau, there was an opportunity of showing what French Infidelity understood by "fanaticism." Christianity in any form—corrupted, as well as true—including the Bible and the Sabbath, were denounced as a fanaticism; and the disciples of Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, &c., engaged in a fierce and bloody persecution of the Christian name, in point of atrocity surpassed only by the Popish persecutions of the middle ages. Where were the charity, and candour, and toleration of Infidelity in the days of the French Revolution? And yet her crimes were perpetrated in the sacred name of liberty! It might be shown that leading British Infidels, such as Hume and Gibbon, whatever might be their professed principles, were intolerant in practice, so far as their circumstances, and the spirit of the age, and indifference to all religion, would allow. It is notorious that in their writings, they took the side of the oppressor and the persecutor, when he was arrayed against evangelical truth and its friends. Their sympathies were not with the religious sufferer, though suffering in the cause of civil freedom, but with the tyrant and the persecutor. Their practical treatment, too, of men holding evangelical truth, did not correspond with their professed creed of universal toleration and non-responsibility for error. They will ever be found sarcastically or otherwise, wounding the feelings of Christians, ridiculing and condemning them; and, in short, discovering anything but a tolerant and charitable spirit. Holding the views which these Infidels maintained on the subject of truth and error, they ought to have been forbearing and kind; at least, full of commiseration for evangelical Christians. Is this their spirit?

Was it this spirit which characterized Hume in his social intercourse; or Gibbon, when, denouncing Calvin, he declared that he was more scandalized by his supposed connection with the death of Servetus, than with all the burnings of the Church of Rome? Even a recent and partial biographer of the former (Burton,) speaking of an early work, says: "Though his philosophy (Hume's) is sceptical, his manner is frequently dogmatical; and while illustrating the feebleness of all human reasoning, he seems as if he felt an *innate infallibility* in his own!"

But the inconsistencies of former philosophers are small compared with those of a modern statesman and author, whose religious as well as philosophical standing we feel some difficulty in ascertaining. We allude to Lord Brougham. No man of any name in modern times has been more unmerciful upon Calvin than his Lordship; and certainly no one has betrayed more ignorance of the real facts of the case which has drawn forth so keen a condemnation. Yet, of all men, Lord Brougham should have been the most tolerant and candid. If he does not belong to the sceptical, he at least belongs to the very liberal school. He has proclaimed as the very foundation of toleration, and that with a most oracular voice, that a man is no more responsible for what he believes than for the hue of his skin or the height of his stature. His name was wont to be associated with the advocacy of all that was free, whether civil or religious. Surely, then, Brougham should have pitied Calvin, and been kind and charitable in his judgment. The Reformer believed, as a general doctrine, that flagrant and incorrigible heretics and blasphemers should be punished. Such was his deliberate conviction. For this conviction he was no more responsible than for the hue of his skin and the height of his stature. And why, then, does Lord Brougham blame him, and mercilessly misrepresent and traduce him for this his sober belief, any more than for his complexion and his stature? Does the result not plainly show, that Liberalism in religion and politics, whatever it may pretend, is essentially intolerant and persecuting? and if this be its character in the hands or heart of Lord Brougham, who had so many reasons for being, in this respect, on his good behaviour, how much stronger must the same intolerant persecuting spirit prove in those who are less under restraint? Well may we ask, Is Brougham the man to condemn the intolerance of Calvin? Intolerant himself without a reason—or rather in the face of strong reasons to the reverse—intolerant in the nineteenth century, is he the man, especially holding his own doctrine of non-responsibility, to rebuke the intolerance of the sixteenth century? What can be more ludicrous and inconsistent? Nothing save what proceeds from the same mint, and the new coinage has appeared but yesterday. Lord Brougham sets himself forth as the very patron and pattern of freedom in every form; so much so that contrary to his own principles, he is entitled to rebuke with all severity the great Genevan Reformer, within the British Senate, 300 years after he has passed to his account. Surely, then modern Liberalism must be tolerant and charitable; indeed the very foe of whatever savours of persecution. What is the fact? Lord Brougham but the other day, *vindicated the Scottish site-refusers*, contending that their proceedings were involved in the just rights of landed property! The man who condemns Calvin as the most atrocious of persecutors, *sees* no persecution (pity but that he could *feel* enough to know it!) in hundreds and thousands of his countrymen, far more devout and religiously intelligent than himself, being denied a piece of ground on which they may worship God, and being compelled, for summer and winter together, to conduct their service under the open canopy of heaven. Lord Brougham sees no persecution in large congregations bing driven to the high-roads or the sea-shore, and being kept there for their religious worship since May 1843 to the present hour—August 1846. According to his Lordship's principle, there is no persecution, though this state of things should be perpetrated for ever. Nay, he is indignant that any one should deem this to be persecution, and will not allow it to be so declared in his presence without an immediate and much-offended contradiction; and this is the liberal minded censor of the intolerant Calvin! Who can compare the two cases, and the part which Calvin took in the *trial* of Servetus (for he had no hand in the *sentence*) a solitary case of severity—with the open, wilful, wanton oppression of multitudes for years, in free Britain in the free nineteenth century, and not come to the conclusion that, all circumstances considered, the one is much more aggra-

vated and inexcusable than the other? But it is not needful to enter into any comparison. All that we intended to show, and with this remark we close, is that Infidelity, in its different forms of Socinianism, avowed Scepticism, and irreligious Liberalism, is most unjust in its judgment of Calvin in the matter of Servetus; and, instead of being so candid and tolerant in itself as to be entitled to take high ground, and become the reprover of others, is essentially intolerant, and is much less excusable in its intolerance than the men of the sixteenth century.—*The Free Church Magazine.*

APPENDIX II.

THE WILL OF JOHN CALVIN.

In the name of the Lord—Amen. In the year 1564, and 25th day of April, I, Peter Chenalat, citizen and notary of Geneva, do witness and declare, that I was sent for by that excellent character, John Calvin, minister of the word of God in this church of Geneva, and enrolled citizen of the same, who, being indisposed in body, but sound in mind, said he was desirous to make his testament, and to express the judgment of his last will; and requested me to take it down, and write what he should dictate and declare by word of mouth; which I profess I immediately did, and wrote down word by word as he pronounced and dictated, without omission or addition, in the following form, dictated by him:

In the name of the Lord—Amen. I, John Calvin, minister of the word of God in the church of Geneva, finding myself so much oppressed and afflicted with various diseases, that I think the Lord God has determined speedily to remove me out of this world, have ordered to be made and written, my testament, and declaration of my last will, in form and manner following: First, I give thanks to God, that taking compassion on me whom he had created and placed in this world, he not only delivered me by his power out of the deep darkness of idolatry, into which I was plunged, that he might bring me into the light of his gospel and make me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most unworthy; that with the same goodness and mercy he has graciously and kindly borne with my multiplied transgressions and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected and cut off by him; and has also exercised towards me such great compassion and clemency, that he has condescended to use my labour in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel. I also testify and declare, that it is my full intention to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion, which he has delivered to me by his gospel; having no other defence or refuge of salvation than his gratuitous adoption, on which alone my safety depends. I also embrace with my whole heart the mercy which he exercises towards me for the sake of Jesus Christ, atoning for my crimes by the merits of his death and passion, that in this way satisfaction may be made for all my transgressions and offences, and the remembrance of them blotted out. I further testify and declare that, as a suppliant, I humbly implore of him to grant me to be so washed and purified by the blood of that sovereign Redeemer, shed for the sins of the human race, that I may be permitted to stand before his tribunal in the image of the Redeemer himself. I likewise declare, that according to the measure of grace and mercy which God has vouchsafed me, I have diligently made it my endeavour, both in my sermons, writings, and commentaries, purely and uncorruptly to preach his word, and faithfully to interpret his sacred Scriptures. I testify and declare that in all the controversies and disputes, which I have conducted with the enemies of the gospel, I have made use of no craftiness, nor corrupt and sophistical arts, but have been engaged in defending the truth with candour and sincerity.

But, alas! my study, and my zeal, if they deserve the name, have been so remiss and languid, that I confess innumerable things have been wanting in me to discharge the duties of my office in an excellent manner; and unless the infinite bounty of God had been present, all my study would have been vain and transient. I also acknowledge that unless the same goodness had accompanied me, the endowments of mind bestowed upon me by God, must have made me more and more chargeable with guilt and inactivity before his tribunal. And on these grounds I witness and declare, that I hope for no other refuge of salvation than this alone—that since God is a Father of mercy, he will show himself a Father to me, who confess myself a miserable sinner. Further, I will, after my departure out of this life, that my body be committed to the earth in that manner, and with those funeral rites, which are usual in this city and church, until the day of the blessed resurrection shall come. As for the small patrimony which God has bestowed upon me, and which I have determined to dispose of in this

will, I appoint Anthony Calvin, my very dearly beloved brother, my heir, but only as a mark of respect. Let him take charge of, and keep as his own, my silver goblet, which was given me as a present by Mr. Varanne: and I desire he will be content with it. As for the residue of my property, I commit it to his care with this request, that he restore it to his children at his death. I bequeath also to the school for boys, ten golden crowns, to be given by my brother and legal heir, and to poor strangers the same sum. Also to Jane, daughter of Charles Costans and of my half-sister by the paternal side, the sum of ten crowns. Furthermore, I wish my heir to give, on his death, to Samuel and John, sons of my said brother, my nephews, out of my estate, each forty crowns, after his death; and to my nieces Ann, Susan, and Dorothy, each thirty golden crowns. To my nephew David, as a proof of his light and trifling conduct, I bequeath only twenty-five golden crowns.

This is the sum of all the patrimony and property which God hath given me, as far as I am able to ascertain, in books, movables, my whole household furniture, and all other goods and chattels. Should it, however, prove more, I desire it may be equally distributed between my nephews and nieces aforesaid, not excluding my nephew David, should he, by the favour of God, return to a useful manner of life.

Should it, however, exceed the sum already written, I do not think it will be attended with much difficulty, especially after paying my just debts, which I have given in charge to my said brother, in whose fidelity and kindness I confide. On this account I appoint him executor of this my last testament, with Laurence de Normandie, a character of tried worth, giving them full power and authority, without a more exact command and order of court, to make an inventory of my goods. I give them also power to sell my movables, that from the money thus procured they may fulfill the conditions of my above-written will, which I have set forth and declared this 25th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1564. JOHN CALVIN.

When I, Peter Chenalat, the above-mentioned notary, had written this last will, the same John Calvin immediately confirmed it by his usual subscription and hand-writing. On the following day, April 26th, 1564, the same tried character, John Calvin, commanded me to be called, together with Theodore Beza, Raymond Chauvet, Michael Cops, Louis Enoch, Nicholas Colladon, James de Bordes, ministers and preachers of the word of God in this church of Geneva, and also the excellent Henry Scringier, professor of arts, all citizens of Geneva, and in their presence he hath declared and testified that he dictated to me this his will, in the words and form above written. He ordered me also to recite it in their hearing, who had been called for that purpose, which I profess to have done, with a loud voice, and in an articulate manner. After thus reading it aloud, he testified and declared it to be his last will and testament, and desired it to be ratified and confirmed. As a testimony and corroboration of this, he requested them all to witness the same will with their hands. This was immediately done by them on the day and year above written, at Geneva, in the street called the Canons, in the house of the said testator. In proof and witness of this I have written and subscribed, with my own hand, and sealed, with the common seal of our supreme magistrate, the will above-mentioned. P. CHENALAT.

APPENDIX III.

CALVIN'S VIEWS OF PRELACY.

On this subject we will present to our readers the letters of the Rev. Dr. Miller in reply to Bishop Ives,* which appeared in the *Presbyterian* in January, 1842.

LETTER I.

To the Editor of the *Presbyterian*.

REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER—The following letter, and another which you will receive in a few days, were written a number of weeks ago, and sent to Lincolnton, in North Carolina, for insertion in the "Lincoln Republican," a weekly journal printed in that town. Very unexpectedly to me, the editor of that paper, after publishing Bishop Ives's letter, refused to give admission to my reply. On learning this, I requested the friend to whose care my communication had been sent, to transmit them to the "Watchman of the South," in whose pages they would be likely to be seen by a large number of those who had been readers of the "Lincoln Republican." But as Bishop Ives's letter has been republished in at least one paper in your city, and as in my reply to an attack in that paper, which you were so good as to publish, I referred to the letters which had been sent to North Carolina for further light on the same subject, I hope you will do me the favour to give insertion in the *Presbyterian* to the first letter, which you will receive herewith; and also to the second, which, with the permission of Providence, will reach you next week.

I make no apology, Mr. Editor, for the trouble which I have given you, for several weeks past, in consequence of these ecclesiastical polemics. I regret them as much as any one can do. They were not of my seeking. I am not conscious on this, or on any other occasion, of having ever gone into the field of denominational controversy, excepting when forced into it by fidelity to my beloved Church, and to her Head, my Master in heaven. To that high responsibility, however irksome controversy may be, especially at my time of life, I hope I shall never be suffered to be recreant. It would be much more agreeable to me to have no warfare but with the open enemies of our "common salvation," but surely complaints of "attack" come with rather an ill grace from those who scarcely ever issue a paper without loading it with offensive missiles against all who are out of their pale. It has often amused me to see what a morbid sensibility to what they called "attacks," was manifested by those who were constantly dealing around them "firebrands and arrows," and professing at the same time, in words, to be "fierce for moderation," and "furious for peace." I am, my dear sir, very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL MILLER.

PRINCETON, January 24, 1842.

To the Editor of the *Lincoln Republican*.

SIR—It was not until this day that I saw, in your paper of the 10th instant, a letter from Bishop Ives, in reply to a letter from me, directed to a clerical friend in your neighbourhood, and published in your paper a few weeks before.

My letter was a *private* one, and published altogether without my consent. I kept no copy of it, and while I distinctly remember its general substance, I have not the least recollection of its language. The Bishop complained of the language as strongly characterized by *asperity* and *positiveness*. As I have never seen even the printed copy, as it appeared in your paper, I am wholly unable to make any other reply to this charge, than to say that, as I felt *strongly* on the subject, and was perfectly *confident* that

*This is the gentleman who has figured so much of late, as a convert to Popery, having resigned into the hands of the Pope the insignia of his office as Bishop of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.—*Editor of the Board.*

the allegations which I opposed were altogether unfounded, I think it probable, that in a *private letter* to a friend, I expressed myself in terms which would have been modified if I had felt myself to be writing for the public eye. I had an interview with Bishop Ives, in this place, since the date of his letter; but as I had not the least knowledge, at that time, of the publication of my own letter, or of his reply to it, nothing, of course, respecting the matter passed at that interview.

More than two months ago, a correspondent in North Carolina informed me that Bishop Ives, in a public discourse delivered a short time before, alleged that the celebrated Reformer, Calvin, had avowed a belief in the divine institution of Episcopacy, and had requested to receive Episcopal ordination from the bishops of England. My correspondent requested me to inform him whether there was any foundation for this statement. I ventured, without hesitation, to assure him that there was not, and that no well-informed person could possibly make it. I have no recollection of having impeached the honesty or the veracity of the reverend preacher; for I had no doubt that he made the statement on evidence which he deemed sufficient; and I have still no doubt that he verily believed what he stated to be strictly true. But I meant to express, and presume I *did* express, strong confidence that the representation which he made was entirely incorrect. Bishop Ives is equally confident that his representation was well founded; and, in his reply to my published letter, has made statements which he seems to think perfectly decisive, and which, I dare say, many others will deem equally decisive, in support of his representation. And yet I will again assert, and hope I shall make it appear to the satisfaction of every candid reader, that that representation is destitute of all solid support in historical verity.

The first testimony which Bishop Ives adduces in support of his former statement, is in the following words: "In his commentary upon I Tim. iv. 14, a passage so much relied upon by Presbyterians, he gives an interpretation which makes it perfectly consistent with the *Episcopal* character of Timothy."

The passage, in our common translation, reads thus: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."

Calvin's commentary is as follows: "He admonishes him that he should employ the grace with which he was endowed for the edification of the Church. For it is not the will of the Lord that those talents should perish, or be uselessly buried in the earth, which he has deposited with any one to be profitably used. To neglect a gift, is, through sloth and negligence to leave it unemployed; so that, given up, as it were, to rust, it is worn out in no useful service. Therefore let each of us consider what abilities he has, that he may sedulously apply them to some use. He says that the grace was given to him by prophecy. How? Doubtless (as we said before) because the Holy Spirit, by revelation, had appointed Timothy to be set apart to the office of a pastor; for he had not been chosen only by man's judgment, as is customary, but by the previous declaration of the Spirit. He says that it was conferred with the *laying on of hands*; by which is meant that, in addition to the ministerial office, he was furnished also with the necessary gifts. It was a settled custom of the Apostles to ordain ministers with the imposition of hands; and, indeed, concerning this rite, its origin and meaning, I have treated at some length before, and a full account may be found in the Institutes. *Presbytery*—Those who think that this is a collective name put for the college of Presbyters, in my opinion judge correctly. Although, all things considered, I confess there is another sense not unsuitable, viz. that it is the name of an office. The ceremony he has put for the act of ordination itself. Therefore the sense is, that Timothy, when called to the ministry by the voice of the prophets, and afterwards ordained by the customary rite, was, at the same time, furnished for the performance of his duties by the grace of the Holy Spirit—whence we infer that it was not an empty rite, for to that consecration which men represented figuratively by the imposition of hands, God imparted reality, (or ratification) by his Spirit."

This is Calvin's commentary on the passage in question, and it is the *whole* of it. He who can find anything favourable to the *Episcopal* character of Timothy here, will be at no loss to find it in any document on earth. The only thing noticeable in its bearing on that point is the suggestion, that

while in the opinion of Calvin the term *Presbytery* means the bench or body of *Presbyters*, it may mean the name of an *office*. But surely this makes nothing in favour of the prelatical character of Timothy; for if this sense be admitted, then the statement will be that Timothy was ordained to the office of the *Presbyterate*, or was made a *Presbyter*.

The Bishop next produces a *fragment* from Calvin's commentary on Titus i. 5, which he thus translates: "We learn also from this place that there was not then such an *equality* among the ministers of the Church, but that some one *had the pre-eminence* in authority and counsel."

The candid reader will doubtless feel astonished when he reads this passage in connection with the context in which it stands—It is as follows:

"*Presbyters* or *Elders*, it is well known, are not so denominated on account of their *age*, since *young* men are sometimes chosen to this office, as, for instance, *Timothy*; but it has always been customary, in all ages, to apply this title, as a term of honour, to all rulers—and as we gather, from the first Epistle to Timothy, that there were *two kinds* of Elders, so here the context shows that no other than *teaching Elders* are to be understood; that is, those who were ordained to *teach*, because the same persons are immediately afterwards called *Bishops*. It may be objected that too much power seems to be given to *Titus*, when the Apostle commands him to appoint ministers over all the churches. This, it may be said, is little less than kingly power; for on this plan, the right of choice is taken away from the particular churches, and the right of judging in the case from the college of pastors—and this would be to profane the whole of the sacred discipline of the Church. But the answer is easy. Everything was *not entrusted* to *Titus* as an individual, nor was he allowed to impose such Bishops on the churches as he pleased; but he was commanded to *preside* in the elections as a *Moderator*, as it is necessary for some one to do. This is a mode of speaking exceedingly common. Thus a Consul or Regent or Dictator is said to create Consuls, because he convenes assemblies for the purpose of making choice of them. So also, Luke uses the same mode of speaking concerning Paul and Barnabas in the Acts of the Apostles; not that they alone authoritatively appointed pastors over the churches without their being tried or approved; but they ordained suitable men, who had been elected or chosen by the people. We learn also from this place, that there was not, then, *such an equality* among the ministers of the Church as was inconsistent with some one of them presiding in authority and counsel. This, however, is nothing like the tyrannical and profane *Prelacy* which reigns in the Papacy: the plan of the Apostles was altogether different."

Is the reader prepared to find Bishop Ives separating the last sentence but one in this paragraph from what preceded and what follows, and calling it a declaration in favour of *Episcopacy*, when its whole tenor is directly the other way? If the Bishop had read one page further on, he would have found in Calvin's commentary on verse 7th of the same chapter, the following still more explicit declarations:

"Moreover, this place abundantly teaches us that there is no difference between *Presbyters* and *Bishops*, because the Apostle now calls promiscuously by the second of these names those whom he had before called *Prsbyters*—and indeed the argument which follows employs both names indifferently in the same sense, which *Jerome* hath observed, as well in his commentary on this passage, as in his Epistle to *Evagrius*. And hence we may see how more has been yielded to the opinions of men than was decent, because the style of the Holy Spirit being abrogated, a custom introduced by the will of man prevailed. I do not, indeed, disapprove of the opinion that, soon after the commencement of the Church, every College of Bishops had some one to act as *Moderator*. But that a name of office which God had given *in common* to all, should be transferred to an *individual alone*, the rest being *robbed of it*, was both *injurious* and *absurd*. Wherefore, so to pervert the language of the Holy Spirit as that the same expressions should convey a meaning to us different from that which he intended, partakes too much of *profane audacity*."

It is worthy of remark that the work which contains this passage was published in 1549, in the reign of *Edward VI.*; and when Calvin was carrying on a friendly correspondence with Archbishop *Cranmer*—yet he did not hesitate then to avow his Presbyterian sentiments.

Again: in his commentary on 1 Peter v. 1, written in 1551, and dedicated to Edward VI. of England, Calvin thus speaks:

"*Presbyters*.—By this title he designates pastors, and whoever were appointed to the government of the Church. And since Peter calls himself a *Presbyter*, like the rest, it is hence apparent that this name was common, which, indeed, from many other passages, appears still more clearly. Moreover, by this title he claimed to himself authority, as if he had said that he admonished pastors in his own right, because he was one of their number, for among *colleagues* there ought to be this mutual privilege: whereas if he had enjoyed any pre-eminence of authority among them, he might have urged that, and it would have been more pertinent to the occasion. But although he was an Apostle, yet he knew this gave him no authority over his colleagues, but that he was rather joined with the rest in a social office."

Bishop Ives, as a further proof that Calvin was persuaded of the Divine right of Prelacy, tells us that in his commentary on Galatians ii. 9, he represents it as "highly probable that St. James was *prefect* of the Church of Jerusalem." "Now," says he, "a *prefect* is a chief and permanent ruler of others." Here again the slightest inspection of what Calvin does really and truly say, will sufficiently refute this construction of his language. It is this:

"When the question is here concerning dignity, it may seem wonderful that *James* should be preferred to *Peter*. Perhaps that might have been done because he was the *president*, (*præfectus*) of the Church of Jerusalem. In regard to what may be included in the title of "Pillars," we know that it is so ordered in the nature of things, that those who excel others in talents, in prudence, or in other gifts, are also superior in authority. So in the Church of God, by how much any one excels in grace by so much ought he to be preferred in honour. For it is ingratitude, nay it is impiety, not to do homage to the Spirit of God wherever he appears in his gifts. Hence it is, that as a people cannot do without a pastor, so every assembly of pastors needs some one to act as *moderator*. But it ought ever to be so ordered that he who is first of all should be a servant, according to Matthew xxiii. 12."

In his commentary on Acts xx. 28, written in 1560, a few years before his death, Calvin expresses himself thus: "Concerning the word *Bishop*, it is observable that Paul gives this title to all the *Elders* of Ephesus; from which we may infer, that, according to Scripture, *Presbyters* differed, in no respect, from *Bishops*; but that it arose from the *corruption* and a *departure from primitive purity*, that those who held the first seats in particular cities began to be called *Bishops*. I say that it arose from *corruption*, not that it is an evil for some one in each college of pastors to be distinguished above the rest; but because it is an *intolerable presumption*, that men, in perverting the titles of Scripture to their own humour, do not hesitate to alter the meaning of the Holy Spirit."

The Bishop's extract from Calvin's work *De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ*, will also prove, when examined, quite as little to his purpose as any of the preceding. The passage, as given by him, is in the following words: "If they will give us such an hierarchy in which the bishops have such a pre-eminence as that they do not refuse to be subject to Christ, then I will confess that they are worthy of all anathemas, if any such shall be found who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience."

The passage, as really found in Calvin's work, is as follows:—After speaking of the hierarchy of the Romish Church; of its claims of *uninterrupted succession* from the apostles, which he turns into ridicule; and of the gross departure of the bishops from the spirit and rules of the gospel, he says: "If the Papists would exhibit to us such an hierarchy, as that the bishops should be so distinguished as not to refuse to be subject to Christ; to rely on Him as their only Head; to cherish fraternal union among themselves; and to be bound together by no other tie than his truth, then I should confess that there is no anathema of which *they* are not worthy, who should not regard such an hierarchy with reverence and obedience. But what likeness to such an one is borne by that spurious hierarchy, in which they (the Romanists) boast?" He then goes on inveighing against the arrogance and tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, by name, and showing how entirely different that system is from that to which Christ and his

apostles gave their sanction, and even that which prevailed in the time of Cyprian.

It is well known that Calvin, in all his writings maintained that there were *Bishops* in the primitive Church; that every pastor of a congregation was a scriptural bishop; of course, he might well say, that if there were any who would not obey *such bishops* as were conformed to the will of Christ, they were worthy of all condemnation. Some have alleged, indeed, that his use of the word *hierarchy*, (*hierarchiam*) in this passage, proves that he could have had reference to no other than a *prelatical* government; that the term is never applied to any other. This is an entire mistake. The word *hierarchy* simply implies *sacred* or *ecclesiastical* government. It may be applied with as much propriety to *Presbyterianism* or *Independence*, as to *Prelacy*. Calvin himself in his *Institutes*, Book iv., chapter 5, speaks of that *hierarchy*, or *spiritual government*, which was left in the Church by the apostles, and which he expressly declares, in the same chapter, to be Presbyterian in its form.

Further, we are told, it seems, by *Durell*, in his "View of the Foreign Reformed Churches," that Calvin, in writing to an "old friend," speaks of the office of Bishop as of "divine institution or appointment." It is true that language of this kind is found in that letter, but the most cursory perusal of the whole letter, will banish from any candid mind the idea that Calvin is here speaking of diocesan or prelatical Episcopacy. Does not every intelligent reader know that that great Reformer believed and uniformly taught that the office of Bishop, (that is, of the *primitive, parochial* bishop,) was a divine institution? It is evidently of this *parochial Episcopacy* that he speaks, when writing to his "old friend" in the language above quoted. The duties which he urges upon him, and the passages of Scripture which he quotes to enforce his counsel, all show that it is that Episcopacy alone which he maintains to be of divine appointment. A Prelatist might as well quote the fourth chapter of the Presbyterian Form of Government, in which it speaks of *Bishops*, as proof positive that it maintains the divine right of Prelacy, as adduce the language cited by Bishop Ives, to prove that Calvin was an advocate for the divine institution of Prelatical Episcopacy.

Such is the clear, undubitable testimony that the illustrious Reformer of Geneva was guiltless of the charge which has been brought against him. It is manifest that, with perfect uniformity during the greater part of his public life, from 1535 to 1560, he steadfastly maintained the doctrine that the apostolic form of Church government was Presbyterian and not Prelatical; that even in works which he dedicated to the king of England and to the Lord Protector, the highest nobleman in the realm, he still firmly contended for the scriptural doctrine of ministerial parity. The more closely I examine his writings, the more confirmed is my persuasion, that nothing which wears a contrary aspect can be fairly produced from them.

II. The *second* allegation of Bishop Ives, is, that this eminent man *wished to introduce Prelacy into the Church of Geneva; and that he united with others in requesting the English Bishops to impart it to them.*

If I do not greatly mistake, this allegation also is capable of being completely refuted. But as I have already trespassed so far on the columns of your paper, I shall postpone to another week the remarks and the testimony which I have to adduce in regard to that point. In the mean time, I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,

PRINCETON, November 20, 1841.

SAMUEL MILLER.

LETTER II.

The second allegation of Bishop Ives is, that *Calvin was desirous of introducing diocesan Episcopacy into the Church of Geneva; and that he, with others, requested the bishops of England to impart it to them.*

I have expressed a strong confidence that this statement is utterly unfounded; and that it admits of satisfactory refutation. To attempt this refutation I now proceed.

And, in proceeding to the execution of this task, my first remark is, that anterior to all search after testimony, the allegation is, *in itself, utterly incredible*. The character which the friends of Prelacy are fond of imputing to John Calvin, is that of an austere, fierce, tyrannical man, fond of power, and impatient of all opposition. His character, indeed, in this re-

spect, has been much misunderstood, and shamefully misrepresented. A degree of magisterial intolerance has been ascribed to him, which he never manifested. Still it is true that he possessed *great decision of character*, and that in following his convictions, and labouring to attain his favourite objects, he was hardly ever exceeded by any man. In this, it is believed, all are agreed. Now, if this man, who had such controlling influence in Geneva, had been desirous of introducing Prelacy into his own pastoral charge, and the neighbouring churches, who was there to prevent it? Surely not the *civil government*. The secular rulers had been accustomed to Prelacy all their lives, and would, no doubt, have regarded it with more favour than any other form of ecclesiastical regimen that could be proposed to them. Not his *ministerial colleagues*, for though they were by no means timid or pliant men, yet his influence over them seems to have been of the highest kind; and if Prelacy had been introduced, who can doubt that Calvin himself would have been the Prelate? Who else would have been thought of? To him all eyes would have been instantly directed. No one acquainted with the history of Luther, Calvin, and several of the leading Reformers, who acted with them, can hesitate a moment to believe, that a bishop's chair was within the reach of every one of them, if he had only signified his wish to the effect, or even intimated his belief that such an office was warranted by the word of God.

But suppose in the face of all this improbability, that Calvin *did* wish to introduce Prelacy; what occasion had he to go to *England* for the purpose of obtaining it? Were there not several men who had been Bishops under the Papacy, who espoused the cause of the Reformation, and who would have been ready to lend their aid toward the consummation of the desired object. Besides, our Episcopal brethren tell us that the *Waldenses* always had bishops, in *their* sense of that title, among them. If so, where was the difficulty of Calvin and his colleagues obtaining the *Episcopal succession*, as the modern phrase is, from that body of pious believers? We know, indeed, that this assertion concerning the Waldenses is unfounded. They had no such bishops. They themselves, in their correspondence with *Aecolampadius*, in 1530, explicitly inform him that they had not; still, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, the argument is conclusive. Either there were no such bishops among that pious, devoted people, as Prelatists claim; or Calvin, who knew the Waldenses intimately, and had intercourse with them, acted a strange part in seeking an ecclesiastical favour from the British Church, which he might, quite as conveniently, to say the least, have obtained from churches in his native country, where many of them were settled, as well as in the Valleys of *Piedmont*.

But there is another fact bearing on the point, no less conclusive. The allegation is, that Calvin and his friends begged for Episcopal consecration from Archbishop *Cranmer*, in the reign of *Edward VI.*, when that prelate was at the head of the ecclesiastical affairs of England. Now, in that very reign, when this wish and request must have been pending, as shown in a former letter, we find Calvin repeatedly publishing to the world his opposition to Prelacy, and his solemn conviction that the Scriptures laid down a different form of church order; and one of these publications, containing one of his strongest assertions in favour of Presbyterianism, he dedicated to the king of England, and sent to him by the hand of a special messenger; on the return of which messenger, *Cranmer* wrote to Calvin an affectionate letter, thanking him for his present, and expressing an opinion that he could not do better than often to write to the king. (*See Strype's Memorials of Cranmer*, p. 413.) How is it possible for these things to hang together? If Calvin was capable of writing and printing these things, and sending them by special messengers to the king, and to Archbishop *Cranmer*, at the very time when he was negotiating with *Cranmer*, to obtain from him an investiture of a different and opposite kind;—if he was capable of acting thus, it would be difficult to say, whether he was more of a knave or a fool. But I know not that any one, who was acquainted with the history or the writings of that eminent man, ever charged him with being either.

The first evidence that Bishop *Ives* adduces to support his allegation, that Calvin desired to obtain Prelatical Episcopacy for his own Church in Geneva, is drawn from his language in the Confession of Faith, which he composed in the name of the French Churches. The friends of Prelacy are heartily welcome to all the testimony which can be drawn from that

Confession. Everything in it which bears upon this point is in the following words: "As to the true Church, we believe it ought to be governed according to the policy which our Lord Jesus Christ has established; that is, that there be Pastors, Elders and Deacons; that the pure doctrine may have its course; that vices may be corrected and repressed; that the poor and all other afflicted persons be succoured in their necessities; and that all the assemblies be made in the name of God, in which both great and small may be edified. We believe that all true pastors, in whatsoever place they be, have the *same authority* and an *equal power*, under one only Chief, only Sovereign, and universal Bishop, Jesus Christ; and for that reason that no church ought to pretend to Sovereignty or Lordship over another." If this be evidence that Calvin wished to introduce Prelacy into those churches on the Continent, over which he had influence, then I know not what testimony means. The Confession is decisively anti-prelatical in its character throughout, and the churches which were organized on its basis, were as thoroughly Presbyterian as the Church of Scotland ever was. In the "Articles of Ecclesiastical Discipline," drawn up at the same time, it is declared that "a President in each Colloquy (or classis) or Synod shall be chosen with a common consent to preside in the Colloquy or Synod, and to do everything that belongs to it; and the said office shall *end* with each Colloquy or Synod and Council." (See *Laval's History of the Reformation in France, Vol. I, p. 118.*)

Another source of proof on which Bishop Ives relies to show that Calvin wished for and endeavoured to obtain Prelacy from the English Church, is found in the language which he addressed to the clergy of Cologne, blaming them for attempting to depose their Archbishop, because he was friendly to the Reformation. But could not Calvin reprobate this conduct without believing in the divine institution of the office which the Archbishop held? Suppose Bishop Ives should become a Calvinist, as to his theological creed, and suppose the Episcopal clergy of North Carolina should conspire on that account alone, to expel him from his diocese, might not the firmest Presbyterian in the State remonstrate against their conspiracy without being an advocate for the divine right of prelacy? Might he not consider it much better to retain, in an influential station, one who was an advocate for evangelical truth, rather than thrust him out to make way for an errorist in doctrine as well as in church order?

A further testimony to which he appeals is, that Calvin in writing to *Ithavius*, a Polish Bishop, styles him "illustrious and Reverend Lord Bishop." He addresses him, "*illustris et reverende Domine.*" The last word, which is equivalent to *sir*, Calvin addresses to the humblest curate to whom he writes. Of course no stress can be laid on that title. But what does the venerable Reformer say to this Polish dignitary? Urging him to give his influence decisively in favour of the Reformation, he writes to him in the following faithful language—a *part* of which only Bishop Ives quotes—"It is base and wicked for *you* to remain neutral, when God, as with outstretched hand, calls you to defend his cause. Consider what place you occupy, and what burden has been laid upon you." This is proof enough that Calvin thought that *Ithavius* had been placed in his station by the providence of God, and that he was bound to employ all the influence and authority connected with that station for promoting the cause of truth; and certainly nothing more. I take for granted that Bishop Ives believes that the tyrant Nero was raised to the imperial throne by the providence of God: that, in that station, he had a great opportunity for doing good, if he had been inclined to improve it; and that any benevolent inhabitant of his dominions might have addressed his emperor in the very language addressed to *Ithavius*, without believing in the divine right of monarchy.

An extract of a letter from Calvin to the King of Poland, is also brought forward to show that he was an advocate for Prelacy. Let the passage which Bishop Ives refers to, be seen in its connection, and its worthlessness for his purpose, will be manifest to the most cursory reader. It is as follows:—"Finally, it is ambition and arrogance alone that have invented this Primacy which the Romanists hold up to us. The ancient Church did indeed institute *Patriarchates*, and also appointed certain primacies to each province, in order that, by this bond of concord, the Bishops might continue more united among themselves; just as if at the present day, one Archbishop were set over the kingdom of Poland; not to bear rule

over the others, or to arrogate to himself authority of which the others are robbed; but for the sake of order, to hold the first place in Synods, and to cherish a holy union among his colleagues and brethren. Then there might be either provincial or city Bishops, to attend particularly to the preservation of order: inasmuch as nature dictates that, out of each college one should be chosen on whom the chief care should devolve. But possessing an office of moderate dignity, that is to the extent of a man's ability, is a different thing from embracing the whole world in unlimited jurisdiction."

Here it is evident that, by the "Ancient Church," Calvin meant, not the apostolic church; for *then* there were no *patriarchates*, as all agree; but the church as it stood in the fourth and fifth centuries. He thus fully explains this phrase in his letter to *Sadolet*, as well as in his *Institutes*. And it is no less evident that by the man in each college of ecclesiastics on whom the "chief care was to be devolved," he meant only a *standing moderator*, such as he describes in those extracts from his Commentary, which I detailed in my last letter. And besides, as Calvin knew that prelacy was universally and firmly established in Poland, he was much more anxious to plead for the promotion of the doctrines and spirit of true religion in that country, than for pulling down its hierarchy. Hence he was disposed to treat the latter with indulgence, if the former might have free course.

But Bishop Ives seems to lay the greatest stress for proof of his assertion, on a statement found in *Strype's* "Memorials of Cranmer," p. 207; and in his "Life of Bishop Parker," pp. 69, 70. The story, as related by Strype, is, that *Bullinger and Calvin*, and others, wrote a joint letter to king Edward, offering to make him their defender, and to have such bishops in their churches as there were in England. The story is a blind and incredible one. Let us see the letter, and we will then believe that such a communication was sent, and not till then. The truth is, Bonner and Gardiner were popish bishops, entirely out of favour during the reign of king Edward, and a letter directed to the king would be by no means likely to fall into their hands. Calvin is known to have kept up a constant correspondence with Archbishop Cranmer, as long as the latter lived. Cranmer consulted him frequently, sought his counsel on a variety of occasions, and requested his aid in conducting the affairs of the English Reformation. The archbishop sent to Calvin the first draught of the English Liturgy, early in the reign of Edward, requesting his advice and criticism respecting it. Calvin returned it, saying that he found in it some *tolerabiles ineptias* (tolerable fooleries) which he could wish might be corrected. This criticism was well received, and the Liturgy was corrected agreeably to his wishes. This fact is attested by Dr. *Heylin*, one of the bitterest opponents of Calvin, and of Presbyterianism, that ever lived. "The first Liturgy," says he, "was discontinued, and the second superinduced upon it, to give satisfaction unto Calvin's cavils, the curiosities of some, and the mistakes of others, his friends and followers." *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 12. 207. Dr. *Nichols*, also, the author of a Commentary on the Common Prayer, bears testimony to the same fact, in the following statement. "Four years afterwards the Book of Common Prayer underwent another review, wherein some ceremonies and usages were laid aside, and some new prayers added, at the instance of Mr. Calvin of Geneva, and Bucer, a foreign divine, who was invited to be a Professor at Cambridge." *Preface to his Comment*, p. 5.

The fact is, Cranmer and his coadjutors in the English Reformation, had to struggle with great difficulties. The Papists, on the one hand, assailed and reproached them for carrying the Reformation too far; while some of the most pious dignitaries, and others in the Church, thought it was not carried far enough. In these circumstances, Cranmer wrote often to the Reformers on the Continent, and sought advice and countenance from them, and to none more frequently than to Calvin, who wrote, we are told, in return, much to encourage and animate Cranmer. Among other expressions of opinion we are informed that Calvin blamed Bishops *Hooper* and *Latimer*, those decided friends of evangelical truth, for their persevering scruples respecting the *habits* or ecclesiastical *vestments*, which were then the subject of so much controversy. He gave it as his opinion, that where the great and vital principles of the gospel were at stake, it was bad policy for the friends of true religion to allow themselves to be

alienated and divided by questions concerning clerical *dress*, or even the *external order* of the Church. The kind and friendly things of this nature which he so frequently uttered, were, no doubt, misinterpreted, as indicating a more favourable opinion of the Prelacy of England, than he really entertained, or ever meant to express.

I shall trespass on your patience, Mr. Editor, only by making one statement more. Calvin was so far from ever alleging that the *Genevan* form of church government was adopted by him from *necessity* and not from *choice*, that he, on the contrary, steadfastly maintained that it was strictly agreeable to the word of God, and that which he felt himself bound, by obedience to Christ, to establish and defend. "Besides," says he, "that our conscience acquits us in the sight of God, the thing itself will answer for us in the sight of men. Nobody has yet appeared that could prove that we have *altered any one thing* which God has commanded, or that we have appointed *any new thing*, contrary to his word, or that we have *turned aside from the truth* to follow any evil opinion. On the contrary, it is manifest that we have reformed our Church MERELY BY GOD'S WORD, which is the *only rule* by which it is to be ordered and lawfully defended. It is, indeed, an unpleasant work to alter what has been formerly in use, were it not that the order which God has once fixed must be esteemed by us as sacred and inviolable; insomuch, that if it has, for a time, been laid aside, it must of necessity, (and whatever the consequences should prove,) be restored again. No antiquity, no prescription of custom, may be allowed to be an obstacle in this case, that *the government of the church which God has appointed*, should not be perpetual, *since the Lord himself has once fixed it.*" *Epis. ad quendam Curatum—In Calvin. Epist. p. 386.*

Such are the testimonies which satisfy me that Calvin was a sincere and uniform advocate of Presbyterian church government, and that if he ever wished to introduce Prelacy into his church at Geneva, we must despair of establishing any fact by historical records. That Bishop Ives was a real believer in the truth of all that he asserted, I never entertained the least doubt. But I have as little doubt, that it is totally destitute of any solid foundation. Either Calvin had no such desire as the bishop ascribes to him, or he was one of the most weak and inconsistent men that ever breathed. *That nobody ever thought him.*

I am, Mr. Editor, yours respectfully,
PRINCETON, December 6, 1841.

SAMUEL MILLER.

APPENDIX IV.

TESTIMONIALS TO CALVIN.

The estimation in which the character and learning of Calvin have been held, may be seen from the following testimonies.

"He lived fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days; half of which time he passed in the sacred ministry. His stature was of a middle size, his complexion dark and pallid, his eyes brilliant, even till death, expressing the acuteness of his understanding. He lived nearly without sleep. His power of memory was almost incredible; and his judgment so sound, that his decisions often seemed almost oracular. In his words he was sparing; and he despised an artificial eloquence; yet was he an accomplished writer: and, by the accuracy of his mind, and his practice of dictating to an amanuensis, he attained to speak little differently from what he would have written. The consistency and uniformity of his doctrine, from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled. Nature had formed him grave; yet, in the intercourse of social life no one showed more suavity. He exercised great forbearance towards all such infirmities in others as are consistent with integrity—not overawing his weaker brethren; but towards flattery, and every species of insincerity, especially where religion was concerned, he was severe and indignant. He was naturally irritable; and this fault was increased by the excessive laboriousness of his life: yet the Spirit of God had taught him to govern both his temper and his tongue.—That so many and so great virtues, both in public and in private life, should have called forth against him many enemies, no one will wonder, who duly considers what has ever befallen eminent men, both in sacred and profane history. Those enemies brand him as a *heretic*: but Christ suffered under the same reproach. He was *expelled*, say they, from Geneva. True, he was, but he was solicited to return. He is charged with *ambition*, yea, with aspiring at a new popedom. An extraordinary charge to be brought against a man who chose *his* kind of life, and in this state, in this church, which I might truly call the very seat of poverty. They say again that he *coveted wealth*. Yet all his worldly goods, including his library, which brought a high price, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns. Well might he say in his preface to the book of Psalms, 'That I am not a lover of money, if I fail of persuading men while I live, my death will demonstrate.' How small his stipend was, the senate knows: yet they can bear witness that, so far from being dissatisfied with it, he pertinaciously refused an increase when it was offered him. He delighted, forsooth, in *luxury* and indulgence! Let his labours answer the charge. What accusations will not some men bring against him? But no refutation of them is wanting to those persons who knew him while he lived; and they will want none, among posterity, with men of judgment, who shall collect his character from his writings. Having given with good faith the history of his life and of his death, after sixteen years' observation of him, I feel myself warranted to declare, that in him was proposed to all men an illustrious example of the life and death of a Christian; so that it will be found as difficult to emulate, as it is easy to calumniate him."—*Beza*.

"It is impossible to refuse him the praise of vast knowledge, exquisite judgment, a penetration which is uncommon, a prodigious memory, and admirable temperance and sobriety. . . . Affairs public and private, ecclesiastical and civil, occupied him in succession, and often all together. Consulted from all quarters both at home and abroad; carrying on a correspondence with all the churches and all the learned men of Europe, with the princes and other persons of high distinction, who had embraced the reformed religion; it seems almost inconceivable how one man could be capable of so many things, and how he should not sink under the weight of the business which pressed upon him. The enemy of all pomp; modest in his whole deportment; perfectly disinterested and generous, and even entertaining a contempt for riches; he made himself

not less respected for the qualities of his heart, than admired for the powers of his understanding. When the council wished to make him a present of five and twenty crowns, on occasion of his continued illness, he refused to accept it; because, he said, since he then rendered no service to the Church, so far from meriting any extraordinary recompense, he felt scruples about receiving his ordinary stipend: and a few days before his death he absolutely refused a part of his appointments which had become due. . . . He always presided in the company of pastors. Without envy they saw him, by reason of his rare merit, which raised him far above all his colleagues, occupy the first place. . . . When his frequent illnesses prevented his being regularly present among them, they had requested Beza to supply his place. A few days after Calvin's death, Beza declined this service, and at the same time recommended to them not in future to entrust an office of such importance permanently to any individual—safely as it might have been committed to Calvin, and due as it justly was to his services— . . . but rather to choose a fresh moderator every year, who should simply be considered as *primus inter pares*—presiding among his equals. This proposition was unanimously approved, and Beza himself, notwithstanding the pleas on which he would have been excused, was immediately chosen the first moderator, as possessing all the requisite qualifications: and the choice was sanctioned by the council.”—*Spon's History of Geneva*.

“This (his superiority to the love of money) is one of the most extraordinary victories virtue and magnanimity can obtain over nature, even in those who are ministers of the gospel. Calvin has left behind him many who imitated him in his active life, his zeal and affection for the cause; they employ their voices, their pens, their steps and solicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of God, but then they take care not to forget themselves, and are, generally speaking, a demonstration that the Church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is lost in her service. . . . Such a will as this of Calvin, and such a disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those who cast their eyes on the philosophers of Greece say of him, ‘I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.’ When Calvin was taking his leave of those of Strasburg, in order to return to Geneva, they offered to continue his freedom, and the revenue of a prebend they had assigned him; he accepted the first, but rejected the latter. . . . He carried one of his brothers with him to Geneva, without ever thinking of advancing him to any honours, as others would have done with his great credit. . . . Even his enemies say he had him taught the trade of a bookbinder, which he exercised all his life.”—*Bayle*.

“We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are, which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian Religion, the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture, according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them if they gainsaid, and of glory above them if they consented.”—*Hooker*.

“After the Holy Scriptures, I exhort the students to read the Commentaries of Calvin . . . for I tell them that he is incomparable in the interpretation of Scripture; and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian Fathers: so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the pre-eminence to him beyond most others, indeed beyond them all. I add, that, with regard to what belongs to common places, his Institutes must be read after the Catechism, as a more ample interpretation. But to all this I subjoin the remark, that they must be perused with cautious choice, like all other human compositions.”—*Arminius*.

APPENDIX V.

ORIGIN OF THE CALUMNY THAT CALVIN WISHED TO ABROGATE THE LORD'S DAY.

The authority of Calvin, too, has sometimes been adduced in support of loose views respecting the obligation of the fourth commandment. It is an old and foolish calumny. We take the following extract from Beza, not only to meet this allegation, for Beza, as the personal friend of Calvin, must have known his sentiments perfectly, but to counteract any impressions which may be circulated to the disparagement of the faithfulness and purity of the Church of Geneva, in the days of Calvin.

"The year 1550 was remarkable for its tranquility with respect to the Church. The Consistory resolved that the ministers should not confine their instructions to public preaching—which was neglected by some, and heard with very little advantage by others—but at stated seasons should visit every family from house to house, attended by an elder and a decurion of each ward, to explain the Christian doctrines to the common people, and require from every one a brief account of their faith. These private visits were of great use to the Church, and it is scarcely credible how much fruit was produced by this plan of instruction. The Consistory gave directions that the celebration of the birth of Christ should be deferred to the following day, and that no festival should be observed as holy excepting the seventh, which is called the Lord's Day. This proceeding gave offence to many, and for the purpose of reproaching Calvin, there were some who circulated an unfounded report of his abrogating the Sabbath itself."

MELANCTHON'S APPROBATION OF THE COURSE OF CALVIN TOWARDS SERVETUS.

M. D'Aubigné was strictly correct in his historical allusions to this celebrated German reformer. In a letter from Melancthon to Calvin, bearing the date of October 14th, 1554, we find the following sentiments:—

"Reverend and dear brother—I have read your book, in which you have clearly refuted the horrid blasphemies of Servetus; and I give thanks to the Son of God, who was the awarder of your crown of victory in your combat." "To you, also, the Church owes gratitude at the present moment, and will owe it to the latest posterity." "I perfectly assent to your opinion."

"I affirm, also," says he, in another letter, dated August 20th, "that the Genevese senate did perfectly right in putting an end to this obstinate man, who could never cease blaspheming, and I wonder at those who disapprove of this severity."

This opinion of Melancthon was sustained by Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, Farel, Theodore Beza, Bishop Hall, and others. Your correspondent must, therefore, admit that Melancthon's name is properly coupled with that of John Calvin, in the affair of Servetus, approve, or disapprove of the sentence as we may.

H. B.

THE TESTIMONY OF A UNITARIAN.

The following is from the pen of George Bancroft, author of the History of the United States, formerly minister plenipotentiary to England, a Unitarian in his religious opinions.

"It is in season to rebuke the intolerance which would limit the praise of Calvin to a single sect. They who have no admiration but for wealth and rank, can never admire the Genevan reformer; for though he possessed the richest mind of his age, he never emerged from the limits of frugal poverty. The rest of us may be allowed to reverence his virtues and regret

his errors. He lived in a day when nations were shaken to their centre by the excitement of the Reformation, when the fields of Holland and France were wet with the carnage of persecution; when vindictive monarchs, on the one side, threatened all Protestants with outlawry and death; and the Vatican, on the other, sent forth its anathemas and its cry for blood. In that day, it is too true, the influence of an ancient, long-established, hardly disputed error; the constant danger of his position; the intensest desire to secure union among the antagonists of Popery; the engrossing consciousness that his struggle was for the emancipation of the Christian world, induced the great Reformer to defend the use of the sword for the extirpation of error. Reprobating and lamenting his adhesion to the cruel doctrine which all Christendom had for centuries implicitly received, we may, as republicans, remember, that Calvin was not only the founder of a sect, but foremost among the most efficient of modern republican legislators. More truly benevolent to the human race than Solon, more self-denying than Lycurgus, the genius of Calvin infused enduring elements into the institutions of Geneva, and made it for the modern world the impregnable fortress of popular liberty, the fertile seed plot of democracy.

Again, we boast of our common schools; Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools.

Again, we are proud of the free States that fringe the Atlantic. The Pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best influence in South Carolina came from the Calvinists in France. William Penn was the disciple of Huguenots; the ships from Holland, that first brought colonists to Manhattan, were filled with Calvinists. *He that will not honour the memory, and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty.*

Or do personal considerations chiefly win applause? Then no one merits our sympathy and our admiration more than Calvin. The young exile from France, who achieved an immortality of fame before he was twenty-eight years of age, now boldly reasoning with the king of France for religious liberty; now venturing as the apostle of truth to carry the new doctrines into the heart of Italy; and now hardly escaping from the fury of papal persecution; the purest writer, the keenest dialectician of his age; pushing free inquiry to its utmost verge, and yet valuing inquiry only as the means of arriving at fixed principles. The light of his genius scattered the mask of darkness, which superstition had held for centuries before the brow of religion. His probity was unquestioned, his morals spotless. His only happiness consisted in 'the task of glory, and of good;' for sorrow found its way into all its private relations. He was an exile from his place of exile. As a husband, he was doomed to mourn the premature loss of his wife; as a father, he felt the bitter pangs of burying his only child. Alone in the world, alone in a strange land, he went forward in his career with serene resignation and inflexible firmness; no love of ease turned him aside from his vigils; no fear of danger relaxed the nerve of his eloquence; no bodily infirmities checked the incredible activity of his mind; and so he continued, year after year, solitary and feeble, yet toiling for humanity; till after a life of glory, he bequeathed to his personal heirs a fortune, in books and furniture, stocks and money, not exceeding two hundred dollars, and *to the world a pure Reformation, a republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of republican liberty.*"

TEMPTATION OF JOHN CALVIN.

The following anecdote of Calvin, while it does much honour to his moral and religious character, is a curious historical fact, which deserves to be generally known. It was related at Geneva, by Diodati, one of Calvin's successors, to the first Lord Orrery, who flourished under the reign of Charles I. The extract is taken from "The State Letters and Memoirs of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle."

"Eckius being sent by the Pope, legate into France, upon his return resolved to take Geneva in his way, on purpose to see Calvin; and if occasion were, to attempt reducing him to the Roman Church. Therefore, when Eckius was come within a league of Geneva, he left his retinue there, and went, accompanied with one man, to the city in the forenoon. Setting up his horses at an inn, he inquired where Calvin lived, whose house being

showed him, he knocked at the door, and Calvin himself came to open to him. Eckius inquiring for Mr. Calvin, he was told he was the person Eckius acquainted him that he was a stranger; and having heard much of his fame, was come to wait upon him. Calvin invited him to come in, and he entered the house with him; where, discoursing of many things concerning religion, Eckius perceived Calvin to be an ingenious, learned man, and desired to know if he had not a garden to walk in. To which Calvin, replying that he had, they both went into it; and there Eckius began to inquire of him why he left the Roman Church, and offered him some arguments to persuade him to return; but Calvin could by no means be inclined to think of it. At last Eckius told him that he would put his life in his hands; and then said he was Eckius, the Pope's legate. At this discovery, Calvin was not a little surprised, and begged his pardon, that he had not treated him with the respect which was due to his quality. Eckius returned the compliment, and told him if he would come back to the Roman Church, he would certainly procure for him a Cardinal's cap. But Calvin was not to be moved by such an offer. Eckius then asked him what revenue he had. He told the Cardinal he had that house and garden, and fifty livres per annum; besides an annual present of some wine and corn; on which he lived very contentedly. Eckius told him, that a man of his parts deserved a greater revenue; and then renewed his invitation to come over to the Roman Church, promising him a better stipend if he would. But Calvin giving him thanks, assured him he was well satisfied with his condition.—About this time dinner was ready, when he entertained his company as well as he could, excused the defects of it, and paid him great respect. Eckius after dinner desired to know, if he might not be admitted to see the church, which anciently was the cathedral of that city. Calvin very readily answered that he might: accordingly, he sent to the officers to be ready with the keys, and desired some of the syndics to be there present, not acquainting them who the stranger was. As soon, therefore, as it was convenient, they both went towards the church, and as Eckius was coming out of Calvin's house, he drew out a purse, with about one hundred pistoles, and presented it to Calvin. But Calvin desired to be excused; Eckius told him, he gave it him to buy books, as well as to express his respect for him. Calvin, with much regret took the purse, and they proceeded to the church, where the syndics and officers waited upon them; at the sight of whom Eckius thought he had been betrayed, and whispered his thoughts in Calvin's ear; but Calvin assured him to the contrary. Thereupon they went into the church; and Eckius having seen all, told Calvin he did not expect to find things in so decent an order, having been told to the contrary. After having taken a full view of everything, Eckius was returning out of the church, but Calvin stopped him a little, and calling the syndics and officers together, took the purse of gold which Eckius had given to him, telling them that he had received that gold from this worthy stranger, and that now he gave it to the poor, and so put it all into the poor box that was kept there. The syndics thanked the stranger, and Eckius admired the charity and modesty of Calvin. When they were come out of the church, Calvin invited Eckius again to his house, but he replied that he must depart; so thanking him for all his civilities, offered to take his leave. But Calvin waited upon him to the inn, and walked with him a mile out of the territories of Geneva, where with great compliments, they took a farewell of each other."

Eckius was a very learned divine, Professor in the University of Ingolstadt, memorable for his opposition to Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers in Germany. He died in 1543 aged fifty seven.

CALVIN'S ORDINATION.

The chief difficulty, which I had occasion to mention in noticing the allegation made by Romanists and Prelatists, that Calvin was never ordained, was the fact that there is no record, *in so many words*, of its time and place, and of the persons who officiated at the ordination. I have shown, however, that there is every evidence that could be adduced for the certainty of the fact, and for its universal recognition by all his contemporaries, both Romish, Anglican, and Reformed.

But the difficulty may be met by an *argumentum ad hominem*. Has any

one, I ask, ever questioned the ordination of Bishop Butler, or does any one now doubt whether he was really and canonically ordained? The answer must be given in the negative. And yet on the ground assumed by our opponents, his ordination may be altogether denied. For in his life by Mr. Bartlett, it is recorded, that "at what time he took orders doth not appear, nor who the bishop was by whom he was ordained." And again: "It is perhaps a little singular that notwithstanding his private memoranda, which refer to the date of almost every other event connected with his public life, there is *no allusion either to the period of his ordination, or to the Prelate who conferred orders upon him.*"

This, certainly, is very singular, and more than a parallel to the case of Calvin. Was Calvin educated in the Romish Church?—Butler was brought up in the Presbyterian Church. Had Calvin difficulty in making up his mind to embrace the Reformed opinions?—So had Butler in receiving the tenets of the establishment. Did Calvin embrace and avow the Reformed opinions respecting the Church, and the ministry, and ordination?—So did Butler those of the Established Church in England. And do these avowed opinions of Butler, and this very change of connection, make it certain that he must have been regularly ordained, although there is such a mysterious absence of all proof—and how much more certainly must we conclude that such was also the case as it regards Calvin? For if such an omission can be supposed in England, at so recent a period, and under the circumstances of the case, how much more might it be looked for in the earliest period of the Reformation, and amid the incipency of all their arrangements.

Our opponents, therefore, before again exposing their captious malice by taunting us with the case of Calvin, had better learn the wisdom of that proverb, that "they who live in glass houses ought not to throw stones."

Calvin clearly affirms his belief in the necessity of Scriptural ordination. See *Necessity of Reforming the Church*, p. 94.

CALVIN'S MISSION TO BRAZIL.

It was during this dark time than an event occurred which has escaped the notice of many American antiquaries and historians. We mean the emigration of French Protestants to Brazil. To call this a mission, Dr. Henry thinks inaccurate.* Yet it appears from the letters of Richer, the preacher of the refugees, that they were not without some thoughts of converting the heathen. Villegagnon, a knight of Malta, gave the great Coligni reason to believe, that he was about to secure a spot in America, where the persecuted Protestants might find a refuge. The admiral was won by the benevolent prospect. A small island, we suppose it to have been near Rio de Janeiro, was occupied by Villegagnon, in the name of Coligni. Ministers of the word were now demanded, and Richer and Chartier were sent from Geneva. But, by a hideous treachery, these poor non-conformists of the South, less favoured than their later brethren of Plymouth, were fiercely pursued under the French edicts. Four of them witnessed a good confession, and were cast into the sea: the rest escaped to France. Jean de Lery, afterwards a minister at Berne, was an eye-witness of these atrocities, which he described on his return.

The unusual interest which attaches to this somewhat obscure chapter in history justifies us in adding a few more particulars. Nicolas de Villegagnon was vice-admiral in Brittany, under Henry II. Being disappointed and chagrined, because his services were not sufficiently recognized, he put himself at the head of the expedition aforesaid. There were two excellent ships, and they set sail in 1555. The river Coligni, at which they made settlement, is sufficiently pointed out by the rude approximative statement of the latitude.† The natives were kind, but the settlers had more than the usual trials of colonists. Richer, whom we just now named, was fifty years of age, and Chartier about thirty. Even on their voyage they were ill-treated by the people of Villegagnon. They landed on the 7th of March, 1556, and showed their letters, to which was appended the name of Calvin. The perfidious governor did not at first throw aside the mask, but even

*Guericke, *Kirchengesch.* p. 1151.

†Où le pôle antarctique s'élève sur l'horizon 23 degrés quelque peu moins.

went so far as to partake of the Lord's Supper, according to the Protestant rite, as appears from Richer's letter to Calvin. In this letter are several things worthy of more special notice than we can here bestow. There is much naivete and piety in the good missionary's report. The people are rude, he says, though he knows not assuredly that they are cannibals. They have no sense of right and wrong, and no idea of God, so that there is little hope of making Christ known to them. The language is a chief hinderance. Nothing can be hoped until there are more settlers, by whose converse and example the Indian people may be christianized. A certain learned doctor Cointiac used the preachers ill, and declared himself an enemy of the Huguenot worship. In this he was now joined by Villegagnon, who suspended Richer from his functions. Chartier was sent to Europe to represent the matters in contest. Villegagnon now began to persecute, and forbade the wretched exiles to escape. Richer and his companions retired to the forest, where they were humanely treated by the savages. But others, who endeavored to get off by ship, were seized and imprisoned. Villegagnon, in his new zeal for popery, condemned five Huguenots to death, under the ordonnances of Francis I. and Henry II. One Bordel was cast into the sea, to die as a martyr: so died also Vermeil and Pierre Bourdon. Villegagnon returned to France, and wrote against the gospel, but was answered by Richer. The persecutor died wretched and impenitent.

APPENDIX VI.

CALVIN'S WIFE.

The following account of Calvin's wife, and of his domestic life and character, will be at once very interesting, and will very thoroughly corroborate our view of his character. It is given in the words of Monsieur G. de Felice, and is taken from the New York Observer, of which he is the able and always interesting correspondent.

IDELETTE DE BURE.

CALVIN'S WIFE.

Preliminary Observations—Calvin banished from Geneva and established at Strasburg—Traits in his Character—Various Plans of Marriage—Idelette De Bure—Biographical Notice—The Marriage Ceremony—Calvin's Journey—His Return to Geneva.

In my letter on the religious anniversaries of Paris, I said that Mr. Jules Bonnet, a distinguished writer, who had spent several years in collecting the manuscript correspondence of Calvin, had read at the meeting of the Society for the History of French Protestantism, a notice of *Idelette De Bure*, the wife of the great Reformer. The piece has since been published, and I am happy to communicate a sketch of it to your readers, adding some facts derived from other sources.

Idelette de Bure may be a new name, even to well informed theologians, who have carefully studied the annals of the Reformation. I confess humbly that, for my part, I had hardly read here and there three or four lines on the wife of Calvin, and that I knew nothing of his domestic life. The same ignorance exists probably in a majority of those who will cast their eyes upon my letter. Mr. Jules Bonnet has then rendered a real and important service to the numerous friends of the Genevese Reformer: this notice of him is an historical resurrection.

Of Luther's wife everybody has heard—that *Catherine de Bora*, who left a nunnery to enter the holy state of matrimony. The German Reformer often alludes to the character, habits, and opinions of his dear *Katy*, as he called her. He shows us under her different aspects, this good, simple-hearted woman, who had little intellectual culture, but earnest piety. He acquaints us minutely with his domestic life. We weep with him over the grave of his *Magdalen*; we listen to his conversations with his son, to whom he speaks in poetic terms of the joys of Paradise. In a word, Luther's house is thrown open, and posterity see the sweet face of Catherine de Bora, drawn by the pencil of the illustrious *Lucas Kranach*, as distinctly almost as Luther's. Why is it not the same with Calvin and his wife? Why is their domestic sanctuary so little known?

The chief reason is found in the marked difference between the two great founders of Protestantism. Luther, the faithful representative of the German or Saxon genus, loved home-life, and attached value to its least incidents; he was warm hearted, ever ready to introduce his friends to the joys and sorrows of his fireside. He took pleasure in sharing with his wife and children all his own emotions. Calvin had also, as we shall see, an affectionate heart, capable of strong attachments. But his natural disposition was reserved and austere. He would have regarded it as a weakness, perhaps an act of guilty pride, to draw frequent attention to himself, his sentiments, his personal concerns. He avoided expressions of warm feeling. "His soul, absorbed by the tragic emotions of the struggle he maintained at Geneva, and by the labours of his vast propagandism abroad," says Mr. Bonnet, "rarely revealed itself, and only sensibility, revealing unknown depths, without showing them wholly to our view." No wonder that Idelette de Bure remained half concealed, the more so as she lived only a few years, and no children remained of their marriage. Yet, among Calvin's letters are found interesting notices of this woman, who was certainly worthy of the illustrious man that had offered her his hand.

During his youth, Calvin had not thought of contracting the bonds of

matrimony: he could not indeed be married. Hunted by implacable persecutors, with no house in which to repose his head; forced to hide himself sometimes in Angouleme, sometimes in Bale; preaching from place to place, and celebrating the holy supper with some friends in the depths of woods or in caves; besides, occupied day and night in composing his book on the *Institutions of the Christian Religion*, which was intended to plead before the King Francis I., the cause of his brethren, who were condemned to frightful punishments; how could he wish to be married? Would he have acted wisely to aggravate his evils by domestic cares, and to call a wife to bear half of so heavy a burden?

In August, 1536, Calvin became professor and pastor at Geneva. He had acquired a home; but still his labours were great. He had to struggle against the men called *libertines*, who, after breaking the yoke of Romanism, abandoned themselves to the grossest licentiousness. They viewed the Reformation as a license to disregard all laws human and divine. These libertines occupied high offices in Geneva. They were in the councils of state, and had behind them a disorderly populace. Calvin saw that the precious interests of the evangelical faith were jeopardized. He lifted his voice with invincible energy against the libertines, and refused to receive them at the holy table, exposing his blood, his life, to the discharge of his duty. Certainly, this was not the moment to seek a wife.

He was banished from Geneva by the libertine party in April, 1538; and having been invited by the pious *Bucer* to come to *Strasburg*, he was appointed pastor of a parish of French refugees. Then, for the first time, marriage seems to have occupied his thoughts; or rather, his friends, particularly *Farel*, tried to find for him a wise and good companion.

In a letter addressed to *Farel* in May, 1539, (he was then thirty years old), Calvin sketches his ideal of a wife. "Remember," he says to his friend, "what I especially desire to meet with in a wife. I am not, you know, of the number of those inconsiderate lovers who adore even the faults of the woman who charms them. I could only be pleased with a lady who is sweet, chaste, modest, economical, patient, and careful of her husband's health. Has she of whom you have spoken to me these qualities? Come with her . . . , if not let us say no more."

Another letter to the same pastor, *Farel*, dated 6 February, 1540, shows us Calvin, eluding skillfully a proposal of marriage. "There has been named to me," he says, "a young lady, rich, of noble birth, and whose dowry surpasses all I could desire. Two reasons, however, induce me to decline: she does not know our language (she was of *Alsace*, a *German* province,) and I think that she is too proud of her birth and of her education. Her brother endowed with uncommon piety, and blinded by his friendship for me, so as even to neglect his own interest, urges me to the choice, and the wishes of his wife second his own. What could I do? I should have been forced to yield if the Lord had not drawn me from my embarrassment. I replied that I would consent if the lady, on her part, would promise to learn the French language. She had asked for time to reflect. . . ."

The plan was abandoned. Calvin had foreseen it, and congratulated himself on not marrying a lady, who, with a large fortune, was far from possessing the requisite simplicity and humility. This correspondence confirms what history relates of Calvin's character. He was eminently disinterested. A large dowry was a small thing in his eyes. Of what importance was it for him to have a rich wife, if she was not a Christian? This is the same man who refused all the pecuniary offers of the sovereign council of Geneva, and hardly left wherewith to pay the expenses of his funeral—the paltry sum of fifty silver crowns.

A second proposal of marriage was made. The lady in question had not any fortune, but she was distinguished for her virtues. "Her praise is in every mouth," writes Calvin to *Farel*, in June, 1540. So Calvin requested his brother, *Anthony Calvin*, in connection with other friends, to make proposals of marriage. Unhappily, he learnt some time after, something unfavourable of the young lady's character; he withdrew the proposals, and wrote sadly to his colleague: "I have not yet found a companion; is it not wisest to abandon my search?" Thus, he was discouraged by these fruitless attempts, and seemed to give up the prospect of marriage, as if the sweets of this union were not made for him. It should be remarked that though he possessed such manly firmness in questions of Christian faith, and though capable of giving his life for the cause of truth, Calvin was timid

and reserved in little things of common life. "I am," he somewhere says, "of a shy, bashful disposition; I have always loved quiet, and I seek concealment. I know that I am naturally timid, soft and pusillanimous."

He preferred to remain a bachelor, lest he should be ill received by the young ladies whom he addressed, or not make a good choice. An unexpected incident changed his resolution. There was in Strasburg a pious lady named *Idelette de Bure*. She was a widow, and all her time was spent in training the children she had had by her first husband, *John Storder*, of the Anabaptist sect. She was born in a small town of Guelders, in Holland. She came to the capital of Alsace as a place of refuge for victims of persecution. The learned Dr. Bucer knew *Idelette de Bure*, and it was he apparently who recommended her to Calvin's attention.

Externally, there was in this woman nothing very attractive. She was encumbered with several children of a first marriage; she had no fortune; she was dressed in mourning; her person was not particularly handsome. But for Calvin, she possessed the best of treasures, a living and tried faith, an upright conscience, and lovely as well as strong virtues. As he afterwards said of her, she would have had the courage to bear with him exile, poverty, death itself, in attestation of the truth. Such were the noble qualities which won the Reformer.

The nuptial ceremony was performed in September, 1540. Calvin was then thirty-one years old and two months. He was not constrained by juvenile passion, but obeyed the voice of nature, reason and duty. The papists who constantly reproach the Reformers are mistaken. Luther and Calvin, both of them, married at mature age: they did what they ought to do and nothing more.

No pomp in Calvin's marriage, no ill-timed rejoicings. All was calm and grave, as suited the piety and gravity of the married pair. The consistories of *Neufchatel* and of *Valengin*, in Switzerland, sent deputies to Strasburg to attend this marriage; a striking mark of their attachment and respect for Calvin.

Hardly were the nuptials passed when the leader of the French Reformation was constrained to leave the sweets of this domestic union. A diet was convened at *Worms*, in which most important questions, relative to the future conditions of Protestantism, were to be discussed. Calvin was naturally called to take part in them. He went to *Worms*, then to *Ratisbonne*, trying to conclude a peace between the two branches of the Reformation. During his absence he confided his wife to the care of Anthony Calvin, and the noble family *de Richebourg*, where he fulfilled for some time the office of preceptor. The plague broke out at Strasburg to his great alarm, and penetrated the house where *Idelette de Bure* lived. Louis de Richebourg and another inmate of the family had fallen a prey to the disease. Calvin trembled for his dear wife. "I try," he writes, "to resist my grief—I resort to prayer and to holy meditations, that I may not lose all courage." During his residence at *Ratisbonne*, where the fundamental interests of the new churches were discussed, Calvin received a deputation from Geneva, begging him earnestly to return to that city. The Libertine party had disclosed their detestable designs. The strong will and the moral power of Calvin were necessary to restore order. He resisted this call a long time. His hesitation, his tears, his anguish, attested that he viewed with a sort of horror the heavy burden which was laid upon him. At last he yielded, saying: "Not my will, O God, but thine be done! I offer my heart a sacrifice to thy holy will!" And on the 13th of September, 1541, he returned, after an exile of three years to the city of Geneva, the face and the destinies of which he changed." I am, &c.,

G. DE F.

Idelette de Bure settled in Geneva—Her Christian Virtues—Domestic Afflictions—Her frequent Sickness—Last Moments—Death—Calvin's Grief—Conclusion.

Before fixing his residence definitely in Geneva, Calvin had determined to go there and examine for himself the true state of things. He went alone, leaving his wife in Strasburg. But he had no sooner entered the walls of the city than the Genevese, fearing to lose once more a man of whom they stood in so much need, took all proper measures to detain him. The public councils decided that a *messenger of state* should be sent to

Idelette at Strasburg, and should bring her *with her household* (these were the terms of the resolution) into the house assigned to the Reformer. Thus did this humble, Christian woman, receive honours decreed to a princess of royal blood, having a messenger of state to guide and usher her into her new dwelling.

Recent researches have been published concerning this house which the magistrates gave for Calvin's use after his return from exile. It had belonged formerly to an abbey, and was situated in an agreeable position which opened extensive views of the smiling borders of Lake Lemman and the majestic amphitheatre of the Alps. It is remarkable, this house is now again in the hands of the Roman Catholics, who have converted it into a charitable institution, under the protection of St. Vincent of Paul. In spite of the honours which were accorded by the political councils of Geneva, Idelette de Bure was not ambitious to play a brilliant part in society. Always modest and reserved, practising the virtues which suited her sex, and shunning noise and pomp with as much solicitude as other women seek them, she consecrated her days to the duties of her pious vocation. Her private correspondence with Calvin—on the rare occasions when he mentions his wife—makes us see her under a very engaging aspect. She visited the poor, consoled the afflicted, and received with hospitality the numerous strangers who came without knocking at the gate of the Reformer. In fact, every one recognized in her the pious woman, of whom it is said in Scripture, having "*a meek and quiet spirit which is in the sight of God of great price,*" and worthy to be praised for ever for her works.

Idelette de Bure devoted herself particularly to the care of her husband. Exhausted by his constant labours, Calvin was frequently ill; and treating his body roughly, after the example of Paul, he persisted amidst bodily sufferings to perform the multiplied duties of his office. Then his wife would come and tenderly recommend him to take a little repose, and watch at his pillow when his illness had assumed an alarming character. Besides, (and this will surprise the reader,) Calvin had at times, like ordinary men, desponding feelings; he was inclined to *low spirits*. "Sometimes," he himself says, "although I am well in body, I am depressed with grief, which prevents me from doing anything, and I am ashamed to live so uselessly." In these moments of dejection, when the heroic Reformer seemed, in spite of his energy and incomparable activity, to sink under the weight of our common infirmities, Idelette de Bure was at hand, with tender and encouraging words, which the heart of woman can alone find; and her hand, so feeble yet so welcome and so affectionate, restored the giant of the Reformation, who made the Pope and kings tremble on their thrones! Oh, the precious support and the magic power of a religious, attentive and loving wife!

Who can picture the salutary influence which the humble Idelette de Bure exercised over the Reformer? Calvin, as Mr. Jules Bonnet remarks, was often pained by the opposition he met with, for men submit reluctantly to the designs of genius. "How often," adds the biographer, "in these years of struggle and of secret weaknesses which his correspondence reveals, did he become composed before the courageous and sweet woman who could make no compromise with duty! How many times, perhaps, he was soothed and quieted by one of those words which come from the heart! . . . And when afterwards more gloomy days arrived, and the strife of opinions called forth *Bolsec, Michael Servetus, Gentilis*, (Idelette de Bure was no longer alive) who can say how much the Reformer missed the advice, the sweet influence of this woman?"

To return to our narrative. Idelette's greatest pleasure was to listen to the holy exhortations of *Farel, Peter Viret, Theodore de Beze*, who often sat at the hospitable table of their illustrious chief, and loved to renew their courage in converse with him. Sometimes—but rarely—she accompanied her husband in his walks to Coligny, to Belle-Rive on the enchanting banks of Lake Lemman. At other times, in order to repose after her fatigues, or when Calvin was called away to attend to the business of the Reformed Churches, Idelette would go and spend some days at Lausanne with the wife of Viret. We see her in this Christian family in 1545 and 1548, careful not to give trouble to her hosts, and troubled because she could not render them some good offices in return for those which they had shown her.

Bitter domestic afflictions came upon Calvin and his wife. The second year of their marriage, in the month of July, 1542, Idelette had a son. But, alas, this child, for whom they had devoutly returned thanks to God, and offered so many fervent prayers, was soon taken from them by death. The churches of Geneva and of Lausanne showed the parents marks of sympathy. Feeble mitigation of so heavy a trial! It is easier to imagine than to express the grief of a mother's heart. Calvin lets us see his sorrow and that of his companion, in a letter addressed, the 10th of August, 1542, to Peter Viret: "Salute all our brethren," says he, "salute also your wife, to whom mine presents her thanks for her tender and pious consolations. . . . She would like to answer them with her own hand, but she has not even the strength to dictate a few words. The Lord has dealt us a grievous blow, in taking from us our son; but He is our Father, and knows what is meet for his children." Paternal affection and Christian resignation are both displayed in Calvin's letters at this time. In 1544, a new trial of this kind afflicted the hearts of these parents. A daughter was born to them; she lived only a few days, as we see in a letter addressed in 1544 to the pastor Viret. Again a third child was taken from them. Idelette wept bitterly; and Calvin, so often tried, sought his strength from the Lord; and the thought occurred to him that he was destined only to have children *according to the faith*. So he said to one of his adversaries, who had been base enough to reproach him with his domestic losses: "Yes," replied Calvin, "the Lord has given me a son; he has taken him from me. Let my enemies, if they see proper, reproach me for this trial. Have not I thousands of children in the Christian world?"

The health of Idelette, already delicate, was impaired by these repeated griefs. The familiar letters of the Reformer inform us that she passed her last years in a state of languor and suffering. Often he speaks of her as sick in bed, and asks the prayers of her friends. Often he tells how she has *revived*. Calvin's affection for his wife appears in these communications; "Salute your wife," he writes to Viret in 1548; "mine is her sad companion in bodily weakness. I fear the issue. Is there not enough evil threatening us at the present time? The Lord will perhaps show a more favourable countenance."

There was then at Geneva a learned physician, named Benedict Textor. He was a pious man, full of zeal for the Lord, and a particular friend of Calvin. He was assiduous in his care of Idelette, and exhausted himself in seeking all the aid that human art could afford. But his efforts were fruitless, the fever increased. Calvin felt for the physician deep gratitude, and addressed him in the month of July, 1550, a letter dedicating to him his commentary on the second epistle to the Thessalonians. Early in April, 1549, Idelette's condition inspired deep anxiety. Theodore de Beze, Hottman, Desgallers, and other colleagues of the Reformer hastened to him to console him as well as his wife in her last illness. Idelette, sustained even to the end by piety, had consented to the sundering of her earthly ties; her only anxiety was concerning the fate of the children she had had by her first marriage. One of her friends asked her to speak of them to Calvin. "Why should I do so?" she answered; "what concerns me, is that my children may be brought up in virtue. . . . If they are virtuous they will find in him a father. If they are not, why should I recommend them to him?" But Calvin himself knew her wishes, and promised to treat her children as if they were his own. "I have already recommended them to God," said Idelette. "But that does not hinder that I should take care of them also," said Calvin. "I know well," said she, "that you will never abandon those whom I have confided to the Lord."

Idelette saw the approach of death with calmness. Her soul was unshaken in the midst of her sufferings, which were accompanied by frequent faintings. When she could not speak, her look, her gestures, the expression of her face, revealed sufficiently the faith which strengthened her in her last hour. On the morning of April 6th, a pastor named Bourgoin addressed to her pious exhortation. She joined in broken exclamations, which seemed an anticipation of heaven: "O glorious resurrection! O God of Abraham and our fathers! . . . Hope of Christians for so many ages, in thee I hope."

At 7 o'clock in the morning she fainted again; and, feeling that her voice was about to fail, "Pray," said she, "O my friends, pray for me!" Calvin approaching her bedside, she showed her joy by her looks. With

emotion he spoke to her of the grace that is in Christ; of the earthly pilgrimage; of the assurance of a blessed eternity; and closed by a fervent prayer. Idelette followed his words, listened attentively to the holy doctrine of salvation in Jesus crucified. About nine o'clock she breathed her last sigh, but so peacefully that it was for some moments impossible to discover if she ceased to live, or if she was asleep.

Such is the account Calvin gives to his colleagues of the death of his beloved wife. Then he turned sadly his eyes upon his now desolate state of widowhood. "I have lost," he said to Viret, in a letter of April 7th, 1549, "I have lost the excellent companion of my life, who never would have left me in exile nor in pain, nor in death. So long as she lived, she was a precious help to me. Never occupied with herself, and never being to her husband a trouble nor a hinderance. . . . I suppress my grief as much as I can; my friends make it their duty to console me; but they and myself effect little. You know the tenderness of my heart, not to say its weakness. I should succumb if I did not make an effort over myself to moderate my affliction." Four days after, he wrote to his friend, Farel: "Adieu dear and beloved brother; may God direct you by his Spirit and support me in my trial! I would not have survived this blow, if God had not extended his hand from heaven. It is He who raises the desponding soul, who consoles the broken heart, who strengthens the feeble knees."

Under the weight of so grievous a loss, Calvin, however, was enabled to fulfill all the duties of his ministry; and the constancy he displayed amidst his tears excited the admiration of his friends, as we read it in Viret's reply to Calvin. The remembrance of her whom he had no more, was not effaced from his heart. Although he was but forty years of age, he never thought of contracting other ties; and he pronounced the name of Idelette de Bure only with profound respect for her virtues and a deep veneration for her memory.

I close with these words of the biographer: "Calvin was great without ceasing to be good; he joined the qualities of the heart to the gifts of genius. . . . He tasted domestic happiness in too brief a union, the secrets of which, dimly revealed by his correspondence, shed a melancholy and sweet light over his life." G. DE F.

THE HONOUR DUE TO CALVIN.

It could hardly be supposed that any man should receive the degree of honour which has been accorded to him by such men as I have named, without being entitled to it on the score both of intellectual and moral character. To exhibit the justice of this claim, let a few more facts and testimonies be adduced.

In regard to his civil services, the celebrated Montesquieu in his "Spirit of Laws" observes:—"They were so great and valuable in constructing that code under which the Republic of Geneva long flourished, that the Genevese ought to bless the moment of his birth, and that of his arrival within their walls." In regard to his general character, Beza says:—"After sixteen years of observation of him, I feel warranted to declare, that in him was proposed to all men an illustrious example of the life and death of a real Christian; so that it will be as difficult to emulate him as it is easy to calumniate him." In regard to his superiority to the love of money, of which he gave some remarkable proofs, even Bayle says:—"This is one of the most extraordinary victories which virtue and magnanimity can attain over nature even in ministers of the gospel." Such disinterestedness might make even those who cast their eyes on the philosophers of Greece say of Calvin, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel."

But in opposition to these virtues, it is generally supposed that intolerance and cruelty to his opponents marked his course.

Here, then, let us read his remarks on Luther, whose bitterness in the Sacramental controversy might well have been expected to excite improper feelings in the minds of all the other Reformers, against whom he arrayed himself. Yet in language worthy of all praise and constant recollection even in our own politer age, Calvin says to the divines of Zurich, "I can hardly counsel you to hold your peace, but I wish you all to remember how great a man Luther is; what great endowments he possesses; what fortitude and firmness, skill and learning he has employed in routing the powers of

Anti-Christ, and propagating the true doctrine of salvation. I have often said, that though he should call me a devil, I would still honour *him* as an illustrious servant of God, to whom we are all deeply indebted. Consider, too, that all you will gain by involving yourselves in the controversy will be to afford matter of triumph to the ungodly. For when we become mutual accusers of each other, they will be only too ready to believe us both. Dwell upon these considerations, rather than on what his intemperance in speech may have deserved at your hands."

After all, his conduct to Servetus is supposed to be incapable of apology; but in fact his action in that matter was not only prompted by a jealous regard to truth, but accompanied by many proofs of forbearance to him who had erred from it. It was nothing more than was demanded by the law of the State, sanctioned by the spirit of the age, and approved by many of the States besides Geneva. Melancthon's amiable temper did not prevent him from participating in it. And there can be no doubt that Calvin would have acted as he did had Servetus been his nearest friend, instead of an inveterate foe, as he had proved himself to be.

Many instances of Calvin's generosity and distinterestedness are recorded in the Register of the Council of Geneva, and quoted in the London *Christian Observer*, 1830, pp. 671-6. Among them, one was his procuring a release from prison of a woman who had attempted to blast his moral character by false accusation. And those who have read his letters to intimate friends on the occasion of the death of his wife, need no proof that his profound intellect and sternly logical reason were not inconsistent with a depth of domestic tenderness and dependence on human affection, bordering on weakness even in his own judgment and by his own confession.

In conclusion, it may be admitted that there were some exceptions to the honour which the early English divines were wont to pay to his authority and excellence. One was a Mr. Barratt of Caius College, Cambridge, A. D. 1595, but the very circumstances of his case remind us of the adage, *exceptio probat regulam!* His contempt for Calvin was so peculiar to himself, that it brought him into collision with the whole power of the University, and so seriously was the error and impropriety of his language regarded by his contemporaries, that he was required to retract it publicly in the pulpit of St. Mary's. He soon after left the University, and, like many others of the early anti-Calvinists in the Church of England, turned Papist. Heylin admits, that after all his search, this was the first instance of opposition to Calvin or his writings.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN CALVIN'S PREFACE TO HIS COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS.

(Translated from the Latin.)

The following extract from Calvin's preface to his Commentary on the Psalms contains valuable items of personal information respecting the author, and will probably present the great Geneva reformer in a far more interesting light than that in which it is usual to contemplate him. The remarks upon the manner in which he was led into the spirit of David's plaintive strains are replete with instruction, and evince, in the most striking manner, the kind of training which best qualifies a man for the office of expounder of the more spiritual parts of the Scriptures. G. B.

"If, however, the labor bestowed by me upon these commentaries shall at all profit the reader, I would have him to understand that I have not been moderately assisted by the moderate experience of trials with which it has pleased God to exercise me, to the end that I might not only be enabled to accommodate to present use whatever instruction I might glean from them, but also to furnish to others a more ample explanation of the drift of each of the several writers of the Psalms. And as David ranks among the principal of these, it was of signal advantage to me in entering fully into the spirit of his complaints of the *intestine* evils of the church, that I myself was a sufferer of the same or like afflictions from the same source. For although not presuming to compare myself with him; nay, though no more than a feeble aspirant after the distinguished virtues in which he excelled, and even laboring under the contrary vices, yet I do not shrink from recognizing certain traits in common. Accordingly while in

reading the testimonies of his faith, patience, zeal, and integrity, the consciousness of my own unlikeness to such a model extorted innumerable sighs, yet it was consoling to behold as in a glass the incipient stages and the subsequent course of my own vocation; inasmuch as I perceived that whatever that illustrious king and prophet underwent in a way of suffering served as a precedent and example to me. How far indeed my condition was inferior to his, it is superfluous to say. But as he was raised from the sheep-cote to the highest pinnacle of kingly power, so the Most High, drawing me forth from the recesses of a profound obscurity, saw fit to endow me with the honor of being a herald and minister of his gracious gospel. While yet in the days of boyhood my father had destined me for theology. But observing that the profession of the civil and canon law was every where a more lucrative calling he was suddenly induced, from this consideration, to abandon his original purpose in respect to his son, in consequence of which I was recalled from the study of philosophy, and forced to that of the law. Here, though from a devout regard to my father's wishes I endeavored to apply myself with a commendable diligence, yet God by the secret rein of his providence eventually turned my course into an entirely different direction. For, first, being too pertinaciously attached to the superstitions of the papacy to be easily extricated from the deep mire of its delusions, it pleased his grace by a sudden conversion to subdue to entire docility a mind hardened beyond its years. Becoming hereby imbued with some relish of true piety, I glowed with such an ardor of zeal for higher attainments, that although not wholly abandoning other studies, I pursued them with a faint and languid spirit. A year had scarcely elapsed when multitudes smitten with a desire of purer doctrine resorted to me for instruction, all tyro and novice as I was in divine knowledge. From this publicity I shrunk. Being naturally of rustic and unpolished manners, and always coveting the shade of retirement, I now longed for a sequestered retreat; but far from obtaining the object of my desires, no place of more privacy than that of a teacher among his pupils was granted me. Indeed, though all my aspirations had centered in one wish, viz. that of enjoying an ignoble quiet, yet God so guided my way through circuitous windings that instead of suffering me to rest, he dragged me in spite of all my reluctance into the light of notoriety. For having left my native country with the design of burying myself in some quiet nook in Germany, where I might taste the repose for which I had so long sighed in vain, I paused awhile, maintaining a rigid incog. at Basil, in Switzerland. The reason of this delay was the general prejudice which had taken root in the German mind against the French on account of their alleged persecutions even unto death of many holy men. Here I found that for the purpose of counteracting the popular excitement certain false and pernicious writings were circulated, affirming that never were men so grossly mal-treated as the Anabaptists; and I observed moreover that some turbulent spirits were broaching the most delirious doctrines, such as went in fact not only to subvert religion, but also to sap the foundations of the whole political fabric. In view of these vile machinations, tending to open the flood-gates of unbounded confusion, I at length concluded that my silence would be justly construed as treachery to the truth, and that I could not in conscience any longer refrain from taking a stand against them. Prompted by this motive I published the Institutions; with the special design, in the first instance, of vindicating the memory of my brethren whose death was precious in the eyes of the Lord, from unjust aspersions; and, secondly, that some touch of pity might reach the breasts of foreign states in view of the dreadful calamities which were impending over the heads of the survivors. The work was not originally published in that voluminous and elaborate form which it at present bears, but was a mere compendious manual. It was given to the world with no other end than to testify to the faith of those whose character and opinions I saw to be so foully outraged by corrupt and shameless traducers. How far I was influenced in this by a desire for fame may be inferred from the fact that I speedily afterwards left Basil, and that without making myself known as the author. Keeping this secret locked up in my own breast, I again resumed my original intention of retiring to Germany, but was stopped at Geneva, not so much by the friendly counsel or urgent solicitation, as by the solemn and even dreadful charge of William Farel, which came upon me like the mighty hand of God from heaven. As the war then raging had obstructed the usual route

to Strasburg I determined to pass rapidly through Geneva, tarrying no longer than a single night. The cause of the papacy in this place had not long before received a fatal blow from the labor of this same Farel, and his colleague Peter Viret; but affairs were yet in an unsettled state, and the city was by no means free from disgraceful divisions. Being recognized by an individual who had basely fallen back into the papal ranks, the fact of my being in Geneva was made known to Farel. This man, glowing with a vehement zeal for the promotion of the Gospel, began at once to exert himself, straining every nerve, to detain me in the city; but finding that my devotion to private and abstract studies was so intense that his persuasions availed little or nothing, he assumed the tone of denunciation, and even invoked the curse of God upon my studies if at this crisis I withdrew myself from the necessities of the church. Terrified by his earnestness, I consented so far as to relinquish my begun journey, but conscious of the shrinking timidity of my nature, I would not engage to take upon myself the responsibility of any public office or employment.

Scarcely four months had passed away when we were assailed on the one side by the Anabaptists, and on the other by a nefarious apostate, whose clandestine manœuvres backed by the countenance of some in authority, occasioned us a world of trouble. In the mean time domestic seditions springing up one after another, kept us in continual turmoil; and I, who am by nature of a soft, sensitive and pusillanimous make, was compelled in the outset of my labors to bear the brunt of this commotion. True, I was kept from succumbing to it yet the magnanimity of my spirit was not such as to prevent me from sincerely rejoicing on being cast out, though the manner of my ejection was such as to be highly discreditable to those concerned. Being once freed from the bond of a public function, I again resolved to slide into retirement, when that most excellent minister of Christ, Martin Bucer, pressing me very much in the same way as Farel had done before, urged me back again into a post of active service. Frightened by adverting to the case of Jonah, I was induced once more to resume the business of teaching. So it has happened that although always of a mould to shun celebrity, yet in some strange and unaccountable way I have been drawn into the presence of princes, and, whether I would or no, have had to encounter the gaze of multitudes.

When afterwards the divine compassion towards our city had assuaged these fearful tumults, and dissipated almost miraculously the wicked counsels and the bloody attempts of our enemies, the necessity of returning again to my former station was laid upon me even against the ruling desire of my mind. For although the welfare of the church lay so near my heart that I could at any time have submitted to death for its sake, yet my inveterate timidity suggested a thousand pretexts for withdrawing my shoulders from a burden to which they were so unequal. Yet a religious sense of duty finally mastered my scruples, and induced me to return to the flock from which I had been torn away; but with how much dejection of spirit, with how many tears, and with what overwhelming anxiety, God is my witness, as well as many pious men, who would willingly have seen me freed from this burden of responsibility, were it not that the same sacred awe which oppressed my mind weighed upon theirs also.

From that time forward if I were to relate the various conflicts with which I have been tried, and the experiences by which I have been taught, the detail would be long and tedious. But not to weary the reader with a vapid discourses, I will briefly repeat, what I before remarked, that it has been a source of inexpressible consolation to me in the execution of this work, to find that David has been my forerunner in the course in which I have been led. For as that holy monarch was continually annoyed by the assaults of the Philistines and other foreign foes, but more sorely wounded by the perfidious malice of internal enemies, so I, incessantly beset from within or without, have scarcely enjoyed one moments' calm. So determined, in fact, have been the plottings of Satan to undermine the prosperity of the church, that it has at length come to this, that I, the weakest and most timorous of mortals, have actually been compelled to present my own person boldly to the rudest pelting of the storm. For the space of five years, while unprincipled men were unhappily in the ascendant in the city councils, and a part of the common people played upon by the influence of their superiors, were eager to break through any restraint, and to rush into unbridled licentiousness, we had to struggle without intermission for the

maintenance of our discipline. Profane men, despisers of the heavenly doctrine, threatened ruin to our Zion had they succeeded in obtaining the power at which they grasped. During this long space of time I suppose scarcely any weapon ever forged in the workshop of Satan failed to be employed; nor did it seem possible to stay their mad proceedings otherwise than by resorting to force and the effusion of blood—a spectacle however from which I instinctively shrunk back, notwithstanding their manifest desert of severe punishment. This five years' ordeal, though sufficiently hard and trying, was still less excruciating to me than the malignity of those who assailed my character and my ministry with the basest slanders. Because I asserted that the world is governed by the inscrutable providence of God, men of perverse minds have risen up and boldly charged me with making Him the author of sin; a futile calumny, which, unless sedulously cherished by the ill-intentioned, would have died away of itself. But such, alas! is the envy, the detraction, the ingratitude, the injustice inherent in some minds, that they readily entertain any falsehood, however prodigious or preposterous. Others strive to overthrow the eternal decree of God, by which he discriminates between the elect and non-elect portions of mankind. Others again taking upon them the defence of the doctrine of free-will, draw over to their party many who in reality know better, but are actuated by sheer perverseness.

These troubles, had they been occasioned by avowed enemies, could have been borne with; but that those who lurk under the name of brethren; who not only eat of the sacred bread of Christ, but minister it unto others; who even glory in affirming that they are heralds of the gospel; that *they* should wage such an unnatural warfare against the truth, how is it to be endured! Here then with the best right I may utter my complaint in the language of David: "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." And again, "It was thou, a man mine equal, my guide and my acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together and walked unto the house of God in company." Others there are who have propagated lying rumors respecting my riches, and others still, respecting the immense power which I have attained and exercise. By another class, my sumptuous style of living is bruited abroad; as if one, forsooth, who has always been content with the plainest food and the coarsest raiment, and who does not scruple to propose himself as a model of frugality, were in truth a monster of extravagance! As to the power which they envy, I could wish that they might be successors to it; for they doubtless judge of my dominion by the mass of my labors. As to my riches, if they will not be corrected of their error during my life-time, my death will disabuse them. Yet because I seek and am content with a bare sufficiency, let me not be understood as confessing myself poor. Far from it. Although then, there be not a particle of foundation for these rumors, yet they obtain currency with many, because they think by thus confounding black and white, to find an excellent cover for their own flagitious conduct, and that it will be a commendous method of obtaining license to sin with impunity, if they can once succeed in breaking down the moral authority of the servants of Christ. * * *

From these remarks the reader will not be backward to perceive that my personal experience has materially assisted me in the explication of the Psalms, and that it is a region over which I do not travel as a stranger. —From the *New York Observer*.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW ON JOHN CALVIN.

A late number of the *Westminster Review*, in an article on John Calvin, in which there are many untrue and bitter things, nevertheless bears the following strong testimony to the character and influence of the great Reformer:—

Had Calvin, like Plato, left only a paper sketch of a republic, in glowing language and magnificent imagery, how much more would he have been admired by the world! He did much more than describe a virtuous society—he created one! Calvin's idea is, doubtless vastly inferior to that of Plato, but it is under the disadvantage of having been worked in practice. With what surprising effect it worked, the whole history of Protestant

Europe is witness. It was a rude attempt indeed, but then it was the first which modern times had seen, to combine individual and equal freedom with strict self-imposed law; to found society on the common endeavor after moral perfection. The Christianity of the middle ages had preached the base and demoralizing surrender of the individual; the surrender of his understanding to the Church; of his conscience to the priest; of his will to the prince. Protestantism, as an insurrection against this subjugation, labored under the same weakness as all other revolutions. It threw off a yoke, and got rid of an exterior control, but it was destitute of any basis of interior life. True freedom can only be founded on a strong sense of personality; the conscious possession of a moral force, from which the outward actions flow. Mere emancipation from the tutelage of a church or a government will not convey this basis of self-reliance. The will is not free, merely because it is relieved from outward restraint. But this is all that any revolution does; to destroy impediments to free agency, not to regenerate the forces of action.

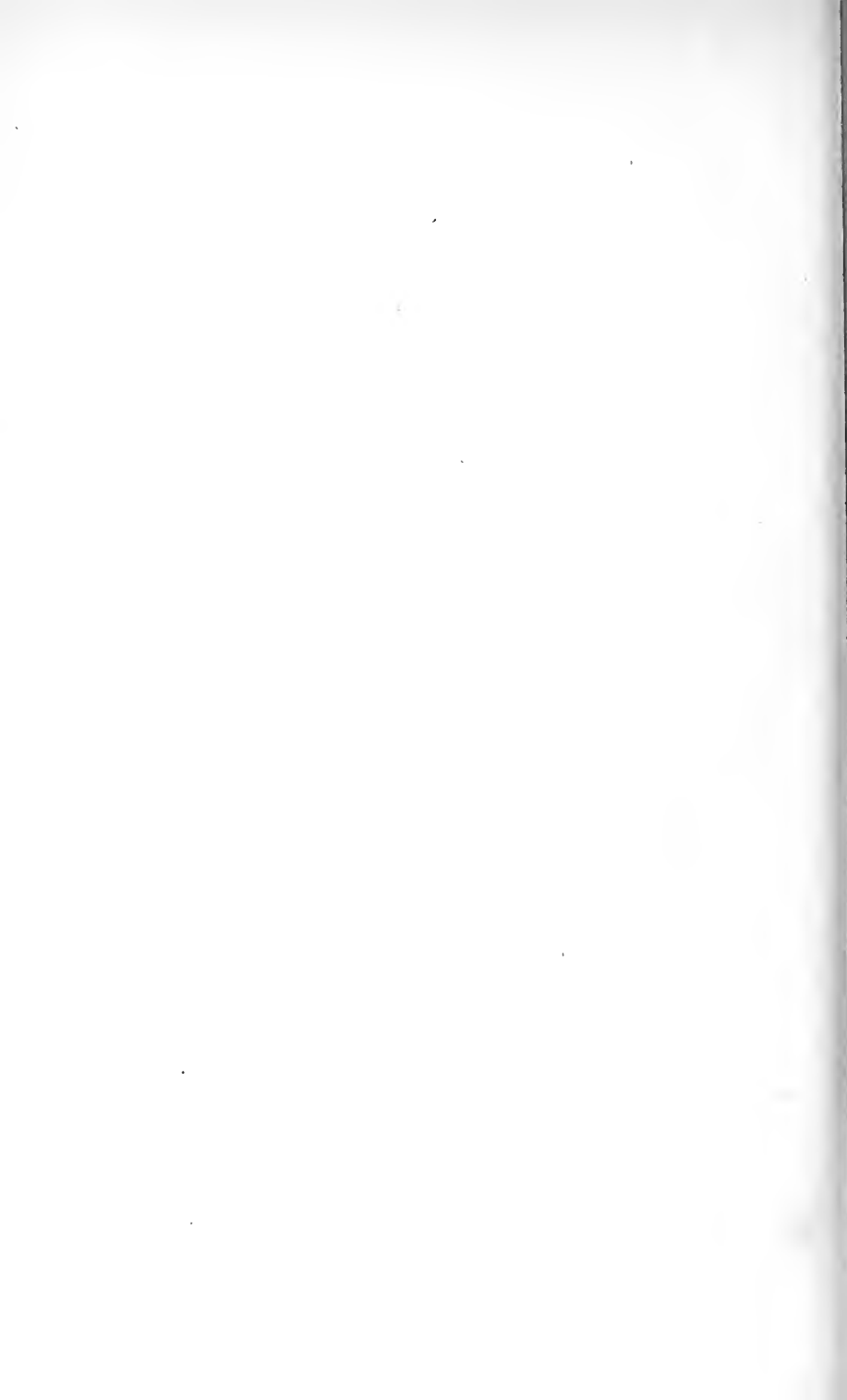
The polity of Calvin was a vigorous effort to supply that which the revolutionary movement wanted—a positive education of the individual soul. Crushed under the weight of a spiritual aristocracy on the one side, and ground down by the huge machine of administrative monarchy on the other, all personal freedom, all moral attributes, had nearly disappeared among the people on whom this superincumbent mass pressed. To raise up the enfeebled will, to stir the individual conscience, to incite the soul not only to reclaim its rights, but to feel its obligations; to substitute free obedience for passive submission—this was the lofty aim of the simple, not to say barbarous, legislation of Calvin. The inquisitorial rigors of the Consistory encouraged, instead of humbling independence. Government at Geneva was not police, but education; self-government mutually enforced by equals on each other. The power thus generated was too expansive to be confined to Geneva. It went forth into all countries. From every part of Protestant Europe, eager hearts flocked hither to catch something of the inspiration. The Reformed Communions, which doctrinal discussion was fast splitting up into ever-multiplying sects, began to feel in this moral sympathy a new centre of union. This, and this alone, enabled the Reformation to make head against the terrible repressive forces brought to bear by Spain—the Inquisition and the Jesuits.—Sparta against Persia was not such odds as Geneva against Spain. *Calvinism saved Europe*. The rugged and grotesque discipline of Calvin raised up, from St. Andrew's to Geneva, that little band, not very polished, not very refined, but freemen!

That which we are, we are;
One equal temper of heroic hearts
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Such is the admirable force upon the human conscience of the simple virtues of sincerity and self-denial. Where they are exhibited in a distinct and recognizable form, they never fail to conquer, and to spread themselves. Henceforward Calvinism tended to take up into itself all the moral worth existing any where in Protestantism. As the Humanistic movement had been absorbed into the Protestant, so the first or Lutheran reform, was gradually overborne by the Calvinistic, save where State interests interfered to prevent it.—Such is the law of all great movements. The truly great excite a magical influence. Character is more powerful than intellect. The lesser stream empties itself into the greater. Lutheranism was incapable of propagating itself. Calvinism re-appeared again and again, with no less vitality than at first. It animated the Cameronians of Cleland, no less than the Independents of Cromwell, or the defenders of La Rochelle.







THE
TRUE ORIGIN AND SOURCE
OF THE
Mecklenburg and National
Declaration of Independence

[EXTRACTED FROM THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, BY REQUEST.]

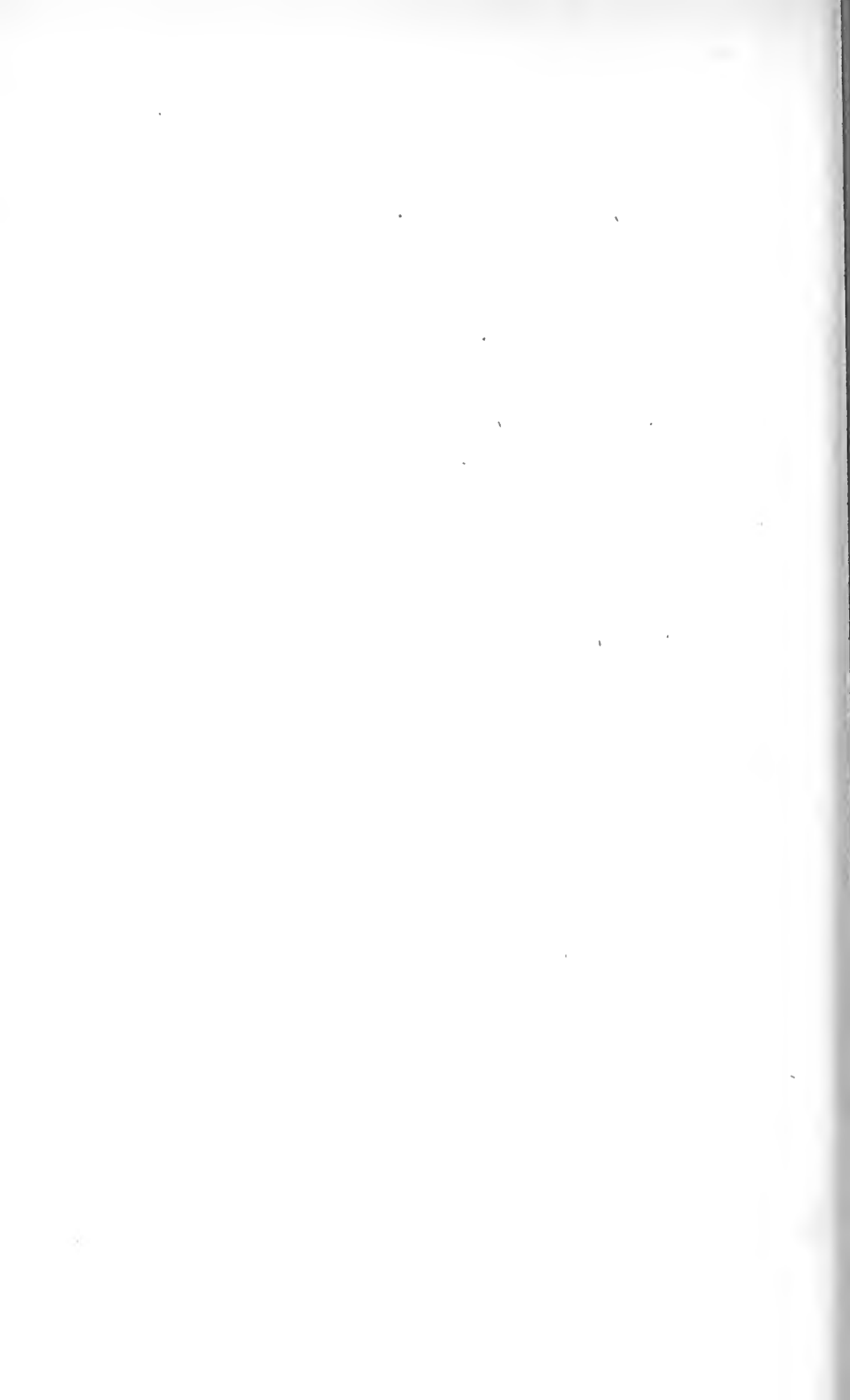
BY REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
I. C. MORGAN, PRINTER.
1847.



TO THE READER.

With the Introductory Remarks, the following argument was substantially delivered by the Author to his Congregation on Sabbath morning, July 4th, 1847, and was, by many of them, requested for publication. As, however, it was written for the Review, it was given to it, and appears in a separate form by permission of the Editors. The Author would only further state, that he was encouraged to present the argument to the public by the favor with which a partial presentation of it was received by the Literary Club of Charleston, to whom he had submitted it.



THE TRUE ORIGIN AND SOURCE

OF THE

Mecklenburg and National Declaration of Independence.

Among other remarkable coincidences which occur during this year, one is that our national political year began on Sunday, the fourth of March, and another is that the anniversary of our National Declaration of Independence also occurs on Sabbath.

"The year begins with Friday and ends with Friday.—The fourth of July comes on Sunday. For the first time in the 'recollection of the oldest inhabitant,' there will be no full moon this year in the month of February. Our national political year begins on Sunday, the fourth of March.—There will be no eclipse visible in the year—January will have two full moons, and March a like number."

God has thus given this recurrence of the great American Jubilee to the commemoration and improvement of the pulpit, and made it the duty of his ministers to diverge from their usual routine of subjects, and to choose one consonant to the occasion.

This I shall do. I will, therefore, endeavor to found some profitable and encouraging remarks upon that very declaration of independence, which, after various amendments and full discussion, was adopted and signed on this memorable day.

"This," says the Edinburgh Review, in a passage which should be remembered,* "is that famous *Declaration of Independence*, by which the freemen of the New World approved themselves worthy of their ancestors in the Old,—who had spoken, and written, and fought, and perished for conscience and freedom's sake.—but whose descendants in the Old had not always borne their high lineage in mind. We verily think that this 'Declaration' is the most important event in the history of mankind, whether its consequences be regarded on one side of the Atlantic or on the other; and if tyrants are sometimes said to feel uneasy on the thirtieth of January, how much more

*For Oct. 1837, p. 88, Am. ed.

fitted to inspire alarm are the recollections associated with the fourth of July, in which nothing like remorse can mingle on the people's part, and no consolation is afforded to their oppressors by the tendency of cruelty and injustice to mar the work they stain!"

This declaration, however,—marvellous as have been its consequences,—was not a cause but an effect—not the source from which the fountain was supplied, but itself the fountain whose secret springs had long been accumulating under ground, and finding their way to one common centre. The drops of feeling and the streams of opinion, having converged to a centre, burst forth in this full, clear, and perennial fountain, whose living waters still continue to fertilize the earth.

Many people imagine that the Declaration of Independence forms the date of our liberty. In our opinion, to use the words of another, that Declaration was only the falling of the fruit when it had become (perhaps a little prematurely) ripe. No new light burst upon the people upon the occasion. The separation from Great Britain involved no change in the political theories they had entertained. It was placed upon clear and definite grounds. The general and vague idea of liberty, that dazzling image with the face of a goddess and the heart of a prostitute, entered not into the question. The colonists had enjoyed the substance from the day they put their feet upon American ground. And it was not the desire to change, but the desire to keep and secure, which produced their Independence. They made little or no change in their domestic affairs, after that object was gained. One of the States at least retains the same form of government, which she had when she was a Province. To talk of the influence of the ambition of a few leaders, seems absurd, when they could do nothing the moment they ceased to appeal to principles, the soundness of which the community acknowledged. The people, that is, the great mass of responsible members of the State, had inherited, they did not acquire, the extraordinary jealousy of their rights, which is apparent through the century and a half of their preceding history; and when they complained, they could put their finger on the spot that was hurt. They asked a remedy. It was refused. They adopted the only alternative which was left. They declared themselves independent.

No one man, therefore, can claim the glory of having originated the Declaration of Independence. It was the embodiment of the growing sentiment and feeling of the American people, and reflects its lustre upon THEM rather than upon its immediate author. "Believe me," said Mr. Jefferson, writing to a friend in 1775 after the battle of Lexington and Bunker Hill,—“there is not in the English Empire a man who more

cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do; but, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connexion on such terms as the British Parliament propose, and in this, I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. *It is will alone that is wanting*, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our king." There is not, therefore, as Mr. Pickering observes, an idea in the Declaration of Independence, but what had been hackneyed in Congress for two years before. The substance of it is contained in the declaration of rights and the violation of those rights in the journals of Congress in 1774. Indeed, the essence of it is contained in a pamphlet, voted and printed by the town of Boston before the first Congress met.†

It is altogether a mistake, therefore, to attribute the Declaration of Independence, in its spirit, sentiment, or power, to the magic of Mr. Jefferson's pen.‡ "Mr. Jefferson," says the N. A. Review, "had no literary pretensions whatever. He wrote through life very little. The little he wrote consisted mostly of private letters, which never went out to the people: in his few published writings, there is no extraordinary force or charm of style. As mere literary productions, they would have attracted no attention; they produced effect not as writings, but as *acts*. Who ever thought of attributing the effect of the Declaration to the merit of the style? Who that could enter into the spirit of the paper, would dwell with any interest on the language? It was a simple record of the great *Act*, by which thirteen Colonies shook off the British yoke, and sprang into being as independent States. It was only as an *Act* that it drew attention. The total absence of all pretension to literary merit, was the only literary merit which it could possibly possess, and this it has. The case is substantially the same with all the rest of Mr. Jefferson's writings. There was no magic in his pen. The witchcraft by which he acquired influence lay, like that of the Maréchale d'Ancre, in his *mental superiority*. The source of his power, was the energy with which he represented in his feelings and opinions and acts, the *Spirit of the Age*."§

†Pickering's Review, 2d. ed., p. 131, 132, in N. A. Rev., 1826, p. 387.

‡In his Memoirs, see wks., vol. 1, p. 10, he himself adduces, as instructions sent up to Congress from Virginia, a portion of the very wording of this paper, that was in May, 1776.

§Do., 1834, p. 243, when it is added, "It is a common mistake to suppose, that extraordinary skill in some particular accomplishment, which depends in a great degree on study or accidental personal qualifications, such as writing, public speaking, or even the technical art of war, will carry with it a great power over the minds of other men. This may sometimes appear to be the case, because skill of this kind is often combined with the moral energy of character which constitutes real greatness. But even in

The triumph of the American Declaration of Independence, was owing not to any one man, but to that combination of men fitted for the great enterprise, whom God—for the ends He had in view,—had raised up and endowed with great abilities for the work. It was not by might, nor by power, nor by wisdom, but by God's overruling providence the conquest was achieved. "It was," again to quote the language of the Edinburgh Review, "the peculiar felicity of the Americans, and of the great cause of civil liberty, of which they were the champions, that among their leaders were to be found both men of the most ardent spirit, and men of the most approved discretion; whilst all were alike firm of purpose, and alike determined to let no differences, nor any personal feelings whatever, keep them apart in the pursuit of their common object. It would be difficult to point out any serious error committed in the whole of their difficult course; and it would certainly be impossible to find instances of the unreflecting violence, and the sudden changes, either among the people or their chiefs, which, in other cases, have brought such discredit upon the popular cause, and removed its triumph to so great a distance."

That the origination of the sentiments contained in the Declaration of Independence, is not to be attributed to Jefferson, is further proved from the evident similarity between it and the Declaration of Independence made at Mecklenburg, in North Carolina, May 20th, 1775, and in the Second Mecklenburg Declaration, made on May 31st, 1775.** Of these most interesting documents, a full account will be found in this volume.

"The little village of Charlotte," says Mr. Foote, "the seat of justice for Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, was the theatre of one of the most memorable events in the political annals of the United States. Situated in the fertile champaign, between the Yadkin and Catawba rivers, far above tide-water, some two or three hundred miles from the ocean, and in advance of the mountains that run almost parallel to the Atlantic coast, on the route of that emigration which, before the revolu-

this case, the talent is the mere instrument of the mighty mind, which can work just as well with the talents of others as its own. It was the same thing to Moses, whether he spoke himself or employed his brother Aaron for a mouth-piece. These talents are in the nature of beautiful arts: we admire their possessors as artists; as men, we can only yield our homage to the superior mind: and the only test of general superiority is the mental energy, which renders the language, writings and conduct of its possessor, a bolder, firmer, truer expression, than any other to be met with, of the opinions and feelings that prevail at the time in the community. In the *talents*, by which individuals are commonly supposed to acquire and extend their influence, he was almost wholly deficient: he had no military taste or skill; he never spoke in public, and had no particular power in writing."

**See Foote's Hist. of N. C., p. 37, 38; and see also Jones's Defence of North Carolina.

tion, passed on southwardly, from Pennsylvania, through Virginia, to the unoccupied region east of the Mountains, on what is now the upper stage route from Georgia, through South Carolina and North Carolina, to meet the railroad at Raleigh, it was, and is, the centre of an enterprising population. It received its name from Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg, whose native province also gave name to the county, the House of Hanover having been invited to the throne of England.

The traveler, in passing through this fertile, retired, and populous country, would now see nothing calculated to suggest the fact that he was on the ground of the boldest Declaration ever made in America; and that all around him were localities rich in associations of valor and suffering in the cause of National Independence, the sober recital of which borders on romance. Every thing looks peaceful, secluded, and prosperous, as though the track of hostile armies had never defaced the soil. Were he told, this is the spot where lovers of personal and national liberty will come, in pilgrimage or imagination, to ponder events of the deepest interest to all mankind, he must feel, in the beauty and fertility of the surrounding region, that here was a chosen habitation for good men to live, and act, and leave to their posterity the inestimable privileges of political and religious freedom, with abundance of all that may be desired to make life one continuous thanksgiving.

There was no printing press in the upper country of Carolina, and many a weary mile must be traversed to find one. Newspapers were few, and, no regular post traversing the country, were seldom seen. The people, anxious for news, were accustomed to assemble to hear printed hand-bills from abroad, or written ones drawn up by persons appointed for the purpose, particularly the Rev. Thos. Reese, of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, whose bones lie in the grave-yard of the Stone Church, South Carolina. There had been frequent assemblies in Charlotte, to hear the news and join in the discussion of the exciting subjects of the day; and finally, to give more efficiency to their discussions, it was agreed upon, generally, that Thomas Polk, Colonel of the Militia, long a surveyor in the province, frequently a member of the Colonial Assembly, well known and well acquainted in the surrounding countries, a man of great excellence and merited popularity, should be empowered to call a convention of the representatives of the people, whenever it should appear advisable. It was also agreed that these representatives should be chosen from the Militia districts, by the people themselves: and when assembled for council and debate, their decisions should be binding on the inhabitants of Mecklenburg.

Alluding to the deep feeling of discontent produced in the public mind by the arbitrary attempt of Governor Martin to prevent the assembling of a Provisional Congress for the Province of North Carolina, at Newbern, the author remarks :

“In this state of the public mind, Col. Polk issued his notice for the Committee men to assemble in Charlotte, on the 19th May, 1775. On the appointed day, between twenty and thirty representatives of the people met in the Court House, in the centre of the town at the crossing of the great streets, and surrounded by an immense concourse, few of whom could enter the house, proceeded to organize for business, by choosing Abraham Alexander, a former member of the Legislature, a magistrate, and ruling elder in the Sugar Creek Congregation, in whose bounds they were assembled, as their Chairman ; and John McKnitt Alexander, and Dr. Ephraim Brevard, men of business habits and great popularity, their clerks. Papers were read before the convention and the people ; the handbill, brought by express, containing the news of the battle of Lexington, Massachusetts, on that day one month, the 19th of April, came to hand that day, and was read to the assembly. The Rev. Hezekiah James Balch, pastor of Poplar Tent, Dr. Ephraim Brevard, and William Kennon, Esq., addressed the Convention and the people at large. Under the excitement produced by the wanton bloodshed at Lexington, and the addresses of these gentlemen, the assembly cried out, as with one voice, ‘Let us be independent ! Let us declare our independence, and defend it with our lives and fortunes !’ The speakers said, his Majesty’s proclamation had declared them out of the protection of the British Crown, and they ought, therefore, to declare themselves out of his protection, and independent of all his control.”

A committee, consisting of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, Mr. Kennon, and Rev. Mr. Balch, were appointed to prepare resolutions suitable to the occasion. Some drawn up by Dr. Brevard, and read to his friends at a political meeting in Queen’s Museum some days before, were read to the Convention, and then committed to these gentlemen for revision.

The excitement continued to increase through the night and the succeeding morning. At noon, May 20th, the Convention reassembled with an undiminished concourse of citizens, amongst whom might be seen many wives and mothers, anxiously awaiting the event. The resolutions previously drawn up by Dr. Brevard, and now amended by the Committee, together with the by-laws and regulations, were taken up ; John McKnitt Alexander read the by-laws, and Dr. Brevard the resolutions. All was stillness. The Chairman of the Convention put the question : ‘Are you all agreed ?’ The response was a universal ‘ay.’

After the business of the Convention was all arranged, it was moved and seconded that the proceedings should be read at the Court House door in hearing of the multitude. Proclamation was made, and from the Court House steps Colonel Thomas Polk read, to a listening and approving auditory, the following resolution, viz:

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION.

Resolved, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

Resolved 2d. That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Resolved 3d. That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other than that of our God, and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintainance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Resolved 4th. That as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law, nor legal office, civil or military, within this country; we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

Resolved 5th. That it is further declared that all, each, and every military officer in this county, is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation, shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a committee man, to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws; and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a general organized government be established in this province."

A voice from the crowd called out for 'three cheers,' and the whole company shouted three times, and threw their hats in the air. The resolutions were read again and again during the day to different companies desirous of retaining in their mem-

ories sentiments so congenial to their feelings. There are still living some whose parents were in that assembly, and heard and read the resolutions; and from whose lips they heard the circumstances and sentiments of this remarkable declaration."

THE SECOND MECKLENBURG DECLARATION.

"The Convention had frequent meetings, and on the 30th of May, 1775, issued the following paper, viz:

'CHARLOTTE, MECKLENBURG COUNTY, }
May 30th, 1775. }

'This day the committee of the county met and passed the following *Resolves*: Whereas, by an address presented to his Majesty by both houses of parliament, in February last, the American Colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion, we conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by, or derived from the authority of the king or parliament, and annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide, in some degree, for the exigencies of this county, in the present alarming period, we deem it necessary and proper to pass the following resolves, viz:

'1st. That all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void, and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended.

'2d. That the Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers, within their respective provinces, and that no other legislative power does, or can exist, at this time, in any of these colonies.

'3d. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the Congress have not provided others, we judge it necessary for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

'4th. That the inhabitants of this county do meet on a certain day appointed by this committee, and having formed themselves into nine companies, viz: eight in the county, and one in the town of Charlotte, do choose a Colonel and other military officers, who shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of this choice, and independent of the crown of Great Britain and the former constitution of this province.'

[Then follow eleven articles for the preservation of the peace, and the choice of officers to perform the duties of a regular government.]

"16th. That whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the crown, or attempt to exercise any such com-

mission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country; and upon information to the captain of the company in which he resides, the company shall cause him to be apprehended, and upon proof of the fact, committed to safe custody, till the next sitting of the committee, who shall deal with him as prudence shall direct."

The first great impulse having been given to the spirit of independence by these remarkable declarations, it was not long before their happy influences began to manifest themselves in other and better forms. On the 4th of April, 1776, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina met at Halifax. On the 8th, a committee was appointed "to take into consideration the usurpation and violence committed by the king and parliament of Great Britain;" and on the 12th, four days afterwards, the committee submitted an able report, concluding with the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the delegates from this colony, in Continental Congress, be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in *declaring independence*, and in forming foreign alliances; reserving to this colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a constitution and laws for this colony, and of appointing delegates from time to time (under the direction of a general representation thereof,) to meet delegates of the other colonies for such purposes as shall be hereafter pointed out."

This resolution was, on the same day it was proposed, unanimously adopted; and IS THE FIRST PUBLIC DECLARATION FOR INDEPENDENCE BY THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES OF A STATE. It was presented to the Continental Congress, May 27th, 1776, nearly six weeks before the National Declaration.

Now, the similarity between some parts of this Mecklenburg Declaration, of which the late John Adams says, that "the genuine sense of America, at that moment, was never so well expressed,†† and of the celebrated Declaration of Independence, is very striking, and has given rise to the opinion that the Declaration of Independence, framed by Mr. Jefferson FIFTEEN MONTHS AFTER IT, was framed in the knowledge of this model, although in a letter to Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson positively denies even the authenticity of the paper.‡‡

The authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration, is, however, placed beyond doubt,§§ while the similarity between it and the present Declaration, in their general spirit and in some of their most remarkable expressions, is equally incontrovertible.

††See Jones' Def., p. 297.

‡‡See *ibid.*, p. 2-4.

§§See Foote's History of N. C., ch. i. and ch. xv.; and in this work also will be found instructions prepared by Dr. Brevard, the author of the Declaration, for those who composed the Mecklenburg Convention, which are perfectly consonant in spirit with the Declaration itself. See ch. iii., p. 68, &c.

How, then, is this similarity to be accounted for?

It may be accounted for in one of two ways: either by the supposition, that notwithstanding his positive disclaimer, Mr. Jefferson HAD BOTH SEEN AND USED THIS PAPER,—or that both papers may be traced up to a common source. To this latter conclusion, we are led by feelings of charity towards the character of Mr. Jefferson, to whom, notwithstanding all his enmity to Christian truth, injustice should not be done.

The sentiments and expressions, common to both Declarations, are traceable to a source, with which it can be shewn that both parties *were* familiar, and from which, therefore, without collusion, both parties might have derived the sentiments and language common to both papers.

THERE IS SUCH A SOURCE. And that it was known and familiar to the respective authors of these two declarations, is happily beyond doubt. Charity, therefore, will rejoice in being able to give to the respective authors of these two declarations, all the honor to which they are unquestionably entitled, while truth and justice require that the ultimate honor due to the noble sentiments contained in both, should be given to whom it will be found owing. It has, indeed, been said that the sentiments in question had become general and were the common property of the nation. Now, to some extent, this was doubtless the case;* but that they had become common and familiar, is not in evidence before us, and may, or may not, be true. But, be this as it may, it will be our object to point out a source from which these sentiments, and the language in which they are here conveyed, and the general form, style, and manner of these declarations, respectively, may have been derived; and if it shall appear that WE ARE INDEBTED IN SOME GOOD MEASURE FOR THE SPIRIT, METHOD, AND LANGUAGE OF THESE CELEBRATED DOCUMENTS, TO A RELIGIOUS, AND STILL MORE, TO A PRESBYTERIAN ORIGIN, the fact will, we trust, confirm our attachment to a sys-

*In the Charleston Mercury, for July 4th, 1847, speaking of South Carolina, it is said: "But while others halted and hesitated, it was the proud destiny of South Carolina to set the glorious example of open resistance. She was then, as ever, in the van of freedom's battle, and nine years before Boston immortalized herself by destroying the tea, her citizens, acting under orders, seized the King's Fort, captured the odious Stamps, put them on board one of his ships in the harbor of Charleston, and expelled them forever from the country. She nullified the act, and it was repealed. She was again shoulder to shoulder with Massachusetts in 1775, when that Colony resisted the Tea Act, and was, in fact, the first to declare her independence. On the 10th February, 1776, Christopher Gadsden, in her General Assembly, raised the first voice heard in its favor in this country, and on the 26th March following, the same Assembly adopted the first Constitution ever made in America, establishing a government, and vesting it with all the powers incident thereto. The Preamble is an eloquent and virtual Declaration of Independence, referring to nearly the same causes of complaint, reciting the same wrongs, and proclaiming the same reasons, as are set forth in the General Declaration of the Colonies, with a striking similarity of tone and language."

tem of doctrine and of polity, of which, even its opponents testify that it has ever been found on the side of liberty and freedom, both civil and religious, and ever ready to "contend, even unto blood," for the defence of truth and freedom.

The source, then, to which we would trace the spirit, sentiments, order of arrangement, and to some extent, the very language of these celebrated declarations, is no other than the solemn leagues, bands and covenants, entered into by our forefathers, at the period of the reformation, and especially those adopted by our Presbyterian forefathers, in Scotland and in Ireland. That there is in these National Covenants a similarity—in thought, in word, in style, and in arrangement—to the Mecklenburg and National Declarations of Independence, will be the first position we shall attempt to establish; and that the knowledge of these documents, and consequently, of their spirit, manner and arrangement, was possessed by both Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Brevard, the authors of these declarations, respectively, will be the second point which we shall endeavor to sustain.

First, then, we will endeavor to shew that the Confessions, Covenants, and Bands, adopted by our Presbyterian forefathers in Scotland and in Ireland—in style, in order, in spirit, in general sentiment, and in some of the most remarkable expressions,—are strikingly similar to these two Political Declarations of Independence.

The documents are similar in their *object*, which was TO SECURE UNION, by a public testimony to common truths; by a common exposure to the danger to which such testimony made its subscribers inevitably liable; by the necessity of common prudence, watchfulness and devotion; and by the strength derived from such a combination and such entire consecration to the cause at stake.

The documents are similar in the *order* pursued in their arrangement. In both the religious and the political documents, there is first a general introduction,—then an enumeration of grievances, against which protest is made,—then a declaration of independence and resistance,—and, finally, a vow of mutual devotion, fidelity and determination.

These documents are similar also in their respective *titles*. The first Scottish paper, "subscribit" in 1580, 1581, and 1590, is called a "A General Confession," or "General Band for maintainance of the trew religion and the king's person and estate."† The second paper issued by the Scottish Church, in 1588, 1590, is denominated "A General Band of Maintainance of the trew and Christian Religion," and which was also subscribed by all classes.‡ The third paper adopted by this church, in the year

†See in Dunlop's Collection of Confessions of Faith, vol. 1, p. 103, &c.

‡Ibid., p. 108.

THE RELIGIOUS DECLARATIONS.

—general Band.

—we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God, and the whole world.

Third Scottish Decl. and First Scottish Decl.

We resist and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist, all his tyranny, laws, &c. against our Christian liberty, and the consciences of men. *See Do.*

—and viewing the imminent danger threatened to the said religion, as well by foreign preparations for prosecuting of that damnable conspiracy against Christ and his evangel.

[*Here follows a long list of grievances and usurpations.*] *See Do.*

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION.

—dissolve the political bands which have connected us with the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance, and from all political connection.

—unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights.

—the inherent and inalienable rights of men.

—trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American patriots at Lexington.

We do hereby declare ourselves to be a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association.

THE NATIONAL DECLARATION.

—dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another.

—we utterly dissolve all political connexion, reject and renounce all allegiance.

—a decent respect to the opinions of the world require that they should declare, &c.

—let facts be submitted to a candid world.

—a history of unremitting injuries.

—a long train of abuses and usurpations.

—inherent and unalienable rights.

—[*See the omitted paragraph on the Slave Trade, and the catalogue of usurpations and injuries.*]

We assert these Colonies to be free and independent States, and do all things which independent States may of right do.

[Compare also Resolution 4th with the preamble of the National Declaration.]

—it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government.

And swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall defend the same under danger both of body and soul.

We protest and promise solemnly with our hearts under the same oath, hand, write and pains, that we shall defend with our gear, bodies and lives, &c.—*First Declaration*.

Faithfully and upon our truths and honours, bind and oblige us to others, &c. to expose and hazard our lives, lands and goods, in defence of the said true religion, &c. and generally to assist and defend every one of us one another, as we shall answer to God upon our honours, and to the world upon our truths and honors, &c.—*Second Declaration*.

And swearing by the great name of the Lord our God and (as above) We protest and promise with our hearts, that we shall defend with our goods, bodies and lives, the liberties of our country against all enemies, &c.—*Third Declaration and the National Covenant*.

We solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour.

Appealing to the supreme Judge for the rectitude of our intentions, with a firm reliance on the protection of Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

N. B.—This analogy might be enlarged, and especially between the 2d and 3d.

1638, and subscribed by the nobles, barons, &c., in that year, and generally in 1639, is entitled "The General Confession of Faith, together with a Resolution and Promise," &c. §

Now, these titles are only *modernized*, to use Mr. Jefferson's own phrase,** in the title given to the political papers in question, both of which are termed "Declarations," that is "Confessions;" and both of which embody a "mutual pledge," which is, in other words, a "band."

Again, the analogy between the religious and the political declarations, is seen in the adaptation of both for being engrossed upon parchment, in order to have the names of parties—willing to commit themselves to the hazard of all consequences—subscribed upon it, which was, in both cases, accordingly done.

The *circumstances* in which both were drawn up and subscribed, were also very analogous. In both cases, the grievances endured were manifold;—in both, the power to which the parties were opposed was terrible; in both, the chances of defeat were great,—and in both, the danger incurred was most imminent.

There is a further similarity between the religious and political documents,—inexplicable on any other supposition, than that of precedent,—we mean a similarity in the language employed in both documents. This will appear from the tabular view on the two preceding pages.

The analogy between these celebrated documents, will be further manifested by their *spirit*. This is in all the same bold, conscientious, and, therefore, fearless spirit;—a spirit confident of the truth of the positions it assumes, of the rectitude of its principles, of the equity of its demands, and of the assured certainty of ultimate triumph.

In both cases, the same tyranny had been exercised, and the same despotism endured. In both, there was the same enlightened view of rights and duties, of truth and privilege. In both, there was the same determination to endure no further tyranny, to assert their rights, to resist all oppressive acts, and to contend earnestly, even unto blood, for their civil and religious liberties.

We have thus given an outline of some prominent characteristics, in which the Religious Declarations of our Presbyterian forefathers, exhibit a similarity to the two celebrated American Political Declarations; a similarity, not to be accounted for by any accidental causes. It can only be explained, therefore, by the supposition that the authors of the latter declarations were acquainted with the former, and being fired by their spirit, and captivated with their style, order and method, with the force

§This is what is known as "The National Covenant."

**See quoted below.

and beauty of their thoughts, the grandeur and sublimity of their sentiments, the deep and powerful impression they were *adapted* to produce, and *had actually* and indelibly made, and by the transcendently noble results to which they had given birth, had made them the models of their compositions and the fountains from which they drew their inspiration.

Is this supposition credible, considering that both of these political declarations are of American authorship, and that one, at least, is the production of a man bitterly opposed to every thing of a religious character? To this we might reply, that from the public and *national* character of these religious declarations, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that they were some or all of them known to these gentlemen, inasmuch as they are still found in the established confessions of several branches of the Presbyterian church in this country. Charity also favors the supposition, since it opens up a way of explaining the perfect identity in many remarkable words and ideas between the Mecklenburg and the National Declarations, without involving the character of Mr. Jefferson, in the charge of perfidious dishonesty, which his denial of any knowledge of the Mecklenburg Declaration and his attempt to prove that it is spurious,†† would otherwise render inevitable.

But, we can go beyond mere conjecture, and offer proof to shew that such acquaintance, on the part of Dr. Brevard and of Mr. Jefferson, with these religious declarations, was perfect.

As it regards Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the author of the Mecklenburg Declaration, we have full and interesting information in the volume of Mr. Foote.‡‡ Dr. Brevard was one of seven sons of a widow, who were all in the rebel army, and was taken prisoner at the surrender of Charleston, in May, 1780. He has left behind him a paper of instructions for the delegates of Mecklenburg county, fired with the noblest spirit of the revolution, which he has here embodied in a most condensed form, and expressed forcibly. Of him, Mr. Foote says, "he thought clearly—felt deeply—wrote well—resisted bravely—and died a martyr to that liberty none loved better and few understood so well." This eulogium is merited by the Mecklenburg Declaration, which he drew up and submitted to the meeting, by which it was adopted with a universal "aye," and which led in April 4th, 1776, to the promulgation by the Provincial Congress of North Carolina of the first public Declaration of Independence by the constituted authorities of a State.§§ "Whence, then, came those principles of civil and religious liberty, which struck so deep in the soil of Carolina, and led to the outpouring of the

††See his letter to John Quincy Adams, in Jones's Defence of the Revolutionary History of N. Carolina, Introd.

‡‡Ch. i. and ch. iii.

§§Foote, p. 43.

first blood shed in the revolution on the Almac—and to the first Declaration of Independence by a county and by a State? Suffice it to say, the inhabitants of Mecklenburg county, were Presbyterian emigrants from the North of Ireland.† Trained in religious things by the strict doctrines of the Reformation, their settlements were made in congregations, and their places of worship so arranged as to accommodate all the families. Their descendants now assemble where their fathers worshiped before the Revolution. Their forms and creed were the forms and creed of their ancestors, who were eminently a religious people; and their Confession of Faith has descended as a legacy from the emigrants, to go down to the latest posterity.”

“But, the question arises with increased force, who were these people, and whence did they come? In what school of politics and religion had they been disciplined? At what fountains had they been drinking such inspirations, that here in the wilderness, common people, in their thoughts of freedom and equality, far outstripped the most ardent leaders in the Continental Congress? Whence came these men, that spoke out their thoughts, and thought as they spoke; and both thought and spoke unextinguishable principles of freedom of conscience and civil liberty? That they were poor and obscure but adds to their interest, when it is known that their deeds in the Revolution were equal to their principles. Many a “life” was given in Mecklenburg, in consequence of that declaration, and much of “fortune” was sacrificed; but their “honor” came out safe, even their great enemy Tarleton being witness. They did not get their ideas of liberty and law from Vattel, or Puffendorf, or the tomes of English law. From what book, then, did they get their knowledge, their principles of life? Ahead of their own State in their political notions, as a body, they never wavered through the whole Revolutionary struggle; and their descendants possess now just what these people asserted then, both in religion and politics, in conscience and in the state.”

“In less than one-quarter of a century after the first permanent settlement was formed in Mecklenburg, men talked of defending their rights, not against the Indians, but the officers of the crown; and took those measures that eventuated in the CONVENTION of May 20th, 1775, to deliberate on the crisis of their affairs. Of the persons chosen to meet in that assembly, one was a Presbyterian minister, Hezekiah James Balch, of Poplar Tent; seven were known to be elders of the church—Abraham Alexander, of Sugar Creek, John McKnitt Alexander and Hezekiah Alexander, of Hopewell, David Reese, of Poplar Tent, Adam Alexander and Robert Queary, of Rocky River,

*Do., ch. i. and ii.

†See do., p. 187 and 201.

(now in the bounds of Philadelphia), and Robert Irwin, of Steel Creek; two others were elders, but in the deficiency of church records, their names, not known with certainty, but the report of tradition is, without variation, that *nine* of the members were elders, and the other two are supposed to have been Ephraim Brevard and John Phifer. *Thus, ten out of the twenty-seven, were office bearers in the church; and all were connected with the congregations of the Presbyteries in Mecklenburg.*

These Presbyterian settlers in Mecklenburg had been instructed by the Rev. Mr. Craighead, from Ireland,‡ and who settled there in 1766, "the solitary minister between the Yadkin and Catawba."

In this retired country, he found full and undisturbed exercise for that ardent love of personal liberty and freedom of opinion, which had rendered him obnoxious in Pennsylvania, and was in some measure restrained in Virginia. He was ahead of his ministerial brethren in Pennsylvania, in his views of civil government and religious liberty, and became particularly offensive to the Governor for a pamphlet of a political nature, the authorship of which was attributed to him. This pamphlet attracted so much attention, that in 1743, Thomas Cookson, one of his Majesty's justices, for the county of Lancaster, in the name of the Governor, laid it before the Synod of Philadelphia. The Synod disavowed both the pamphlet and Mr. Craighead; and agreed with the Justice, that it was calculated to foment disloyal and rebellious practices, and disseminate principles of disaffection."

"In Carolina, he found a people remote from the seat of authority, among whom the intolerant laws were a dead letter, so far divided from other congregations, even of his own faith, that there could be no collision with him, on account of faith or practice; so united in their general principles of religion and church government, that he was the teacher of the whole population, and here his spirit rested. Here he passed his days; here he poured forth his principles of religious and civil government, undisturbed by the jealousy of the government, too distant to be aware of his doings or too careless to be interested in the poor and distant emigrants on the Catawba."

"Mr. Craighead had the privilege of forming the principles, both civil and religious, in no measured degree, of a race of men that feared God, and feared not labor and hardship, or the face of man; a race that sought for freedom and property in the wilderness, and having found them rejoiced—a race capable of great excellence, mental and physical, whose minds could conceive the glorious idea of Independence, and whose Convention

‡Foote, p. 183.

announced it to the world, in May, 1775, and whose hands sustained it in the trying scenes of the Revolution."

When, therefore, we have proved that Dr. Brevard was a Presbyterian of Scotch-Irish descent, a graduate of Princeton, (a Presbyterian college,) and a ruling elder in the church, we have proved that he was *ex officio* familiar with those standards in which these national religious covenants are embodied, and that nothing, therefore, could be more natural, than that being imbued with their spirit and versed in their style and order of arrangement, he should have drawn from them the models of his own covenant and declaration.

And, now, as it regards Mr. Jefferson, though it might seem impossible to connect him with these religious documents, yet, strange to say, he has himself in his own Memoir preserved the facts, which afford the strongest confirmation of our position. In the first place, he tells us that from the age of nine, his "teacher was Mr. Douglas, a clergyman from Scotland, and that on the death of his father, he went to the Rev. Mr. Maury." "It was," he adds, "my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life, that Dr. William Small, of Scotland, was then (that is when he was at College,) Professor of Mathematics, &c. * * * He, most happily for me, became soon attached to me, and made me his daily companion, when not engaged in the school. * * * With him, (Governor Fanquier,) and at his table, Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, and myself formed a private quarree, and to the political conversations on these occasions I owed instruction."§

It is thus apparent that the attention of Mr. Jefferson would be early drawn, *by those necessarily familiar with them*, to the National Covenants, as models of that free, independent and daring spirit, which the condition of this country then demanded. And that such was the case, would appear from these further facts, also stated by himself: "The next event which excited our sympathies for Massachusetts, was the Boston port bill, by which that port was to be shut up on the 1st of June, 1774. This arrived while we were in session, in the spring of that year. The lead in the House, on these subjects, being no longer left to the old members, Mr. Henry, R. H. Lee, F. L. Lee, three or four other members, whom I do not recollect, and myself, agreeing that we must boldly take an unequivocal stand in the line with Massachusetts, determined to meet and consult on the proper measures, in the council chamber, *for the benefit of the library in that room*. We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen, as to passing events; and thought that the appointment of a day of general fasting and prayer, would be

§See Memoirs in wks., vol. 1, p. 2.

most likely to call up and alarm their attention. No example of such a solemnity had existed since the days of our distress in the war of '55, since which a new generation had grown up. *With the help, therefore, of Rushworth, whom we rummaged over for the revolutionary precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day, preserved by him, we cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing their phrases,* for appointing the first day of June, on which the port bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the king and parliament to moderation and justice. To give greater emphasis to our proposition, we agreed to wait the next *morning on Mr. Nicholas, whose grave and religious character was more in unison with the tone of our resolution,* and to solicit him to move it. We accordingly went to him in the morning. He moved it the same day; the 1st of June was proposed; and it passed without opposition. The Governor dissolved us, as usual. We retired to the Apollo, as before, agreed to an association, and instructed the Committee of the other Colonies, to appoint deputies to meet in Congress at such place, *annually,* as should be convenient, to direct, from time to time, the measures required by the general interest: and we declared that an attack on any one colony, should be considered as an attack on the whole. This was in May. We further recommended to the several counties, to elect deputies to meet at Williamsburg, the 1st of August ensuing, to consider the state of the colony, and particularly to appoint delegates to a general Congress, should that measure be acceded to by the committees of correspondence generally. It was acceded to; Philadelphia was appointed for the place, and the 5th of September for the time of meeting. We returned home, and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion. The people met generally, with anxiety and alarm in their countenances, and the *effect of that day through the whole Colony was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man, and placing him erect and solidly on his centre.* They chose, universally, delegates for the Convention. Being elected one for my own county, I prepared a draught of instructions to be given to the delegates whom we should send to the Congress, which I meant to propose at our meeting. In this I took the ground that, from the beginning, I had thought the only *one orthorox* or tenable, which was, that the relation between Great Britain and these Colonies was exactly the same as that of *England and Scotland,* after the accession of James and until the union."

From this paragraph, it is evident 1, that from educational feelings, Mr. Jefferson was led to estimate as very great and very essential, the influence of religion in calling up and alarming the slumbering patriotism and devotion of the people; 2, that from previous knowledge he was at once led to look for models in the covenants and declarations of the Puritans, and especially the Scotch Reformers, which he terms very emphatically "revolutionary precedents and forms." 3. That to give his plans greater effect, he committed them to the advocacy of one whose "grave and religious character" was known; 4, that he invited the clergy (as they were wont to do in those olden times of reformation,) "to meet assemblies of the people, and address to them discourses suited to the occasion;" 5thly, that he records the effect of this combination of religious forms, language and influences to have been, "that the effect of the day was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man, and placing him solidly on his centre, and 6thly, that "the only ground he considered orthodox or tenable" "from the beginning was" "that the relation between Great Britain and these Colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland, after the accession of James and until the union," that is *the very period* when the National Declarations in question were produced and acted upon.

It appears to us, therefore, a most reasonable and charitable conclusion, that both the Mecklenburg and the Jefferson Declarations are traceable for their manner, spirit, design, order, and language, to the Declarations of the Reformers; and that it is to them, and not Mr. Jefferson,** we are indebted for whatever "like an electric shock aroused the country" to revolutionary effort. It may be a confirmation of this theory to remark, that it has suggested itself to other minds.

In the author's work on "Ecclesiastical Republicanism," he has said: "Let any man, we again say, attentively compare the solemn leagues and covenants, by which the continental and Scottish reformers, and the puritans and non-conformists at a later period, pledge themselves to one another by their lives, property, and sacred honor, and bound themselves to spend and be spent in the cause of civil and religious freedom, with our declaration of independence, and he will, we think, allow, that in the former, we have the plan, the spirit, and the prototype of the latter."

**And yet this is the substance of the famous inscription prepared by Jefferson for himself.

Here lies buried

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia.

The Rev. John McLeod, in a recent discourse on Protestantism,†† says: "And we have ourselves heard another distinguished civilian (Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck) of our own State, in a public address, trace the origin of the Declaration of American Independence to the National Covenant of Scotland. Nor was it a mere flight of fancy. The Scottish reformers from popery had drunk deep at the fountains of protestantism, as they had been opened on the continent of Europe, and especially in republican Geneva; or, rather, they had drunk, along with the continental reformers, at the same open fountain of God's word. They succeeded the reformers of the Continent in the movement against antichrist, and had all the advantage of their lights. Their covenants were bonds of union among themselves, and public declarations of the grounds of their opposition to the anti-christian system, in all its parts. And they were distinguished, *first*, as connecting civil and religious liberty together in the definitions which they made—and, *secondly*, in combining all classes of the community in the effort to secure them. As first formed, and afterwards renewed at various crises of their history, the National Covenant of Scotland was a declaration of the independence of the Church of Christ, as a distinct community from the State; and of both church and State from all foreign control. It was subscribed by the mass of the people, as well as the privileged orders. And as ultimately embodied with additions, in the solemn league and covenant, it became the constitution of the British empire. Under it, the Presbyterians of Scotland and the North of Ireland, the Puritans of England, of whom the majority were Presbyterians, and all other protestants who chose to receive it, united together in the strife for liberty, which had already commenced."

Thanks be to God for that blessed word and that holy faith, which, in proportion as they are pure and undefiled, foster the spirit of freedom, nourish and sustain liberty, civil and religious, and nerve the heart to fight valiantly and dare every thing in defence of "inherent and inalienable rights."

How forcibly also are we taught that righteousness exalteth a nation, and that godliness has the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come, and that he is the best patriot who is most deeply imbued with the spirit of the Bible.

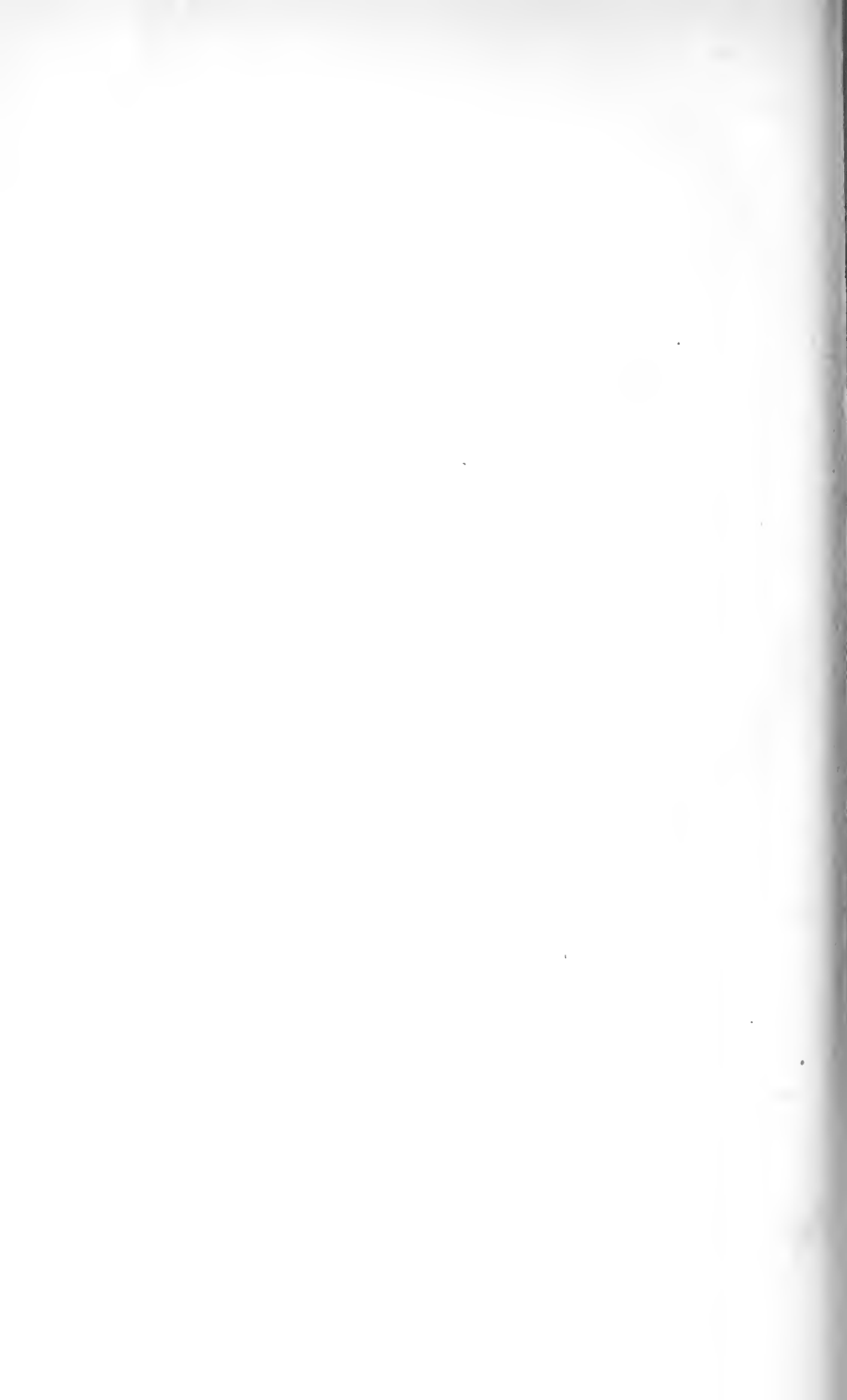
How forcibly also are we taught by these facts, that infidelity is as powerless to effect great good as it is powerful to do great harm; and that even infidels are obliged to use the sword of the Spirit when they would accomplish noble and self-denying achievements.

††N. York, 1843, p. 21, 22.

How are we led to value the spirit and principles of the Reformers, from which, as from the two breasts of freedom, the sincere milk of civil and religious freedom have so freely flowed.

We are also taught that religious freedom must, in the nature of the case, and has, in fact, always preceded civil freedom. And to prove that this connection between civil liberty and pure Christianity, is not incidental, we may refer to the history of Europe. The dawn of religious light at the Reformation was equally the dawn of political enlargement. In proportion as the reformation in religion advanced in any nation, so did that nation partake of the blessings of civil liberty. Spain felt the rise and quick suppression of the reformed opinions, and she continues passively to wear the chains of despotism. In Switzerland the doctrines of a pure religion flourished, and its cantons formed an asylum for the persecuted. Holland cherished the spread of Protestantism, and was repaid in political freedom. France displays the alteration of change; now struggling for the reformed faith and enjoying the rights of freedom, and again submitting to the corruptions of faith and the usurpation of tyranny. In Britain the blessings of pure Christianity and of civil rights have prospered together. The foundations of British freedom were securely fixed in the great Christian principles of the revolution, and it has been through the careless observance of these that the goodly fabric has risen in strength and in beauty; and what is American freedom but the everflowing stream of this fountain.

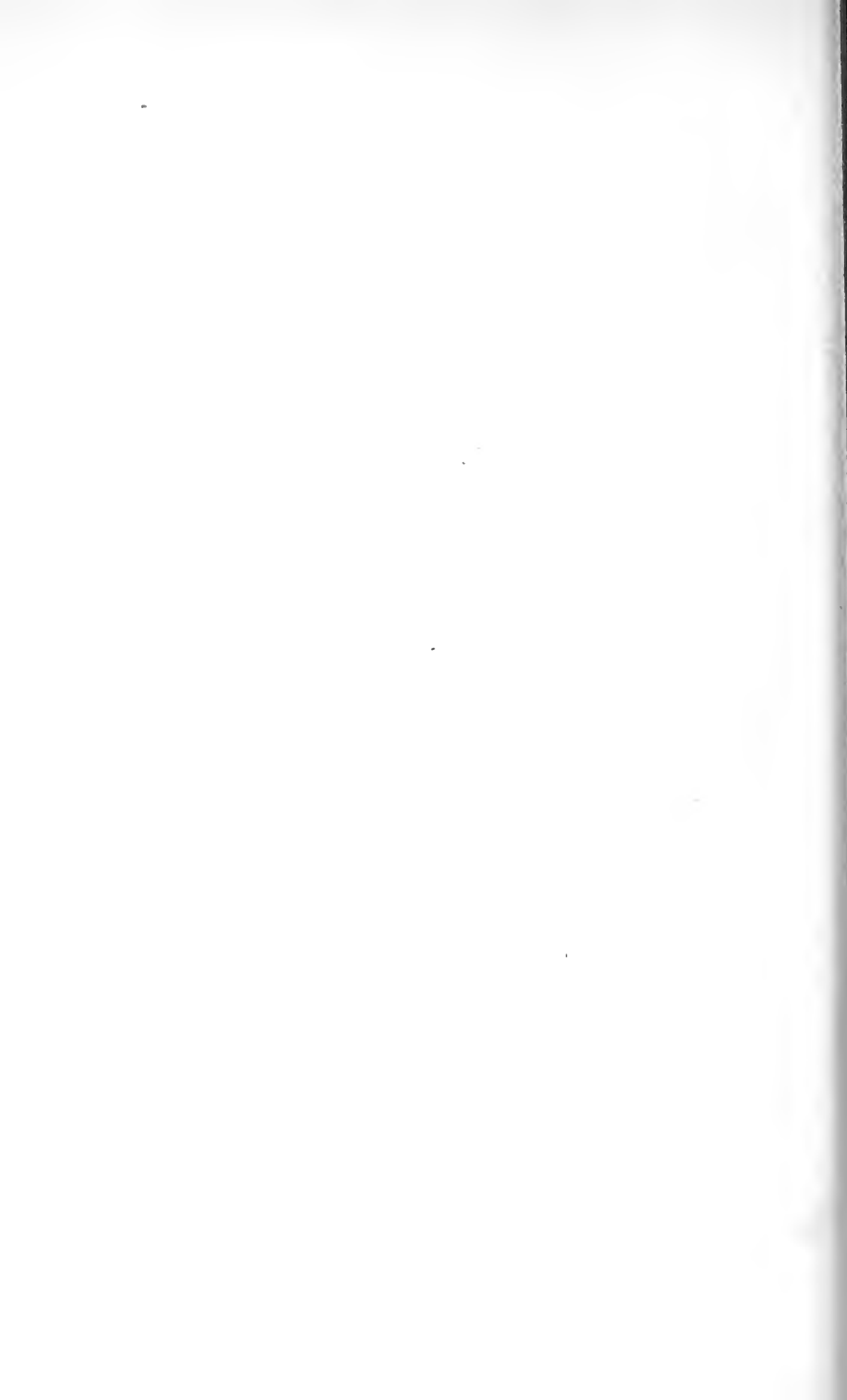
Finally, how noble is the testimony here given to the genius and character of Presbyterianism. Even were it as true, as it is untrue, that it has "written no poem" and achieved no literary triumph, IT HAS DONE MORE. IT HAS PROVED ITSELF TO BE THE PILLAR AND GROUND OF THE TRUTH AMID ERROR AND DEFECTION. IT HAS FOUNDED EMPIRES IN THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM AND LIBERTY, AND HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO DECLARATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH ARE THE WONDER OF THE PRESENT, AND WILL BE THE ADMIRATION OF EVERY FUTURE AGE.



Presbyterianism, the Revolution
the Declaration, and the
Constitution

BY REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

EXTRACTED FROM
THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.



Presbyterianism, the Revolution, the Declaration, and the Constitution.

[EXTRACTED FROM THE SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW.]

1. *The Superiority of the Calvinistic Faith and the Presbyterian Government. A Discourse*, by Rev. D. K. JUNKIN, A. M. Easton, 1844.
2. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism, or the Republicanism, Liberty and Catholicity of Presbytery, in Contrast with Prelacy and Popery*. By Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D. Boston, 1843.
3. *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*. By his Grandson, W. M. B. REED. Philadelphia, 1847. 8vo. 2 vols.
4. *The Baccalaureate Address in Miami University, August 1842*, by Rev. GEORGE JUNKIN, D. D. President, on the Bearings of True Religion upon Republican Government.
5. *Relative Influence of Presbytery and Prelacy, on Civil and Ecclesiastical Liberty; a Sermon*. By Rev. T. V. MOORE, of Carlisle, Penn. Preached by Appointment before the Synod of Philadelphia. Oct. 16th, 1844.

In a previous article we endeavored to trace the religious element which constituted the germinating and motive principle of the American Revolution, and the basis of its free and tolerant institutions.

Thomas Payne indeed claimed, "that he was not only an efficacious agent in effecting the independence of the colonies; the very prop and stay of the house, but that the Revolution, of which he was in a great measure the parent, led to the discovery of the principles of government."* "He considered himself as a second Columbus, and that as we owe the discovery of the land to the genius of the one, so we are indebted for the principles of government to the researches of the other." We

*See *Life by Cheatham*, p. 48, and *Rights of Man*, Part 2. Mr. Cheatham, however, speaks of him as follows: "As a political writer, celebrated as he has been by the illiterate, for originality, he was original in nothing but *intention*. In the United States, or rather in the colonies, and during the war for independence, he was a very subordinate retailer of the works of great men in England."

believe, however, with the Hon. Daniel Webster,† that the American Revolution could not have lived a single day under any well founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion. Even Jefferson and Franklin, therefore, felt it to be unavoidably necessary, in order to give spirit to the enterprise, and moral heroism to the people, to bring into operation the religious principle. This was the electric power which made men stand erect upon the basis of liberty.

And we believe further, that all the essential principles which lie at the basis of the Government of the United States—the principles of republicanism in contrast with democracy, on the one hand, and an aristocratic sovereignty, on the other—were found in the Jewish Church;‡—were fully developed in the Christian Church;—are clearly and prominently presented in the system of doctrine and government adopted by the Presbyterian Church;—were maintained and acted upon by the Waldenses, (who have always been thorough Presbyterians,) during all their history;—were brought to life and revived in the reformation of the sixteenth century;—and are illustrated in the modern history of the Presbyterian Church in Europe, in England, and in this country.

The spirit of our Revolution is embodied in the Declaration of Independence, and in the Constitutions of the several States, and of the United States. Our inquiry, therefore, leads us to trace the influences which, in their measure, led to the spirit, form, and character of these productions.

There are two prominent Declarations of Independence—that of Mecklenburgh, issued May 20th, 1775—and the national Declaration, adopted in July, 1776. Between these there has been exhibited a similarity of sentiment, and of phraseology, which *necessarily* leads to the conclusion either that Mr. Jefferson, in writing the latter, was indebted to the former, or that both papers may be traced to a common source, accessible to the authors of both. Such a source is found to exist in the ecclesiastical covenants of Scotland, between which and the Declarations we pointed out a remarkable analogy, not only in their general form and character, but also in their style and language.

The favorable manner in which our argument has been reviewed by many of all denominations—Episcopalian, Methodist, Roman Catholic, as well as Presbyterian—has far exceeded our most sanguine expectations. Still, however, there appears to many to be an utter incompatibility between ecclesiastical and civil Declarations, and the attempt to trace the latter to the

†Bunker Hill Oration, 1825, p. 30.

‡See Ecclesiastical Republicanism, p. 31, &c. and Professor Wines' Lectures.

former, must, as it appears to such persons, be altogether visionary. In the minds of such individuals—where they are not blinded by sectarian prejudice—these ecclesiastical covenants are associated exclusively with religious matters and persons, and the political Declarations exclusively with political struggles and political leaders.

The truth, however, is, that the religious covenants and bands, to which we have referred, were *political* as well as *religious*—national as well as ecclesiastical; while the latter were as certainly originated and carried forward by the religious principle, and, in good part by the religious men, of the age of American Independence.

The covenants of Scotland were “subscribed by persons of all ranks and qualities, by ordinance of council”—“subscribed” (for their title is thus doubly explicit) by the nobles, barons, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers and commoners.” This is the title of the National Covenant of 1638. The “General Band” of 1588 was “subscribed by his Majesty and divers of the estates, and afterwards by persons of all ranks and degrees by an act of council.” The General Confession of 1580, bears exactly the same title and declaration. The solemn league and covenant of 1643, and subsequent dates, begins thus: “We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the Gospel, commoners of all sorts in the kingdom of Scotland, England, and Ireland”—and has explicit reference to “the true liberty, safety and peace of the kingdom, where every one’s private condition is included.” Once more, “The solemn acknowledgment of public sins and breaches of the covenant, and a solemn engagement to all the duties contained therein, namely, those which in a more special way relate to the dangers of these times,” a paper of considerable length, and eminent ability, adopted in Scotland in 1648, commences in the very same style, and in the name of the very same parties, “within this kingdom,” and was “unanimously and heartily approved by the Committee of Estates in Edingurgh, Oct. 14, 1648.” Now, in this paper, large reference is made to the fact that “neither have the privileges of the parliaments and liberties of the subject been duly tendered. But some amongst ourselves have laboured to put into the hands of our king, an arbitrary and unlimited power destructive to both. And many of us have been accessory of late to those means and ways, whereby the freedom and privileges of parliaments have been encroached upon, and the subjects oppressed in their consciences, persons and estates: Neither hath it been our care to avoid these things which might harden the king in his evil ways. But, upon the contrary, he hath not only been permitted, but many of us have been instrumental to make him exercise

his power in many things tending to the prejudice of religion and of the covenant, and of the peace and safety of these kingdoms; which is so far from preserving his Majesties' person and authority, that it cannot but provoke the Lord against him, unto the hazard of both. Nay, under a pretense of relieving and doing for the king, whilst he refuses to do what was necessary for the house of God, some have ranversed and violated most of all the Articles of the Covenant."

The civil and political bearing of these covenants, therefore, and their notoriety, as national and most important acts, is plain and evident, while the influence which they must naturally have had upon public men in this country is equally obvious.

It was against the *double* despotism of the king and royalist party, these acts were framed—a tyranny, the effect of which was "the utter annihilation of all liberty, civil and religious." The civil bearing of these covenants, and the fact that they became *the law of the land*, so far and so long as their *political* adherents were in power, is the true source of that plausible but most unrighteous charge of intolerance, so often made against Presbyterians. Speaking of the Act of Parliament, and of the Committee of Estates in Scotland, in 1644, Mr. Hetherington remarks: "But this, it will be observed, was the act of the civil, not the ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland; and it proceeded mainly upon the principle, that the bond thus enforced was not only a *religious* covenant, but also a *civil* league. It was unfortunate that civil and religious matters should have been so blended, because whatever civil measures were adopted or civil penalties were inflicted, were sure to be unfairly charged against the *religious* element, instead of the *civil*, to which it owed its origin. But even this unpropitious circumstance was forced upon the Covenanters; partly by the fact that the proceedings of the king were equally hostile to civil and religious liberty, and partly by their unavoidable union with the English parliament, in which the struggle was even more directly for civil than for religious liberty."

Of the solemn League and Covenant, which was a summary of the preceding and a model for the subsequent covenants, Mr. Hetherington justly says: "It is difficult to conceive how any calm, unprejudiced, thoughtful and religious man can peruse the preceding very solemn document, without feeling upon his mind an over-awing sense of its sublimity and sacredness. The most important of man's interests, for time and for eternity, are included within its ample scope, and made the subjects of a solemn league with each other, and a sacred covenant with God. Religion, liberty, and peace, are the great elements of human welfare, to the preservation of which it bound the empire; and as those by whom it was framed, knew well that there

can be no safety for these in a land where the mind of the community is dark with ignorance, warped by superstition, misled by error, and degraded by tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical, they pledged themselves to seek the extirpation of these pernicious evils. Yet, it was the evils themselves, and not the persons of those in whom those evils prevailed, that they sought to extirpate. Nor was there any inconsistency in declaring that they sought to promote the honour and happiness of the king, while thus uniting in a covenant against the double tyranny which he sought to exercise. For no intelligent person will deny that it is immeasurably more honorable for a monarch to be the king of freemen, than a tyrant over slaves; and that whatsoever promotes the true mental, moral, and religious greatness of a kingdom, promotes also its civil welfare, and elevates the true dignity of its sovereign. This, the mind of Charles was not comprehensive enough to learn, nor wise enough to know, especially as he was misled by the prelati faction, who, while seeking their own aggrandizement, led him to believe they were zealous only for his glory,—a glory, the very essence of which was the utter annihilation of all liberty, civil and religious. And as this desperate and fatal prelati policy was well known to the patriotic framers of the solemn league and covenant, they attached no direct blame to the king himself, but sought to rescue him from the evil influence of those by whose pernicious counsels he was misled.”

This solemn league and covenant, be it remembered, was first suggested* “when the English Parliament had fallen into great distress by the progress of the royal arms: and they gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners, with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. The persons employed, were the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Arnyne, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darby, attended by Marshal and Nye, two clergymen of signal authority. In this negotiation, the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age, so famous for active talents. By his persuasion, was framed at Edinburgh, that solemn league and covenant, which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms: and long maintained its credit and authority.” So speaks Hume.

From what has been said, it will be seen that the objections to our theory which have been raised by parties of opposite religious views, is founded upon ignorance or forgetfulness of the real nature and origin of the national and religious covenants.

It was the spirit and principles of these covenants, which

*Hume's History, vol. 6, p. 462. Eng. ed.

were embodied and carried out in their application to *civil* and *constitutional* liberty, by the Harringtons, the Sydneys, the Miltons, and the Lockes, from whose immortal writings we have confessedly drawn all that is excellent in our Constitution, and all that is worthy in our practice.* And as we have shewn the indebtedness of the National Declaration of Independence to the Mecklenburgh Declaration, and also to the Scottish Covenants, we will now prove that its principles and language may be found in the writings of Milton and Locke, the former an actual co-worker in the great revolution to which these covenants led, and the latter an inheritor of the principles and spirit to which they gave permanency and strength.

TABULAR VIEW of *Mr. Jefferson's Declaration, in comparison with the language of Locke and Milton.*

MR. JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION.

"Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that government should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing the same course, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future safety."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

LANGUAGE OF LOCKE AND MILTON.

"It is true, men may stir whenever they please, but it will be only to their own just ruin and perdition, for until the evil be grown general, and the evil designs of the rulers become visible, the people, who are more disposed to suffer than to right themselves by resistance, are not apt to stir."—Locke of Government, vol. 5, p. 474-5. Lond., 1801.

"But, if a long train of abuses, prevarications and artifices, all tending the same way, make the design visible to the people, and they cannot but feel what they lie under and see whither they are going, it is not to be wondered at that they should then rouse themselves, and endeavour to put the rule into such hands, which may secure to them the ends for which government was first erected."—Locke of Government, vol. 5, p. 472. Lond., 1801.

"Men being as has been said, by nature, all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of his estate, and subjected to the political power of another without his consent. It is true, that whatever engagements or promises one has made for himself, he is under the obligation of them, but cannot by any compact whatever, bind his children or his posterity; for his son, when a man, being altogether as free as his father, an act of his father can no more give away the liberty of his son than it can of any body else."

*See Cheatham's Life of Paine, p. 50.

Speaking of "reason and free inquiry," Mr. Jefferson says: "Give a loose to them, they will support the true religion, by bringing every false one to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation: they are the natural enemies of error, and of error only."—Notes on Virginia, p. 236, New York, 1801.

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple,—who ever knew truth put to the worst in a free and open encounter?—Milton's speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing works vol. 1, p. 326. London., 1806.

It is thus made manifest that the ecclesiastical covenants referred to, were of such a public and national character, as to influence national opinion and lead to the open avowal of sentiments similar to those embodied in our American Declarations.

But from what has been advanced, it may now be thought that these ecclesiastical documents, whatever may be their importance, are to be attributed to *political*, rather than to *religious* sources. We are led, therefore, to remark, that while these covenants were *adopted* by the political authorities in both the kingdoms of England and Scotland, they were originated, framed, drawn up, and presented by the ministers and ruling elders of the Church of Scotland. The earlier covenants were framed by Knox and his associates. The National Covenant was the production of Alexander Henderson,—the John Knox of what was known as the second reformation in Scotland. It was* "on the 23d and 24th of February, the Presbyterians, now wonderfully increased in numbers, met in Edinburgh, in defiance of the proclamation. Here they seriously considered the alarming situation in which they were now placed by their opponents. It was recommended, with great affection, by Henderson, that all their hearts should be strongly united one to another, in a bond of union and communion. He said, that as they were now declared outlaws and rebels by their sovereign, they should join in covenant with their God, and avow their obedience to him as their protector; for he alone would save them from the present and all such evils. As they were not assembled mutinously by one, or a few, but by God and a good cause, he recommended that all, in a conjunct motion, nobility, gentry, burgesses, ministry, and people should now renew the covenant which was subscribed by their forefathers, in the year 1550, with such additions as the corruptions of the times required, and such Acts of Parliament as were in favor of true religion. The idea was not only at once adopted by the meeting, but sounded like an alarm-bell throughout the kingdom. To that effect, Henderson and Johnson were appointed to frame a Confession of Faith, and Rothes, London, and Balmerino, were requested to revise it. By way of preparing the minds of

*See Dr. Aiton's Life of Henderson, p. 264.

the people for it, Sunday was appointed as a fast, and Dickson, Rollock, Adamson, and Ramsey, were desired to preach, and to accommodate their sermons to the circumstances. It was also suggested by Rothes, that a voluntary contribution should be raised, for putting the zeal of every one to the test, and defraying the common charges which the business might require. Next day, (Sunday,) the ministers in the stern, yet affectionate eloquence of the times, called on the people to descend into themselves, and thoroughly to search their own hearts, and their consciences would tell them, that they had broken their covenant with the Lord, and brought his wrath on the land. They were urged, at great length, seriously to repent, as the only means for obtaining the special favour of the Most High; and many precedents for renewing their covenants were pointed out from Old Testament history. The minds of the populace had been long and warmly excited, and it may well be conceived, that the hearts of all of them re-echoed the sentiments of the preachers. On Monday, (26th,) the three noblemen met in the morning, to receive from Henderson and Johnson the draught of the covenant; but they were told that, notwithstanding the utmost diligence, it could not be ready before Tuesday.

Wednesday, the 28th day of February, 1638, was a proud day for Henderson, and one of the most memorable mentioned in the history of that period. By this time the Presbyterians had crowded to Edinburgh, to the number of sixty thousand; and to give all solemnity to the occasion, a fast had been appointed to be held in the Church of the Greyfriars. All were astir by the morning's dawn; the Commissioners of Barons were early met, and about half-past eight, Rothes and London joined them. Long before the appointed hour, the venerable Church of the Greyfriars, and the large open space around it, were filled with Presbyterians from all parts of Scotland. At two o'clock, Rothes, London, Henderson, Dickson, and Johnston arrived, with a copy of the Covenant, ready for signature. Henderson constituted the meeting by prayer, "Verrie powerfullie and pertinentlie" to the purpose in hand. London, then, in an impressive speech, stated the occasion of their meeting. After mentioning that the courtiers had done every thing in their power to effect a division among the Presbyterians, and when thus weakened, to introduce innovation, and that they should therefore use every lawful mean for keeping themselves together in a common cause, he said that in a former period, when Papal darkness was enlightened only from the flaming faggot from the martyr's stake, the first reformers swore in covenant to maintain the most blessed word of God, even unto the death. In a later period, when apprehensions were

entertained of the restoration of Popery, King James, the nobles, and people throughout every parish subscribed another covenant, as a test of their religious principles. The covenant now about to be read, had a similar object in view, and had been agreed to by the commissioners. In conclusion, he, in their name, solemnly took the Searcher of Hearts to witness, that they intended neither dishonor to God, nor disloyalty to the King. The covenant was next read by Johnston, "out of a fair parchment, about an elne squair." When the reading was finished there was a pause and silence still as death. Preliminaries occupied till about four o'clock, when the venerable Earl of Sutherland stepped forward, and put the first name to the memorable document. Sir Andrew Murray, minister of Ebby in Fife, was the second who subscribed. After it had gone the rounds of the whole church, it was taken out to be signed by the crowd in the churchyard. Here it was spread before them, like another roll of the prophets, upon a flat gravestone, to be read and subscribed by as many as could get near it. Many, in addition to their names, wrote, "*Till death;*" and some even opened a vein and subscribed with their blood. The immense sheet, in a short time, became so much crowded with names on both sides, throughout its whole space, that there was not space left for a single additional signature. Even the margin was scrawled over; and as the document filled up, the subscribers seem to have been limited to the initial letters of their names. Zeal in the cause of Christ and courage for the liberties of Scotland, warmed every breast." Such was the covenant of 1638.

"The solemn league and covenant"—afterwards adopted by the Westminster Assembly and by the English Parliament and nation,—was also the production of the Rev. Alexander Henderson. When the commissioners from England, in 1643, arrived in Edinburgh, the General Assembly, of which Henderson was Moderator, was then in session, by whom they were received. "The English ministers first held a private conference with Henderson, who stated to the Assembly, that they required to know the most convenient way of dealing with the court. Henderson, Rutherford, Dickson, Baillie, Douglas, and Gillespie, as ministers, with Maitland, Angus, and Warriston, as elders, waited upon them to compliment them, and offer them free access as spectators. A loft of the High Church, next the Assembly House, was appointed as a place of conference between them, and the Committee of the Assembly. The Convention of Estates sent a similar Committee, consisting of Balmerino, Argyle, and others."

After long and earnest debates upon their line of conduct, it was agreed that, "as this cause of liberty and religion was

dear to them, it was best to enter into a confederacy with Parliament. In the conferences with the Committees, the English argued for a *civil* league, and the Scots for a *religious* covenant. The English tried, in a covert way, to keep an open door for Independency, while the Scots were equally eager to keep it shut. After a time of much painful discussion, Henderson was appointed to frame a draught of the well known solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms.

From the private conferences, Henderson carried this important document to the Assembly, on the 17th of August, 1643. Henderson recommended it to their favourable reception, by a long and splendid oration. It was publicly read, and received with the greatest applause, says Baillie, "I ever saw, and with hearty affection, expressed in tears of pity and joy, by many grave, wise, and old men." It was then read the second time, and many of the most eminent ministers and lay elders were desired to deliver their opinions about it, who did all magnify it highly, and although the King's Commissioner pressed a delay till, at least, it was communicated to the King, yet the approving of it was put to the vote and carried unanimously; and it was ordered that Maitland, (afterwards Duke of Lauderdale,) Henderson, and Gillespie should carry it up to Westminster. From the Assembly it was instantly sent to the Convention of Estates, and in the afternoon of the same day it was passed with the most cordial unanimity.

The *religious* origin of these national covenants of Scotland and England, is thus incontrovertible, and while, therefore, their political importance renders them the *very probable* models and sources of the American Declarations, their ecclesiastical origin claims for the religious spirit, principles, and conduct of the Puritans and Presbyterians, the glory, under God, of their undoubted inspiration.

In reaffirming this claim, we would again repeat what we have already said, that in tracing to these covenants the original models of the Declarations of American Independence, we have no intention to lead to the conclusion, that in our opinion, these covenants led to the purpose and plan of American Independence, or that no such political declarations would have been framed, had not these ecclesiastical covenants existed. On the contrary, the same spirit prevailing in this country which led to the original framing of those covenants, would have led to the framing of these declarations, in a style and manner of correspondent strength and unction.

But the question before us is a question of *fact*—not as to what *might* have been, but what actually *has* occurred. Here are two separate Declarations, which are unquestionably indebted for many phrases and much of manner—the national

to the Mecklenburg—or else both are indebted to *some* common papers of similar character. Which of these conclusions is the true one? This is the question, and the only question—and it is a question altogether distinct from the literary merit of these papers, or the *primeval* source of that spirit of freedom which they breathe.

Tom Payne says he discovered the principles from which they sprung. Others say that these principles were the native growth of instinctive liberty. We can regard them as the offspring neither of infidelity nor of chance; and having found a religious source from which they may, and probably did, originate, we rejoice in giving that glory to the Bible and to the God of the Bible, which the enemies of both have claimed for themselves.

We have now done with the Declarations of American Independence, and turn our attention to the American Constitution, and to that struggle of opinion and that heroism of feeling which nerved the most loyal and devoted citizens that ever owed allegiance,* to take up arms in defence of their “immemorial rights,” and seal their triumphant conquest with the blood of husbands, fathers, and friends.

Speaking of our national independence, Lord Brougham, in his treatise on Political Philosophy,† says, “After a series of extraordinary successes, considering their inadequate resources for military operations, and an uninterrupted display of political wisdom as well as firmness and moderation, they finally threw off the yoke of the mother country, gloriously establishing their own entire independence, and winning for themselves a new Constitution, upon the federal plan, and of the republican form.

“This is perhaps the most important event in the history of our species. Its effects were not confined to America. It animated freedom all over the world to resist oppression. It gave an example of a great people not only emancipating themselves, but governing themselves without either a monarch to control, or an aristocracy to restrain, and it demonstrated, for the first time in the history of the world, contrary to all the predictions of statesmen, and the theories of speculative inquirers, that a great nation when duly prepared for the task, is capable of self-government—in other words, that a purely republican form of government can be founded and maintained in a country of vast extent, and peopled by millions of inhabitants. The principal variations from the British Constitution, were the substitution of an elective chief magistrate, personally responsible, for one hereditary, and only responsible through his ministers and

*See Cheatham's Life of Paine.

†London, 1844—p. 329, Vol. III.

agents; the upper house being elective like the lower; and the nation consisting of a confederation of republican states, each independent, in many essential particulars, but all combined, as regards foreign relations, under one head, and all governed by a central Legislature, of powers limited by law as to its jurisdiction over each individual member of the Union, though quite absolute as to the general concerns of the whole confederacy, and the federal relations of its component parts. The fundamental principle of the Constitution is, the vesting of the supreme authority, executive and legislative, in the people, to be exercised in every case by their chosen representatives—in no case, except in their elections, by themselves. And this at once distinguishes the great modern republic from all the democracies of ancient times. The representative principle is fully and universally introduced into it, and the people depart completely with all their power to their chosen deputies. It is another, and an essential principle, if indeed it be not involved in the former, that the choice of representatives and a chief magistrate is the only elective function exercised by the people—all civil and military officers, and especially all judicial functionaries being appointed by the executive government."

CONFEDERATION and REPRESENTATION are therefore the two essential principles which lie at the basis of the American Constitution. Now to detail all the points on which the ecclesiastical constitution of the Presbyterian Church develops these principles as its grand, prominent, and most ostensible features, would require a volume, and has been spread out in the work on "Ecclesiastical Republicanism," placed at the head of this article. It would seem as if, in defining the two cardinal features of the American Constitution Lord Brougham were transferring those of the Presbyterian system, both doctrinally and ecclesiastically.

"Wherein," says Mr. Junkin, "does *liberty* consist? I answer in the right use of the principles of *covenant representation* and *imputation* resting upon the principle of *faith* as the only legitimate basis of the whole. That is—where a people, under a social covenant, do, in an enlightened manner and in the fear of God, make and execute laws and transact their own business by *representatives of their own choice*, they are a free people. Where they are deprived of the privilege of choosing their representatives—i. e. where they are not represented by those in whom they, or a majority of them, have *faith*, they are not a free people. Here then we have the elements of all social government: and the principles of all *practicable* democracy, i. e. *representative republicanism*. And where did we get them? *From the Calvinistic creed*, as clearly deduced from the Book of God. There and there *only*—there *primitively* are they

found. There is the doctrine of *covenants*—there the doctrine of *representation* or *vicarious agency*—there the doctrine of *imputation*, and there the vital spirit of them all, the doctrine of *faith*. * * * * A corollary from the statement made is, that *Presbyterian government is the natural and necessary result* of Calvinistic doctrines. The principles of Presbytery are found in the very bosom of this creed. Presbytery is but the natural development, in the external form of the church, of the doctrines of grace which warm her bosom. And for a Calvinistic church to wear any other form of government would be a monstrous development—so monstrous indeed, that the world has never for any great length of time witnessed such a wonder. *No other form of government can naturally grow out of Calvinism*—and although repeated attempts have been made to preserve a union between this faith and other forms of government, none has ever succeeded.*—pp. 22, 23.

In the above volume on Ecclesiastical Republicanism, will be found evidence to shew that in its history, Presbyterianism has ever been found working out the spirit and principles of constitutional, representative, and republican government, and giving impetus to the onward progress of civil and religious liberty. Such has been its glory, when glory has been attached to such principles, and such its infamy, its reproach and its standing denunciation by all its enemies.

"History," as Mr. Junkin remarks, "with the augmented voice of eighteen centuries, proclaims the truth, that the Calvinistic faith, united to the Presbyterian government, has been most productive of glory to God and good to man. It was in the use of this simple and unpretending, but mighty and majestic moral machinery, that the illiterate fishermen of Galilee, assisted by the learned and indefatigable Paul, accomplished, in the face of the bitterness of Jewish persecution, and the iron sternness of Roman cruelty and power, one of the mightiest rev-

*It is indeed said that as our ruling elders hold their office permanently, and our ministers are ex-officio members of our session and Presbytery—the analogy fails. But in our view, it is by these very circumstances rendered more complete. "The Constitution of the United States peremptorily denies to the PEOPLE in mass, absolutely withholds from them, the election of their President, (Cheatham's Life of Paine, p. 142.) and of Judges and of numerous other officers. It is not a DEMOCRACY, but a REPUBLIC. The people wisely act through REPRESENTATIVES, and not INDIVIDUALLY. Neither is suffrage *universal*, for women and children, and foreigners, and all who have not become members or citizens by an open profession of their allegiance, and by a regular form of naturalization, are excluded. In all this there is the exact counterpart of Presbyterianism, as there is also in the system of progressive courts, not merely as advisory bodies, but as courts of review and controul. Our government, too, is a confederated GOVERNMENT—OR UNITED BODY—and not a mere congeries of local and independent communities, which would not be a government or COMMONWEALTH at all; and in like manner there are independent CHURCHES—but there is no independent church or government in any sense analogous to our national government. Presbyterianism is the true ecclesiastical analogy to our civil commonwealth.

olutions that have ever changed the aspect of our world. It was Presbyterianism that preserved religion in its purity, throughout those centuries of trial and corruption, which commenced with the day when the cross was planted on the throne of Constantine. And when Rome, that "mother of harlots and abominations," extended her leaden sceptre over the world, and began to be "drunk with the blood of the saints," the Presbyterian Church furnished a large proportion of her victims. And throughout those ages of darkness, that gloomed at the rise of Popery, and reached their midnight after the inundation of the barbarians of the north—*where* and *who* were the *seed* that God, according to his promise, has preserved to serve him? If some Christian Elijah, had heard the voice of Jehovah proclaiming, "yet have I left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth that hath not kissed him"—where, in that age of darkness and rebuke, could the prophet have found the faithful remnant? At the foot of an *European* and not an *Asiatic* Horeb were they found. In the fastnesses of the Alps, those mighty barriers which have baffled many a tyrant's rage, the people of God, driven from their eastern home, and hunted for the truth's sake, from land to land, had taken refuge, and there, despite the rage of the Romans and the fury of the Frank, they preserved and practiced the truth in its primitive beauty and simplicity. And *who* and *what* were these dwellers of the Alpine vallies? *Presbyterians all!!* The faith we hold was their faith—the government under which we rejoice was their government. And faithfully did they maintain them. Amid the flames of their burning villages—or unsheltered amid the desolation of Alpine winter—hunted from mountain to mountain and from valley to valley—oppressed—imprisoned—burnt and driven from their homes, still, with unbending firmness, they held on to the truth of God; until by their very *dispersion*, by which Rome thought to crush them, was sowed the seeds of that Reformation that makes Rome totter to her fall. The great Reformer of Geneva learned much from the Waldenses in regard to that primitive and Apostolic Christianity, of which he was so learned and eloquent an advocate: and the enemies of the other Reformers often charged them with deriving their opinions from these godly and faithful victims of Rome. Indeed, the candid searcher of history will be constrained to believe, that from the Apostolic times, a church maintaining the Presbyterian doctrine and order, was by the providence of God preserved, until she gave to the purest branch of the great Reformation, the doctrine and ecclesiastical image, which she had preserved unmarred, through so many centuries of darkness and of blood."

In this argument, we repudiate altogether the artifice by which the glory due to Presbyterianism is given to the Independent denomination. As it regards the origin and progress of constitutional principles in England, there can be no distinction drawn between Presbyterians and Independents. They were but the two wings of one great army. Originally, and for a long period, their common name was "The Puritans," and their common principles were—the supremacy of the Scriptures, as the constitutional directory of the church, in doctrine, order, worship and laws;—the purely ministerial and teaching character and authority of the ministry;—the purity of the ministry, the purity and simplicity of ordinances, and the sacredness of the Sabbath;—the constitutional character of government;—and the responsibility of kings to the laws and liberties of their kingdoms.

Adhering to these *common* principles, the Puritans began to differ in ecclesiastical views, and finally divided into the two main bodies of Presbyterians and Independents, differing originally not in doctrine, not in order, not in worship, but in the single point of the NECESSITY of regular and standing courts of AUTHORITATIVE review and control.

As it regards the principles of toleration and liberty there have been noble examples and numerous exceptions among both these parties. Luther was a Presbyterian, and yet a constant advocate of toleration. Zuinglius was the same. So was Calvin in his earlier and wiser opinions. And in like manner, says Archdeacon Blackburne, "It is to the controversy about the Geneva discipline, that we owe the efforts of the excellent Castalio, to disgrace the infernal doctrine of punishing heretics capitally."* Howe, too, who was the favorite chaplain of Cromwell, † was a Presbyterian, and Owen, his chief divine, has left on record the evidences of his Presbyterian preferences.

It is true that Independency was, under the circumstances of the times, and the fact that it was the creed of a hampered minority, the most natural outlet for those free and tolerant principles, which were even then restrained in their full development, by the spirit of antiquity and of national establishments. The Independents of the Westminster Assembly and the Commonwealth, were in fact the real prototypes and representatives *in almost every sentiment* of the present Presbyterians, while the Presbyterians of that day would only find their perfect likeness in the lingering relics of some of the smaller branches of Presbyterianism. Presbyterians and Independents are, therefore, of common origin—the former being Puritanism in its development of democracy; and the latter in its form of con-

*Ecclesiastical Republicanism. p. 133.

†See Roger's Life of Howe, p. 364, 365.

stitutional and representative government, as in England and in these United States. Both denominations have worked off the slough of Romish and prelatic intolerance;—both discard and denounce the principles of tyranny and bigotry;—and both rejoice to run together *pari passu* the race of freedom.

In every question of a political bearing, we regard the Puritans as the parents equally of the Presbyterians and Independents, between whom, (as they were found among the colonists of New England and these Southern States,) there was but little difference and no separation.*

And looking at the subject in this light, will any man question the influence of Puritanism, and of the Puritans in gradually fashioning those elements of *republican* government which gave origin to the Commonwealth, to the Revolution, to these United States, and to the still rapidly extending measures of reform in England? Surely not.

Here again we wish to be understood. We are not now inquiring into the ultimate and original source of English liberty. That many forms of popular privilege, on the part of landholders and men of note, existed in Saxon times, and were, under a regulated form, continued under the Norman dominion, we believe; and that many struggles were from time to time made to regain these privileges, when subsequently destroyed, we also believe. But the question now before us is, as to the origin and source of POPULAR power, in contrast with the power of THE RICH AND NOBLE of the people;—of popular representation and not merely of constitutional monarchy. What we seek to trace up, is the theory and doctrine of a COMMONWEALTH OR REPUBLIC, in which the people are *recognized* as the ultimate source of power, and their welfare as the ultimate end of government; and in which the *jus populi* takes the place of the *jus regis* and the *vox populi* of the mere arbitrary *dictum* of a king.

Now, it will not be pretended that any such form of government, by which a whole people govern themselves under the guidance of a constitution of their own adoption and by representatives of their own election, ever existed either in Greece, or Rome, or in Britain,—in Saxon or Norman times. The only ancient model of such a government, we find in the Jewish Commonwealth; and the only fountain from which its principles have flowed in modern times, has been the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. Christianity alone originated, and this alone can sustain a free, representative republic. And it was only at the era of "The Commonwealth," the spirit of free discussion and of popular liberty, nerved by the genius of Christi-

*See also Mr. Junkin's Discourse, p. 25.

anity, burst all the fetters of power, prejudice, and bigotry, and gave birth to a REPRESENTATIVE REPUBLIC.

It was not, therefore, in America, but in England, the theory of a representative republic was perfected. The principles, the spirit, and the general outlines of American republicanism, were all fashioned in the great laboratory of English freedom; and the Puritans, who were originally Presbyterian, and who, up to the time of the Protectorate, when the constitution of a republic was formally and forcibly crushed—were still by an overpowering majority Presbyterian—these were the artizans by whose skill, industry, sufferings and genius, the heavenly form was gradually shaped.

It is therefore by what these Presbyterian Puritan ancestors have achieved, we are republicans. Had the British Parliament been left free, England would have been a Republic; and it was only because the Presbyterian Parliament and city of London were overawed and dispersed by an army of independents; and when the constitution of a republic was snatched from the very hands of the members who were about to adopt it as the government of the country—that the first practical organization of a representative republic was left for these United States.*

For the liberty we enjoy, therefore, in the United States, we agree with Mr. Cheatham,† “in thinking we are indebted to our ancestors. We have acquired nothing of it ourselves: not a jot of it is our own. All that we have done, is the effecting of a separation from the parent country: all that we have achieved is independence. But we have no liberty but that which we have received from England. We owe it all to our ancestors.”

And when it is said that much of the Magna Charta and other ancient instruments of English liberty were adopted into our Constitution,‡ we ask, who was it that brought these all to light from amid the darkness under which they had been long buried; and who gave them fresh unction and authority and power, by republishing and re-establishing them in the popular mind? Can any one deny, that for this we are indebted to the Presbyterian party in Scotland and in England, who waged the war with Charles, and led to the establishment of the Commonwealth? Calvin, and Luther, and Zuingle, taught men to be free and independent in the exercise of all their *spiritual* rights and in the government of the church;§ and having learned to be free, religiously, they

*“Had Presbytery,” says Mr. Junkin, “obtained the ascendancy in the English mind:—had it stamped its system of a *regulated* and *balanced* Commonwealth, England, and not America, had won the glory of having first solved the problem of *national self-government*.” Disc., p. 27.

†Life of Paine, p. 193.

‡Cheatham’s Life of Paine, 131, 141.

§See this subject illustrated in Ecclesiastical Republicanism, p. 112. 113, &c.

soon learned to seek freedom politically. Knox, the Reformer of Scotland, and founder of the Presbyterian Church there, "was a great admirer of the polity of republics."†* Under his teaching,§* "more just and enlarged sentiments were diffused, and the idea of a Commonwealth, INCLUDING THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE, as well as the PRIVILEGED orders, began to be entertained." "Buchanan's Treatise," says, the Anti-Republican and Tory Edward Irving, and Knox's "first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women," contains essentially what makes Scotland the most formidable seat of radicalism and rebellion in the world."*†

"The Puritanism of Scotland became," says Carlyle, "that of England, of New England."†‡ Buchanan's great work, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos, published in 1579," powerfully contributed to awaken the people of both kingdoms to a just sense of their own rights and of the king's responsibilities. Andrew Melville, in his lectures, fanned the flame of popular liberty, and deepened the conviction of sovereign accountability.‡‡ Welwood, his friend, and professor of laws, was silenced by king James, because, as he said, his writings were apologies for rebellions and treasons.* These principles of popular liberty were promulgated and diffused by Rutherford, in his "Lex Rex;"† by Guthrie, in "The Causes of God's Wrath," a work which was burned by the common hangman;‡ by Brown, of Wamphray, in his Apologetical Narration;*** by the "Jus Populi," a work written by Stewart, of Goodtrees; by "Naphthali," and by many other works, which brought down upon their authors and abettors the severest penalties of an enraged government.§

To these sources, of which the Covenants were summaries, the Harringtons, the Sydneys, the Vanes, the Miltons, the Cokes, and the Lockes, were indebted for much of that light and enthusiasm, by which their genius was fired in the defence of popular freedom. And hence, it is a remarkable fact, to which we will have occasion to refer, that Roger Williams, Lord Baltimore, and William Penn, had all matured their views of freedom of conscience in England, and under the influences of these Puritan controversies and instructors.††

†*McCrie's Life of, vol. 1, p. 303.

§*Ibid., p. 304.

*†Lectures on Heroes, p. 235.

†‡McCrie's Life of, vol. 2, p. 115, 116.

‡‡Irving's Confessions of Faith, Historical Introd., p. 130, 131. Lond. 1831.

*In his True Law of Free Monarchies.

†Pub. in 1644.

‡History of Westminster Assembly, p. 363.

***See in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, vol. 4, under the head "people," the titles of the numerous works in which these principles were propagated.

§Published in 1660.

††See Bancroft's History of the United States.

Sir Henry Vane, who technically was neither an Independent nor a Presbyterian, but the true archetype of the *modern* religious views and religious principles of both—did more probably than any other man in his day to defend and develop the true principles, as laid down by Lord Brougham, of a CONSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVE REPUBLIC. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly, and a chief commissioner from the Parliament and Assembly to Scotland, where, as has been seen, he was instrumental in affecting the solemn League and Covenant. After the death of Hampden and Pym, he was the acknowledged leader of the Commonwealth party.‡‡ He was so true to his republican principles, that he *openly* condemned the powers assumed by Cromwell, and in 1659, as president of the counsel to whom the supreme power was entrusted, until the parliament could make further arrangements,* “he discharged his last noble effort for the great cause his life had been devoted to, by reporting a bill for the future and permanent settlement of the government, of which the following were the heads: 1. That the supreme power delegated by the people to their trustees, ought to be in some fundamentals not dispensed with; that is, that a CONSTITUTION ought to be drawn up and established, specifying the principles by which the successive trustees, or representatives assembled under it, should be guided and restrained in the conduct of the government, and clearly stating those particulars in which they would not be permitted to legislate or act. 2. One point which was to be determined and fixed in this Constitution, so that no legislative power should ever be able to alter or move it, was this: That it is destructive to the people’s liberties, (to which by God’s blessing, they are fully restored,) to admit any earthly king or single person to the legislative or executive power over this nation. 3. The only other principle reported as fundamental, and to be placed at the very basis of the Constitution, was this: That the supreme power is not entrusted to the people’s trustees, to erect matters of faith and worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein.”

The interest Vane took in this matter, and in the solemn league and covenant, were prominent charges brought against him in his trial, and prominent topics in his noble vindication and defence at the bar of the house, and upon the scaffold. On the former occasion, speaking of his adherence to the government, he says—“*And whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, there was a party among them that continued firm, sincere, and chaste*

‡‡Forster’s *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, p. 329, 330. Harper’s edition.

*Forster’s *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, p. 338, and 341.

unto that cause to the last, and loved it better than their lives—of which number I am not ashamed to profess myself to be; not so much admiring the form and words of the covenant, as the righteous words therein expressed, and the true sense and meaning thereof, which I have reason to know."

These sentiments Sir Henry Vane carried with him to New England, where he was governor, and where he no doubt watered the seeds of liberty and independence which had been carried over by the Puritan settlers. And in this constitution he unquestionably stated, according to the analysis laid down by Lord Brougham, the elemental principles of the Constitution of the United States.

"The spirit of liberty was, therefore, grafted, as we have affirmed, upon the stock of religion, and was *thus* quickened with a heavenly ardour, and an impetuous zeal which nothing could stand. 'When the Protestant faith,' says Swift, 'was restored by Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest, home to England, and were grown *so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left*, that they used all possible endeavors to *introduce both* into their own country. From hence they proceeded by degrees to quarrel with the KINGLY GOVERNMENT, because, as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown, for a refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.' During the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, the youthful Hercules was found strong enough to crush the serpent, in the question of monopolies. While Whitgift contended for the absolute despotism of monarchy, Cartwright, in England, and Buchanan and others, in Scotland, gave utterance to the principles of a democratic republic. In the reign of James, the number of Puritans in England became greater, and their exertions in the cause of freedom more apparent. With their growing intelligence and wealth, the spirit of popular liberty increased until in the reign of Charles I, a universal enthusiasm seized the nation, pervading not only the middle classes, but also many of the gentry, which declared not only in words, but actions, that while the King was resolved to be absolute, the people were determined to be free. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, in England, as an open and organized body, dates its origin from the early campaigns of the civil war. Coke laid its foundation in the Petition or Right, endued with the form of law, in 1628. Selden built on this foundation. Hampden, Pym, Vane, St. John, Cromwell, and Sydney completed the super-structure which Sydney has immortalized by his writings, as both he and Vane have by their blood. "Protestantism," says Carlisle, "was a revolt against *spiritual* sovereignties, Popes, and much else. PRESBYTERIANISM CARRIED OUT THE REVOLT AGAINST EARTHLY

SOVEREIGNTIES and DESPOTISMS. Protestantism has been called the grand root, from which our whole subsequent European history branches out; for the spiritual will always bodies itself forth in the temporal history of men. The spiritual is the beginning of the temporal. And now, sure enough, the cry is every where for liberty and equality, independence, and so forth; instead of kings, ballot-boxes, and electoral suffrages." "The honest truth is," says Archdeacon Blackburne, "that these very controversies, (respecting the Genevan discipline,) first struck out, and in due time perfected those noble and generous principles of civil and religious liberty, which too probably without those struggles, or something of that sort, would hardly have been well understood to this very hour."*

We have thus endeavored to point out the relationship between American and English Republicanism, and to trace the spirit and theory of a representative republic to its true source, and that is, as we honestly believe, the religious freedom, as it is found embodied in Christianity, quickened and diffused by the reformation, and systematically applied to civil liberty by the reformers and covenanters of Scotland, and by their coadjutors, the Presbyterian Puritans of England and of these American colonies. From this nursery, the original stock of that tree, American Republicanism, which now waves its branches over twenty-six States and several Territories, was first transplanted.†

We now proceed to draw out another link of evidence, in confirmation of this opinion, from the depths of history. In his "History from the Accession of George III. to the Conclusion of the Peace, in 1783," Mr. Adolphus, in tracing the causes of the *combined and determined* opposition of the colonies to the impositions of the mother country, has this lan-

*Ecclesiastical Republ.—pp. 130, 137, 131, 132, 133.

†In a recent lecture on the wrongs of Ireland, as published in the Catholic Herald, we find the following candid admissions, which are more important as coming from a Roman bishop and an Irishman:

"Some indeed assert that the Catholic religion is the cause of the degradation of Ireland. I have said enough to show that, in part, it has been the occasion of the degradation of Ireland. But I am willing to go farther, and admit, that in one sense the Catholic religion has been the cause of that degradation; for I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion, that if the Irish had been by any chance Presbyterians, they would have from an early day obtained protection for their natural rights or they would have driven their oppressors into the sea. The Scotch escaped all these calamities. They were never conquered. Their soil was never trodden beneath their feet. They merged themselves spontaneously, and at their own time, into the state of England. They kept always the property of their own religion for their own social and religious use. Already, before the change, parish schools had been established in Scotland, afterwards they were multiplied, improved, and endowed out of the church property. Yet in Ireland every thing was the reverse."

See also a long and corroborative testimony to the spirit of Scottish Presbyterianism, by Victor Cousin, in his work on the History of Moral Philosophy, in the Presbyterian. March 6, 1847.

guage—"The FIRST effort towards an UNION of interests was made by the Presbyterians, who were eager in carrying into execution their favorite project of forming a synod. Their churches had hitherto remained unconnected with each other, and their union in synod had been considered so dangerous to the community, that in 1725 it was prevented by the express interference of the lords justices. Availing themselves with great address of the rising discontents, the convention of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, inclosed in a circular letter to all the Presbyterian congregations of Pennsylvania, the proposed article of union. They digested a plan by which a few gentlemen of Philadelphia, with the Presbyterian ministers, should be chosen to correspond with their friends in different parts, to give and receive advices, and to consult on measures tending to promote their welfare either as a body or as connected in particular congregations. A number of what were termed most *prudent and public spirited* persons in each district of the province and three lower counties, were to be elected for the purposes of corresponding jointly with the ministers in those districts, with one another, and with the gentlemen in Philadelphia. A person was to be nominated in each committee to sign and receive letters in the name of the whole, to convoke the committee, and for their deliberation, impart the advice they should obtain. Deputies were to be sent by the committee in each county or district, yearly or half-yearly, to a general meeting of the whole body, to consult and give advice; and each committee to transmit to Philadelphia their names and numbers, with periodical accounts and alterations. In consequence of this letter, an union of all the congregations took place in Pennsylvania and the lower counties. A similar CONFEDERACY was established in all the southern provinces, in pursuance of similar letters, written by their respective conventions. These measures ended in the establishment of an annual synod at Philadelphia, where all the Presbyterian congregations in the colonies were represented by their respective ministers and elders, and where all general affairs, POLITICAL as well as religious, were debated and decided. From this synod orders and decrees were issued throughout America, and to them a ready and implicit obedience was paid.

The discontented in New England recommended an union of the congregational and Presbyterian interest throughout the colonies. A negotiation took place, which ended in the appointment of a permanent committee of correspondence, and powers to communicate and consult on all occasions, with a similar committee, established by the congregational churches in New England. Thus the Presbyterians in the southern colonies, who, while unconnected in their several congregations, were

of little importance, were raised into weight and consequence; and formed a dangerous combination of men, whose principles of religion and policy were equally adverse to that of the established church and government.

BY THIS UNION A PARTY WAS PREPARED TO DISPLAY THEIR POWER BY RESISTANCE, and the stamp law presented itself as a favorable object of hostility. Yet sensible of their own incompetence to act effectually without assistance, and apprehensive of counteraction *from the members of the Church of England, and those dissenters who were averse to violence*, they strove with the utmost assiduity to make friends and converts among the disaffected of every denomination.

The prevailing discontent which extended to the most respectable ranks of society, was favorable to their hopes, and when the news arrived that the stamp act had passed in Great Britain, the measures adopted were conformable to their most sanguine wishes.*

The influence of this course of proceeding, on the part of the Presbyterians, was not remarked by Mr. Adolphus alone. Mr. Reed, of Philadelphia, himself an Episcopalian, in a published address, remarks—"The part taken by the Presbyterians in the contest with the mother country, was indeed *at the time often* made a ground of reproach; and the connections between their efforts for the security of their religious liberty, and opposition to the oppressive measures of parliament was *then distinctly seen*. Mr. Galloway, a prominent advocate of the government, ascribed, in 1774, the revolt and resolution, *mainly* to the action of the Presbyterian clergy and laity *as early as* 1764, when the proposition for a general synod emanated from a committee appointed for that purpose, in Philadelphia. Another writer of the same period says—"You will have discovered that I am no friend to the Presbyterians, and that I fix ALL THE BLAME of these extraordinary American proceedings upon them."

"A Presbyterian loyalist," adds Mr. Reed, "was a thing unheard of." Patriotic clergymen of the established church, were exceptions to general conduct; for while they were patriots at a sacrifice, and in spite of restraint and imaginary obligations, which many found it impossible to disregard, it was natural sympathy and voluntary action that placed the dissenters under the banner of revolutionary redress. It is a sober judgment which cannot be questioned, that had independence and its maintenance depended on the approval and ready sanction of the Colonial Episcopal clergy, misrule and oppression must have become far more intense before they would have seen a case of justifiable revolution. The debt of gratitude which

*Vol. 1, p. 203.

independent America owes to the dissenting clergy and laity never can be paid."††

"This testimony of this Episcopal writer, is corroborated by Dr. Elliott, the able editor of the Western Christian Advocate, the organ of the Methodist Church in the west, in noticing an attack made on the Presbyterians by Bishop Purcell: "The Presbyterians," says he, "of every class, were prominent, AND EVEN FOREMOST, in achieving the liberties of the United States; and they have been all along the leading supporters of constitution, and law, and good order. They have been the pioneers of learning and sound knowledge from its highest to its lowest grade, and are now its principal supporters.*

These opinions are sustained by further and numerous facts. The Synod of New York was the very first body, a year before the declaration of independence, to declare themselves in favour of open resistance, and to encourage and guide their people then in arms.‡

This is certainly a most remarkable fact. "Of the independence of the colonies, for some time after the affair at Lexington,—that is, in 1775," says Mr. Cheatham, "few thought and no one wrote. Here and there it was indistinctly mentioned, but no where encouraged."‡ "Independence," says Thomas Paine, "was a doctrine scarce and rare, even towards the conclusion of the year 1775."|| Even in October, 1775, when the news of the rejection of the petition of Congress to the king was received, and had produced universal indignation, still even now few thought seriously of independence. The mind was overpowered by fear rather than alive to safety."§ And yet among those few, who not only thought upon, but *openly* advised independence, were the Presbyterians as a body; they having openly commended it months before the publication of Paine's Common Sense, which was not issued until Jan., 1776, and which was itself the offspring of a suggestion made by Dr. Benjamin Rush,** who was brought up under the Rev. Samuel Finley, afterwards President of the College of Princeton, of which college he became a graduate under the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Davies.

During the continuance of the revolutionary war, the Presbyterian body sustained and invigorated the forces of their beleagured country; so that Presbyterians were every where treated with special cruelty and revenge, and at the close of the

††See in Eccl. Republ., as above.

*The whole article is one of the most enlarged Christian liberality and generosity.

‡Life of Thomas Paine, p. 41.

‡See his Crisis, No. 3 and 7.

||Cheatham do., p. 45.

§See Cheatham, as above, p. 37.

**See Hodge's Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church.

war, they again addressed their people, and offered up praise to God who had given them the victory.†† “And after the conflict was over,” says Mr. Junkin, “and the sages of America came to settle the forms of our government, they did but *copy* into *every* constitution, the simple elements of representative republicanism, as found in the Presbyterian system. It is matter of history that cannot be denied, that Presbyterianism, as found in the Bible, and in the standards of the several Presbyterian churches, gave character to our free institutions. Am I reminded of the glorious part which New England Congregationalists took in our country’s deliverance? My heart’s best feelings kindle at the recollection: and in according to New England all the glory that she has so well earned, I yield not my position, for New England is *substantially Presbyterian*. It must not be forgotten that the Pilgrim Fathers, after witnessing the sad effects of simple independency in their own land, had been nursed in the bosom, and had drank of the spirit of Presbyterian Holland and Geneva, *before* they reached the rock of

††In this connexion it may be interesting to our readers, to hear the sentiments expressed by the Old Synod of New York and Philadelphia, in their Pastoral Letter, published in 1783, just at the close of the Revolutionary war. The following is an extract:

“We cannot help congratulating you on the general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. This has been visible in their conduct, and has been confessed by the complaints and resentment of the common enemy. Such a circumstance ought not only to afford us satisfaction on the review, as bringing credit to the body in general, but to increase our gratitude to God, for the happy issue of the war. Had it been unsuccessful, we must have drunk deeply of the cup of suffering. Our burnt and wasted churches, and our plundered dwellings, in such places as fell under the power of our adversaries, are but an earnest of what we must have suffered had they finally prevailed.

The Synod, therefore, request you to render thanks to Almighty God, for all his mercies, spiritual and temporal, and in a particular manner for establishing the Independence of the United States of America. He is the Supreme Disposer of all events, and to Him belong the glory, the victory, and the majesty. We are persuaded you will easily recollect many circumstances in the course of the struggle, which point out his special and signal interposition in our favour. Our most remarkable successes have generally been when things had just before worn the most unfavorable aspect, as at Trenton and Saratoga at the beginning—in South Carolina and Virginia towards the end of the war. It pleased God to raise up for us a powerful ally in Europe; and when we consider the unwearied attempts to our enemies, to raise dissensions by every topic that could be supposed inflammatory and popular, the harmony that has prevailed, not only between the allied powers, but the troops of different nations and languages acting together, ought to be ascribed to the gracious influence of Divine Providence. Without mentioning many other instances, we only further put you in mind of the choice and appointment of a *commander-in-chief* of the armies of the United States, who in this important and difficult charge, has given universal satisfaction, who [was] alike acceptable to the citizen and the soldier, to the State in which he was born, and to every other on the Continent, and whose character and influence after so long service, are not only unimpaired, but augmented. Of what consequence this has been to the cause of America, every one may judge; or, if it needs any illustration, it receives it from the opposite situation of our enemies in this respect. On the whole, every pious person, on a review of the events of the war, will certainly be disposed to say with the Psalmist, “The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.”

Plymouth, and from the very first, their institutions partook of the Presbyterian form." Dis., p. 28.

The service rendered in securing the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, a Presbyterian clergyman from Scotland, and also President of the College of Princeton, and who was a member of the Continental Congress, is thus graphically described by Dr. Krebs: "When the Declaration of Independence was under debate in the Continental Congress, doubts and forebodings were whispered through that hall. The houses hesitated, wavered, and, for a while, the liberty and slavery of the nation appeared to hang in an even scale. It was then that an aged patriarch arose, and venerable and stately form,—his head white with the frosts of years. Every eye went to him with the quickness of thought, and remained with the fixedness of the polar star. He cast on the Assembly a look of inexpressible interest and unconquerable determination; while, on his visage, the hue of age was lost in the flush of a burning patriotism that fired his cheek. 'There is,' said he, when he saw the house wavering, 'There is a tide in the affairs of men—a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate, is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning, by every pen in the house. He that will not respond to its accents, and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy the name of a freeman. For my own part, of property I have some—of reputation, more. That reputation is staked, that property is *pledged*, on the issue of this contest. And although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hands of the public executioner, than desert at this crisis, the sacred cause of my country.' Who was it that uttered this memorable speech, potent in turning the scales of the nation's destiny, and worthy to be preserved in the same imperishable record in which is registered the not more eloquent speech ascribed to John Adams, on the same sublime occasion? It was John Witherspoon, at that day the most distinguished Presbyterian minister west of the Atlantic ocean—the father of the Presbyterian Church in the United States."

"We have the authority, also, of the late Chief Justice Tilghman for stating that the framers of *the Constitution of the United States* were (chiefly through the agency of Dr. Witherspoon, who was one of them,) greatly indebted to the standards of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, in modelling that admirable instrument, under which we have enjoyed more than half a century of unparalleled national prosperity."*

*See Fourth of July Discourse, by the Rev. Mr. Stedman, of Wilmington, N. C.

And still further, the Hon. W. C. Preston, of this State, has given publicity to the following remarkable words:

“Certainly it is the most remarkable and singular coincidence, that the constitution of the Presbyterian Church should bear such a close and striking resemblance to the political Constitution of our country. This may be regarded as an earnest of our beloved national Union. We fondly regard our federal Constitution as the purest specimen of republican government that the world ever saw; and on the same pure principles of republicanism, as its basis, we find established the constitution of this republican church. The two may be supposed to be formed after the same model.”

An inquiry into the matter would shew, by an actual biography of the veterans of the revolution, that a large proportion of them were members of the Presbyterian Church. Without attempting to make such an investigation, we will merely state the following facts which have incidentally fallen into our hands, in reference to South Carolina:

The battles of the “Cowpens,” of “King’s Mountain”—and also the severe skirmish known as “Huck’s Defeat,” are among the most celebrated in this State, as giving a turning point to the contest of the revolution. General Morgan, who commanded at the Cowpens, was a Presbyterian elder, and lived and died in the communion of the church. General Pickens, who made all the arrangements for the battle, was also a Presbyterian elder. And nearly all under their command were Presbyterians. In the battle of King’s Mountain, Colonel Campbell, Colonel James Williams, (who fell in action,) Colonel Cleveland, Colonel Shelby, and Colonel Sevier, were all Presbyterian elders; and the body of their troops were collected from Presbyterian settlements. At Huck’s Defeat, in York, Colonel Bratton and Major Dickson were both elders of the Presbyterian Church. Major Samuel Morrow, who was with Colonel Sumpter, in four engagements, and at King’s Mountain, Blackstock, and other battles, and whose home was in the army, till the termination of hostilities, was for about fifty years, a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church.

These facts we have collected from high authority, and they deserve to be prominently noticed. Here are ten officers of distinction, all bearing rule in the church of Christ, and all bearing arms in defence of our liberties. Braver or better officers cannot be found in the annals of our country—nor braver or better troops. It may also be mentioned in this connection, that Marion, Huger, and other distinguished men of revolutionary memory, were of Huguenot, that is, full blooded Presbyterian, descent.

Joseph Reed, whose memoirs we have placed at the head of this article,—the military secretary of Washington, at Cambridge—Adjutant General of the continental army; member of the Congress of the United States; and President of the Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania—Joseph Reed, in whom more than in any other man, General Washington confided—was the son and grandson of Irish Presbyterians. His grandfather came from Carrickfurgus. His father was one of the trustees of the Third Presbyterian Church, Arch street, Philadelphia. || He was educated at Princeton. "He was firmly attached to the Presbyterian Church, in which he had been educated. In one of his publications, when far advanced in life, he said of it: "When I am convinced of its errors, or ashamed of its character, I may perhaps change it. Till then I shall not blush at a connection with a people, who, in this great controversy, ARE NOT SECOND TO ANY, IN VIGOROUS EXERTIONS AND GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS, AND TO WHOM WE ARE SO EMINENTLY INDEBTED FOR OUR DELIVERANCE FROM THE THRALDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN."**

In his will, General Reed desired, †* "If I am of consequence enough for a funeral sermon, I desire it may be preached by my old friend and instructor, Mr. Duffield, in Arch street the next Sunday after my funeral." "He was buried in the Presbyterian ground, in Arch street, above Fifth, by the side of his wife."*

One of the two chaplains appointed by Congress in 1777, was Mr. George Duffield of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia †—the other being Bishop White.

The venerable and patriotic Mr. Duponceau, of Philadelphia, remarked to a gentleman known to the writer, that he considered George Bryan, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry, the three men of the Revolution. Now Mr. Bryan, who was a member of the stamp-act Congress of 1765—President of Pennsylvania—a Judge of the Supreme Court, and a member of the Council of Censors, and one of the leading ruling members of the new Assembly, ‡ was also a Presbyterian. § To him *principally* attributed by Mr. Graydon, the Constitution of Pennsylvania. ††

|| Mem. of Gen. Reed, vol. 1, p. 36—vol. 2, pp. 23, 133, 197, 481.

**His son and grand-children are members of a Presbyterian congregation in Charleston, S. C.

principally, in conjunction with a Mr. Cannon, a schoolmaster, is

†*Memoirs, vol. 1, p. 26.

*Memoirs of Gen. Reed, vol. 2, p. 172.

†Ibid. vol. 2, p. 420.

‡Ibid. p. 416, where is given the inscription on his tomb.

§See extract from letter of Mrs. Adams, in Updike's Narraganset Church, page 242.

††Memoirs of his own Times, and Reminiscences of Men and Events of the Revolution, by Alexander Graydon—Philadelphia, 1846—p. 285—who was himself brought up very strictly by a Presbyterian grandmother, pp. 20, 21, and 43.

“These,” says Mr. Graydon, constituted the “duumvirate, which had the credit of framing the Constitution, and thence laying, in Pennsylvania, the corner-stone of that edifice which, however retarded in its progress by aristocratical interferences, towers like another Babel, to the skies, and will continue to tower, until finally arrested and dilapidated by an irremediable confusion of tongues—for anarchy ever closes the career of democracy.” For a correct statement of this fact, Mr. Graydon was a most competent witness; and President Adams, therefore, in associating Timothy Matlock, Thomas Young, and Thomas Paine in this work, was doubtless misinformed.*

From this Constitution we make the following extracts, to shew that this Presbyterian Constitution of Pennsylvania was the first in the United States, since the Revolution, which provided for THE COMPLETE AND UNIVERSAL TOLERATION OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS. This constitution was adopted in 1776, (from July 15th to September 28th.) Article II. is as follows: † “That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences and understanding: and that no man ought, or can of right be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to, or against his own free will and consent. Nor can any man, who acknowledges the being of a God, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil rights as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar modes of religious worship: that no authority can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.”

IT THUS APPEARS THAT THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE WAS FIRST FAVORED BY THE PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD, THEN THE HIGHEST BODY IN THAT CHURCH—THAT THE FIRST ACTUAL AND PRACTICAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS MADE BY PRESBYTERIANS IN MECKLENBURGH, N. C.—THAT THE FIRST STATE CONSTITUTION MADE UNDER THAT DECLARATION, PROCLAIMING UNIVERSAL AND COMPLETE TOLERATION OF RELIGIOUS OPINION, WAS FRAMED BY A PRESBYTERIAN, AND IT WILL BE SHOWN BEFORE WE CLOSE THAT THE OVERTHROW OF THE THEN EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION IN VIRGINIA AND SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE COMPLETE DIVORCE OF THE CHURCH AND THE STATE WAS MAINLY OWING TO THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

These observations we have ventured to make in order to give just weight to the claims instituted on behalf of the ancient

*See Cheatham's Life of Paine, pp. 317, 318.—Note.

†See the Constitutions of the several independent States of America. London, 1783—pp. 182, 183.

standards and spirit of the Presbyterian Church, and to shew that when Isaac Taylor calls "Presbyterianism the republican principle,"* he had well considered the nature of a system, of which, doctrinally and ecclesiastically, representation is the fundamental element.† For to use the words of Dryden, while we deny the appropriateness of his epithets :

"As the poisons of the deadliest kind ;
Are to their own unhappy coasts confined,
So PRESBYTERY and its pestilential zeal,
CAN FLOURISH ONLY IN A COMMON WEAL."‡

It is no part of our business to depreciate the patriotic character and claims of Episcopalians before or during the revolutionary struggle, nor to undervalue their services in contributing to the formation of the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent glory of the country. God forbid that we should have either the desire or the design to do so. *Their* fame, and character, and glory, are ours—are the common property of the nation—and he must have a heart dead to all true patriotism, and to all true charity, who can reverence and admire Washington or Patrick Henry the less, because they were members of the Episcopal Church. Unquestionably, there were many great, and wise, and brave men in all parts of the Union, and proportionately more in the Southern States, than any others, who were Episcopalians.

Still, however, and for the reasons stated, the fact is undeniable, that while Presbyterians were *to a man* revolutionists, Episcopalians were *very generally* loyalists. "During the revolutionary war," says Bishop White, "a considerable number of the American people became inclined to the British cause; and of them a great proportion were Episcopalians."§ "During this period," Bishop White further informs us,** "there was no resource for the supply of vacancies, which were continually multiplying, not only from death, but by the retreat of very many of the Episcopal clergy to the mother country, and to the colonies still dependent on her. To add to the evil, many able and worthy ministers, cherishing their allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and entertaining conscientious scruples against the use of the liturgy, under the restrictions of omitting the appointed prayers for him, ceased to officiate. Owing to these circumstances, *the doors of the far greater number of the Episcopal Churches were closed for several years.* In the state in which this work is edited, there was a part of that time in which there was, through its whole extent, but one resident minister of the church in question who records the fact."

*Spiritual Despotism, Sect. iv., p. 177. Eng. ed.

†See Woodgate's Bampton Lectures, p. 20, 349, 352.

‡Dryden's Hind and Panther.

§Memory of Protestant Epis. Church, p. 48.

**Ibid., p. 8 and p. 60.

“Again,” adds Bishop White, “many worthy ministers entertained scruples in regard to the oath of allegiance to the States, without the taking of which, they were prohibited from officiating, by laws alike impolitic and severe.” “There is a remarkable fact in Virginia, countenancing the sentiments delivered. After the fall of the establishment, a considerable proportion of the clergy continued to enjoy the glebes—the law considering them as freeholds during life—without performing a single act of sacred duty, except perhaps that of marriage. They knew that their public ministrations would not have been attended.”†

In the Convention of 1785, a service for the fourth of July was prepared. Of this Bishop White says: “What must further seem not a little extraordinary, the service was principally arranged, and the prayer alluded to was composed by a reverend gentleman, (Dr. Smith,) who had written and acted against the Declaration of Independence, and was unfavorably looked on by the supporters of it, during the whole revolutionary war. The greater stress is laid on this matter, because of the notorious fact, that the majority of the clergy could not have used the service, without subjecting themselves to *ridicule and censure*. For the author’s part, having no hindrance of this sort, he contented himself with having opposed the measure; and kept the day from respect to the requisition of the Convention; but could never hear of its being kept in above two or three places besides Philadelphia.”

Dr. Hawkes also testifies that in Virginia, “The error” of taking part with Great Britain “was not confined to the clergy, a portion of the laity adopted their opinions; it was, however, very small, for the great mass of the population in Virginia was opposed to England; and this rendered the situation of the clergy only the more disagreeable. Nor were all the clergy loyalists; they numbered in their ranks some sturdy republicans, though these formed a minority, including not quite one-third of the whole body.”*

In 1767, Dr. Chandler published “An appeal on behalf of the Church of England in America,” in which he claims for it peculiar privileges and support, because‡ “Episcopacy can never thrive in a republican government,—nor republican principles in an Episcopal church. For the same reasons, in a mixed monarchy, no form of ecclesiastical government can so exactly harmonize with the State, as that of a qualified Episcopacy. And, as they are mutually adapted to each other, so they

†Memoirs of Protestant Episcopal Church, p. 59.

*Protestant Episcopal Church in Va., p. 136, where he enters into an explanation of the reason.

‡This is in our possession, and quoted in Ecclesiastical Republicanism, p. 153, 154.

are mutually introductive of each other." The same argument was urged about the same time, and for the same purpose, by Archbishop Seeker.‡ And it is to this very opinion, then generally entertained, "that Episcopacy itself was unfriendly to the political principles of our republican government," Bishop White attributes the violent prejudices which universally prevailed against it.§ Dr., now Bishop Hawks, admits the same fact. "The effect," he says,|| "of the American revolution upon the church, had been to attach to it no small share of odium, and few cared to enrol themselves among the clergy of a communion, small in numbers, and the object also of popular dislike."**

It is true the Rev. Jacob Douche, an Episcopalian of Philadelphia, was appointed chaplain to the Congress in 1776, and officiated for a short time. But, it is equally true, that Mr. Douche turned traitor to the cause, and wrote a long letter to General Washington, urging him to do the same, and with or without the consent of the people, "to negotiate for America at the head of his army;"—that is, to employ the army, in order forcibly to suppress the spirit of independence.*

In support of the opinion, as to the anti-republican character of the Episcopal Church, the whole weight of *English* authori-

‡See in *Ecl. Repub. ibid.*, p. 154.

§*Mem. of Prot. Epis. Church.* p. 48.

||*Constitutions and Canons of the Prot. Epis. Church.* N. York, 1841.

**President Adams has shewn from facts which fill a long letter, dated Quincy, Dec. 2, 1815, and reprinted in the *N. Y. Evangelist* of Nov. 9, 1843—that Episcopacy was one cause of the Revolution.

*See this letter,—General Washington's letter, enclosing it to Congress, —and the letter of Mr. Hopkinson, (a signer of the Declaration, and brother-in-law of Mr. Douche,) in Graydon's *Memoirs*, p. 428, &c. Mr. Updike, in his *History of the Narraganset Church*, alludes to the fact of Douche's officiating as chaplain, as a striking proof of his declaration, that "EPISCOPALIANS WERE THE LEADING ARCHITECTS OF THE GREAT WORK OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE." (See p. 241,) and gives Adams' letter written on the occasion, (see p. 242-244.) Mr. Updike is *very* careful, however, not to *allude* even to the subsequent conduct of Mr. Douche. And among the list of his *Episcopalian* architects of independence, culled from all quarters of the Union, he is under the painful necessity of introducing Franklin! Thomas Jefferson!!! and John Randolph. But, while eminent names are, and may be found among the *laymen* of that church, who favored and advanced the cause of independence, Mr. Updike does not quote the names of any *clergymen*, except Mr. Douche!!! and Bishop White. In the course of the volume, however, he shews that the few Episcopal churches in Rhode Island were closed during and after the Revolution, *because the ministers* would not act as their *lay* brethren thought patriotism required. See p. 265, 358, &c. Here lies the difference. We have a curious pamphlet published in Charleston, in 1795, (*Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy, &c.*, by a Member of the Protestant Episcopal Association of S. C.,) which combines, with many other facts, to shew that the laity of the Episcopal church then were much opposed to the clergy and to prelacy, because of their anti-republican tendency and bias. Mr. Updike's enthusiasm, however, is so great, that he ventures in the face of all such facts, to allege, that "it is also possible that a majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Episcopalians"—and in demonstrations of his position, he affirms that out of the FIFTY-ONE signers, *eighteen* (of course including Franklin and Jefferson,) were certainly such.—*Q. E. D.*

ties might be produced, during every period up to the present time.†† And hence, in order to revive and re-establish the Episcopal Church in this country after the revolution, it was found necessary to embody in the Constitution of the church, some essential principles of the Presbyterian system, so that Bishop White was openly charged with "a design to set up an Episcopacy on the ground of presbyterial and lay authority."* But, if Presbyterianism had influence enough to commend itself in any measure, as a model or type for the reconstruction of the Episcopal Church, it is easy to conceive that it might exert a silent and indirect influence in shaping to some extent the outline of our civil constitution.

We have heard it urged that the liberal views of Episcopalians in South Carolina and in Virginia, during the period referred to, are evidenced by the fact, that while in both cases they enjoyed the monopoly of a religious establishment, they voluntarily resigned them. Now, while we freely admit that the revolutionary spirit prevailed among the members of the Episcopal Church in the States mentioned to a far greater extent, proportionably, than it did at the North; yet still facts constrain us to believe that in both cases the abandonment of the Establishment was more a matter of NECESSITY than of CHOICE. The truth is, that during the continuance of these establishments, the great proportion of the people in both States were non-Episcopalian. In Virginia, the Dissenters, as they were called, constituted at least two-thirds of the people;‡ and it was only when the Baptists and Presbyterians *required* the abolition of the establishment and the enjoyment of common privileges, as a *necessary* encouragement to their brethren to enlist in the service of the country, that any steps were taken for its removal.‡ To the Presbyterians, Dr. Hawks justly at-

††See Eccl. Republicanism, pp. 108, 127, 152, 172, &c. Mr. Bartlett, in his Memoirs of Bishop Butler, speaking of his plan for introducing the Episcopate into this country, says; (p. 122.) "It is much to be regretted that the deliberations of the government upon this reasonable and important measure, should have terminated without its adoption. It is said to have been the opinion of that distinguished statesman, Mr. Pitt, that had the Church of England been sufficiently established in the United States, it was highly probable that those States would not have been separated from Great Britain." "We can easily believe," adds the Churchman's Monthly Review, "that if this design had been carried into execution, or if the noble undertaking of Berkeley had not been arrested by Walpole, the United States might at this day, have been a well-ordered possession of the British crown."

*See Bishop White's "Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered," which is obviously drawn from the Presbyterian Model; and also his Mem. of the Prot. Epis. Church, p. 82 and 345.

†See Dr. Hawks' Prot. Epis. Church, in Va., p. 140, where he admits that such may have been the case, and offers little argument to disprove it.

‡See Dr. Hawks' Prot. Epis. Ch. in Va., p. 138, and the petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, which sought the complete removal of the establishment, "and gave it a decisive blow," p. 139-140. The Methodists he represents as being generally suspected. See p. 133, 134, 137.

tributes the zeal, talents and energy, with which the subject was publicly discussed, and by which the abolition of the establishment was finally carried. Of this fact, the evidence is given at some length in one of the volumes before us.* The divorce therefore between church and state in this country, was not effected, as has been lately affirmed,† “by the agency of Mr. Jefferson.” The very contrary can be proved. Mr. Jefferson did indeed do much to divorce and drive away *religion* from the state, but “Presbyterians,” says Dr. Laing, “forced upon the state, the doctrine of the entire independence between Christianity and the civil power.” Presbyterians first proclaimed this doctrine on the American shores. Presbyterianism was opposed by Episcopacy, in her efforts to establish this doctrine in Virginia. And the universal establishment of this doctrine throughout the United States, and in the Constitution, was the result of the movement made by Presbyterians.”‡

Nor was the case different in South Carolina. Here too the great body of the people were non-Episcopalians. Episcopalianism was indeed the established religion, but not as has been recently affirmed, “the *predominant* religion.” Presbyterians were among the first settlers in South Carolina. They have been proportionably numerous in all periods of its history, and during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the great majority of emigrants were Presbyterians. In 1704, when there was but *one* Episcopal Church in the *whole province*, then numbering towards six thousand white inhabitants, the dissenters had *three* churches in *Charleston alone*. As early as the year 1690, the Presbyterians, in conjunction with the Independents, formed a church in Charleston, which continued in this united for forty years.

Williamsburgh was settled by a Presbyterian colony from Ireland,§ and multitudes more thronged into this State from that country, at a later period.|| Indeed the great majority of the emigrants, during the latter half of the eighteenth century were Presbyterians,** and a Presbytery existed at *an early period of that century*.†† Great numbers of French Protestants sought an asylum in South Carolina, at different periods,‡‡ who were also Presbyterian. And the adherents of this form of ecclesiastical government were led to continue and uphold it, under every discouragement, not merely because of early education, but because, as Mr. Hewett testifies, they believed it to

*Eccl. Repub., sec. xi. p. 94-103.

†Charleston Courier, Jan. 25th, 1848.

‡Religion and Education in America.

§Hewitt's History of South Carolina, vol. 2, p. 64.

||Ibid. pp. 270, 271.

**Ramsay's History of South Carolina, vol. 2, p. 26.

††Ibid. pp. 25, 26.

‡‡Ibid. p. 38.

be most in accordance with the spirit of civil and religious liberty. § The establishment of the Episcopalian religion in South Carolina was the act of a small minority—there being, in 1698, when it was formed, but one Episcopal Church in the province, out of a white population of between five and six thousand, while non-Episcopalians had three churches in the city, and one in the country. || That establishment was also obtained surreptitiously,—by surprise,—and by a majority, even then, of only *one* vote.** It never expressed the views of the colonists, and was never otherwise regarded than as unjust, tyrannical, and unchristian. Failing to receive justice here, the non-Episcopalians appealed to the British House of Lords. †† “In consequence of their application a vote was passed, ‘that the act complained of was founded on falsity in matter of fact—was repugnant to the laws of England—was contrary to the charter of the proprietors—was an encouragement to atheism and irreligion—was destructive to trade, and tended to the depopulation and ruin of the province.’” The Lords also addressed Queen Anne, beseeching her “to use the most effectual methods to deliver the province from the arbitrary oppression under which it lay, and to order the authors thereof to be prosecuted according to law.” To which her Majesty replied, “that she would do all in her power to relieve her subjects in Carolina, and protect them in their just rights.” It was not, however, until the period of the revolution, that this monopoly of religious privilege was broken up, and Presbyterians and other denominations of Christians were restored to equality of rights, and freed from a taxation which required them to support an established faith, with which, in many things, they could not agree. Nor was this deliverance *then* granted them, but from stern necessity. For they had now an unquestionable majority in the colony, and the physical force necessary for war and defence was theirs. Without union among all parties there was no prospect of success, and therefore after seventy years of exclusive authority, the established church was under the necessity of yielding to a constitution which gave equal laws, equal rights, and full and free toleration to all sects and parties.* Thus it is doubly proved, that to the

§History of South Carolina, vol. 2, p. 53.

||Ramsay's History, vol. 2, p. 2.

**Ibid. p. 3.

††Ibid. vol. 2, pp. 4, 16, 17.

*We have been favored with a copy of a manuscript letter, from which we make the following extracts:

“To Hon. George Bryan, Vice President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at Lancaster—fav'd by the Hon. Ric'd Hutson, Esq., Delegate in Congress—from James Cannon.

“CHARLESTON, S. C., March 14th, 1778.

“Dear Sir,—I was greatly surprised when I arrived here, to find, notwithstanding we were told so confidently by the opposers of our Constitution, that the people of South Carolina had reformed their Constitution, and

efforts of Presbyterians we are indebted for the overthrow of all establishments of religion in this country, and for the complete and final divorce between church and state.

In concluding this article, let us once more say, that in thus asserting and vindicating the patriotism of Presbyterians, and the influence of this denomination in all ages of its history, (and especially since the reformation,)* in defending and diffusing the principles of civil and religious liberty, we neither stigmatize nor detract from the patriotism of other religious denominations.

To the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland must be attributed the glory of having founded a colony and established a constitution upon the principles of toleration and liberty of conscience. To Roger Williams and his Baptist associates, belong still greater glory, for having through so much suffering and endurance, laid the foundations of the colony of Rhode Island in the most unlimited principles of civil and religious liberty. To the Baptists also as we have seen, every honor is due for their patriotic efforts during the Revolution, and especially in Virginia. To William Penn, also, and the Quakers, the

were extremely happy under it, that they had not yet established their Constitution, and had several reasons to fear that it would not pass. It lately passed the Council with great difficulty, as they made a bold effort to continue the choice of their Legislative Council, (now Senate,) in the Assembly, because then Charlestown would have governed the State. However they were obliged to give that up. They then tried two other ways, one by reducing their Legislature to 1-2 of their present number; the other to have the members of their Senate chosen any where in the State. In either of these cases Charlestown must have ruled the State, and they failed here too. * * * * *

"But at the very time that every body expected to have a Constitution in a few hours he called the Council and Assembly into the council chamber, and in a farewell speech, gave the Constitution the negative. This produced great consternation for a day or two, but the Assembly resolved to choose another; made an adjournment for three days, which they were obliged to do before they could bring in any rejected bill, chose a President, and passed the Constitution, and it is expected to have the new President's sanction in a day or two. Several propositions were made by the party opposing the Constitution, to have it set aside, but those for it prevailed, having determined to pass no tax bill, nor do any other business, until the Constitution was established. The church, I mean the church clergy, seem by their sermons very much displeas'd, that their establishment is likely to be abolished. One of them told me that a State could not subsist without an established church. That an establishment was the support of the State, and the State of an establishment—being inseparable. I told him that we had in America two happy instances to the contrary, viz: one where all religions were established, and one where none were established. That these two were the most populous and flourishing on the continent. He made no reply. There is, however, great nervousness on the religious head in the South Carolina Constitution. Your merits in supporting it, and vigorous measures are such as Pennsylvania can never sufficiently reward, and I shall ever be ready to exert every thing in my power, to procure every reward which such merit deserves." * * * *

"P. S.—The President's name is Rawlins Lowndes, who was proclaimed the 11th inst., under the discharge of the artillery both from the troops and forts, and the discharge of small arms."

*On the history of Presbyterianism prior to the Reformation, see Smyth's Presbytery and not Prelacy the Primitive Policy of the Church, B. III, p. 441-542.

same undying gratitude is most justly due. And many a record of glory and many a hero of renown, in the annals of American patriotism, could be doubtless produced to deck the brow of each of these bodies. Let them flourish and abide, green and radiant forever, since patriotism is patriotism wherever it is found, and by whomsoever it is displayed. Let it, however, be borne in mind, that all these parties matured their liberal principles under the influence of that very Puritan teaching we have described, and only sought in this country an opportunity of carrying them into practical operation.* Lord Baltimore was brought up a Protestant and had in him, therefore, the innate seeds of its liberal principles, and naturally sought, as the founder of a colony, to obtain pre-eminence for it by its liberality, as Romanism could not be legally or successfully† established. And when Bancroft lauds him as the first in the Christian world "to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects,"‡ he contradicts himself and contradicts the facts of the case. For as Lord Baltimore's colony was only chartered in 1632, and established in 1634, while Roger Williams arrived in New England in February, 1631, from which time, until 1636, when he established his colony, he was fighting the battles of freedom with his own brethren of the independent persuasion, so of him Mr. Bancroft justly says "he was the first person in modern christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of the liberty of conscience—the equality of opinions before the law"§—"he was a Puritan, * * * and he alone had arrived at the great principle"|| on which "it became his glory to found a State.** The chartered Constitution of Maryland limited its toleration and equal rights to Christians." It was "of all Christian sects it recognized the equal rights," and Christianity by this charter, was made the law of the land."†† This also is the provision of the Constitution of Maryland, adopted in 1776, which even admits of taxation for supporting the Christian religion.‡‡ The toleration of Roger Williams, however, was unlimited.§§

Of William Penn it is also certain that he inherited Puritan feelings, and was personally intimate with the expounders of Puritan liberty,*† and yet even by his Constitution of 1682, Christians alone were eligible to office.**‡‡ Nay, even in his

*See Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., vol. 1, pp. 244, 367, 239, and vol. 2, p. 378.

†See *ibid.* vol. 1, p. 242.

‡*Ibid.* p. 244.

§*Ibid.* pp. 375, 376.

||*Ibid.* p. 367.

***Ibid.* p. 375.

††*Ibid.* pp. 243, 244, 248.

‡‡Const. of the several States, &c. London, 1783, pp. 243, and 244.

§§See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 1, pp. 367, 375, 376.

*†*Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 378.

**‡‡*Ibid.* p. 387.

revised Constitution, of 1701, the assent of the Governor is necessary to any law, and "a profession of faith in Christ," is made necessary for any public employment.*

These apparent exceptions, therefore, only substantiate our claims for Puritanism, and leave all that we have advanced in favor of the liberal and free spirit of Presbyterianism and of its patriotic achievements in America, untouched. Our glory is not sought in the humiliation or depreciation of others.

On the contrary, in speaking of the early Puritan principles and spirit, we have already shewn that it characterized alike all its divisions and burned in all, as a flame of pure and ardent patriotism and liberty. To suppose, therefore, that facts, illustrating the glory of a common ancestry, even though that be in the form of Presbytery, is derogatory to the dignity or honour or patriotism of any branch of the now widely extended family of non-Episcopalian churches, is certainly a most selfish and suicidal policy. And he who would tarnish the lustre thrown around THE RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES AND SPIRIT OF THE REFORMERS AND PURITANS, as the fountain of our constitutional laws and liberties, and attribute these to the mere natural impulses of the human heart, is not more absurd in reasoning than he is profane in spirit.

We may have been somewhat hyperbolic in claiming for the GENERIC SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES of Presbyterianism the founding of empires. But he who will consider its influences in sustaining the Jewish Republic; in preserving the system and independence of the Waldenses; in creating the republic of Geneva; in confederating the republic of Switzerland, and making Geneva "the focus of Protestantism and of practical republicanism;"† in combining the States of Protestant Germany against the threatened extermination of the Emperor and the Pope; in resuscitating the united provinces of the Netherlands, when they threw off the yoke of Philip II., and founded in their morasses a confederation, very nearly resembling that which had been founded on the mountains of Helvetia;** in creating an empire within the despotic and unquestionably Popish France;†† in erecting the Commonwealth of England upon the ruins of civil and religious despotism; in giving origin to that liberty and reform which are still at work in the gradual transformation of the British Constitution; in moulding and fashioning the character of the Scottish people, so as to make them pre-eminent among the nations of the earth; and, not to

*See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 3, p. 42.

†See the Oxford Chronological Tables of History, p. 28.

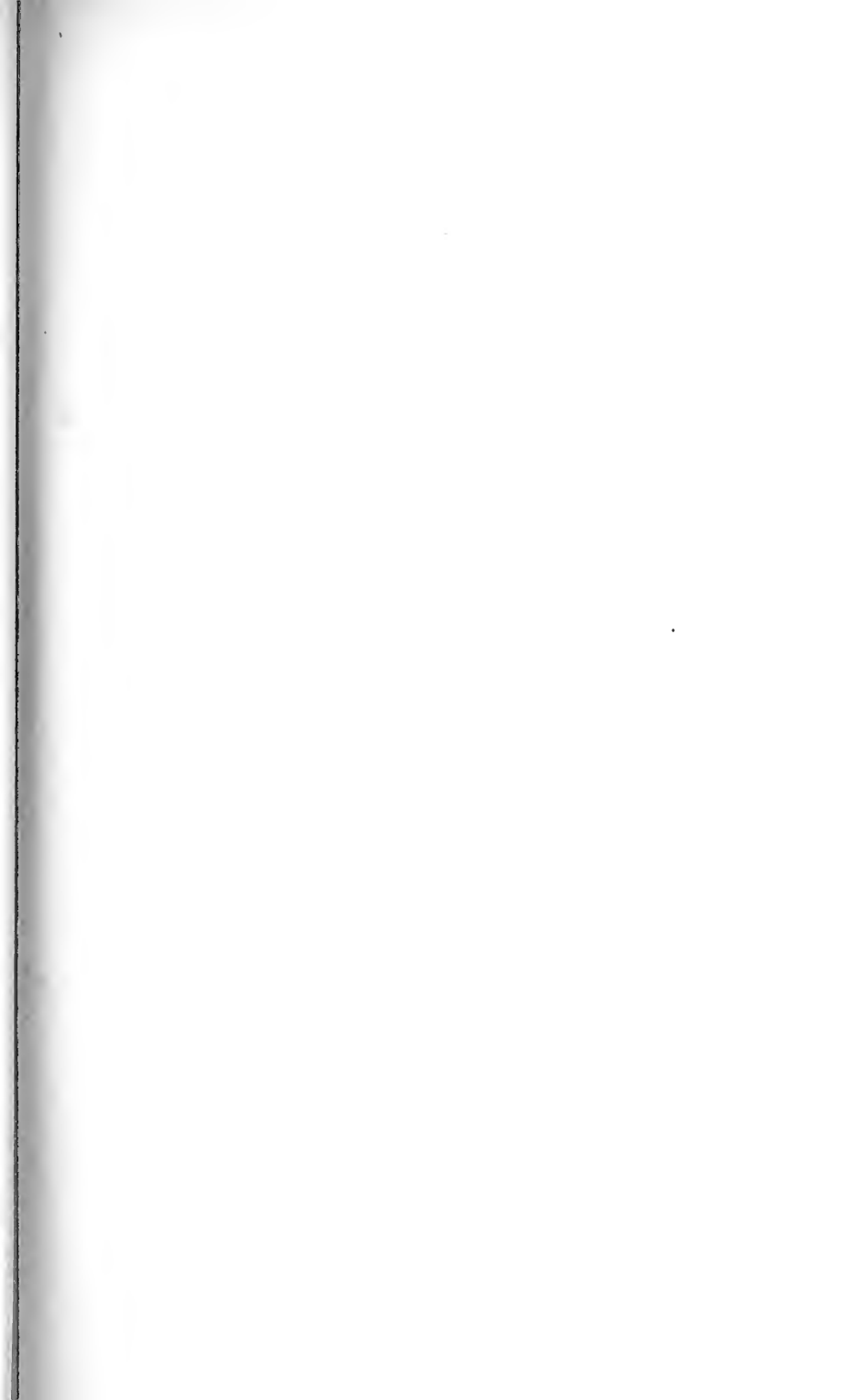
**Viller's Essay on the Reformation, p. 71, 136, &c. Baird's Northern Europe, vol. 1, p. 82-93.

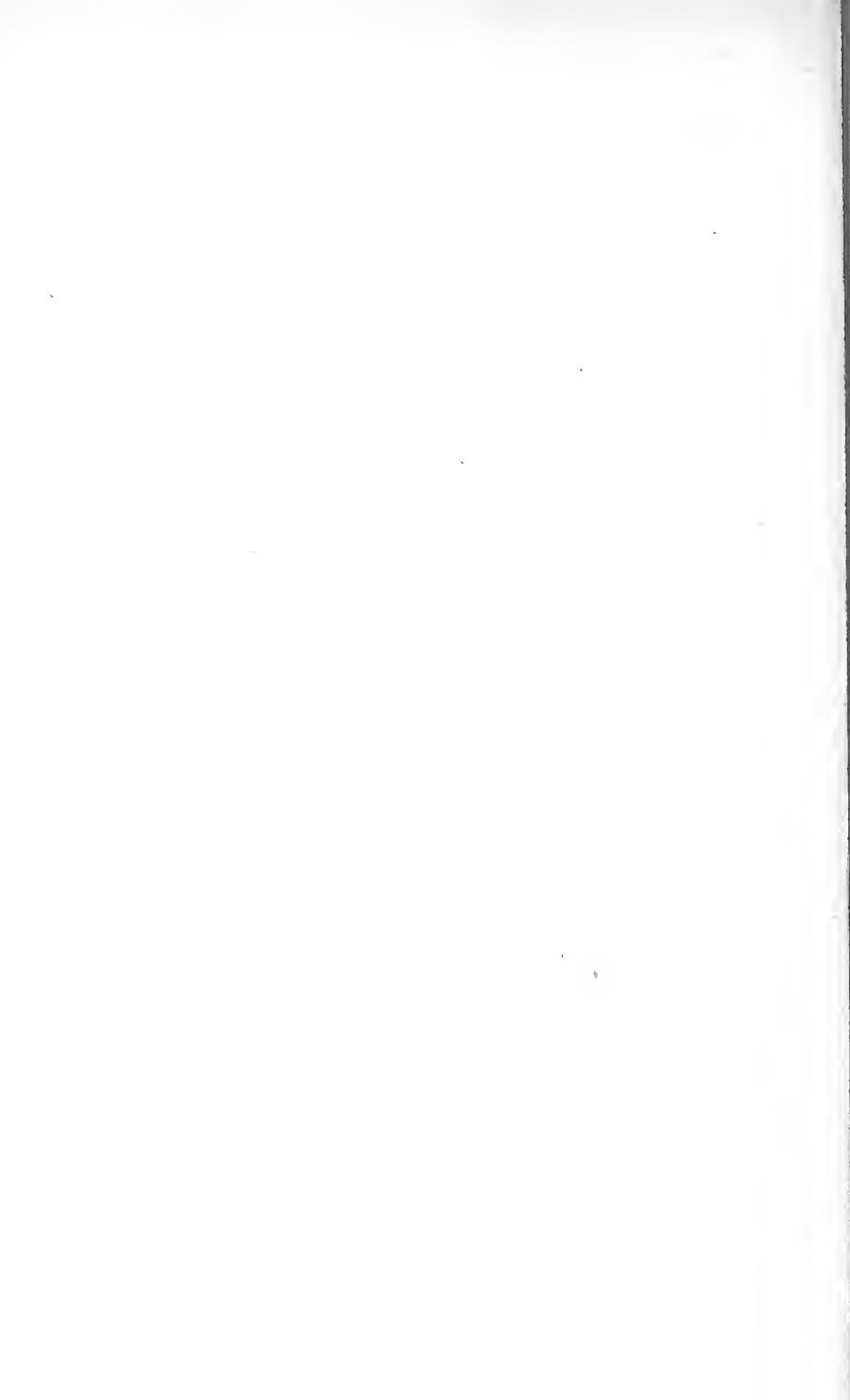
††In fact, in France the Huguenot body soon made pretensions equivalent to a partition of the monarchy. See Villiers' Essay as above.

enlarge,—in giving birth to the spirit of independence in these colonies, inspiring courage to declare it, union to maintain it, and wisdom, in some degree at least, to mould the Constitution of these United States;—when, we say, these facts are contemplated with a searching and unprejudiced eye, our words may well be tolerated as not unwarrantably eulogizing the genius of Presbytery as the genius of civil and religious liberty.‡

‡This was the title selected for a work, for which the late Rev. Dr. Winchester, of Natchez, had made large preparation, when death cut short his labours.







THE EXODUS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND
AND
THE CLAIMS
OF THE
Free Church of Scotland
TO THE
SYMPATHY AND ASSISTANCE
OF
AMERICAN CHRISTIANS.

By THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.,

AUTHOR OF LECTURES ON THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION; PRESBYTERY AND
NOT PRELACY THE SCRIPTURAL AND PRIMITIVE POLITY; ECCLESIASTICAL
REPUBLICANISM; AN ECCLESIASTICAL CATECHISM, ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

Charleston, 6th November, 1843.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

At a meeting of the Committee appointed as the Depository to act as Collectors after the delivery of your Sermon, yesterday evening, "On the Claims of the Free Church of Scotland to the sympathy and assistance of American Christians," it was unanimously resolved to tender to you the thanks of the Committee for the very able, interesting, and eloquent Address delivered by you, on the occasion, and to solicit from you a copy of it for publication: and the undersigned members of the Committee to carry out and publish the proceedings, were charged with the performance of this grateful duty.

Permit us, Rev. and Dear Sir, to submit this Resolution to you, and to beg your compliance with it. We are deeply persuaded that your discourse, if printed, and generally distributed, would do more, much more, to inform the public mind on the subject of it, than any thing that has yet issued from our press, and may do very much to rouse the sympathies of our fellow-citizens throughout the Union, to promote the object to which it is dedicated.

We are, with the highest respect,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your very obedient Servants,

M. KING,

R. B. GILCHRIST,

CHARLES EDMONDSTON,

HENRY BAILEY,

ANDREW MOFFETT.

THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

Charleston, November 8th, 1843.

GENTLEMEN,

As I am induced to believe that the true character of the Free Church of Scotland, and of the principles for which she is now a witness, are not generally understood or properly appreciated, I cannot but comply with your request to publish the discourse I delivered on Sabbath evening last, upon the claims of the Free Church of Scotland to the sympathy and assistance of American Christians. I trust that it may be, in some measure, instrumental in commending that glorious Church to the

hearts of American Christians, and in deepening their attachment to those principles upon which their own civil and religious liberty are based.

With this hope, I remain, Gentlemen,

Most respectfully and truly,

Yours in the Lord,

THOMAS SMYTH.

To the

HON. M. KING,

HON. R. B. GILCHRIST,

CHARLES EDMONDSTON, ESQ.

HENRY BAILEY, ESQ.

ANDREW MOFFETT, ESQ.

At the same meeting of the General Committee, it was unanimously Resolved,

That the Sermon, when published, be circulated under the direction and at the discretion of the sub-Committee; and especially that it be forwarded to Protestant Clergymen, with the request that they bring the subject under the consideration of their respective congregations, and do what may be in their power to aid the cause.

M. KING,

R. B. GILCHRIST,

CHARLES EDMONDSTON,

HENRY BAILEY,

ANDREW MOFFETT.

PREFACE.

While the author was preparing to address his own congregation, upon the claims of the Free Church of Scotland to their sympathy and assistance, he received communications from several gentlemen of other churches, expressing their desire to unite in giving some public manifestation of our cordial approbation of the principles and course of that body of fellow-Christians. It was determined, therefore, to call a meeting of those gentlemen who were friendly to the object, for mutual conference. By a public notice, a meeting of gentlemen who approved of the principles and course of the Free Church of Scotland, was accordingly held in the Depository, on Tuesday evening, 31st October, when it was found that members from seven different churches in the city were present.

On motion, the Hon. MITCHELL KING took the Chair, and HENRY BAILEY, Esq., was appointed Secretary. The Chairman introduced the subject for which the meeting was convened, by a historical review of the character and conduct of the Church of Scotland, so as to make it apparent that the principles contended for by the present Free Church, had always been maintained by that Church, either with the sanction of the State, or in persecution and distress. He was followed by the Attorney General, H. Bailey, Esq., in an exposition of the grounds upon which the Free Church of Scotland claims the sympathy and assistance of American Christians. The meeting was further addressed by Charles Edmondston, Esq., and by the Rev. Dr. Smyth, Dr. Palmer, Dr. Curtis, Mr. Gildersleeve, and others. It was then

Resolved, That the Rev. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D., be requested to deliver a discourse, on the claims of the Free Church of Scotland to the sympathy and assistance of American Christians, on Sabbath evening next, in the Circular Church, which has been kindly granted for the occasion, and that after the discourse a collection be taken up to assist the Free Church in her present exigency, in providing churches for the seven hundred and eighty congregations which have already adhered to her.

The following gentlemen were appointed as Collectors on that occasion,—five of whom, with the Rev. Dr. Smyth, were named as a Committee to carry out and publish the proceedings of the meeting; also, to secure, as far as possible, the co-operation of the pastors of our different churches, in presenting the subject to their respective congregations; and, further, to address a circular to others throughout the State, with a view to secure further contributions.

The Honorable the Mayor, the Hon. Mitchell King, the Hon. R. B. Gilchrist, Charles Edmondston, Esq., Henry Bailey, Esq.,

H. W. Peronneau, Esq., H. A. Desaussure, Esq., Andrew Moffett, Esq., James Adger, Esq., F. H. Elmore, Esq., Dr. M. T. Mendenhall, Samuel J. Wagner, Esq., F. R. Shackelford, Esq., Aaron C. Smith, Esq., William Kirkwood, Esq., G. M. Keils, Esq., Donald Mackintosh, Esq.

These collectors, who all cheerfully consented to act, are members of *ten* different churches in this city, and of seven denominations. While, therefore, the cause which brought together the very large and respectable audience who listened to this discourse, was glorious, the assembly was itself one of the most interesting ever witnessed. It was a living exemplification of the unity of Protestants in the great fundamental truths of Christianity. Here, on the common basis of great and essential principles, the members of ten different churches could harmoniously meet, rejoice, and co-operate. One heart and one mind seemed to pervade every bosom, while with earnest prayer, devout thanksgiving and tender sympathy, they listened to the wrongs, the sufferings, and the triumphant progress of the Free Church of Scotland. It was thus shown, that this great event,—the establishment of that church,—is designed by God to break down the walls of sectarian jealousy and estrangement, and to concentrate the strength of Protestant Christendom in opposition to the “powers of darkness,” and in furtherance of the cause of truth and righteousness. CO-OPERATION, THOUGH NOT INCORPORATION; UNITY WITHOUT UNIFORMITY; VARIETY WITHOUT VARIANCE; ARE NOW FOUND TO BE BOTH POSSIBLE AND PRACTICABLE. The foundation of the Free Church of Scotland, and its utter renunciation of all the bigoted and exclusive views which prevented free intercourse and communion among all true-hearted Christians of every name, we regard as the first link in that golden chain which is to bind together in one body all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, “till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.”

In the following discourse, it was designed to give a comprehensive view of the principles for which the Free Church of Scotland has contended, and the grounds upon which she may reasonably expect the cordial assistance of Christians in America. Every available source of information has been sought and freely used. A faithful digest of such information,—not originality,—is what has been aimed at. The discourse is sent forth to the public to extend knowledge, awaken sympathy, and call forth liberality. If it shall, in any measure, accomplish these ends, it will have fulfilled its mission, and the author secured his reward.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 8, 1843.

CLAIMS

OF THE

FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

2 COR. VIII. 1-4.

“Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God bestowed on the churches of Macedonia; how that in great trial of affliction the abundance of their joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality. For to *their* power, I bear record, yea, and beyond *their* power, *they were* willing of themselves; praying us with much entreaty, that we would receive the gift, and *take upon us* the fellowship of the ministering to the saints.”

The substance of this passage of Scripture is this. The churches planted by the apostles in Macedonia, at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and other places, had been led, by the influence of God's grace, to raise a most liberal and generous contribution for the poor saints in Judea, who had been called to suffer bitter persecution. This generosity on the part of these churches was the greater, because they were themselves the victims of persecution, and in circumstances of poverty. But so great was their love to Christ and to their Christian brethren, that, indigent as they were, they had done wonders for the relief of their yet poorer brethren. Not only were they willing to assist them when urgently solicited; they were willing of themselves, without any solicitation, to render them the most generous assistance, giving not only according to their ability, but even beyond what, on any usual principles of calculation, could have been regarded as within their power. Nay, further, having prepared their contribution, they entreated the apostles with much importunity, that they would receive the gift and convey it to their needy and suffering brethren. Such is Christianity, and the working of Christian principle, upon the otherwise cold and selfish heart of man. Behold here a picture of primitive piety, a living exemplification of the spirit and power of the gospel. The church of God was then found to be what it is represented in Scripture, one body. Unity and sympathy were characteristic of all its parts. If one member of the body suffered, the others sympathized with it; if one prospered, all rejoiced. Christians lived and prayed and laboured, not for their own local interests, but for the advancement of the common cause, and were, therefore, ready to communicate and willing to distribute, in order to relieve the necessities of the saints.

We are thus taught that it is no new thing for the Christians of one land to make an appeal to the Christians of other lands, and to receive their willing assistance in a season of pressing necessity. Such sympathy is as old as Christianity itself, and one of those blessed fruits which grow upon this tree of life. The apostle, therefore, under the guidance of inspiration, has recorded this exercise of charity for our example; commended it to our imitation; and made it a constant memento and guide in all periods of the church. What was true in principle of the church then, is true now; and what was duty then, is duty now. Christ, having purchased redemption for mankind, has built his church upon this common foundation. He has thus taught us, that as mankind are one family in Christ, so is his church the great representative of our ransomed race, and intrusted, for the general benefit of all, with the manifold blessings of salvation. And that church or people, therefore, that settles down upon the basis of a selfish or sectional charity, or monopolizes to itself the gifts and graces of the Spirit and the privileges of the church, is not a witness for the truth as it is in Jesus, but is a witness for schism, disunion, bigotry, and uncharitableness, which are all contrary to the will of God, to the prayer of Christ, to the spirit and requirements of the gospel, and to that one great atonement on which Christ founded his church and kingdom. Therefore, my beloved brethren, whom I now address, as ye would abound in every thing,—in faith and utterance and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in love to Christ—see that ye abound also in this grace of Christian liberality.

And most assuredly since the day in which the apostle commended to his Macedonian friends the claims of their brethren in Judea, a more worthy opportunity has not been afforded for the exercise of this grace of liberality, than in the appeal now made to the Christians of America on behalf of the Free Protestant Church of Scotland, and which it is my privilege to bring before you.

You are all aware that in May last, a very large body of ministers and elders separated from the Established Church of Scotland,* gave up their churches, benefices, salaries, and

*It will be borne in mind, that Scotland and England, having been separate kingdoms at the time of the Reformation, a difference of circumstances in the two countries, led to a difference of views on the subject of religion, and at last to different establishments, so that when these kingdoms were united in 1707, they agreed that Episcopacy should continue to be the established religion in England, while Presbyterianism should be the only established religion in Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church enjoy in Scotland all the rights and privileges for which she had contended. A Presbyterian minister was planted in every parish. A house was assigned for this minister to live in; and then, to purchase books and furniture and fuel, and other necessities, a salary from a portion of the ancient tithes was superadded. The people of the parish were on these accounts entitled to the services of the minister, could claim their seat in

preferments, and depending altogether upon the blessing of God, the assistance of the people who might adhere to them, and, in their present emergency, upon the liberality of Christians in other lands, have constituted themselves into the Free Protestant Church of Scotland. Up to July last, the number of ministers who have thus separated was as follows:

The number who signed the act of separation in May.....	386
The number who signed the supplementary deed.....	25
Additional adherents before the Assembly arose.....	48
Additional adherents since the rising of the Assembly.....	10
<hr/>	
Total number of ministers.....	469

A memorial was also presented to the Assembly of the Free Church from nearly two hundred probationers, that is, young ministers who had not yet been settled over any church, expressing their entire concurrence in those high and holy principles, in vindication of which their fathers had deemed it their solemn duty to renounce connexion with the established church of the land. It was further stated to the Assembly, that ninety-three of the theological students at the Edinburgh Hall, a majority of those at St. Andrew's, four fifths of those in Glasgow, and a majority of those in Aberdeen, had declared themselves in favour of the Protestant Church, and that a similar spirit was manifesting itself in the lower classes of students at these several universities.† Nor have these ministers and students gone out alone. They have been accompanied, if not rather preceded, by a proportionable number of the ruling elders, and by about one million of the people of Scotland.‡ Nay, many,

the parish church, and enjoy, rich and poor alike, the ordinances of religion. Each parish also chose its own elders, and they, along with such of the landed proprietors as were members of the church, chose the minister.

†Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh, 1843, p. 247 and p. 32, 33. To this work we are mainly indebted.

‡An Irish minister, who has lately spent some weeks in Scotland, says, (we quote from the Banner of Ulster):

Before concluding this article, and this part of my subject, I wish to say a very few words about the *Free Church people* generally. I intend only to make a few observations about the great body of the people,—the laity,—in connexion with the Free Church in this place. I may say, speaking of them as a body, that they are worthy of their ministers. They comprise all the true worth of the nation. There has been throughout Scotland a regular sifting and winnowing of the several congregations; and from all I saw and heard during my six weeks' stay in Scotland, and from all that I knew of the people previously, having been in all the cities and in most of the large towns and counties of Scotland, I have no hesitation in saying that, with very few exceptions, *all the truly religious people of Scotland are to be found in the Free Church.*

I cannot conclude this letter better than by quoting the words of Sir George Sinclair, who was a bitter enemy of the Non-intrusionists previous to the disruption, and is no great friend to them yet; but truth has exorted from him the following testimony to the character of the adherents of the Free Church. In speaking of his own parish, he says,—“I cannot

many even of the teachers of schools, and these among the ablest in Scotland, have devoted themselves to the same glorious cause, and are prepared to make the same sacrifices made by the clergy and the young candidates for ministerial office. It was on the eighteenth of May last this greatest of modern events took place, and the cheers that broke from the dense throng that crowded St. Andrew's Church, and from the vast multitudes that waited for their retiring brethren at the door of the Assembly, and who crowded every accessible place,—the streets, windows, staircases, house-tops, along their route to the Hall at Tanfield, Canon-mills, which had been prepared for their reception, and the more than 3,000 persons that awaited them in the Hall,—assured them that “as it was the nation's battle they had fought, so the nation's heart was with them.” The thousands that were seen for two days previous, pouring into the city of Edinburgh, where the Assembly was to meet; the enthusiasm of these uncounted multitudes; their shouts, their tears, their strong crying and prayers, their loud-bursting acclamations, by which they gave vent to the deep emotions of their souls; all proclaimed that an event was taking place of wide-spread and universal interest. Like an electric shock did the tidings of that day's proceedings spread through the length and breadth of the land, enkindling a flame of devotion in every heart, that will long continue to burn. Never, perhaps, has an event so engrossed the universal mind and heart of Scotland. It has become a national question, the theme of universal discussion, the watchword of parties, the topic of family and social converse, and the high theme of sacred discourse. Nor has this interest been confined to Scotland. It has diffused itself through England, Ireland, the Continent, Europe, America, and the whole civilized globe. It has been published in all languages, so that there is no speech where its voice is not heard. It has penetrated the walls of palaces; aroused the attention of potentates; stirred the hearts of legislators; alarmed the death-like silence of inquisitorial conclaves; given faith even to infidels; and cast a mountain into the waters of human society, whose surging billows will never cease to roll, until the angel, having the last trump, shall plant his footsteps on the sea, and

contemplate, without some great heaviness and continual sorrow at heart, the deserted seat in which the gray-headed elders were wont to meet, and the *empty benches* so recently occupied by matrons and patriarchs, lowly (it may be) in station, but *pre-eminently adorning the Gospel, by the piety and consistency of their life and conversation.* The case will be, I believe, *precisely similar in almost every parish throughout the country.* ‘Arise, let us go hence,’ has been the all but universal exclamation, in regard to the Establishment, of thousands of her most devoted adherents, who, a few months ago, would not have counted their lives dear unto them, had they been called upon not to be bound merely, but to die, in defence of their rights and liberties.”

proclaim that time shall be no longer. The issues of this event shall spread to every land, and bless the nations of the earth.

Among these champions for the truth, who now constitute the Free Church, are found the master-minds of Scotland,—its science, literature, and theology.* “A very slight acquaintance,” it has been said, “with the progress of religion, of letters, of science and of society itself in Scotland, for the last fifty years, must convince every one, that the first men of that nation, in every department of knowledge, of effort, and of excellence, have directed this movement. A list of nearly two hundred names, of which the first (after the moderator’s) is Thomas Chalmers, and the last David Brewster, and the rest worthy of such an association, is a thing for a world, rather than a single city,—a century, rather than a single hour, to exhibit. Of that list of names, the larger part are known to Europe; very many, to civilized man; and not a few will live for ever. If any cause was ever ruined by human testimony, that upheld by the *moderate* party and the English government is undone. If any cause was ever sanctified by human approbation, the name of THE FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND is already become immortal.”†

Such is that event which has called us together. Such the character of that body whose claims to our sympathy and *temporary* relief, I now advocate. Like Israel of old, they have made their exodus from the land of Egypt, and from the hard task-masters who grievously oppressed them. They are now in the wilderness. Houses of worship are to be built for some seven or eight hundred congregations. As many ministers are to be supported. Colleges, theological seminaries, and libraries, are to be founded. All this is to be, in some good measure, effected at once. Hence, the demand made upon us. It is not for any permanent support. It is not for any thing like a re-establishment of the church. It is not to supersede the strenuous efforts of the people of Scotland themselves, cast off as they are by the rich, the noble, and the mighty of the land. No, it is to extend to them a helping hand in their present emergencies; it is to assist them in laying the foundation of their glorious superstructure; it is to cheer them forward in their herculean effort of self-denying charity by some manifestation of our cordial and heart-felt approbation; it is to extend to them some rills of charity, which, rising to heaven as an in-

*Before dropping the ministers whose Christian principles are known by the sacrifices they have made, I need scarce say what almost every body knows, that among them are to be found the talent, the learning, the piety, and zeal, which have, for many years, characterized and distinguished the Church of Scotland. But while they are the best scholars, the best speakers, the best preachers, the most zealous and devoted ministers, they are in private life the most accomplished and amiable men.—*The Banner of Ulster*.

†Dr. Breckinridge’s “Spirit of 19th Century,” p. 425.

cense of pure offering to God, may be again distilled upon us in the copious showers of heaven's fertilizing grace.

Give me, therefore, your attention; while I endeavor, in the first place, to explain to you the principles upon which the Free Church of Scotland is based, and for which it is contending, and the consequent necessity for its separation from the Establishment. The magnitude of these principles, their direct bearing on the mediatorial crown of our exalted Redeemer, and their intimate connexion with the purity of the gospel, the force of its truth, and the saving of lost souls; this is what covers with such a halo of glory this wonderful event. These principles may be reduced to four,—*first*, the sole right of Christ to reign and legislate in his own house, the church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood;—*secondly*, the supremacy of His word as the only rule of ecclesiastical affairs;—*thirdly*, the exclusive jurisdiction of the officers of the church in the government of its spiritual concerns;—and, *fourthly*, the rights and privileges of the Christian people,—their right to be regarded as members of the Christian commonwealth,—their right to participate in the administration of its affairs, through their delegates,—and their right to the choice of their own pastors, who should be over them in the Lord.

By the *first* principle, it is taught that the Lord Jesus Christ is the alone King and Head of his church; that the church must have power from its divine Head to do all for which it is designed, and so far as government is necessary to accomplish this, an inherent power of self-regulation and direction; that this power is inalienable, and cannot be surrendered, without dethroning Christ, and reducing his kingdom to a state of slavery under the tyrannic despotism of man; and that within the sacred precincts of Christ's house and kingdom, no civil governor has any right to enter. In short, by this principle it is maintained, that the church is divine and not human in its origin; spiritual and not worldly in its objects, laws and penalties; and that it has exclusive reference to the destinies of eternity in all its arrangements. It is, therefore, above reason, above human law, above human interference. It is "not of this world" in its supreme Head, in its immutable laws, in its unchangeable ordinances, and in its glorious issues. The church is independent of the state, and as far removed from its jurisdiction, as is the state from the jurisdiction of the church. Both are ordained by God: the one for man's present welfare, and to be administered by man's wisdom; the other for man's everlasting happiness, and to be administered by the wisdom of God.

By the *second* principle, the eternal law and everlasting gospel of God are made the foundation of Christ's throne, as Head over all things to his church. The Scriptures form the

written constitution of the church, her magna charta, her supreme arbiter and judge, and the only infallible rule of faith, order, and practice. To these alone is the church amenable in her spiritual, that is, her true character; by these alone is she to be guided; and to their voice alone can she render implicit and final subjection. Their will is law; their determination, duty and their requirement, whether to do or to bear, to act or to suffer, destiny. The supremacy of this law of God we are to maintain against all claimants; its authority, against all power of man; its obligation, against all the statutes of human legislation; its perfection, against all the devices of earthly wisdom; and its prerogatives, at every cost of suffering, imprisonment, poverty, torture and death. In the language of one of Scotland's poets,—her second Burns,*—and in equal application to our own country, we would say,

"I thank thee, Father; who hast spread
Before men's eyes this charter of the free,
That all thy book might read,
And justice love, and truth and liberty.
Above all kingly power or kingly law.
May Scotland reverence aye, the Bible of the Ha."

By the *third* principle, we are required to contend, not only for the supremacy of Christ's crown and authority, and for the supremacy of Christ's laws, but also for the supremacy of Christ's appointed officers. All power being His, and he being ever living and present with his church, they only can exercise authority in his kingdom, to whom he has delegated official trusts. Just as surely as Christ is our legislator and judge, and his laws our only charter, can they be interpreted and administered only by his own appointed officers. Just as certainly as we are to uphold the supremacy of his crown and of his law, are we also to maintain the supremacy of his own elected agents. The privilege of Christian ministers and officers in the church is, therefore, to be maintained as tenaciously, as resolutely, and as dearly, as the privilege of magistrates and legislators in the state. And we are no more to allow the dictation or interference of the civil power in the affairs of the church, and in the discharge of ecclesiastical functions, than we are to tolerate a priestly domination over the affairs of the state. Each or to be upheld in their independent sovereignty, the state having absolute control over all persons in their civil relations, and the church having absolute jurisdiction over all who voluntarily submit themselves to its discipline, in their spiritual relations.

By the *fourth* principle, the inalienable liberties of the Christian people, as Christ's spiritual freemen, are asserted and main-

*Robert Nicoll, who died in his 24th year in 1837. See his Poems: Second edition: Edinburgh: 1842. With a very interesting memoir.

tained against all spiritual despotism on the one hand, and all civil encroachments on the other. The standing of the Christian people, to the extent already described, is a truth of God, a gift of Christ, a part and parcel of the common law of Christianity. "It is found to be coeval with the introduction of the gospel into Britain; is wrought into the history of the Scottish nation and the texture of the Scottish church. It was a legacy from the apostolic Culdees, and which they bequeathed to us at the cost of many sufferings. It was a stronghold of our mighty reformers, which neither to sovereign or peer they ever would surrender, and it even formed a distinguished part of their protest against Antichrist." It was, in fact, with the godly of other days an article of faith, for which they contended earnestly; and that spiritual birth-right, for whose glorious freedom they stood fast even unto martyrdom.

Such, then, are the principles for which the Free Church of Scotland is now a witness. They evidently embrace whatever of dignity, privilege and glory, Christ has conferred upon his church. They are essential to her existence, perpetuity, and strength. To establish them, Christ, through God, was manifested in the flesh;—to bear witness to them, Christ suffered to the death, and sealed them with his blood.* Having, by his satisfaction to divine justice for the sins of men, purchased for us this kingdom, and having ascended up on high, Christ gave these gifts unto his people, engaging to be with them in their support and defence, even unto the end of the world. These principles are laid down in the word of God, are as ancient as Christianity, and common to all churches formed upon the model given to us in the Bible. No church of Christ, therefore, has any liberty to alter, compromise, or amend them. They are fundamental laws. Without them the church is enslaved under the yoke of Erastian or priestly tyranny;—with them she is free to serve the Lord alone. The maintenance or prostration of these principles is not, therefore, a Scottish question, but one interesting to all Christians, "a question of eternal truth."

Now, in order to carry out and fully to maintain these principles, it was unavoidably necessary for every true-hearted member of the Established Church of Scotland to come out from the midst of her and to be separate. This necessity was just as imperative as that which actuated their fathers in the days of Knox or in the days of Henderson. In the former period, that is, in her first reformation, the Church of Scotland contended for these principles against the infallibility of popes. In the second period, or as it is well defined, the second reformation, she contended for them against the infallibility of kings. And now, in this third reformation, the Church of Scotland is

*John xviii. 38, 58, 27. Luke xxiii. 3. John xix. 12, 13, 19.

seen contending for these same principles, against the assumed infallibility of the judges of the land, aided and abetted by that body of Erastian moderatism within the church itself which has controlled its movements for a century past. This system of moderatism, says Hetherington, the historian of the Scottish Church, had its origin in the combination which early took place between the indulged ministers and the prelatial incumbents who were introduced into the church by the comprehension scheme of King William. The perfidious act of 1712, reimposing patronage, gave this party growth, and fostered it into strength. Early in its progress it showed itself favorable to unsoundness of doctrine and laxity of discipline, and strongly opposed to the rights and privileges of the Christian people. Heresy was more than tolerated; the doctrines of grace and evangelical truth were condemned, legal preaching was encouraged, and a cold and spiritless morality was substituted instead of the warm life of the gospel. Increasing in power it gave more open and vigorous exercise to its malignant nature, by violating the constitutional principles of the Presbyterian Church, perpetrating intrusive and violent settlements,* repressing the remonstrance of faithful ministers, driving them out of the church, protecting its own heterodox and immoral adherents, courting patrons and politicians, insulting and deeply grieving the religious part of the community, and causing them even more in sorrow than in anger, to abandon the beloved national church of their martyred fathers. Arrived at maturity, it boldly declared its principles to be entirely worldly, and its whole policy to be founded on the maxims of secular society, (directly contrary to the distinct declarations of the Lord Jesus Christ and his inspired apostles.) With difficulty was it restrained from abandoning the subscription of the confession of faith, (though even worldly policy could perceive the danger of a deed so glaringly unconstitutional.) Advancing towards the stage of rigidity which is symptomatic of decline, it prohibited the missionary enterprise, and thereby declared to the world that it had so little of a Christian spirit as not to feel itself bound to obey the Saviour's farewell injunction. Having refused to aid in propagating the gospel abroad, it next exerted itself in checking the extension of Christian instruction at home, by the obstructions and difficulties with which it opposed the erection of new churches. And, by the act of 1799, it declared against Christian communion with other churches, however sound in their doctrine and faithful in their ministry.

*Unscrupulous hirelings were in many cases forced upon an unwilling people at the point of the bayonet and by the aid of an armed force, when not a single individual or but very few persons could be found in a parish who would attend their ministry. See Hetherington's or any other history of the Church of Scotland.

Such did Moderatism prove itself to be, when it reached its full development as a system, worldly, despotic, unconstitutional, unpresbyterian, unchristian, and spiritually dead,—the utter negation of every thing free, pure, lofty, and hallowed,—if, indeed, it ought not rather to be said that its essence was antipathy to every thing holy, scriptural, and divine.*

Now, against the despotism of this party within the church an unceasing, but ineffectual struggle has been made for more than a century. In 1834 the evangelical party gained an ascendancy in the councils of the church. It immediately passed an act protecting the people against the intrusion of ministers, called the veto act; † entered upon the vigorous prosecution of schemes for the education of the people, for the extension of the church, for the conversion of the Jews, and for the propagation of Christianity in foreign lands; ‡ repealed the act which prohibited free communion with other churches, and opened its arms to receive as brethren all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.

An arrest, however, was soon laid upon these movements. The moderate party, foiled and beaten within the church, had recourse to the strong arm of power. The civil courts were called upon to interfere and to crush this spirit of liberty and of spiritual independence. Nor were they found unwilling. Step by step have they advanced in their career of legislation, until at length there is absolutely not one proceeding, however exclusively ecclesiastical in its character, in which the civil court is not asked to interpose. It has entered the province of the church, and interfered with the proceedings of all its courts, from that of a church session, up to the General Assembly. It has asserted a supremacy in spiritual matters, interdicting church censures, and preventing the execution of sentences of excommunication, suspension and deprivation. It has removed sentences of deposition, interfered with the majority of a pres-

*Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland.

†Doubts were entertained by some at the time of the passage of this act whether it might not be held that it was beyond the powers of the church to pass such an act; but the opinions of the legal advisers of the crown, and of the lord advocate and solicitor general, removed these doubts, assuring the supporters of the veto act that it was perfectly competent for the church to pass an act so manifestly consistent with her legally recognized constitution. Lord Chancellor Brougham also gave it his decided approbation, as in every respect more desirable than any course that could have been taken. To charge the church with rashness, disregard of law, and innovation, is therefore to set matter of fact, truth, and reason at defiance. Such, also, was the view taken of it by the attorney general of England. Lord Moncrieff, who moved the adoption of this law, is also one of the Lords of Session.—See *Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 732. See Appendix I. No. 1, where this act will be found with some further remarks.

‡All the foreign missionaries of the establishment have declared their adherence to the Free Church. It is stated that not a single missionary remains in connexion with the establishment. Distinct letters have been received from all the missionaries except those at Madras.

bytery in the exercise of purely ecclesiastical functions, and substituted the minority in their room. It has even forbidden numerous ministers and elders, in good and regular standing, to sit or rule in any of the ecclesiastical judicatories of the church. Nay, it has dared to interfere with and to interdict the preaching of the gospel and the administration of ordinances within certain bounds, in express contradiction to the authority and injunctions of the church. By these and other acts, enforced by civil coercion, fines and imprisonment, every one of the principles we have illustrated were overthrown, and the church converted into a mere creature of the state, utterly despoiled of any spiritual character or rights. And when these proceedings on the part of the lower courts had been sustained by the higher courts, by the English judges, and by the parliament itself, and were thus made the acknowledged and necessary conditions upon which any man could remain in the Establishment or enjoy its benefits, the members of the evangelical party, who are now the Free Church, felt constrained to protest against them and to depart. They could not, without committing what they believed to be sin, in opposition to God's law, in disregard to the honor and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of their own solemn vows, comply with these conditions, and they could not therefore, in conscience, continue connected with, and retain the benefits of, the Establishment to which such conditions are attached.* They could not have gone out sooner, because as guardians of the rights and liberties of the people it was their duty to remain, as long as they were permitted to do so without submitting to unlawful and unchristian imposition. And they were compelled to go out when they did, because they were then required to submit to the conditions aforesaid, which are contrary to, and subversive of, the settlement of church government effected at the revolution, and solemnly guaranteed to the church of Scotland by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union; which are also at variance with God's word; in opposition to the doctrines and fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland; inconsistent with the freedom essential to the right constitution of any church of Christ; and incompatible with the government which He, as the head of his church, has therein appointed distinct from the civil magistrate.

Had these men remained, the very fact of their continuing to draw their salaries after the declarations and decisions made by the state, would have committed them as honest men, in a solemn promise to the state that they would no longer condemn or oppose its measures, and that they now acquiesced in the principles established by law. So that any protest entered into by

*See their protest.

the evangelical party while thus remaining, would have been base, hypocritical, and dishonest. They therefore acted as honest, upright, consistent, and Christian men should act. They have hoped all things and endured all things for a century past. But they have been at length driven to the wall, and required either to authenticate as true what they believed to be false, or to retire. The powers that be, had determined that the church should be subject to the control of the civil power, not only in things civil, but in things sacred also; that the officers of the church should have no jurisdiction and its members no rights, but what the courts of law might be pleased to allow them; and that the abominable law of patronage should be rigorously enforced. How far the courts have carried this matter will be apparent from the single case of the united parishes of Marnoch and Strathbogie. Seven ministers who had been deposed from their office, and who were therefore no longer ministers in the church, proceeded under the sanction of the court on January 21st, 1841, to ordain over these parishes, a man named Edwards, (let his name go down to perpetual infamy!) who could procure in the whole parish no other signature to a call, than that of Peter Taylor the tavern-keeper. When asked by what authority they came there, these deposed ministers answered, that they were the presbytery of Strathbogie, and assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. All the parishioners having entered their protest against the tyrannous proceedings, Mr. Edwards then solemnly declared before high heaven that zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and a desire of saving souls, were the great motives which led him to enter into the office of the sacred ministry.* The dreadful vow was uttered. The horrid farce was enacted by the aid of policemen and excommunicated ministers, and Edwards departed from the place amidst the hisses of the people—"a minister without a parishioner—a man without a friend."

In March of the same year, the presbytery of Auchterardy, for not degrading themselves to the same guilty course, were fined in the amount of £16,000, to be divided between the court, the ministers, and Lord Kinnoull, the patron.

Now as the State *would* not, and the Free Church party *could* not, yield these points, they were under the necessity of peacefully withdrawing from all alliance with the state, or with the moderate party in the church, and to become what they now are, a voluntary church.

This leads me to state briefly the grounds upon which an appeal may be properly made to American Christians, on behalf of the Free Church of Scotland.

*Such is the answer required from every candidate for ordination in the Church of Scotland.

And is there not, in the outset, something in the very name by which she is called, that should give a favorable hearing to her claims? SHE IS THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. And is not the name a just representation of the principles for which she is contending? The independence of the church upon the state,—the voluntary support of the cause of Christianity, the spirituality of the church, of her courts, of her ministers, and of her officers,—and the rights, immunities, and privileges of the Christian people,—these are the watchwords by which she now feels her way to every heart animated by the spirit of freedom. This glorious liberty of the children of God, the state never gave, and can never take away. It is the inalienable birthright of Christ's free church. It was maintained by our Scottish forefathers in circumstances of controversy, and of cruel persecution, for a whole century. And when Andrew Gordon and Thomas Chalmers lifted on high the banner of covenanted truth, the people of Scotland again rallied round it. Voices came forth from every corner of the land to cheer them forward. Hearts and purses were opened, and one million of people, besides the hundreds of thousands who had previously left the Establishment, to enjoy in freedom the blessings of her original constitution, have enrolled themselves in the ranks of THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. The spirit of better times is again awake. The courage that resisted Laud and Lauderdale, James and Charles, again lives. Persecution, as has been said, has again mustered another covenanted and Puritan host. The spirit of young liberty is again enkindling the hearts of the people. "God and my right" is their watchword; and conscience, truth, and justice have triumphed. Independent of all extrinsic influence, superior to all political manœuvre, redeemed from all dependence on perfidious bills and wily statesmen, and delivered from all internal foes and domestic broils, God's people are free. And shall they make a vain appeal to us, from whom they have learned such lessons of freedom and independence, when they ask us, not to enter into their struggles which are past, not to encourage them in resistance to the state,* with which they have now nothing to do as Christians, but to lend them a temporary assistance, until such time as they can gather strength and resources, sufficient to meet the demands that are constantly made upon them? It cannot be.

"The greatest glory of a free born people
Is to defend that freedom when assailed,
And to diffuse its blessings round the earth."

But we are further called upon to render this assistance, by a sense of gratitude for blessings received from Scotland, and

*It was the wish of the Free Church to obey the law of the land which led them to leave the Establishment, because they could not submit to its terms, and because, when out of the establishment, they may hope to be required to do nothing contrary to their consciences.

from the predecessors of these very individuals who now ask our aid, men who cherished their sentiments and maintained the same noble struggles. Who can compute the amount of obligation under which America lies to Scotland? To her we are indebted for the first example of a reformation,—that is, a religious revolution,—originated, carried on, and completed by the people, against the wishes and in opposition to the power of princes and nobles. To her we owe the noblest maintenance that has ever been exhibited, of those principles of religious and civil freedom upon which our republic is based. To her we owe a Knox, a Buchanan, an Andrew Melville, an Alexander Henderson, a Guthrie, a Rutherford, a Gillespie, an Argyle: men who had genius sufficient to fathom the depths of political science; patriotism to scan the equal rights of the governed and the governor; courage to proclaim to kings their duty, and to the people their rights; fortitude to offer up themselves, their fame, their honor, their comfort, and their lives, upon the altar of liberty; and faith to look forward in confidence to the day, when the spark of freedom they enkindled and preserved would burst forth into a universal flame.

“For freedom’s battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.”

To Scotland we owe the successful issue of that eventful and long protracted struggle for liberty of conscience, liberty of opinion, and liberty of action, which resulted in the downfall of the Stuarts, the glorious commonwealth, the ever memorable revolution, and the acknowledgment of our American independence. Had not Scotland united her army with the English forces, the long parliament would have been subdued, the champions of liberty executed as felons, as were their exhumated bones, the claims of despotic power again fastened in tenfold severity upon an enslaved kingdom, and the hopes of the world crushed.

To Scotland, we owe the system of parish schools, the universal education of the people, the relief of the poor without poor laws,—that incubus which is now sucking out the very life-blood of England—the establishment of universities under the guidance of religion, and fully commensurate to the wants of an enlightened people.

To Scotland we owe a large proportion of those ministers and people, who colonized this country, Christianized and enlightened it, diffused over it the spirit and principles of freedom, and fought the battles of our revolution. Many Scottish Presbyterians, says Bancroft, of virtue, education, and courage, blending a love of popular liberty with religious enthusiasm, came over in such numbers as to give to the rising common-

wealth a character which a century and a half has not effaced. To the Scotch, says Dr. Ramsay, and their descendants, the inhabitants of Irish Ulster, South Carolina is indebted for much of its early literature. A great proportion of its physicians, clergymen, lawyers, and schoolmasters, were from North Britain. Now these, to a man, were found ranged under the banners of our young Republic, from the very beginning of her contest until its glorious consummation. Dr. Witherspoon, one of the predecessors and leaders of these very men who now constitute the Free Church of Scotland, who advocated their views with indomitable courage against the overwhelming forces of the then triumphant moderate party, and who came to this country, animated by their principles of liberty, was, you are well aware, a member of that very body which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence, and one of its first signers. When that Congress still hesitated to cross the Rubicon, and abandon all hope of retreat, "There is," said Witherspoon, "a tide in the affairs of men,—a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning, by every pen in the house. He that will not respond to its accents, and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions, is unworthy the name of a freeman. For my own part, of property I have some—of reputation, more. That reputation is staked, that property is pledged on the issue of this contest. And although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hands of the public executioner, than desert at this crisis, the sacred cause of my country." Such was the appeal which decided the action of that Congress, and the fate of this American Republic.

Nor is this all. To Scottish benevolence we are indebted for many acts of liberality towards our country in its infant state. The college at Princeton, in a great degree, owes its present flourishing condition to the pious and liberal charity of the friends of religion and learning in England and Scotland. In the year 1754 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, recommended that a general collection be made at the doors of all the churches of Scotland for the support of this college. At the same time we find them lending their liberal aid to a Society for assisting Protestant emigrants in Pennsylvania.*

We are still further called upon to extend our liberal aid to

*See the Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Davies, prefixed to his Sermons, who was one of the deputation sent over for this purpose. The Assembly, besides the above recommendation, further recommended to ministers to apply to the nobility and gentry, as they may have opportunity, to give their charitable assistance in this matter. See Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1752 to 1767, Edinburgh, 1840, page 51, and Maclaurin's Life, prefixed to his works.

the Free Church of Scotland in the present emergency, on the ground of the numerous and incalculable benefits which must result from this movement.

It will diffuse the gospel through the waste places of Scotland. From the inquiries made by a royal commission in 1831, it appeared that there were at least 500,000 souls in Scotland totally destitute of the means of obtaining religious instruction. It appears further that during the whole century previous to that time, there had been only sixty-three new churches erected by means of the Establishment, notwithstanding the immense increase of the population. Vast numbers therefore were left either to sink into practical heathenism and immorality, or to become attached to some other denomination. This glorious consummation—the supply of these destitutions—will now be achieved. The formation of the Free Church is the dawning of the bright day of gospel light on 500,000 people hitherto in darkness. The etiquette and legal restraints of parishes will be no longer observed. The church is now free to permeate the length and breadth of the land, and proclaim to all the gospel of Christ. Not only will the desolations of the sanctuary be repaired, the long neglected wastes of Scotland, both in town and country will be replenished. The light of the gospel will be carried to every cottage door within the limits of the Scottish territory. The liberal and large-hearted aspirations of John Knox when he desired a college for every large town and a minister for every thousand of the people, will be realized. The ungovernable masses now threatening the very existence of society, “will be humanized into contentment, loyalty, and peace,” and a land thoroughly Christianized “will wreath around the Church of Scotland still brighter honors than those which have heretofore encircled her brow.”

And will not the history of this event carry with it to the ends of the earth, and to all future times, the glorious principles for which the Free Church of Scotland has so nobly contended? These principles have hitherto been written upon paper, and recorded in confessions and protests,—they will now be imprinted on the hearts of men, and become familiar and acknowledged truths, the test and character of a true church of Jesus Christ.

How powerfully also does this movement demonstrate the reality, the power, the superhuman might of Christian principle. The lie has now been given to the calumnies of an unbelieving world, that Christians will part with nothing for the truth, and that they will take good care to preserve their money and their pockets, let conscience protest as it may. From all such charges Christianity is now redeemed. A testimony has now been borne to the high-minded integrity, conscientiousness, and

divine faith of Christians, which no promises, flattery, artifices, or fear of man can corrupt, which will preach louder than any sermons in behalf of the truth, purity, and divinity of our holy religion. Not Scotland, therefore, but Christendom, nay the whole world, is debtor to those heroic Christian men who have erected in the Free Church of Scotland, a beacon light which shall illumine with its brightness all the ends of the earth, and set an example of Christian devotion, magnanimity, and sacrifice, that shall live in imperishable fame.

Finally, the appeal to our liberal assistance of the Free Church of Scotland, is impressively enforced by a consideration of the disinterested sacrifices and unparalleled efforts they have themselves made. Many who even concur with them in their principles, are of opinion that they might have continued in the Establishment. By retiring, however, from it, they have given up in salaries and other income, about half a million of dollars per annum. They had also for the last seven years been engaged in the herculean effort of raising for the building of churches about one million and a half of dollars, besides some \$40,000 per annum for their education, home mission, and foreign missionary schemes. They have not however now rested from their labors, nor do they ask us to do their work. They have strained every nerve to meet their own wants. Though generally poor, and unaided by the rich and the noble, they have already subscribed about a million of dollars. Personal sacrifices of the most trying character have also been made by very many. Ministers have left homes where they dwelt in love and peace for a whole generation, and been under the necessity of occupying in solitude some prophet's chamber, while their families could find a refuge only at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. Mr. Swanson, of Small Isles, being prohibited from occupying a spot of ground on which to build a temple for the worship of God, or a house to shelter him and his family from the rude elements, is obliged to betake himself to a floating manse, a true mariner's church, where he can receive the people at different points, and preach to them the free and full salvation of the gospel. "I know a case," says Mr. Guthrie, "that made my blood boil as an honest man and a freeman. There is a parish in Scotland, where there is a minister who has a sister, a brother, and a venerable mother under his roof. That mother was a minister's daughter—that mother was a minister's sister—that mother was a minister's wife—and now she is a minister's widow. And, sir, shame to the land that has such landed proprietors in it, that man of God must carry away his venerable mother, with the gray hairs of age upon her head,—who never knew a home on earth but a manse,—he must drive her away, because even a highland cottage cannot be got to lay her

head in." Such are the scenes now passing in Scotland. Many ministers have left three-storied houses, and lodged, with their families, in obscure apartments. Many have gone forth, they know not whither, resigning and giving up all those places, "to which they are attached by so many fond and intense local affections,—their garden walks where they enjoyed the hours of their relaxation, and the peaceful study where the man of God and the man of learning enjoyed many a raptured hour in converse with their books." The amount of maddening provocation to which the people of some of our highland districts have been subjected, says the Edinburgh Witness, almost exceeds belief. We attended, about two months ago, the public services of a sacramental Sabbath in Lochiel's country. The congregation consisted of from three to four thousand persons, and never have we seen finer specimens of our highland population. We needed no one to tell us that the men at our side,—tall, muscular, and manly, from the glens of Lochaber and the shores of Lochiel,—were the descendants, the very fac-similes, of the warriors whose battle-cry was heard farthest amid the broken ranks at Preston, and who did all an almost supernatural valour could do to reverse the destinies of Culloden. And yet, here were they assembled in the open air, as if by stealth,—the whole population of a whole district,—after having been chased by the interdicts of the proprietor from one spot of ground to another, and now sure only of the spot on which they stood, until such time as a new interdict should be drawn out. They had gone first to the parish burying-ground. It was the resting-place of their brave ancestors. Our family had been accustomed to say, "This little spot is ours;" and they reasoned rationally enough, that as the entire area belonged to them in its parts, it might be held to belong to them as a whole also, and that they might meet in it, therefore, to worship their God over the ashes of their fathers. Alas! their simple logic was met by a stringest interdict; and, quietly giving up the churchyard, they retired to a neighboring eminence, surmounted by a monument to the memory of that Colonel Cameron of Fassiefern who, at Waterloo,

"Foremost in the shock of steel,
Died like the offspring of Lochiel."

Not a few of them had fought by his side. But here there was no resting-place for them. The tenant who held the spot as part of a small farm was one of themselves, and they knew that *he* made them welcome; but highland leases are often doubtful things. They had learned that the proprietor had been written to on the subject, to the poor man's disadvantage; and, fearing lest he should be injured on their account, and with a delicacy peculiar to the highlanders, they quitted the spot *en masse*, and

took up their next station on the sea-shore. As we stood and listened, the rippling dash of the waves mingled with the voice of the preacher. But there was yet another interdict in store for them. The deal tables on which the sacrament used to be administered in the parish were the property of the Establishment; and so, leaving them, as they ought, to the state institution, they prepared, as they best could, a few rude forms for themselves. Well, and what then? *On the most miserable plea that these forms had been made of wood that had once grown on the glebe, a stringent interdict arrested their use.*

The following striking facts, stated by Mr. Dunlop, the legal adviser of the Free Church, in the course of an admirable and touching address made by him at the laying of the foundation stone of the Free Church at Dailly, Scotland, will be also interesting. "There is the Isle of Skye, for instance, where the proprietor, M'Leod of M'Leod, not only refused a site for a church, but interdicted the people from meeting under the canopy of heaven, though his own tenants, on the very moors they rent from him, or even on the road-sides, or bye-ways,—holding that he is the lord of the soil, and therefore entitled to prevent God's creatures from enjoying that soil for any purpose which he does not approve. He will let it out for culture, and give houses in which to eat and drink and sleep, but not a spot on which to build a house of God. Meet for that purpose anywhere on his lands, and you are a trespasser. 'I won't force your consciences, but you shan't pray on my grounds: if you are to pray at all, I will drive you to the sea-shore.' I had a letter the other day from a parish in Sutherland, in which the people asked me, as legal adviser of the church, some questions. The sole heritor of the parish is against them; and they asked me what he is entitled to in law. They said, 'There is a common in the parish on which we are entitled to pasture our cattle, and to walk over when we please; may we meet there and put up a tent of worship?' I was obliged to answer, 'The court won't allow it.' They asked then, 'May we go to the churchyard?' The heritor says, no. But it is occupied by the bones of our fathers. No heritors lie there. We have all gone out. May we not take refuge over our fathers' graves?' I was compelled to answer, 'The heritor is right. You have not the law upon your side.' The next question they put I was able to answer to their satisfaction. They asked, 'Whether they could not meet *within high-water mark*?' And there, in the winter, in the storms now approaching, they are to meet—safer beside the stormy ocean than beside their great laird. The ocean, indeed, covers the spot at times, but there is a little respite: when the tide is out they may put up a tent, and there meet for the worship of their God. They put another question,

which I was obliged to answer against them too. They had saved a ship from wreck many years ago, and the captain, in his gratitude, had presented them with the ship's bell. In the pride of their hearts they stuck it up on the end of the church; the heritors had provided none—and for sixty years they had assembled for worship at the sound of that bell. They asked me, if they might not take it with them? Their fathers had put it up as a testimony to their bravery, and it was their own. But, no! the bell had been where it was for more than forty years; and they must hear the loved sound,—like the voice of a friend,—but pass it and go to worship on the sea-shore at the sound of the waves.”

The bitterness with which this persecution of the adherents of the Free Church of Scotland has been carried on, has been enough to madden the people into open rebellion. The land-owners, the lairds of Scotland, who are imbued with the spirit of moderatism, seem to forget that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that when the former are neglected, the latter are forfeited. Thus we read, that, when ground was asked, not as a gift, but as a purchase, to build a place of worship for the Rev. Mr. Sage, of Resolis, the applicants were told that “as much ground would be given as would bury him, but no more.” The spirit which dictated such an answer as this, can be neither just, liberal, or Christian, and is, of itself, a condemnation of the cause which needs such support.

Such then are the men whom, as American Christians, we are called on to assist.

“For them their lot is what they sought: to be.
In life or death, the faithful and the free.”

To build six hundred churches for the congregations demanding their immediate occupancy;* to erect manses for their ministers, according to the good old custom of our fathers; to found a college and theological seminary, with a sufficient apparatus and library; to lend immediate assistance to unprovided ministers; to help them in this great work, is what we are now called upon, as Christian brethren, to do.

This appeal comes home to the bosom of every Scotchman and the descendants of Scotchmen,—who may all glory in alliance with these nobles of the earth. It is not less powerful

*The letter of the London Committee states, that seven hundred and eighty congregations had adhered to the Free Church. Many of these, however, may be very small, and not, at present, able to constitute full and ripe churches. Dr. Chalmers, however, in a recent letter to a minister in Belfast, Ireland, says, “The cause of our Free Church has grown upon our hands beyond all calculation. Besides the congregations of our outgoing ministers, four hundred and seven in number, others are starting up on all sides in moderate parishes, and all alike are imploring for the means of sheltering themselves before the approach of winter. There cannot be fewer than six hundred churches requiring at the present moment to be erected in Scotland.

when addressed to every emigrant from northern Ireland or to their descendants. Ulster was colonized by Scottish Presbyterians. To them, she owes her religion, education, morals, elevation, and proud superiority over every portion of that country. Yes, the blood of Scotchmen rolls in our veins, and with exulting pride, we too can look to these heroic martyrs and say, "Ye are your brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh." Five hundred ministers in Ireland, and one million of people, with all their hearts, go along with them in their struggle, and have already given fifty thousand dollars to their cause.

This appeal addresses us, as Americans. To us, as the friends of liberty and human rights, and the noble champions of civil and religious freedom, does the Free Church of Scotland look for sympathy, encouragement, and aid in this noble effort to better our example.

This appeal addresses Christians, of all Protestant denominations. The testimony of the Free Church of Scotland, is not only a Presbyterian, but a Protestant testimony. The Reformation was a recovery of the truth, and freedom, and privileges of the gospel. That truth, and freedom, and privilege, are now at stake in Scotland, and for their maintenance, does the Free Church stand forth prepared to suffer and to bleed. The question is, therefore, "a question of Protestantism,—a question of the right of private judgment, the right of each Christian man to be dependent on Christ alone, and therefore independent of all authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in the discharge of his duty to Christ."* The Free Church of Scotland has, therefore, held out to the Protestant world the flag of unity,—the unity, not of slavish uniformity in rites or forms, but unity in the maintenance of common truths, in a determined protest against common errors, and that unity of the Spirit which is the true bond of peace. CO-OPERATION, THOUGH NOT INCORPORATION, is the motto which now streams in her flying banner, and which is destined to rally around the standard of the cross every true friend of Protestant and evangelical truth. Already has the Free Church of Scotland received on her platform, delegates from every evangelical denomination, and from America as well as Europe. Already has she found Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Reformed Dutch, and Seceders, ready, not only to approve her principles, but to lend to her the helping hand of their Christian charity. Let us, also, come to her assistance, join hands with this sacred, Christian brotherhood, and by our united and liberal contribution, give certain proof of our deep and heartfelt interest in her cause,—the cause of Protestantism, the cause of Christian freedom, and

*Proceedings of General Assembly, p. 3.

of Christian truth. Let our voice be heard across the broad Atlantic, saying,

“On, brethren, on!
Speed your swift bark o'er the foaming seas,
Spread forth your sails to the whistling breeze.
Hoist the blue colors of Freedom high,
Fling out their folds to the sunlit sky,
Strain all your cordage,—and onward sweep,
Hopeful and true o'er the bounding deep.

On, brethren, on!
On with your message of holy love.—”

And may He who has led them thus far, uphold and strengthen them, and make them, more than conquerors through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen, and Amen.

APPENDIX I.

The author thinks it advisable to add here, an article which he has inserted in some recent religious papers.

THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, AND THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHMENTS.

Shall we help her?

I was very sorry to see in the New-York Observer an article expressing a doubt whether American Christians could consistently aid the Free Church of Scotland, because she is committed to the doctrine of an established church. But even supposing that she is, this certainly is not the doctrine for which she is now bearing her testimony, in persecution and distress. She is now in the wilderness, without house, or shelter, or food, or raiment, and surrounded by wild beasts and venomous reptiles, who go about seeking to destroy her. And why is she there? Because she is bearing witness to these fundamental truths,—that Christ alone is the head, king, and legislator of his church;—that his word is the supreme law and standard of faith and practice to that church;—that the spiritual officers appointed by Him are alone entitled to have rule within the church, or to interfere in the management of spiritual affairs;—and that to the Christian people belongs the right of choosing their own ministers and officers. Such are the principles for which the Free Church has contended,—for which she has retired from the Establishment,—for which she has relinquished property to the amount of about five hundred thousand dollars per annum,—and for which she is now lifting up a standard and giving her testimony to the world. And do we not,—all American Christians,—concur with her in these essential doctrines? As far at least as we do thus concur, can we not, and shall we not, express our sympathy for her, and proclaim our hearty approbation of her conduct?

The Free Church does, it is true, still cling to the *abstract* doctrine of establishments: that is, as she herself expounds it, “that it is the duty of both governments and communities to be Christians, to act as Christians, and to make it their chief object to promote Christ’s kingdom and glory.”* But while she maintains the *principle*, she utterly denies the *possibility* of living under any *existing* establishment, or of entering into any alliance with any state which would in any degree compromit

*See Hetherington’s History of the Church of Scotland, p. 775.

any one of these sacred principles. Nay more, she is now in fact, in practice, and avowedly, a voluntary church, and as bitterly opposed to the Established Church of Scotland, and to the *establishment on which that church rests*, as are American Christians. Let me give some proof of this fact out of much before me. It is from the very man whose opening speech at the first meeting of the Free General Assembly has given occasion to this apprehension in the minds of many. I mean Dr. Chalmers. I quote from his address, delivered July 13th, in Edinburgh, on occasion of the Bi-Centenary of the Westminster Assembly, as reported in "the Witness."

"Before I have done," said Dr. Chalmers, "I am desirous of bringing above boards what I think will operate as a bar in the way of a cordial and good understanding, so long as it remains the object of a sensitive and fearful *reticence*. I do not sympathize with the exceeding care and caution of those people who look so prudent and so wary, and tell us that nothing must be said about Voluntaryism. I confess, on the other hand, my anxiety to say something about it, and that because of the conviction under which I labor, that while suffered to abide within the cell of one's own thoughts, where, from the very irksomeness of its confinement, it might rankle in the form of an unexplained grudge, it will operate most injuriously as a preventive to that full union between soul and soul, so indispensable to the comfort and the efficacy of co-operation between those who have now met together, and that with the avowed purpose of seeing eye to eye. Why, on the contrary, I would have it proclaimed openly and without reserve, that there is a difference of opinion upon this question; and this, not with the design of creating a breach, or casting up a barrier between the parties, but with the very opposite design, of pointing out the egregious folly, if I may so term it, of suffering any such difference to stand in the way of their mutual helpfulness and encouragement, in every practicable walk of well-doing, for the good of our common Christianity. I am desirous of tabling the subject in the sight and hearing of all, that it may both be recognized as the topic of a real and honest difference, and, at the same time, be utterly disarmed and scotched as a topic of mischievous dissension. For how does the matter stand? Here are two parties, each honestly bent on the adoption of such measures as might best conduce to the moral and religious well-doing of their fellow-men; but the one happening to think that the state should lend itself to the same object, by the method of an endowment, and the other happening to think the opposite to this. I ask, in the name of common sense, if two parties are to suspend their duty, common to both, and if that duty be co-operation for a great and general good, on which the hearts

of each are alike set, are they to suspend this, because they choose to differ in opinion respecting the duty of a third party that has no connexion with either of them? We stand as hopelessly dis severed from the party in question, and have as little hope of being restored to a connexion with them, as if there had sprung up betwixt us an immovable wall of brass, a thousand cubits high. We, on the one hand, can enter into no terms with a government, who, because they endow a church, think they have a claim to govern it; and they, on the other hand, keep as resolute a hold of this Erastian imagination, as if they would never let it go, till the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the question now resolves into this, Will there, or will there not, be religious establishments in the days of the millennium? To me, at least, it seems the clear path both of wisdom and duty just to leave that question for the millennium itself to settle, when the millennium comes; and, meanwhile, do all we can to spread onward these millennial days, when the din of controversy shall be no longer heard, and the charity of the gospel shall have shed its dewy influences over the whole earth, now turned into a happy, and a harmonized, and withal, universal Christendom. I confess, at the same time, a keener scientific interest in this question than ever, now that Voluntaryism, brought to the test of experience, is fully put upon its trial. I for one will make it my strenuous endeavor to do it all justice, by drawing on its resources and capabilities to the uttermost. The most direct way surely of giving it a fair trial is just to try how much it will yield, after that a full and fair appliance has been brought to bear upon it. It is but justice to add, that we are now in the very thick of the experiment. Some years ago, we tried what government would do in the way of an endowment for the religious instruction of the people, and, after a fruitless negotiation, got nothing for our pains. We have now made our appeal to the Christian public, and in as few months as we spent of years with the government, we have obtained at the hands of the people the promise of towards three hundred thousand pounds. However it may turn out, the result will be a most instructive one. Should it so happen that after Voluntaryism has made its utmost efforts, it shall fall short of a full provision for the Christian instruction of the people, so as to leave thousands and thousands more unreached and unreclaimed, and should an enlightened government, for the sake of these, hold forth an endowment, which shall leave us unfettered as their *Regium Donum* leaves the Presbyterians of Ireland, I am not prepared to say that it would be wrong, either in the one party to make such an offer, or in the other party to accept it. But, as I have already stated, there is no

hope whatever of any such overture being made, or of there ever being any practical call for the entertainment of such a question. Meanwhile, let us endeavor so to speed on the achievements of voluntarism, as to anticipate and supersede the necessity of this question; and they who, intent on great designs, keep by great principles, will at length make full acquittal of theirs as being the only true consistency,—let hostile or unintelligent observers make what use they may of their party distinctions and party names.”

I will here add two other extracts illustrative of this point and of the spirit and character of the Free Church. “We do fear now,” says the *Presbyterian Review* of Edinburgh, for July, 1843, “and our fear is grounded on the experience of our church for three centuries, that in the treatment of a church by ungodly statesmen, one of two things will ever be aimed at: either they will take care that it is viciously constituted, or that it is viciously administered. They do not ask for both alternatives, nor have they, in all likelihood, a preference of the one to the other. But give them, you must, either a corrupt system, or corrupt management. We cannot, therefore, be surprised, should it now be felt that the union of the church and state, upon an evangelical platform, is, in the present condition of civil government, very hopeless, and that establishments having done the work they were fitted for, must be laid aside to prepare the way for the theocracy of the great King, when he shall ‘take to himself his great power and reign.’ At all events, the present administration have done what they can to advance the cause of voluntarism.”

We call particular attention, also, to the following beautiful and striking declaration of sentiments delivered in the Assembly of the Free Church, by the Rev. Mr. Guthrie:*

“I rejoice on all these accounts; and here I may be allowed the opportunity of stating what my views are with regard to the part which the evangelical Dissenters of this country have acted in this matter. No man mingled more in the voluntary controversy than I did. I have stood on the post and the pillory for five hours, and never was allowed to open my mouth; therefore I should be entitled to speak now on this subject. I will lift up my voice in this Free Assembly, as a free man, entitled to bear a free testimony to Christian men! and I must say, that in my wandering expeditions through the country during the last twelve months, I have received the most kind, and cordial, and Christian support from evangelical dissenters of every denomination. I have always felt confident it would be so. There were men who said, ‘they opposed you before, and they will oppose you again.’ Now, I had the most perfect confi-

*Proceedings of the General Assembly, pp. 98, 99.

dence in them, that when we stood on the ground of our common Christianity, they would stand by us. It will be with them as it was with Moses, who, when he saw a Hebrew and an Egyptian contending together, smote the Egyptian, and buried him in the sand. When my brethren saw me battling for an Establishment, I could not expect their support; *that* would not have been honest; but when they saw me battling for Christ's crown and covenant,—when they saw me smitten by the civil courts,—when they saw an Egyptian smiting a Hebrew, they came in to support me. I take this opportunity of saying, that I never did rejoice in any thing more than in the explanation which Dr. Chalmers gave of the misreport of his first speech in the Assembly. When I heard of these reports, it deeply distressed me. I was spoken to on the subject by two worthy dissenters in Edinburgh, men who have been praying for our church, and who are willing to pay for it too; and they told me it had given them the profoundest distress. I assured them there must be some mistake; and therefore I never sat in any Assembly with more delight than I did when Dr. Chalmers gave an explanation,—an explanation that, out and out, corresponds with the sentiments of my own mind. I am for a union in the meantime, in the way of co-operation. What am I to do with the Cowgate and the Grassmarket, and the other destitute districts in my parish? I cannot open a church for them, as I did when I was an established minister; but, God helping me, I will not leave them to the man they put into St. John's. I cannot carry on the work myself; and I will rejoice with all my heart, if the evangelical dissenters of every denomination in Edinburgh would come and sit down at a board with us in friendly conference. I would propose to Dr. Brown,—you take that portion of the work, and to Mr. Alexander, you take that, and I will take this; let us divide the labour, and go forth to the heathen lands of Edinburgh, just as we go to the heathen lands of Africa. We cannot stop here, and I defy any man to stop there, who has heard our Clerk this evening read that touching and affecting prayer of Jesus for his disciples. What is first and foremost in that prayer? What is mentioned once, twice, four, and five times,—what is repeated over and over again in that prayer of our Redeemer, 'That they may be all one, as I and my Father are one!' I will never rest contented,—I will never cease to pray and work till that end is achieved,—and as I do so, I will bury in oblivion the memory of former controversies. Yes, sir, O that the day were come that I might meet with my brethren over the grave of all former controversies,—that we might shake hands and join hearts, and be one in Christ Jesus,—one regiment, bearing the same colours, and going forth like an army mighty for battle

against one comon and tremendous foe! This is my wish; it may not be realized immediatly, but the sooner the time comes, the better for the cause of Christ. I rejoice that the controversy is ended. I rejoice because I feel that I may have sinned in it. I am not ashamed to confess that, in the voluntary controversy, while my opponents said things of me and my party they should not have said, I have said things of them and their party I should not have said. And when the heat and dust of this battle is by, I have no doubt I will be as free to confess, that while our opponents in the old house have said and done things to me they should not have done, I will confess that I have said things of them I should not have said. I will not give up one iota of my principles. I am ready not only to give up my stipend,—I have done that already,—but I am ready, as our fathers did, to give up my life, if necessary, in defence of these. I have said I am glad to get quit of controversy. I wish to devote my days to preaching, and to the pastoral superintendence of my people; and the happiest day I experienced for years was when I left St. Andrew's Church."

I hope, therefore, and trust, that Christians of all denominations will be found as ready in this country as in England and Ireland, to come forward to the liberal assistance of their suffering brethren of the Free Church of Scotland. And what is done, let it be done quickly.

As a friend to the Free Church, I feel compelled to make these remarks, and would request their insertion in the New-York Observer, that the explanation may follow the difficulty.

APPENDIX II.

DOCUMENTS.

The following documents, extracted from authentic sources, will give full and accurate information on every point concerned, to all who may desire it. They are in themselves extremely valuable, and among the ablest productions of the kind ever penned.

No. 1.

THE VETO ACT,

Adopted by the General Assembly in 1834, by a vote of 148 to 138.

Lord Moncreiff then moved, that the General Assembly, having maturely considered the overtures, do declare that it is a fundamental law of this church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people: and that, in order to carry this principle into full effect, the presbyteries of the church shall be instructed, that if at the moderating in a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation, and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly; and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned; but that, if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement, according to the rules of the church; and farther declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who shall refuse, if required solemnly to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or congregation; and resolve that a committee be appointed to report to an interim diet of the Assembly in what manner, and by what particular measures, this declaration and instruction may be best carried into full operation.

In reference to this act, and its being the supposed ground upon which the state has persecuted the church, Dr. Candlish remarked in the commission in January, 1843:—

“But there is one point to which I am anxious to advert, because I think it the duty of this commission to put forth an explicit statement with respect to it—because, unhappily, I fear,

it has made some impression, not only on the adversaries of the church, but on some of her friends also. I refer to the passage in Sir James Graham's Letter, where he says, 'The Veto Act was upheld, after its illegality had been ascertained by deliberate judgments of the Court of Session and of the House of Lords; nay, more, it is not yet abandoned,—it is upheld in defiance of law and of the supreme civil authority.' And he goes on to trace to this cause the church's difficulties and embarrassments. I shall not refer to the Second Book of Discipline, as if the Veto Law, which refers to the admission of ministers, were a handling of matters pertaining to the civil jurisdiction. It was not such a handling as even Sir James Graham could say was condemned. On the contrary, the church long ago has admitted, that her act in rejecting a presentee cannot carry civil consequences. The church renounced and abandoned all expectations of having the fruits of the benefice awarded in accordance with her law of non-intrusion. But though the church does not presume formally to determine the question, it is said she does something which indirectly has reference to the question. Why, Sir J. Graham brings us to this point, that the church cannot settle any question which may by possibility affect a civil matter. We cannot say we have been handling a civil matter; and if the Second Book of Discipline forbids the church determining on spiritual matters which may have civil consequences, because the civil consequences are some way or other connected with the spiritual matter, clearly he leaves us nothing spiritual to handle; for there is no spiritual sentence which may not have civil effects. In another part of the Letter,—and this is the snare into which I fear some friends of the church have fallen,—he says, 'If the Veto Act, which is illegal, were rescinded by the Assembly, the respective rights of the patrons to present, of the congregations to object, and of the church courts to examine, to hear, to judge, and to admit or reject, would be clear and well defined.' And then he goes on to say, Lord Aberdeen's bill was founded on the same principle. Now, mark the principle on which Lord Aberdeen's bill proceeded;—it was by 'declaring the law' that he proposed to settle the question. The construction of this part of the Letter is such as I conceive might impose on those who have come into the controversy at the last. I can easily conceive any one taking up the Letter of Sir James Graham, in ignorance or forgetfulness of all the previous history of the controversy, might think Sir James Graham's offer an exceedingly fair and handsome one. For what does he say? Oh, remove this Veto Law, and we will give you something excellent and admirable in its place. Now, it is singular enough that the two instances of attempted legislation, namely, Lord Aberdeen's,

and that of last year, took place while the Veto Law was standing; and Lord Aberdeen never dreamed of saying that as a preliminary to all legislation the Veto Act must be repealed. He introduced his bill to declare the law; but by no means did he hold the mere existence of the Veto Law as an obstacle in his way. Neither did those who last year endeavoured to effect a settlement. They held they might put confidence enough in the church to believe that she would act upon her own reiterated declarations, that if she could get any form of non-intrusion to which she could submit, she would remove the Veto Law. And to stipulate beforehand for the abandonment of that law, was just the work of one who wished the church first to be placed helplessly at his disposal, and then to be thankful for whatever tender mercies he might show. It is not the fact that the Veto Act was the obstruction in the way of these two measures which were formerly contemplated; it is manifest that the obstruction is not the keeping up of the Veto Law, but the keeping up of the principle of non intrusion. If it was no obstacle to that legislation which Sir James Graham would take for his model, it cannot be the Veto Law alone which prevents a measure,—it must be the principle which the Veto Law embodies. And, accordingly, observe the boon which Sir James Graham holds out in his letter,—‘Oh, just give up all in the meantime, and then we shall see what we can do for you. Strike your colours. Give up your law, even though you should have nothing better put in its place.’ Why, what does he propose to do? The only legislation he proposes is the legislation of Lord Aberdeen, mended by that of last year. The only legislation he would sanction is declaratory of the law. Be that marked. There is the test of legislation for the church. Is it a declaration of the law, as interpreted by the civil courts now, that we ask? No: we have from the first avowed that nothing but a change of the law would do; and it is idle to put us off with promises of enactments declaring what the law is, when, in point of fact, we avow that the law is declared against us; and if the law is declared against us, it is essential that we have not a declaratory, but an enacting law. The very object for which Lord Aberdeen undertook his bill, was to remove certain difficulties raised, not by the judgment in the Auchterarder case, but by some of the law lords in their opinions,—to declare the law not against the judgment, but with respect to some doubts which were expressed in the House of Lords. And how was he met? He was met with this intimation on the part of the church,—It is not merely the speeches of the law lords which are against us,—it is confessedly the judgment in the Auchterarder case which is against us: we cannot give effect to our judgments, for we find the judgment of the Civil Court

opposed to our principles. Nothing but a change of the law, making it competent to give civil effects to the principle of non-intrusion, can give us relief. But still there is a vague impression in certain quarters, that the Veto Law,—which has a deal more laid on its shoulders than it can be blamed for,—is the cause of our troubles,—is an obstacle in the way of adjustment. To say it is the cause of our troubles, is to forget the judgment in which these originated. That judgment struck, not at the Veto Law, but at the principle that no pastor should be intruded on any congregation. It declared that the rejection of a presentee in respect of the dissent of a congregation was illegal. Now, the church has declared that, if any way in which she could give effect to this principle were pointed out, she would at once adopt that way. But would it be fair or honest in the church to remove the particular form, while she adhered to the substance, of the Veto Law, pretending to yield, so far, deference to the civil authorities, while she was determined all the time that she would still regard the dissent of the people as a sufficient ground for the rejection of a presentee? It is not our refusal to repeal the Veto Law; it is our refusal to intrude pastors on congregations, that has occasioned all our troubles. Were we to repeal the Veto, and take any other measure, and were we to leave the encroachments of the Civil Courts as they have been carried out, we should be surrendering the crown rights of the Redeemer.”

No. 2.

THE CLAIM OF RIGHTS,

Or the Overture to the General Assembly for a Declaration against the Unconstitutional Encroachments of the Civil Courts; adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1842, by a vote of 241 to 110.

The Clerk then read the following Overture:

“It is humbly overtured to the venerable the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland now assembled, by the undersigned members thereof, that the Assembly do, under the circumstances in which the church is at present placed, adopt the following declaration, or a declaration of a similar tenor:—

“The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, taking into consideration the solemn circumstances in which, in the inscrutable providence of God, this church is now placed; and that, notwithstanding the securities for the government thereof by general assemblies, synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, and the liberties, jurisdiction, discipline, rights, and privileges of the same, provided by the statutes of the realm, the consti-

tution of this country, as unalterably settled by the treaty of union, and the oath required to be taken by each sovereign at accession, as a condition precedent to the exercise of the royal authority, 'inviolably to maintain and preserve the same,'—which securities might well seem, and had long been thought to place them beyond the reach of danger or invasion,—these have been of late assailed by the very courts to which the church was authorized to look for assistance and protection, to an extent that threatens the subversion of the said liberties, government, and discipline, with all the grievous calamities to this church and nation, which would inevitably flow therefrom,—do solemnly, and in reliance on the grace and power of the Most High, resolve and agree on the following claim, declaration, and protest: That is to say:—

"Whereas, it is an essential doctrine of this church, in a fundamental principle in its constitution, as set forth in the Confession of Faith thereof, in accordance with the word and law of the Most Holy God, that 'there is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ;' and that, while 'God, the supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be, under Him, over the people, for His own glory and public good, and to this end hath armed them with the power of the sword;' and while 'it is the duty of the people to pray for magistrates, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority for conscience' sake,' 'from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted;' and while the magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, in the exercise of that power which alone is committed to him, namely, the 'power of the sword,' or civic rule, as distinct from the 'power of the keys,' or spiritual authority expressly denied to him, to take order for the preservation of purity, peace, and unity in the church, yet '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,' which government is ministerial, not lordly, and to be exercised in consonance with the laws of Christ, and with the liberties of his people.

"And whereas, according to the said Confession, and to the other standards of the church, and agreeably to the word of God, this government of the church, thus appointed by the Lord Jesus, in the hand of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate, or supreme power of the state, and consequently flowing directly from the head of the church to the office-bearers thereof, to the exclusion of the civil magistrate, comprehends, as the objects of it, the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, correction of manners, the admission of the office-bearers of the church to their offices,

their suspension and deprivation therefrom, the infliction and removal of church censures, and, generally, the whole 'power of the keys,' which, by the said Confession, is declared, in conformity with Scripture, to have been 'committed' to church officers, and which, as well as the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments, it is likewise thereby declared, that 'the civil magistrate may not assume to himself.'

"And whereas this jurisdiction and government, since it regards only spiritual condition, rights, and privileges, doth not interfere with the secular jurisdiction of civil tribunals, whose determinations as to all temporalities conferred by the state upon the church, and as to all civil consequences attached by law to the decisions of church courts in matters spiritual, this church hath ever admitted, and doth admit, to be exclusive and ultimate, as she hath ever given and inculcated implicit obedience thereto.

"And whereas the above-mentioned essential doctrine and fundamental principle in the constitution of the church, and the government and exclusive jurisdiction flowing therefrom, founded on God's word, and set forth in the Confession of Faith, and other standards of this church, have been, by diverse and repeated acts of parliament, recognized, ratified, and confirmed; inasmuch as,

"First, The said Confession itself, containing the doctrine and principles above set forth, was 'ratified and established,' and voted and approved as the public and avowed Confession of this church, by the fifth act of the second session of the first parliament of king William and queen Mary, entitled, 'Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian church government.'

"Second, By an act passed in the first parliament of king James VI., entitled, 'Of admission of ministers: of laic patronages,' it is enacted and declared, "That the examination and admission of ministers within this realm be only in the power of the kirk, now openly and publicly professed within the same;' and, while the 'presentation of laic patronages' was thereby 'reserved to the just and ancient patrons,' it was provided, that if the presentee of a patron should be refused to be admitted by the inferior ecclesiastical authorities, it should be lawful for the patron 'to appeal to the General Assembly of the whole realm, by whom the cause being decided, shall take end as they discern and declare.'

"Third, By an act passed in the same first parliament, and renewed in the sixth parliament of the said king James VI., entitled, 'Anent the jurisdiction of the kirk,' the said kirk is declared to have jurisdiction 'in the preaching of the true word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners, and administration of

the holy sacraments:’ and it is farther declared, ‘that there be *no other jurisdiction ecclesiastical* acknowledged within this realm, other than that *which is and shall be within the same kirk, or that flows therefrom concerning the premises;*’ which act, and that last before mentioned, were ratified and approved by another act passed in the year 1581, entituled, ‘Ratification of the liberty of the true kirk of God and religion, with confirmation of the laws and acts made to that effect of before;’ which other act, and all the separate acts therein recited, were again revived, ratified, and confirmed, by an act of the twelfth parliament of the said king James VI., entituled, ‘Ratification of the liberty of the true kirk,’ &c.; which said act (having been repealed in 1662) was revived, renewed, and confirmed by the before-mentioned statute of king William and queen Mary.

“*Fourth,* The said act of the twelfth parliament of king James VI., ratified and approved the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, ‘appointed by the kirk,’ and ‘the whole jurisdiction and discipline of the same kirk;’ cased and annulled ‘all and whatsoever acts, laws, and statutes, made at any time before the day and date thereof, against the liberty of the true kirk, jurisdiction, and discipline thereof, as the same is used and exercised within this realm;’ appointed presentations to benefices to be directed to presbyteries, ‘with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the kirk, providing the aforesaid presbyteries be bound and astricted to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister, presented by his majesty or laic patrons,’ the effect of which proviso, and of the reservation in the act of the first parliament of king James VI., above mentioned, is hereafter more fully adverted to; and further declared that the jurisdiction of the sovereign and his courts, as set forth in a previous act, to extend over all persons his subjects, and ‘in all matters, should noways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing to the privilege that *God has given* to the spiritual office bearers of the kirk, concerning *heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures,* grounded and having warrant of the word of God;’ by which enactment, declaration, and acknowledgment, the state recognized and established as a fundamental principle of the constitution of the kingdom, that the jurisdiction of the church in these matters was ‘given by God’ to the office-bearers thereof, and was exclusive and free from coercion by any tribunals holding power or authority from the state or supreme civil magistrate.

“*Fifth,* The parliament holden by king Charles II., immediately on his restoration to the throne, while it repealed the above-

recited act of the twelfth parliament of king James, and other relative acts, at the same time acknowledged the supreme and exclusive nature of the jurisdiction thereby recognized to be in the church, describing the said acts, as acts 'by which the *sole and only* power and jurisdiction within this church *doth stand in the church*, and in the general, provincial, and presbyterial assemblies and kirk-sessions, and acts which may be interpreted to have given any church power, jurisdiction, or government to the office-bearers of the church, their respective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon, and subordination to, the sovereign power of the king as supreme.'

"*Sixth*, The aforesaid act of king William and queen Mary, on the narrative that their majesties and the estates of parliament conceived 'it to be their bounden duty, after the great deliverance that God hath lately wrought for this church and kingdom, *in the first place*, to settle and secure therein the true Protestant religion, according to the truth of God's word, as it hath of a long time been professed within this land; as also the government of Christ's church within this nation, agreeable to the word of God, and most conducive to true piety and godliness, and the establishing of peace and tranquility within this realm;' besides ratifying and establishing the Confession of Faith, did also 'establish, ratify, and confirm the Presbyterian church government and discipline; that is to say, *the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies*, ratified and established by the 116 act James VI., parliament 12, anno 1592, entituled, "Ratification of the liberty of the true kirk," &c., and therefore received by the general consent of this nation, *to be the only government of Christ's church within this kingdom*;' and revived and confirmed the said act of king James VI.

"And whereas, not only was the exclusive and ultimate jurisdiction of the church courts, in the government of the church, and especially in the particular matters, spiritual and ecclesiastical, above mentioned, recognized, ratified, and confirmed, thus necessarily implying the denial of power on the part of any secular tribunal, holding its authority from the sovereign, to review the sentences of the church courts in regard to such matters, or to coerce them in the exercise of such jurisdiction; but all such power, and all claim on the part of the sovereign to be considered supreme governor over the subjects of this kingdom of Scotland in causes *ecclesiastical and spiritual*, as he is in causes *civil and temporal*, was, after a long continued struggle, finally and *expressly repudiated and cast out of the constitution of Scotland, as inconsistent with the Presbyterian church government*, established at the revolution, and thereafter unalterably secured by the treaty of union with England;

by the constitution of which latter kingdom, differing in this respect from that of Scotland, the sovereign is recognized to be supreme governor, 'as well in all *spiritual and ecclesiastical* "things and causes" as *temporal*.' Thus:—

"*First*, The General Assembly having, in the year 1582, proceeded to inflict the censures of the church upon Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, for seeking to force himself, under a presentation from the king, into the archbishopric of Glasgow, contrary to an act of the General Assembly discharging the office of prelatie bishop in the church, and for appealing to the secular tribunals against the infliction of church censures by the church courts, and to have these suspended and interdicted,—and having deposed and excommunicated him in disregard of an interdict pronounced by the privy council of Scotland, the then supreme secular court of the kingdom—and having at the same time declared it to be part of the subsisting discipline of the church, that any ministers thereof who 'should seek any way by the civil power to exempt and withdraw themselves from the jurisdiction of the kirk, or procure, obtain, or use any letters or charges, &c., to impair, hurt, or stay the said jurisdiction, discipline, &c., or to make any appellation from the General Assembly to stop the discipline or order of the ecclesiastical policy or jurisdiction granted by God's word to the office-bearers within the said kirk,' were liable to the highest censures of the church; although their sentence of excommunication was declared by one of the acts of parliament of the year 1584, commonly called the 'Black Acts,' to be void, yet ultimately the king and privy council abandoned their interference, Montgomery submitted to the church courts, and the statute of the twelfth parliament of king James VI., already mentioned, cased and annulled 'all and whatever acts, laws, and statutes, made at any time before the day and date thereof, against the liberty of the true kirk, jurisdiction and discipline thereof, *as the same is used and exercised within this realm*;' since which enactment no similar interference with the discipline and censures of the church was ever attempted till the year 1841.

"*Second*, It having been declared by another of the 'Black Acts' aforesaid, entitled, 'An act confirming the king's majesty's royal power over all the estates and subjects within this realm,' that 'his highness, his heirs and successors, by themselves and their councils, are, and in time to come shall be, judges competent to all persons his highness's subjects, of whatever estate, degree, function, or condition, that ever they be of, spiritual or temporal, *in all matters* wherein they or any of them shall be apprehended, summoned, or charged to answer to such things as shall be inquired of them by our sovereign lord and his council; it was by the said before mentioned act of the

twelfth parliament of king James VI., declared that the said act last above mentioned 'shall noways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing to the privilege that God has given to the spiritual office-bearers of the kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation, or deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures, specially grounded and having warrant of the word of God.'

"*Third*, It having been enacted, on the establishment of prelacy in 1612, that every minister at his admission, should swear obedience to the sovereign, as 'the only lawful supreme governor of this realm, as well in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical as in things temporal,' the enactment to this effect was repealed on the restoration of Presbyterian church government.

"*Fourth*, A like acknowledgment, that the sovereign was 'the only supreme governor of this kingdom over all persons and in all causes,' having been, on the second establishment of prelacy, consequent on the restoration of king Charles II., required as part of the ordinary oath of allegiance, and having been also inserted into the 'Test Oath,' so tyrannically attempted to be forced on the subjects of this realm during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and the same doctrine of the king's supremacy in all causes, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as well as temporal and civil, having farther been separately specially declared by the first act of the second parliament of the said king Charles II., (1669,) entituled, 'Act asserting his Majesty's supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical,' whereby it was 'enacted, asserted, and declared, that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom,' the estates of this kingdom, at the era of the revolution, did set forth, as the second article of the 'Grievances' of which they demanded redress under their 'Claim of Right,' 'that the first act of parliament, 1669, is inconsistent with the establishment of the church government now desired, and ought to be abrogated.'

"*Fifth*, In compliance with this claim, an act was immediately thereafter passed, of which the tenor follows:—'Our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen's majesties, taking into their consideration, that by the second article of the grievances presented to their majesties by the estates of this kingdom, it is declared, that the first act of the second parliament of king Charles the Second, entituled, "Act asserting his majesty's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical," is inconsistent with the establishment of the church government now desired, and ought to be abrogate: Therefore their majesties, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, do hereby abrogate, rescind, and annul the foresaid act, and de-

clare the same in the whole heads, articles, and clauses thereof, to be of no force or effect in all time coming.' In accordance, also, therewith, the oath of allegiance above mentioned, requiring an acknowledgment of the king's sovereignty 'in all causes,' was done away, and that substituted which is now in use, simply requiring a promise to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to the sovereign; and all preceding laws and acts of parliament were rescinded 'in so far as they impose any other oaths of allegiance and supremacy, declarations and tests, excepting the oath *de fidei*.' By the which enactments, any claim on the part of the sovereigns of Scotland to be supreme rulers in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, as well as in temporal and civil, or to any power, by themselves or their judges holding commission from them, to exercise jurisdiction in matters or causes spiritual and ecclesiastical, was repudiated and excluded from the constitution, as inconsistent with the Presbyterian church government then established, and still subsisting under the statutes then and subsequently passed, for its security and maintenance, 'without any alteration to the people of this land, in all succeeding generations.'

"And whereas diverse civil rights and privileges were, by various statutes of the parliament of Scotland, prior to the union with England, secured to this church, and certain civil consequences attached to the sentences of the courts thereof, which were farther directed to be aided and made effectual by all magistrates, judges, and officers of the law; and in particular:—

"It was, by an act of the twelfth parliament of king James VI., enacted, 'That all and whatsoever sentences of deprivation, either pronounced already, or that happens to be pronounced hereafter by any presbytery, synodal, or general assemblies, against any person or vicar within their jurisdiction, provided since his highness's coronation, is, and shall be repute in all judgments, a just cause to seclude the person before provided, and then deprived from all profits, commodities, rents, and duties of the said parsonage and vicarage, or benefits of cure: and that, either by way of action, exception, or reply; and that the said sentence of deprivation shall be a sufficient cause to make the said benefice to vaike thereby.'

"As also, by the fifth act of the first parliament of king William and queen Mary, it was enacted, 'That whatsoever minister being convened before the said general meeting, and representatives of the Presbyterian ministers or elders, or the visitors to be appointed by them, shall either prove contumacious for not appearing, or be found guilty, and shall be therefore censured, whether by suspension or deposition, they shall,

ipso facto, be suspended from or deprived of their stipends and benefices.'

"As also, by an act passed in the fourth session of the first parliament of king William and queen Mary, entituled an 'Act for settling the peace and quiet of the church,' it was provided that no minister should be admitted unless he owned the Presbyterian Church government, as settled by the last recited act, 'to be the only government of this church; and that he will submit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavor, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof;' and it was statute and ordained, 'That the lords of their majesties' privy council, and all other magistrates, judges, and officers of justice, give all due assistance for making the sentences and censures of the church and judicatories thereof, to be obeyed, or otherwise effectual, as accords.'

"As also by an act passed in the fifth session of the aforesaid parliament, entituled an 'Act against intruding into churches, without a legal call and admission thereto,' on the narrative, 'that ministers and preachers, their intruding themselves into vacant churches, possessing of manses and benefices, and exercising any part of the ministerial function in parishes, without a legal call and admission to the said churches, is a high contempt of the law, and of a dangerous consequence, tending to perpetual schism;' such intrusion, without an orderly call from the heritors and elders,—the right of presentation by patrons being at the time abolished,—and 'legal admission from the presbytery,' was prohibited under certain penalties; and the lords of the privy council were recommended to remove all who had so intruded, and 'to take some effectual course for stopping and hindering those ministers who are, or shall be hereafter, deposed by the judicatories of the present established church, from preaching or exercising any part of their ministerial function, which (the said statute declares) they cannot do after they are deposed, without a high contempt of the authority of the church, and the laws of the kingdom establishing the same.'

"And whereas, at the union between the two kingdoms the parliament of Scotland being determined that the 'true Protestant religion,' as then professed, 'with the worship, discipline, and government of this church, should be effectually and unalterably secured,' did, in their act appointing commissioners to treat with commissioners from the parliament of England, as to a union of the kingdoms, provide, 'That the said commissioners shall *not* treat of or concerning any alteration of the worship, discipline, and government of the church of this kingdom, as now by law established; and did, by another act, commonly called the Act of Security, and entituled, 'Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church gov-

ernment,' 'establish and confirm the true Protestant religion, and the worship, discipline, and government of this church, to continue without any alteration to the people of this land in all succeeding generations;' and did 'for ever confirm the fifth act of the first parliament of king William and queen Mary, entitled, 'Act ratifying the Confession of Faith, and settling Presbyterian church government, and the whole other acts of parliament relating thereto;' and did 'expressly provide and declare, That the foresaid true Protestant religion, contained in the above-mentioned Confession of Faith, with the form and purity of worship presently in use within this church, and its Presbyterian church government and discipline,—that is to say, the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies, all established by the foresaid acts of parliament, pursuant to the claim of right, shall remain and continue unalterable; and that the said Presbyterian government shall be the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland;' and further, for the greater security of the same, did, *inter alia*, enact 'That after the decease of her present majesty, the sovereign succeeding to her in the royal government of the kingdoms of Great Britain, shall, in all time coming, at his or her accession to the crown, swear and subscribe, That they shall inviolably maintain and preserve the foresaid settlement of the true Protestant religion, with the government, worship, discipline, right, and privileges of this church, as above established by the laws of this kingdom, in prosecution of the claim of right;' which said act of security, 'with the establishment therein contained,' it was specially thereby enacted, 'should be held and observed in all time coming, as a fundamental and essential condition of any treaty or union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, *without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort for ever.*' It being further thereby provided, that 'the said act and settlement therein contained shall be insert and repeated in any act of parliament that shall pass, for agreeing and concluding the foresaid treaty or union betwixt the two kingdoms; and that the same shall be therein expressly declared to be a fundamental and essential condition of the said treaty or union in all time coming.' In terms of which enactment, this act of security was inserted in the treaty of union between the two kingdoms, as a fundamental condition thereof, and was also inserted in the act of the parliament of Scotland, ratifying and approving of the said treaty, and likewise in the corresponding act of the parliament of England, entitled, 'An act for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.'

“And whereas, at the date of the said treaty of union, the right of patrons to present to churches stood abolished, by virtue of the following enactments, viz., by the act of king William and queen Mary, herein before mentioned (1690, c. 5,) the act of James VI., (1592, c. 116,) then standing totally repealed, was only revived, subject to the express exception of ‘that part of it relating to patronages,’ which consequently remained repealed and unrestored, and ‘which,’ the act 1690, c. 5, farther bore, ‘is hereafter to be taken into consideration.’ The part of the act of 1592, c. 116, thus left unrevived and repealed, was the provision, that the presbyteries ‘be bound and astricted to receive whatsoever qualified minister presented by his majesty or laic patrons’—a provision which ‘was held to leave the church free to proceed in their collation, according to the discipline of the kirk,’ and non-compliance with which only implied a forfeiture of the fruits of the particular benefice, under the immediately succeeding statute, 1592, c. 117, whereby it was enacted, that ‘in case the presbytery refuses to admit any qualified minister presented to them by the patron. it shall be lawful to the patron to retain the whole fruits of the benefice in his own hands.’ This subject having accordingly been thereafter taken into consideration, in the same session of parliament, was definitely settled by an act, entituled, ‘Act concerning patronages,’ whereby the right of presentation by patrons was ‘annulled and made void,’ and a right vested in the heritors and elders of the respective parishes, ‘to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be approven or disapproven by them,’ the disapprovers giving in their reasons, ‘to the effect the affair may be cognosed upon by the presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination.’ (as is declared by the said act,) ‘the calling and entry of a particular minister is to be ordered and concluded.’

“And whereas the foresaid act formed part of the settlement of the Presbyterian church government effected at the revolution, and was one of the ‘acts relating thereto,’ and to the statute 1690, c. 5, specially confirmed and secured by the act of security and treaty of union; yet, notwithstanding thereof, and of the said treaty, the parliament of Great Britain, by an act passed in the 10th of queen Anne, repealed the said act, ‘in so far as relates to the presentation of ministers by heritors and others therein mentioned,’ and restored to patrons the right of presentation, and enacted that presbyteries should be ‘obliged to receive and admit in the same manner, such qualified person or persons, minister or ministers, as shall be presented by the respective patrons, as the persons or ministers presented before the making of this act ought to have been admitted.’

“And whereas, while this church protested against the passing of the above-mentioned act of queen Anne as ‘contrary to the constitution of the church, so well secured by the late treaty of union, and solemnly ratified by acts of parliament in both kingdoms,’ and for more than seventy years thereafter, uninterruptedly sought for its repeal, she at the same time maintained, and practically exercised, without question or challenge from any quarter, the jurisdiction of her courts to determine ultimately and exclusively, under what circumstances they would admit candidates into the office of the holy ministry, or constitute the pastoral relationship between minister and people, and, generally, ‘to order and conclude the entry of particular ministers.’

“And whereas, in particular, this church required, as necessary to the admission of a minister to the charge of souls, that he should have received a call from the people over whom he was to be appointed, and did not authorize or permit any one so to be admitted, till such call should have been sustained by the church courts, and did before, and subsequent to the passing of the said act of queen Anne, declare it to be a fundamental principle of the church, as set forth in her authorized standards, and particularly in the Second Book of Discipline, repeated by act of Assembly in 1623, and that no pastor be intruded upon any congregation, contrary to the will of the people.’

“And whereas, in especial, this fundamental principle was, by the fourteenth act of the General Assembly, 1763, redeclared, and directed to be attended to in the settlement of vacant parishes; but having been, after some time, disregarded by the prevailing party in the church, it was once more redeclared by the General Assembly, 1834, who established certain specific provisions and regulations for carrying it into effect in time to come.

“And whereas, by a judgment pronounced by the House of Lords in 1839, it was, for the first time, declared to be illegal to refuse to take on trial, and to reject the presentee of a patron, (although a layman, and merely a candidate for admission to the office of the ministry,) in consideration of this fundamental principle of the church, and in respect of the dissent of the congregation; to the authority of which judgment, so far as disposing of civil interests, this church implicitly bowed, by at once abandoning all claim to the *jus devolutum*, and to the benefice for any pastor to be settled by her, and to all other civil right or privilege which might otherwise have been competent to the church or her courts; and anxiously desirous, at the same time, of avoiding collision with the civil courts, she so far suspended the operation of the above-mentioned act of Assembly, as to direct all cases, in which dissents should be lodged by a ma-

majority of the congregation, to be reported to the General Assembly, in the hope that a way might be opened up to her for reconciling with the civil rights declared by the House of Lords, adherence to the above-mentioned fundamental principle, which she could not violate or abandon by admitting to the holy office of the ministry, a party not having, in her conscientious judgment, a legitimate call thereto, or by intruding a pastor on a reclaiming congregation contrary to their will; and farther, addressed herself to the government and the legislature for such an alteration of the law (as for the first time now interpreted) touching the temporalities belonging to the church, (which alone she held the decision of the House of Lords to be capable of affecting or regulating,) as might prevent a separation between the cure of souls and the benefice thereto attached.

“And whereas, although during the century which elapsed after the passing of the said act of queen Anne, presbyteries repeatedly rejected the presentees of patrons on grounds undoubtedly *ultra vires* of the presbyteries, as having reference to the title of the patron or the validity of competing presentations, and which were held by the Court of Session to be contrary to law, and admitted others to the pastoral office in the parishes presented to, who had no presentation or legal right to the benefice, the said court, even in such cases, never attempted, or pretended to direct or coerce the church courts, in the exercise of their functions in regard to the collation of ministers, or other matters acknowledged by the state to have been conferred on the church, not by the state, but by God himself. On the contrary, they limited their decrees to the regulation and disposal of the temporalities which were derived from the state, and which, as the proper subjects of ‘actions civil,’ were within the province assigned to the Court of Sessions by the constitution, refusing to interfere with the peculiar functions and exclusive jurisdiction of the courts of the church. Thus, in the case of Auchtermuchty, where the presbytery had wrongfully admitted another than the patron’s presentee, the court found, that ‘*the right to a stipend is a civil right, and therefore, that the court have power to cognosce and determine upon the legality of the admission of ministers, in hunc effectum, whether the person admitted shall have right to the stipend or not; and simply decided, that the patron was entitled to retain the stipend in his own hands.*’

“So, also, the same course was followed in the cases of Culross, Lenark, and Forbes; in reference to one of which (that of Lenark) the government of the country, on behalf of the crown, in which the patronage was vested, recognized the retention of stipend by the patron, as the only competent remedy for a wrongful refusal to admit his presentee, the Secretary of State

having, in a letter to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, (January 17, 1752), signified the pleasure of his Majesty, "directing and ordering his Lordship to do every thing necessary and competent by law, for assisting and taking benefit, in the present case, of the said right and privilege of patrons by the law of Scotland, to retain the fruits of the benefice in their own hands till their presentee be admitted.'

"So farther, in the before-mentioned case of Culcross, the court refused, 'as incompetent,' a bill of advocation presented to them by the patron, for the purpose of staying the admission by the presbytery of another than his presentee.

"So likewise in the case of Dunse, the court would not interfere in regard to a conclusion to prohibit the presbytery 'to moderate in a call or settle any other man,' because 'that was interfering with the power of ordination or internal policy of the church, with which the lords thought they had nothing to do.'

"And so, in the same manner, in the case of Unst, where the party concluded to have the presbytery ordained to proceed to the presentee's settlement, as well as to have the validity of the presentation, and the right to the stipend declared, the court limited their decree to the civil matters of the presentation and stipend.

"And whereas, pending the efforts of the church to accomplish the desired alteration of the law, the Court of Sessions—a tribunal instituted by special act of parliament for the specific and limited purpose of 'doing and administration of justice in all *civil actions*,' with judges appointed simply 'to sit and decide upon all *actions civil*,'—not confining themselves to the determination of 'civil actions,'—to the withholding of civil consequences from sentences of the church courts, which, in their judgment, were not warranted by the statutes recognizing the jurisdiction of these courts—to the enforcing of the provision of the act 1592, c. 117, for retention of the fruits of the benefice, in case of wrongful refusal to admit a presentee, or the giving of other civil redress for any civil injury held by them to have been wrongfully sustained in consequence thereof,—have, in numerous and repeated instances, stepped beyond the province allotted to them by the constitution, and within which alone their decisions can be held to declare the law, or to have the force of law, 'deciding not only actions civil,' but 'causes spiritual and ecclesiastical,' and that, too, even where these had no connexion with the exercise of the right of patronage; and have invaded the jurisdiction, and encroached upon the spiritual privileges of the courts of the church, in violation of the constitution of the country, in defiance of the statutes above

mentioned, and in contempt of the laws of this kingdom : as for instance—

“By interdicting presbyteries of the church from admitting to the pastoral charge, when about to be done irrespective of the civil benefice attached thereto, or even where there was no benefice, no right of patronage, no stipend, no manse or glebe, and no place of worship, or any patrimonial right connected therewith.

“By issuing a decree to take on trial and admit to the office of the holy ministry, in a particular charge, a probationer or unordained candidate for the ministry, intruding him also on the congregation, contrary to the will of the people;—both in this and in the cases last mentioned, invading the church’s exclusive jurisdiction in the admission of ministers, the preaching of the word, and administration of sacraments—recognized by statute to have been ‘given by God’ directly to the church, and to be beyond the limits of the secular jurisdiction.

“By prohibiting the communicants of the church from intimating their dissent from the call to a candidate for the ministry to be their pastor.

“By granting interdict against the establishment of additional ministers to meet the wants of an increasing population, as uninterruptedly practised from the reformation to this day; against constituting a new kirk-session in a parish, to exercise discipline; and against innovating on its existing state, ‘as regards pastoral superintendence, its kirk-session, and jurisdiction, and discipline thereunto belonging.’

“By interdicting the preaching of the gospel and administration of ordinances, throughout a whole district, by any minister of the church under authority of the church courts; thus assuming to themselves the regulation of the ‘preaching of the word’ and ‘administration of the sacraments,’ and, at the same time, invading the privilege, common to all the subjects of the realm, of having pleasure to worship God according to their consciences, and under the guidance of the ministers of the communion to which they belong.

“By holding the members of inferior church judicatories liable in damages for refusing to break their ordination vows and oaths, (sworn by them, in compliance with the requirements of the statutes of the realm, and, in particular, of the act of security embodied in the treaty of union) by disobeying and setting at defiance the sentences, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, of their superior church judicatories, to which, by the constitution of the church and country, they are in such matters subordinate and subject, and which, by their said vows and oaths, they stand pledged to obey.

“By interdicting the execution of the sentence of a church judicatory prohibiting a minister from preaching or administering ordinances within a particular parish, pending the discussion of a cause in the church courts as to the validity of his settlement therein.

“By interdicting the General Assembly and inferior church judicatories from inflicting church censures; as in one case, where interdict was granted against pronouncing sentence of deposition upon a minister found guilty of theft by a judgment acquiesced in by himself; in another, where a presbytery was interdicted from proceeding in the trials of ministers accused of fraud and swindling; and in a third, where a presbytery was interdicted from proceeding with a libel against a licentiate for drunkenness, obscenity, and profane swearing.

“By suspending church censures, inflicted by the church judicatories in the exercise of discipline (which, by special statute, all ‘judges and officers of justice’ are ordered ‘to give due assistance’ for making ‘to be obeyed or otherwise effectual’), and so reponing ministers suspended from their office, to the power of preaching and administering ordinances; thus assuming to themselves the ‘power of the keys.’

“By interdicting the execution of a sentence of deposition from the office of the holy ministry, pronounced by the General Assembly of the church; thereby also usurping the ‘power of the keys,’ and supporting deposed ministers in the exercise of ministerial functions, which is declared by special statute to be a ‘high contempt of the authority of the church, and of the laws of the kingdom establishing the same.’

“By assuming to judge of the right of individuals elected members of the General Assembly to sit therein, and interdicting them from taking their seats; thus interfering with the constitution of the supreme court of the church, and violating her freedom in the holding of General Assemblies secured to her by statute.

“By, in the greater number of the instances above referred to, requiring the inferior judicatories of the church to disobey the sentences, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, of the superior judicatories to which, by the constitution in church and state, they are subordinate and subject, and which, in compliance with the provisions of the statutes of the realm, their members have solemnly sworn to obey:—thus subverting ‘the government of the church by kirk-sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, and general assemblies,’ settled by statute and the treaty of union as ‘the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland.’

“By all which acts, the said Court of Sessions have exercised powers not conferred upon them by the constitution, but

by it excluded from the province of any secular tribunal—have invaded the jurisdiction of the courts of the church—have subverted its government—have illegally attempted to coerce church courts in the exercise of their purely spiritual functions have usurped the ‘power of the keys’—have wrongfully acclaimed, as the subjects of their civil jurisdiction, to be regulated by their decrees, ordination of laymen to the office of the holy ministry, admission to the cure of souls, church censures, the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments—and have employed the means entrusted to them for enforcing submission to their lawful authority, and compelling submission to that which they have usurped—in opposition to the doctrines of God’s word, set forth in the Confession of Faith, as ratified by statute—in violation of the constitution—in breach of the treaty of union—in defiance of diverse express enactments of the legislature, and in disregard of the oath of their sovereign, from whom they hold their commissions.

“And whereas farther encroachments are threatened on the government and discipline of the church, as by law established, in actions now depending before the said court, in which it is sought to have sentences of deposition from the office of the holy ministry reduced and set aside, and minorities of inferior judicatories authorized to take on trial and admit to the office of the holy ministry, in disregard of and in opposition to the authority of the judicatories of which they are members, and of the superior judicatories to which they are subordinate and subject.

“And whereas the government and discipline of Christ’s church cannot be carried on according to his laws and the constitution of his church, as held by the Church of Scotland, and ratified by the laws of the land, subject to the exercise, by any secular tribunal, of such powers as have been assumed by the said Court of Session.

“And whereas this church, highly valuing, as she has done, her connection, on the terms contained in the statutes hereinbefore recited, with the state, and her possession of the temporal benefits thereby secured to her for the advantage of the people, must nevertheless, even at the risk and hazard of the loss of that connection and of these temporal benefits—deeply as she would deplore and deprecate such a result for herself and the community—persevere in maintaining her liberties as a church of Christ, and in carrying on the government thereof on her own constitutional principles, and must refuse to intrude ministers on her congregations, to obey the unlawful coercion attempted to be enforced against her in the exercise of her spiritual functions and jurisdiction, or to consent that her people be deprived of their rightful liberties.

“Therefore, the General Assembly, while, as above set forth, they fully recognize the absolute jurisdiction of the civil courts in relation to all matters whatsoever of a civil nature, and especially in relation to all temporalities conferred by the state upon the church, and the civil consequences attached by law to the decisions, in matters spiritual, of the church courts—do, in name and on behalf of this church, and of the nation and people of Scotland, and under the sanction of the several statutes, and the treaty of union hereinbefore recited, claim, as a right, that she shall freely possess and enjoy her liberties, government, discipline, rights, and privileges, according to law, especially for the defence of the spiritual liberties of her people, and that she shall be protected herein from the foresaid unconstitutional and illegal encroachments of the said Court of Session, and her people secured in their Christian and constitutional rights and liberties.

“And they declare, that they cannot, in accordance with the word of God, the authorized and ratified standards of this church, and the dictates of their consciences, intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations, or carry on the government of Christ’s church, subject to the coercion attempted by the Court of Session as above set forth, and that at the risk and hazard of suffering the loss of the temporal benefits conferred by the state, and the advantages of an establishment, they must, as by God’s grace they will, refuse so to do; for, highly as they estimate these, they cannot put them in competition with the inalienable liberties of a church of Christ, which, alike by their duty and allegiance to their Head and King, and by their ordination vows, they are bound to maintain, ‘notwithstanding of whatsoever trouble or persecution may arise.’

“And they protest, that all and whatsoever sentences of courts and acts of the parliament of Great Britain, in contravention of the aforesaid government, discipline, rights, and privileges of this church, secured by the treaty of union, as an unalterable and fundamental condition thereof, are and shall be in themselves, void and null, and of no legal force or effect, as beyond the powers of the parties from whom they proceed, and in violation of the said treaty; and that, while they will accord full submission to all such acts and sentences, in so far—though in so far only—as those may regard civil rights, and privileges, whatever may be their opinion of the justice or legality of the same, their said submission shall not be deemed an acquiescence therein, but that it shall be free to the members of this church, or their successors, at any time hereafter when there shall be a prospect of obtaining justice, to claim the restitution of all such civil rights and privileges, and temporal benefits and endowments, as for the present they may be compelled to yield up, in

order to preserve to their office-bearers the free exercise of their spiritual government and discipline, and to the people the liberties, of which respectively it has been attempted so contrary to law and justice to deprive them.

“And finally, the General Assembly call the Christian people of this kingdom, and all the churches of the reformation throughout the world, who hold the great doctrine of the sole Headship of the Lord Jesus over his church, to witness, that it is for their adherence to that doctrine, as set forth in their Confession of Faith, and ratified by the laws of this kingdom, and the maintenance by them of the jurisdiction of the office-bearers, and the freedom and privileges of the members of the church from that doctrine flowing, that this church is subjected to hardship, and that the rights so sacredly pledged and secured to her are put in peril; and they especially invite all the office-bearers and members of this church, who are willing to suffer for their allegiance to their adorable King and Head, to stand by the church, and by each other, in defence of the doctrine aforesaid, and of the liberties and privileges, whether of office-bearers or people, which rest upon it; and to unite in supplication to Almighty God, that he would be pleased to turn the hearts of the rulers of this kingdom, to keep unbroken the faith pledged to this church, in former days, by statutes and solemn treaty, and the obligations come under to God himself, to preserve and maintain the government and discipline of this church in accordance with his word; or otherwise, that he would give strength to this church—office-bearers and people—to endure resignedly the loss of the temporal benefits of an establishment, and the personal sufferings and sacrifices to which they may be called, and would also inspire them with zeal and energy to promote the advancement of his Son’s kingdom, in whatever condition it may be his will to place them; and that, in his own good time, he would restore to them these benefits, the fruits of the struggles and sufferings of their fathers in times past in the same cause; and thereafter, give them grace to employ them more effectually than hitherto they have done for the manifestation of his glory.

No. 3.

*Resolutions of the Commission of the General Assembly in
Jan. 1843.*

I. The Commission having considered the letter of Her Majesty’s Secretary of State,* together with the Minute of the Special Commission in answer thereto, cordially approve of the said Minute, which they hereby adopt as their own.

*Sir James Graham.

II. The Commission observe, with extreme regret, that in the letter of the Secretary of State, the claim of the Church is stated in such a manner as to indicate very serious misapprehension in regard to that claim, in several essential points. In particular—

(1.) The letter seems to assume, that the Church placed her application for the abolition of patronage on the same footing with her claim to be protected against the invasions of the Civil Courts, in the exercise of her spiritual functions and jurisdiction; as solemnly ratified by statute and by national treaty; and that the Church considered both of these measures as equally indispensable to the continuance of her connection with the State; whereas it was the vindication of her spiritual jurisdiction which the Church claimed as being indispensable to her existence; the abolition of patronage she sought as a concession she deemed right and desirable.

(2.) The letter also represents the Church's claim in regard to jurisdiction as amounting to a demand that she shall have power exclusively to determine what is spiritual and what is civil, and to fix the bounds of her jurisdiction, as recognised by the state; and it directly charges the Church with having "meddled with what pertained to the civil jurisdiction," in violation of her own maxim, in the Second Book of Discipline;—whereas,

The Church fully admits, and has always admitted, to the civil courts the right of determining, for the extrication of its civil jurisdiction, in every instance, whether the spiritual courts have interfered with civil rights and interests, and of exercising unfettered control over all the temporal and civil benefits which are secured by State to the Church.

III. The Commission farther most deeply regret to perceive, that the grounds of statute law on which the Church rests her constitutional claim of exclusive jurisdiction in matters spiritual, and her complaint against the invasions of the civil courts upon that jurisdiction, do not seem to have been considered or examined by Her Majesty's Government with that attention which a representation from the National Church, alleging, and professing to establish on constitutional grounds, a case of serious and intolerable grievance, would seem to the Commission to have deserved; the fact of the civil courts having actually claimed and exercised the power complained of being held conclusive as to their justly and legitimately possessing that power, without reference to the statutes and constitutional principles to which the Church appeals as demonstrating that they possess no such power, but that it is vested exclusively in the Church.

Again, the Church having consented—in respect of the civil interests ultimately involved, and her anxiety to satisfy the civil

Judges on the point of jurisdiction,—to appear and plead in the causes which have been raised—has been constructed into an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the civil courts in spiritual matters, and a pledge of submission to their decision, although the very plea maintained by the Church was a denial of that jurisdiction; and although her pleading in the civil courts was guarded in the very same manner in which the House of Commons guarded their plea, when that Honorable House authorized the Attorney-General to appear on behalf of their officer before the Court of Queen's Bench..

IV. The Commission have only to notice, in addition to these misapprehensions, the reference which the Letter of the Secretary of State makes to the Church's conduct in retaining upon her statute-book, after the adverse judgment of the supreme Civil Court, the act anent calls, commonly called the Veto Law.

The Commission cannot admit that the continuance of this law has been the cause of the Church's difficulties. These have been occasioned solely by her refusal to consent that pastors might be intruded into congregations contrary to the will of the people. The judgment pronounced the rejection of a presentee, in respect of the dissent of the congregation, illegal; and the Church could not have escaped from the application of that judgment, unless she had been prepared, not simply to change her form of procedure, as regulated by the Veto Law, or to change the presentee upon trials, in the ordinary technical sense of that phrase, but also to settle him as minister of the parish, even in opposition to the united voice of the congregation.

Neither can the Commission admit that the continuance of this law has been, or is, any obstacle in the way of a settlement of this question. For, not only has the Church all along declared her entire willingness to acquiesce in any arrangement which secured her fundamental principles, into whatever form these might be cast;—but legislative measures have been proposed and introduced, differing greatly in form from the Church's present laws, to which no objection was ever stated by the Church on that account, provided only her great principles were maintained.

But this is not all. Although the Church never could hold that she was under any obligation to alter her rule of procedure in a purely spiritual matter, such as the admission of ministers, merely in consequence of an adverse judgment of the civil courts, she was ever duly sensible of the inconvenience and danger of a state of matters in which the civil law, confessedly regulating the disposal of the fruits of the benefice, was declared to be at variance with the ecclesiastical rule, disposing of the cure of souls.

Had it been possible, consistently with the maintenance of her fundamental principle of non-intrusion, to bring her ecclesiastical rule into harmony with the declared civil law, the Church, from the first, solemnly and repeatedly intimated, that she would have been most anxious to do so.

But to have altered her form of procedure, professedly and apparently with the view of accommodating it to the state of the civil law, while she could not really act according to that law, but was resolved still to hold the dissent of the congregation to be a sufficient reason for rejecting a presentee, notwithstanding the judgments of the civil courts,—would have been truly to incur the blame of that double-dealing with which the Church has sometimes been unjustly charged.

At the same time the Church evinced, in various ways, her anxiety to avoid collision with the civil courts, and to make any alteration in the form into which she had cast her principle, which might facilitate an adjustment.

The Church, while applying earnestly to the Government and the Legislature for such a modification of the civil law as might bring the judgments of the civil courts in future, into harmony with the Church's fundamental principle, continued, for a series of years, to order all cases of disputed settlements to presentees to be referred by the inferior courts to the Assembly, with the avowed purpose of having them disposed of according to any new law, different from the Veto, by retaining the principle, which the Legislature might pass on the subject.

Farther, the Church, in the memorials of her Committees, and other public documents, uniformly expressed her willingness to make any alteration in her existing law which was consistent with adherence to principle, immediately on the passing of any legislative measure giving the civil sanction to another mode of carrying it into effect.

Moreover, the Church herself proposed, in the very beginning of her negotiations with Government, several methods of carrying out her principle, some of them altogether different from the Veto Law, to any one of which she declared her readiness to accommodate her ecclesiastical procedure.

V. The proceedings which have taken place since the meeting of the General Assembly, by whom the Claim of Rights,—particularly the second judgment of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case, finding spiritual courts liable in civil damages, in respect of the exercise of their functions in the admission of ministers, together with the decision of the Court of Session, interdicting and suspending the actings of spiritual courts, in regulating the cure of souls and the right of ruling in the Church,—render it, in the opinion of the Commission, more than ever clearly indispensable that any measure proposed

for the settlement of the existing difficulties of the Church, must effectually redress these grievances complained of, and secure the Church against such encroachments of the Civil Courts in time to come.

And the Commission consider it necessary to repeat explicitly, what is intimated in the Claim of Rights, that if the Church do not obtain the redress sought, and, by failure to obtain such redress, the Church find virtually adopted and sanctioned by the Legislature, the law as recently declared by the Civil Courts, and the jurisdiction in matters spiritual asserted by them, no result can be anticipated but that those of her office-bearers and members who adhere to the great doctrine and principles for which she is now contending, must renounce their present connection with the state, and abandon the temporal benefits of an Establishment, which will in that case be practically and in effect clogged with conditions which they cannot in conscience fulfil.

But, at the same time, deeming that it is from the Legislature,—the supreme power in the state,—that a decision, express or tacit, should be had by the Church, the Commission resolve to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament, laying before them the Claim of Rights adopted by the late General Assembly, and praying that they may be pleased to adopt measures for granting the redress and protection there sought, and appoint a Committee to prepare petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and report.

The Court then adjourned till seven o'clock.

No. 4.

Petition to Parliament of Commission of General Assembly.

Adopted in January, 1843.

Unto the Honorable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The Humble Petition of the Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland—

Showeth—That by the constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, as settled at the Revolution, the ultimate and exclusive jurisdiction of the Church and her Courts, in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, was recognized and ratified.

That this exclusive and ultimate jurisdiction had been claimed and asserted by the Reformed Church of Scotland from the period of its institution; and that, so early as 1567, when her jurisdiction was recognized by the Legislature, in the “preaching of the word,” “correction of manners,” and “administration of the sacraments,” it was declared by statute

1567, c. 12, "that there be no other jurisdiction ecclesiastical acknowledged within this realm, other than that which is and shall be within the same Kirk, or that which flows therefrom, concerning the premises."

That a few years thereafter, King James VI. obtained an act to be passed (1584, c. 129), declaring that the sovereigns of Scotland were, by themselves and their councils, "judges competent" to their subjects "in *all* matters;" but that by the subsequent act, establishing the Presbyterian government, and ratifying the General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions, appointed by the Kirk" (1592, c. 116), it was declared that the said statute should "noways be prejudicial, nor derogate any thing to the privilege that God has given to the spiritual office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation and deprivation of ministers, or any such like essential censures, grounded and having warrant of the word of God;" and by the same act, all statutes and laws against the "liberty," "jurisdiction," and "discipline" of the Kirk, as then exercised, were rescinded, and power was sanctioned in the Church Courts "to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical, according to the discipline of the Kirk."

That for a century thereafter a constant struggle was maintained between the Kings of Scotland on the one hand, and the Church and nation on the other, regarding the admission into the constitution of the principle that the sovereign was "supreme ruler in *all* causes, as well spiritual and ecclesiastical as temporal and civil," and that, after having been alternately rejected and acknowledged, it was finally repudiated at the Revolution.

That on one of the occasions on which this principle was re-introduced into the constitution of Scotland, namely, the restoration of King Charles II., the acts establishing the Presbyterian Church then repealed (and particularly the Act 1592, c. 116), were described in the statute whereby they were so repealed, as acts "by which the sole and only power and jurisdiction within this Church doth stand in the Church, and in the General, Provincial, and Presbyterial Assemblies, and Kirk-Sessions."

That the acts of Parliament so characterized by the Legislature of Scotland were revived and ratified at the Revolution (by statute 1690, c. 5), and the statute recognizing the principle, that the sovereign was supreme ruler in cases spiritual and ecclesiastical, was repealed as being "inconsistent with the establishment of Church government" then desired; which repeal was effected in compliance with the second article of the

Claim of Right of the Estates of Scotland, forming a condition of the offer of the crown to King William and Queen Mary.

That at the same time (by statute 1690, c. 5) the government of the Church by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions, was declared to be the "only government" of the Church within the kingdom; and the Confession of Faith was ratified and approved, wherein it is set forth, as an article of religious doctrine and belief, that the Divine Head of the Church "hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil Magistrate."

That, in regard to this matter, the constitution of England is directly opposed to that of Scotland, the sovereign, who is the source of judicial power, being there acknowledged to be supreme ruler in all causes, "as well spiritual and ecclesiastical as temporal and civil;" and this principle being admitted as a doctrine of religion in the articles of the Church of England.

That in forming an union with that kingdom, in which besides the distinction in the form of Church government, the constitution so greatly differed in regard to a matter that had formed the subject of such a long continued and arduous contest, crowned with success at the Revolution, the most anxious provision was made by the Scottish nation against any alteration or innovation in reference to the Church as then established, the Commissioners for the Union not being allowed even to treat of any such alteration, and it being provided by antecedent stipulation, "as a fundamental and essential condition" of the treaty, inserted in the treaty, and in the acts of the Parliaments of both kingdoms ratifying the same, that the "government, discipline, right, and privileges" of the Church, as settled at the Revolution, "in prosecution of the Claim of Right," should be maintained, "without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort, for ever."

That from the time when Scotland yielded up her separate and independent Legislature, the practical observance of the solemn stipulations of this treaty, of necessity depended on the good faith, justice, and honour of the English nation, whose representatives possessed a voice so paramount in the united Legislature.

That while the Scottish Church and nation deemed that they had good cause of complaint in the passing of the act of Queen Anne restoring the right of patronage which stood abolished at the Union,—an act promoted with a view to the overthrow of the Revolution settlement, and of the succession of the royal house which so happily reigns over this empire,—that act was never, till recently, so construed or employed as to be made a means of encroaching on the spiritual government and discipline of the Church.

That till within a few years the Court of Session of Scotland, a Court of statutory origin and limited jurisdiction, instituted exclusively for the decision of "actions civil," did not attempt to interfere with or coerce the church courts in the performance of their functions, but on the contrary, disclaimed all right so to interfere, restricting the redress given by them, when they deemed the proceedings of the church courts to be illegal, to the disposal of the temporalities attached by law to the spiritual cures of the Church, and determining whether and how far civil consequences followed, according to law, from the sentences of the church courts,—matters which the church freely acknowledges to be within the exclusive and ultimate jurisdiction of the Court of Session.

That of late that Court, no longer confiding itself to the disposal of civil rights, and the decision of causes appropriated to its exclusive jurisdiction, has, for the first time since its institution, interfered with and reviewed the sentences of the church courts, in matters confessedly within the province of the Church.

That the occasion of the first interference on the part of the said court, was the rejection of the presentee to a parish, in respect of the dissent of the congregation, under the fundamental principle of the Church, "that no pastor be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people,"—a principle forming part of the discipline of the Church, when established in 1592 with its then subsisting discipline,—which was declared in 1638,—re-declared in 1736, up to which time it had been, with few exceptions, acted on from the date of the Act of Queen Anne, and which was again re-declared in 1834,—and a principle which, although the Church has always been ready and willing to alter the form of it, she cannot abandon.

That the interference of the said court has not, however, been confined to enforcing the admission of a patron's presentee, when rejected in respect of the dissent of the people, but has been extended to almost all the various matters set forth in the statutes herein before recited as belonging to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church,—such as the "preaching of the word," "administration of the sacraments," "correction of manners," "collation and deprivation of ministers," and other matters falling within the "government of the Church," and the "putting order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical;"—suspending such sentences, and interdicting their execution, restoring suspended and deposed ministers to their functions,—prohibiting the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments throughout whole districts,—staying and paralyzing the discipline of the Church, and subverting its government.

That the General Assembly, which met in May last, agreed to and adopted a Claim, Declaration, and Protest, wherein are set forth at length the several acts of encroachment, on the part of the said court, complained of, and the diverse statutes which ratify and secure the jurisdiction of the Church, and exclude that of the civil court, in the matters to which these acts refer.

That since the rising of the said Assembly, additional and further encroachments have been made on the spiritual jurisdiction and government of the Church; as for instance—

In the Culsalmond case, the court suspended and interdicted a sentence of the General Assembly, which rescinded the settlement of a minister effected by a Presbytery, on the ground exclusively of certain irregularities in the procedure, admitted by all parties in the Assembly to be in contravention of the laws of the Church.

In the Arbroath case, they interdicted the inferior church courts from refusing Christian privileges,—including, of course, admission to the Lord's table—to an excommunicated person.

And in the Stewarton case, they suspended and interdicted the establishment of an additional pastoral charge in a parish,—prohibited the reception of the minister of it into the Presbytery, the institution of a new kirk-session, the allocation of a special district for the purposes of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline, or the making any alteration in the state of the parish as regards these matters.

That the establishment of additional charges, and the admission of the ministers to church courts, had been invariably and in numerous instances, extending from the passing of the act 1592 down to the present time, effected by authority of the church courts alone, without challenge or question, and the validity of her acts as to this matter had, in accordance with a train of high legal authority, been recognized by an unanimous decision of the Court of Session so lately as 1836; while the power of the Church to erect districts or parishes *quoad spiritualia* was expressly acknowledged by an act of his late Majesty King William (4 and 5 William IV., c. 41); and that the practical effect of the decision above mentioned, if submitted to by the Church, would be to extinguish about two hundred pastoral charges, of eminent utility to the country, and maintained without expense to the State,—to annihilate as many kirk-sessions, now in active and useful operation, to throw back the whole population of overgrown parishes (extending in one case to 110,000 souls) on the exclusive pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline of a single minister and kirk-session,—and to subject all increase of the means of such superintendence and discipline, though at the sole expense of

the inhabitants themselves, to the absolute will and pleasure of any proprietors of a parish holding one-fourth of the land within it.

That by these and the former decisions of the said Court, nearly the whole province of the Church's jurisdiction has been invaded, and scarcely one function is left to be performed by her Courts free from interference and coercion.

That the Church has not been able to recognize in the statutes establishing or conferring power on the Court of Session, any warrant given to it by the state to declare authoritatively the conditions of the Establishment,—to prescribe the limits of the Church's jurisdiction,—to coerce her Courts in the exercise of their functions within their own province,—or to pronounce and declare the law, and the mind and will of the Legislature, as to these matters, while the supreme Court of Appeal cannot, as such, exercise any jurisdiction not belonging to the Court whose judgments it reviews; and the Church being vested with a jurisdiction sanctioned by the state, has not felt herself at liberty to abandon that jurisdiction, merely on the declaration of another Court, not authorized by the state to determine its nature and limits.

That if, however, the Legislature, as the supreme power of the state, shall, whether tacitly or expressly, recognise in the Court of Session such a power, or adopt its decisions as declaring the law in the matters in question, the Church will, of course, recognise these as law, and hold that the conditions of the Establishment must thenceforth be deemed to be such as the Civil Court has declared, and that the powers asserted by it over the Church Courts must be deemed to be recognised as having been conferred upon it by the state.

That in the Claim, Declaration, and Protest, above mentioned, the General Assembly set forth that the Church must, in any event, "refuse to intrude ministers on her congregations," and to "submit to the unlawful coercion attempted to be enforced against her in the exercise of her spiritual functions and jurisdiction," even at the risk of the loss of the benefits of her Establishment.

That the late decisions of the Court of Sessions, and other recent events, tend more and more to confirm and increase the conviction of this Commission, that if effectual redress be not afforded by Parliament, a speedy disruption of the Establishment is inevitable.

That, deeply impressed with the grievous evils to the nation, as well as to the Church, which would thence ensue, the Commission would earnestly entreat your Honourable House to take into your serious consideration the matters above set forth, and which are more fully detailed in the Claim, Declaration,

and Protest above mentioned, together with the true character and nature of the Church's claims, and the statutes to which she appeals in support of them, as well as those establishing the Court of Session, which, as she conceives, do not confer the powers of late, and for the first time since its institution, exercised by that Court, and thereupon provide protection and security to the judicatories and people of the Church of Scotland in the enjoyment of their constitutional and guaranteed rights and liberties; so as to save from subversion a Church dear to Scotland, which, your petitioners venture to think, has conferred some benefit on the country, and which is associated with the cause of liberty and order, and the extension of knowledge, religion, and piety, in this part of Her Majesty's dominions; and, at the same time, to keep unbroken a solemn treaty, on the faith of which the Scottish nation gave up its independent legislature.

Your petitioners therefore pray, that it may please your Honourable House to take the premises into your serious and favourable consideration, together with the Claim, Declaration, and Protest, above mentioned and hereunto appended, and thereupon to adopt such measures as to your Honourable House may seem meet, to secure the judicatories of the Church of Scotland and members thereof from coercion and interference, in regulating and disposing of the said several matters above recited, as to which it is provided by the acts of the Parliament of Scotland before mentioned, "that no other jurisdiction be acknowledged than that which is in the Church, or which flows therefrom," and that the statute declaratory of the power of the sovereign should not "derogate or be prejudicial to" the powers of the office-bearers of the Church; and also in administering the "government" of the Church recognised by statute, as being "only" in the Courts of the Church, and as having been established therein "distinct from the civil magistrate;" and in establishing additional charges; as she has been immemorially in use to do, and in increasing the means of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline; and to protect the sentences of the Church as to these matters from being reduced or suspended, or the execution thereof interdicted, as to their effects in respect of spiritual and ecclesiastical status, functions, and privileges:—not interfering with, however, nor encroaching upon, the undoubted power and jurisdiction belonging to the Civil Courts absolutely and exclusively to determine in what circumstances, and to what extent, civil consequences,—as to the possession of the temporalities and civil rights attached to ministerial charges within Scotland,—do, according to law, follow upon such sentences in any particular case; and how far civil aid shall be allowed for carrying them

into effect : and, in like manner, to adopt such measures as to your Honourable House may seem meet,—by alteration of the law, in regard to the presentation to church livings in Scotland, as recently declared by the Civil Court, for securing that no minister be intruded into any benefice in Scotland contrary to the will of the congregation : Your petitioners further pray, that they may be heard by certain of their number, or by their counsel, at the bar of your Honourable House, in support of this their petition.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

No. 5.

The Protest read and handed in before retiring from the Assembly, in May, 1843.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5th. That the said civil courts have power to determine on the right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the Church by law established, and to issue interdicts against sitting and voting therein, irrespective of the judgment and determination of the said judicatories.

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

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

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

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

And further, considering that a General Assembly, composed in accordance with the laws and fundamental principles of the Church, in part of commissioners themselves admitted without the sanction of the civil court, or chosen by Presbyteries, composed in part of members not having that sanction, cannot be

constituted as an Assembly of the Establishment without disregarding the law and the legal conditions of the same as now fixed and declared.

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

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

And further, considering that, in these circumstances, a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by law established, cannot at this time be holden, and that any Assembly, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Church, cannot be constituted in connection with the State without violating the conditions which must now, since the rejection by the Legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, be held to be the conditions of the Establishment.

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

connected with, and retain the benefits of the Establishment to which such condition is attached.

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

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

And, finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall, in God's good providence, be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the Establishment while we cannot comply with the conditions now deemed to be thereto attached—we PROTEST, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this

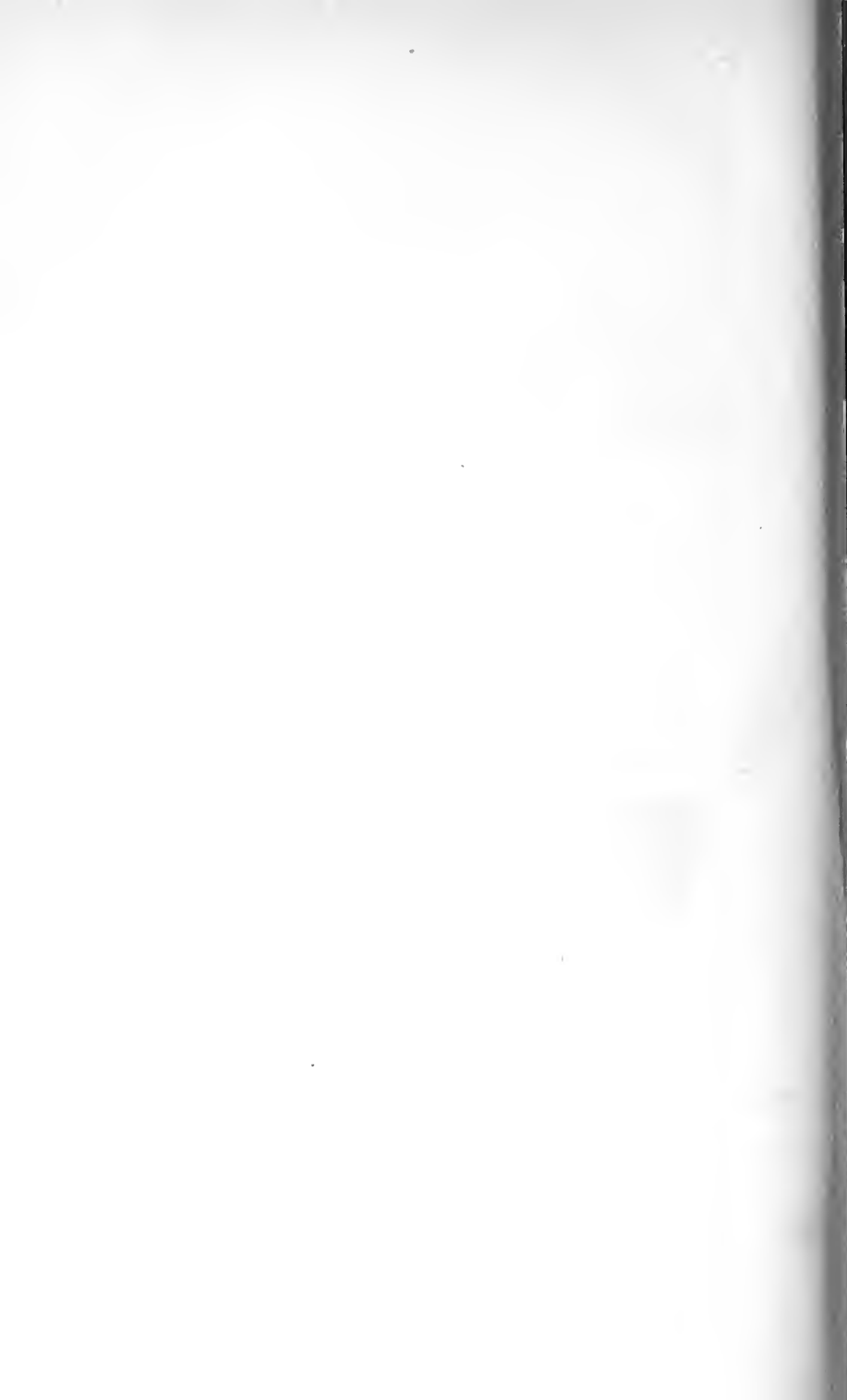
day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of his glory, the extension of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to his holy word: and we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction, that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as King in his Church.*

Immediately on reading the Protest, which was listened to with breathless attention, Dr. Welsh handed it to the Clerk, left the chair, and proceeded to the door of the Assembly, followed by Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Gordon, Dr. Macfarlane of Greenoch, Dr. Brown of Glasgow, Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, and the whole body of adhering ministers and elders. The effect of their movement on the audience was striking—a loud cheer burst from the gallery, which, however, was suddenly hushed, and the whole audience stood gazing intently on the scene below, very many of them in tears. Whenever Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon made their appearance outside, they were received with a tremendous burst of applause from the masses assembled in George Street, which was continued and reiterated with the most extraordinary enthusiasm as they went along. All the windows and staircases were filled with ladies; nay, every available space,—the very housetops were covered with groups of spectators, and the universal waving of hats and handkerchiefs from all quarters, mingled with the shouts below, had a very imposing effect. The whole body formed into a line of procession, four abreast, and proceeded down by North Hanover Street, Dundas Street, Pitt Street, &c., to the Hall at Tanfield, Canonmills—preceded, accompanied, and followed by immense multitudes of people—a large number of windows along the line being, as in George Street,

*The above Protest was concurred in by upwards of 300 ministers, not members of Assembly. A complete list of all the adhering ministers will be found in the proceedings of Tuesday, May 23, when the Act and Deed of Demission was signed in presence of the Assembly.

filled with ladies waving their handkerchiefs. When they reached Tanfield, they were greeted with a loud and continued burst of cheering from the multitudes which had assembled to receive them; and on entering the Hall, the part of it assigned to the public was found filled to overflowing, with a large and most respectable company. Those parts of the Hall devoted to ministers and elders were soon also filled, and when the business commenced, the sight of the immense mass of people congregated, upwards of 3,000 persons, had a most magnificent effect.





THE CHARACTER
OF THE LATE
THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D., LL. D.
AND THE
LESSONS OF HIS LIFE
FROM
PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

BY THE
REV. THOMAS SMYTH, D. D.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
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THE LATE DR. CHALMERS.

Startling is the cry which the waiting blast bears along: "Watchman, what of the night?" And portentous must be our response, as we announce that one star after another has disappeared from the moral firmament, while thick darkness shrouds the midnight sky. Fuller and Hall, Watson, Clarke and Waugh, Foster and Gurney, Welsh and Abercrombie, Brown and McCheyne—stars which burned brightly, and shed around them a transforming radiance—have, one by one, flickered and faded, and become extinct, like those constellations which have from time to time disappeared from the heavens. And now we hear that Chalmers—"the divine Chalmers—Chalmers the object of Scotland's love—Chalmers the benefactor of all nations through all time,"*—that star of the first magnitude—that centre of such powerful attractions, by which so many planetary orbs were kept in motion, and by whose diffusive light so many were illumined—has also sunk in darkness; and that the kindred spirit of the renowned Wardlaw is waxing dim, and giving token of an approaching extinction. "The greater lights" have thus, one by one, vanished, and we are left to those "lesser lights," which still skirt the horizon, or beam upon us from on high.

Thus genius fades away,
Power, talent, influence thus decay,
And leave us dark, and in dismay.

Shall we then fold our arms and fall asleep? Shall we sit down and take our ease? Shall we excuse our stumbling because there is no light? "Shall the righteous perish and no man lay it to heart; and merciful men be taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come? He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in uprightness." No! rather let us cry unto God in our trouble; rather let us take unto ourselves his own words of earnest and encouraging prayer. "Help Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail among the children of men." Thus let us plead with God that he may stir up the gifts and graces of his servants still preserved to us; that he may enlighten them abundantly with all heavenly wisdom, and cause them to give light to those that are sitting in darkness; and that by his creating energy, he may bring forth other lights to "rule" and irradiate our night season. Let us, too, remember that God who is to be "blessed" for having "given

*Dr. Campbell.

these heaven-enlightened minds," is also to be blessed in their removal. God's glory is to be proclaimed by a grateful remembrance of these gifts of his hand, and an admiring contemplation of the wisdom, power and grace illustrated in their character and lives.

Dr. Chalmers was in every way a remarkable man, and will be found, like the sun, to have been greater in his setting, than in his noon-day splendor; and to have exerted a greater and wider influence by his posthumous power, than even by his living presence. He was one of those stars which are visible in both hemispheres, and which set in one, only to rise upon the other with continued or increasing lustre.

A watchman on his lofty tower,
His thrilling trump still warned the church,
When fraud or danger was at hand.
By him, as by a beacon light,
Her pilots still kept course aright;
As some proud column, he alone
Had strength to prop her tottering cause.
Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silver sound is still,
And heard no more o'er dale or hill.

Oh, think how to this latest day,
When death, *just hovering*, claimed his prey,
With Palinure's unaltered mood,
Firm at his laboring post he stood;
Each call for needful rest repelled,
With dying hand the rudder held,
Till in his fall with fateful sway,
The steerage of the church gave way.

The public events of Dr. Chalmers' life are few and easily told. Born at Anstruther, in Fife, March 17th, 1780, he was educated at the University of St. Andrews. At this period he was devoted, with intense ardour, to the cultivation and practical pursuit of the physical and mathematical sciences, including Botany, Conchology, Chemistry, and Astronomy, &c.,* for which, and especially for the latter, "as the queen of the sciences," he ever retained a fond partiality.

His first ministry was at Cavers, where—according to the judicious custom of the Scottish church—he labored as a helper to the aged minister of that parish. Here, like his senior, Chalmers poured forth the streams of earthly wisdom; but as neither of them knew more of the Gospel than as a system of refined morality, the stream, of necessity, could rise no higher than the fountain, nor partake of more renovating qualities. In 1803, he was removed to the country parish of Kilmany, in Fifeshire, where he continued to think, to feel, and to preach, as he had done at Cavers; and devoted himself to his favorite

*After his settlement at Kilmany, he gave lectures on Chemistry, at St. Andrews.

pursuits—"wandering all day long, hammer in hand, and botanical box on his shoulders, chipping the rocks and ransacking the glens, and cultivating a kindly acquaintance with the outlandish peasantry."

From Kilmany Dr. Chalmers was translated to the Tron Church, in Glasgow, in 1815;—from thence to the chair of Moral Philosophy, in the University of St. Andrews;—and from thence to the Professorship of Theology, in the College of Edinburgh, "the top of the pyramid—the highest post which Presbyterian Scotland knew—and, like Newton to the Mathematical Chair in Cambridge, his pre-eminent fitness bore Chalmers into the Edinburgh Chair of Divinity." It was from this central focus, he sent forth his blazing thoughts to kindle up beacon fires on every hill and on every hearth in Scotland. From this high station, which he continued to adorn, with increasing honor, Dr. Chalmers voluntarily retired, when he abandoned the establishment of Scotland and led the van of that glorious army of evangelical ministers, who have since constituted the Free Church of Scotland. As the acknowledged head, leader, and champion of that church, he shone more and more, until "he was taken up out of their sight."

It is not our purpose to enter into a more extended biographical notice of Dr. Chalmers; or into a philosophical analysis of his character and talents. This will be done more satisfactorily by others. It will be our object to present some general considerations, suggested by his character and life, and our own partial acquaintance with him, which may afford us, at this distance from the scene of his labors, instruction and profit.

And, in the first place, may we not behold, in Dr. Chalmers, the infinite resources of Divine wisdom and power, in the formation of human minds and hearts.

In the works of nature, variety is a prominent characteristic, and one chief source of pleasure and of admiration. Not only are the species of rocks and earths, fossils and minerals, plants and trees, insects and animals, birds and fishes,—numerous and diversified: but every specimen of every species, is distinct and individual. So is it with the human race. The features and limbs, the voice, the manners, and the disposition of every individual, are unlike. So that, while the prominent features of man are few, no two men are exactly similar. This wonderful variety is manifested in the mental constitution of different men. With faculties few in their number, and substantially alike in all men, we find, in all, the same individual distinctions, and the same "uniform variety."

Dr. Chalmers was not only an illustration of this characteristic peculiarity of mind,—he was an eminent exemplification of the infinite resources of Divine power and wisdom. He was

a genius—a genius of a high order. But there have been many men equally great, and no doubt superior, as it regards any one endowment. He was remarkable in possessing, in an equally powerful development, faculties which have been hitherto deemed antagonistic. The head and the heart have seldom been proportionally endowed. Judgment and fancy; reason and imagination; abstraction and feeling; analysis and illustration; science and poetry; the severity of demonstration, and the nice discrimination of probabilities; subtle distinctions made plain by profuse and simple illustrations; vehemence of zeal, and generosity of feeling; lofty ambition, and unimpeachable candour; invincible love of truth, and the most perfect charity for error; greatness and goodness; sublimity and simplicity; angelic reach of thought, and childlike humility; visions and fancies beyond the reach of other men, and a spirit exuberant with companionable emotions; love of family, brotherhood, and denominational distinctions, and the most illimitable benevolence and complacent delight in good men of all denominations; a tenacious grasp of all the elements of Calvinistic theology, and a heartfelt embrace of all who held to the practical and fundamental verities of the evangelical system; a capacity to rise to regions of the loftiest speculation, and an activity that was ever ready to exert itself in the execution of its schemes, and the practice of its benevolent designs; fitness to become a venerated leader, and a hearty co-worker: to guide and to follow; to be every thing, and to be nothing; to speak, and to be silent; to feel at home with intellectual giants, and with prattling children and fireside chat;—these are qualities which past experience has regarded as incompatible and inharmonious, but which were all found combined in apparently easy and most happy adjustment, in the wonderful mental and moral constitution of Dr. Chalmers. He was great scientifically, great morally, great practically, great socially—

With genius high and lore profound,
And wit that loved to play, not wound;
And all the reasoning powers divine,
To penetrate, resolve, combine,
And feelings keen, and fancy's glow,—
All sleep with him who sleeps below:
Genius, and taste, and talent gone,
Forever tombed beneath the stone.*

*Speaking of Pascal, M. Villemain in his Eloge says, "Thus the advance of human knowledge produced a divorce between science and literature; and the enlargement of our understanding led to a separation in its pursuits; as an empire growing too extensive falls necessarily into independent provinces.

"If we look at the individuals who have, at any time, endeavored to challenge an exemption from this common law of human weakness and limitation, we find our observation more confirmed. Where they have succeeded in achieving some exceptions, they never brought them to bear upon the same points. Perfection in the one object has ever been gained at the expense of another, and the same mind has alternately exhibited mediocrity and greatness."

Dr. Chalmers impressed alike his readers, his hearers, his visitors, his companions, and his intimate friends, with a sense of his vast superiority. He inspired them all with a conviction at once of his greatness and of his goodness; and he sent every one away with ardent love and affection for his kindness, urbanity and condescension, and with admiration and awe for his pre-eminent genius. There was, too, in him, a wonderful adaptation of the outward and the inward—the body and the mind. The power and the purpose were of equal strength; and hence, more than almost any other man, he lived to see accomplished nearly all he had designed, to build all he had planned, and to complete all he had undertaken.

This remarkable comprehensiveness of Dr. Chalmers, may be illustrated in his character as a preacher, as a writer, and a practical man.

Let us view him as a PREACHER. When fully entered upon the subject he had chosen, his genius kindled with the thoughts, until he swept along like the impetuous torrent, bearing everything before it and scattering its foam in all directions. The spray (at least in his earlier years,) *literally* issued from his mouth, too full of words, and too big with vehement utterance to allow the natural functions of the throat to be fully sustained. Like the breathless war-horse—fired with his rider's ardour, and dashing forward in pursuit of the retreating foe, as the trumpet sounds the loud notes of victory, his sides covered with foam, and his nostrils breathing forth fiery vapour,—so did this mighty champion of the cross rush upon his subject, and bear down his hearers with irresistible power. At the end of every paragraph, he stood breathless and exhausted, wiped from his brow the heavy sweat, adjusted his gown, changed the hand which he always kept upon his paper, while the other was clenched and elevated, and then, with an inflated chest, a fresh inspiration of zeal, and burning haste, bending forward over the pulpit, he plied his freed arm like some Cyclopean Vulcan, blew up the fire of his consuming thoughts into a torrid blaze, and then seizing upon the one idea which he wished to mould and fashion to his taste, he placed it upon his anvil, and while his hearers stood amazed at the Herculean strokes with which he battered it into shape, and the wondrous skill with which these accomplished the intended effect, they perceived the complete idea assuming shape and form before them, until it became radiant with sunbeams, and glistening with reflected light.

His eloquence a stream of living thought,
Gushing from out the fountain of the heart—
Now 'mong green pastures, making minstrelsy,
Sweet to the ear of cottage patriarch—
Now fearless, rushing from the dizzy brink,
Like mountain cataract, with thundering voice,

Bearing the breathless hearers midst the foam ;
 Then lulling into calm, midst rainbow hues,
 As gently flowed from his persuasive tongue,
 The promises of pleasantness and peace.

He was indeed a giant in force and power, physically as well as mentally. He stormed the citadel of the most impregnable and prejudicial heart, and forced a lodgment for the most unwelcome thoughts. He took his hearers captive, and led them at his will. The power of free thought, of voluntary intellection, and of inferential reasoning, seemed, for the time being, to be lost, as the wrapt listener sat in silent awe, fastened by the spell of the great enchanter. He was, indeed, a magician, and wondrous were his feats. When he propounded some startling utterance, which it was his object to illustrate, although at first it seemed dark as Erebus, as his genius lighted up the illustration, you felt as if gazing at some pyrotechnic exhibition, which, as the fire extended, revealed more and more of the hidden design, until the letters, form, and figure came forth in characters of flame.*

*Our description may appear exaggerated, to those who have not heard him. But it will be found confirmed in the representation of the writer in Frazer's Magazine, who was evidently a familiar: "We seem to see, and hear him still, bending forward, with his left hand on his manuscript, and his right clenched and elevated in energetic action, while the wildest expression of the eye mingles strangely with the solemn and almost austere determination of that large firm upper lip, and broad knotty forehead; and what lies written before him is enunciated in a voice husky, indeed, and tuneless, but very distinct and in the highest degree earnest and vehement, so as to make you almost feel the words literally smiting your ear, and fixing themselves in your flesh as if with fangs. There was something in Chalmers' more impassioned delivery that always reminded us of the whizzing of steel upon a rapidly revolving grindstone, with the sparks of fire flying off in showers. At all times there was a breadth and depth of cordiality in his utterance, which sent it to the hearts of his hearers at once. The gusto that he put into it was immense. The sound is still in our ear, of the hurricane of denunciatory fervor with which extending his arms aloft, and with his eyes shooting their fiercest gleams, he spoke that day, of the Lord sweeping the earth with the besom of destruction. We remember little besides of the sermon, except that the text was—"The kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Probably the words, as was his custom, were again and again repeated, in the progress of the discourse. We recollect too how, when soon after he had commenced, a slight disturbance arose among some portion of the closely-packed and struggling people, he repressed it at once by a 'Hush!' uttered quickly as he went on, and without raising his eye from the manuscript lying before him, in which his whole soul seemed to be absorbed—its commanding solemnity, nevertheless, nothing could surpass. And it seems as if we had listened to him but yesterday, as, after the sermon, while he panted with exhaustion, he read these verses from the noble old Scotch metrical version of the Psalms:—

"The floods, O Lord, have lifted,
 They lifted up their voice;
 The floods have lifted up their waves;
 And made a mighty noise.

"But yet the Lord that is on high,
 Is more of might by far
 Than noise of many waters is,
 Or great sea billows are."

As a speaker, Dr. Chalmers was anything but graceful, and as a composer he was often anything but chaste and finished, according to the rules of rhetoric and style. In any ordinary man, his manner would be grotesque, as of some rude ploughman in the character of a senatorial orator; and in any ordinary man, his style would be condemned and scouted as bombastic and uncouth. But he was all his own. There were none like him—none to be compared with him. His physical and mental powers were mutually adapted to each other—the sword was fitted to the sheath, and both fitted to the giant hand of this spiritual Guy of Warwick. In his style and thoughts, other men seemed like David in Goliath's armour.

We first heard Dr. Chalmers when he came some eighteen or twenty years ago, to open the new and elegant Presbyterian Church in Fisherwick place, Belfast, Ireland. The audience were admitted by tickets. That Sabbath was a proud day for Belfast. The streets leading to the Church, from his temporary residence, were lined with spectators eager to see—though they could not hear—the greatest living preacher. We were seated among the dense throng in the gallery near the pulpit. At the proper hour the speaker entered the Church, amid the suppressed whispers and eager looks of the vast multitude. He was medium in height; thick in proportion; with large head, broad features, wrinkled brow, grey eyes, large and half closed eyelids, thin, scattered and white hair, and wore the Genevan gown and bands. His utterance was thick and not very distinct—his tongue seeming to be of undue size, and this with his broad Scottish accent, and the simplicity of his words, gave to his reading of the Psalm and the Scriptures, and to the prayers, no promise of his coming eloquence. We were prepared in College fashion (which was then our *norma vivendi*) with our note book and pencil to make ourselves master of the sermon, and we did commence with his commencement. But before he had proceeded far, we found ourselves spell-bound—the pencil dropt from our hands—and the note book from its hold—our eyes were rivetted upon the speaker—our feelings were roused with his into tumult of emotion—and we found ourselves as when we have stood upon the margin of Niagara's boiling rapids, impelled as by an irresistible power to throw ourselves headlong—so mastered were we by the magic of his eloquence. During the delivery of a paragraph the congregation seemed not even to breathe, and when finished there was a universal murmur as every hearer prepared himself for another effort of attention. The late Dr. Young, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and who was remarkable for his strict decorum and his attention to rule and etiquette, was among the hearers, and at the end of each paragraph he turned round to a friend behind him,

and with irresistible ardour exclaimed, "did you ever hear the like of that." As we left the church we felt exhausted and depressed as when "the voice of one that playeth well upon an instrument" is hushed, and we wandered home in silence and in sadness.

We have heard an anecdote of a celebrated Scottish divine who had not heard Dr. Chalmers. Learning that he was to preach a public discourse some miles distant on a Sabbath evening, he repaired there after his own labours, and pressed his way into the crowded church. When he saw the preacher enter and ascend the pulpit, and heard him, as he proceeded with the service—judging from what we have mentioned and particularly from the heavy, glazed eye, only brilliant when lighted up by the fire of his genius—he felt assuredly disappointed, and being confident that he was some substitute, would have been glad to have escaped. But when the preacher made some progress in his discourse all doubts vanished, and he felt that it was indeed the man. When Dr. Chalmers closed, as he thought, with unwonted brevity, (although the discourse had occupied above an hour,) he found himself unable to erect his frame, and then discovered, for the first time, that he had been unconsciously leaning forward upon the opposite seat on his *elbow*, while a brawny Scotchman had been resting his elbow in the hollow of his back.

Such was the eloquence which forced even from Francis Jeffrey, after hearing one of his speeches in the General Assembly, the enthusiastic declaration that he would walk twenty miles any day for such another feast of eloquence. "His mind," says Mr. Turnbull, "was on fire with his subject, and transferred itself all glowing to the minds of his hearers. For the time being, all were fused into one great whole by the resistless might of his burning eloquence. In this respect Chalmers has been thought to approach nearer than any other man of modern times, the style and tone of Demosthenes. His manner had a torrent vehemence, a sea-like swell and sweep, a bannered tramp as of armies rushing to deadly conflict. He thundered out his gigantic periods, as if winged with volleyed lightning. The hearers were astonished, awed, carried away, lifted up as if on the wings of the wind, and borne withersoever the master listeth."

The last time we heard Dr. Chalmers was in Edinburgh, in July, 1846, when we learned that he was to hold forth to his new Missionary congregation at the West Port. This is the name of one of the most destitute and outcast parts of Edinburgh, where a considerable portion of the 50,000 inhabitants, who are said never to attend public worship, reside. Here Dr. Chalmers made the last application of his "territorial principle."

He limited himself to this single district which he split up into sub-districts, having each a Christian agent attached to it, so that not a lane or family might be left without frequent and habitual visitation. By this "busy internal Missionary process" he had succeeded in collecting into a day school about 300 children under male and female teachers,—in forming a Sabbath congregation with nearly 100 members having the usual apparatus of Sabbath Schools and prayer meetings. And for the erection of an elegant building, including church and school rooms, he had succeeded in securing ample subscriptions.

In the mean time, however, he occupied a part of the very building in which the infamous murderer Burke had carried on his infernal operations. It was with great difficulty we found our way through narrow and most filthy passages to an upper room, with low ceilings and dingy walls, filled with a most attentive auditory gathered from the humblest classes of society. Never did the preacher seem more wonderful than as he stood before that assembly, and with all his powerful eloquence dealt out to them, in such a form of statement and illustration as made them perfectly intelligible and deeply interesting, the great fundamental truths of the gospel. And never was the mighty efficacy of his genius and piety more clearly manifested than in the silent, subdued, earnest and intelligent appearance of his delighted congregation. The minister whom he had associated with him in this labor of love was present, and united with Dr. Chalmers in insisting upon one of the two divines from these Southern States, who were present, occupying the pulpit in the evening, which was readily done by the Rev. Dr. Scott of New Orleans.

As a WRITER, Dr. Chalmers was equally remarkable. He is like no other writer. His style, his manner, his words, his plan are his own. He had, unquestionably, many defects, and cannot be selected as a perfect model. His ideas absorb and fill his soul, and the only end aimed at in his language, is the communication of these ideas to other minds, in a manner so clear and effective, as not only to secure their lodgment, but to impart to them an assimilating and creating power. This, to our minds, is the chief characteristic of Chalmers as a writer. Whatever may be his views, he is sure to make them plain and impressive to his reader, who is like a besieged castle surrounded by enemies and incessantly battered with the missiles of the assailants. The readers of Dr. Chalmers cannot escape from his fire—they must front his onset until compelled to yield a glad and willing surrender to his overpowering argument and his irresistible illustrations. If one attack fails to unman or subdue, another is forthwith made from some new and unlooked for quarter. If one demonstration is insufficient

to produce conviction, another follows it. And if the wind and tempest of his long-sounding arguments, do not recover the prejudiced and cloaked reader, the sunshine of his radiant illustrations, will gradually melt him down. To most readers there is in the style of Dr. Chalmers, especially in his more energetic passages, a redundancy of words, of illustrations, and of argument, but all receive the full, clear, and perfect comprehension of some new, or forgotten, or misjudged truth. Other writers of genius seem like pearl-divers, as in the depth of ocean-thought they obscurely and with panting breath, seek their gems and present them still covered with hard and slimy incrustations. Chalmers, however, gives the gem itself, separated and polished, and appropriately set in some suitable adornment. Other writers of genius appear like cloudcapped mountains wrapt in fog, and sublime in their dim and half-discerned obscurity; but Chalmers claims our admiration and our awe by the simple majesty of his Alpine heights. The strength of genius is best displayed in its *suggestive* power over other minds; and for ourselves, we must confess that no other writer—prose or poetical—has had the same power as Chalmers, to stir up the waters of our soul and cause them to flow out in full and easy streams. From no other writer have we risen so disencumbered of the style and manner of his thoughts;—so prepared according to our ability to enter upon a work of intellectual effort. The want of such a stimulant to awaken the sensibilities of a dormant or fatigued spirit every one must have felt, and to those who have not made the experiment, we would recommend a preparatory reading, (and if aloud, the better,) of some pregnant and glowing page of Dr. Chalmers' works.

Nor is Dr. Chalmers less wonderful when regarded as a PRACTITIONER. He was not only a great commander, but also a great warrior. He was not only a statesman, but also a most energetic functionary. He was not only a noble Captain, but himself able on occasion, to take the helm or stand by the ropes, or even mount the topmost heights amid the fiercest sweep of the hurricane. The moral influence of Dr. Chalmers, can never be measured by the scan of human observation. To appreciate it, we should first have a clear perception of the condition of the established church in Scotland when he entered it and when he left it;—the tone and spirit he imparted to the pulpit in every part of the United Kingdom; and the onward swell of a pure, a simple, a living and a warm-hearted ministry to which he gave the impulse;* the shame, compunction, and repentance enkindled

*See an article in the London Evangelical Magazine on "The Chalmersian Era in Theology." "It is unquestionable that in the end he gave to a large portion of the rising talent of his native country a Theological direction."—*Frazer's Magazine*. His entrance among the cold formalism of moderate

by his appeals in the hearts of many a worldly patron; the gradual increase of an evangelical minority which he found small, faint, and buffeted, until it became the overwhelming majority in every Presbytery and Synod, and in the General Assembly itself; the zeal for home and foreign Missionary labor, he set agoing and fanned into an undying and ever brightening flame; the two hundred additional churches for the poor and neglected, which, by dint of personal journeys and laborious toil, preaching and begging, he himself erected; the glorious struggle maintained under his guidance by the unprotected church, against principalities and powers in high places, and against a hireling minority, within the church itself; and the still more glorious triumph of a free and disfranchised church, when in the face of all apparent inconsistency and of all earthly endurance, combining in his person the separate characters of Moses and of Joshua, he led forth 500 ministers with their elders and people from an Egyptian bondage and planted them in their own free and fruitful Canaan.* And when we shall have traced out all the way by which that church has been led from step to step, in its onward march until we now see it with its 725 churches either built or in progress,† its hundreds of manses and school-houses and teachers; its splendid College buildings, apparatus and Library; its sustentation fund supplying a moderate income and support to every pastor;‡ its extensive missions; its churches which, in the midst of every other burdens, failed *not one of them* during the past year, to contribute to the missionary enterprises; when we have fully appreciated these moral miracles which he achieved—then may we estimate the Herculean powers by which all this was achieved, and by which unity, energy, and vitality were communicated to every partner in the mighty undertaking, so that,

Theology in the University of St. Andrews, when appointed professor, is thus described by the same writer. The right of appointment was with the remaining professors of the United College, eight in number; and their election of Chalmers, was certainly the most dashing and eccentric movement that had been ventured upon by the *Senatus Academicus* since it has had an existence. We believe that people, when they heard of it, were generally inclined to conjecture that the thing must have been gone into when the learned body were hardly in their sober senses; but too much learning, perhaps, must have driven them suddenly all mad. It was as if a fleet of merchantmen, with highly combustible cargoes, seeing a fire-ship drifting about, instead of keeping as far out of its way as they could, had deliberately set about towing it into the midst of them.

*"Wherever Dr. Chalmers is, there," said Sir George Sinclair, "is the Church of Scotland."

†See Minutes of Evidence before Parliament, p. 136.

‡The Sustentation Fund was established and presided over at first by Dr. Chalmers, with what success every one knows. And we have no doubt but that through the divine blessing, it will fully realize his expectations, and be the means of maintaining and spreading a preached gospel in the land. The Sustentation Fund is one of Dr. Chalmers' great legacies to his country, and it behoves us, as we would fulfill our duty as a Church, and do honor to his memory, vigorously to support and cherish it.—See *Monthly Statement for July, 1847.*

guided by his wisdom, and impelled by his energy, they have "performed both moral and monetary wonders to which modern history supplies no parallel."

Such was Dr. Chalmers. His breadth of mind was commensurate to his unequal breadth of forehead. He was, in the original and literal sense of the word, MAGNANIMOUS. GREATNESS OF SOUL was perhaps more truly than any other trait, the distinguishing characteristic of this prince of divines.

Of this characteristic we cannot forbear alluding to one or two exemplifications; and the first is his universal charity and good will. "He was the most lovable of all living men," because he was the most loving. He was what Carlyle calls "a true man"—"a man of great soul as well as of great mind." "Wondrous goodness has therefore been termed the prime feature of his picture," and it was in "his mighty heart he most surpassed all his fellows." Good will to man was the inscription on his serene and benignant countenance. "Like him who best knew what was in man, but was so bent on making him better, that the kindness of his errand counteracted the keenness of his intuition, and filled his mouth with gracious words—there was so much inherent warmth in his temperament, and so much of heaven-imparted kindness in his Christianity, that love to man was his vital air, and good offices to man his daily bread." "With magnetic alertness all that was Christian in himself darted forth to all that was Christian in another." He had reduced the gospel to its system, and that system to its elements, and where he could find these he was at once prepared to recognize the valid title to the Christian character and to the Christian's love. He had accurately distinguished the fundamentals of Theology as a SYSTEM OF GRACE and as an everlasting covenant, and the fundamentals of that scheme as A PLAN OF "PRACTICAL AND PERSONAL SALVATION." He had walked about Zion, and marked well those "bulwarks" which guard the outposts of organized Christianity, and the principles which constitute true church-manship, as well as those which enter into the essence of a living, active and devoted piety. Without limiting, or in any degree curtailing the platform of sound and orthodox Calvinism, he had extended to its utmost limits the platform of Christian evangelism and of Christian brotherhood. Tenacious of all truth, he was equally tenacious of all peace. The champion of controverted and condemned dogmas, he was also the mightiest defender of evangelical union, intercommunion and co-operation. Love to Christians of every evangelical denomination was with him as much a passion as a principle. It was the easy, natural, and invariable outgoing of his soul. It was developed in kind actions as well as in kind words. What in other Christians is

the dictate of conviction and the result of a deep sense of obligation, was in him the instinct of his spiritual nature; what others feel that they *ought* to do and must do in consistency with the principles they confess, he cherished from the intuitive impulse of a Catholic spirit. And he has left behind him living monuments of this true philanthropic spirit, in the enlarged liberality of the free church of Scotland; in the North British Review *quorum magna pars fuit* and which is based upon the platform of evangelic Christian literature; and in the very last paper he drew up containing a plan for national education which might harmonize all religious parties.

But to our minds a more striking exemplification of Dr. Chalmers' breadth of soul and comprehensiveness of spirit is given in his noble vindication of this country, and especially of its Southern States, against the furious fanaticism of popular and ecclesiastical abolition outcry. In its investigation of truth, the human mind is easily warped by self interest and prejudice, and by a superficial, and partial exhibition of the real facts in the case. This is, in an especial man-manner, true where the subject of investigation is one remote from the immediate interest of the inquirer; still more where it is associated with a people towards whom there may exist feelings of national jealousy;—and still more when one view of the subject has, for these and other reasons, become the watch-word of popular excitement. Now just such to a British mind is the subject of American Slavery. It is enveloped in the mists of ignorant prejudice and national pride. It is confronted with British Colonial Slavery, from which, however, in all its essential relations, it is entirely and manifestly different. Its real character is unknown. No distinction is made between the civil condition of slavery in itself considered, and every existing law, custom and habit which may have grown up under it, and every case of cruelty and hardship which may occur in connection with it. To have a legal right to the life-services of men—who are of course to be used and employed as men,—is confounded with an absolute right claimed and enforced to the body, soul, and spirit of every slave, to have and to use them for the mere convenience and interest of the owner. And the guilt which ought properly to attach to an unchristian abuse of this right of service is most wrongfully and sinfully attributed to the legal claim and to the social condition by which such service is held.

The difficulties, therefore, in the way of a British mind in forming a correct judgment on the subject of American Slavery are almost *insurmountable*. And hence we find that the most pure and lofty spirits are found incapable of resisting the pressure of opinion, and are willing to sustain their influence at home by joining in the outcry against their brethren abroad. In

their position nothing is easier than with the help of false maxims and one-sided representations, and a reference to their own civil polity, to frame an argument against their American brethren apparently irresistible, and thus to give conscience the opportunity of throwing its sacred influence around the otherwise unpardonable and rude severity of their hard and ungodly speeches; and to be able to make any allowances for this state of things, and to regard with any charity the opinions entertained and expressed, concerning Christian men and Christian churches in America, by the generality even of British Christians, one must have been himself immersed in the same mist of prejudice.

It was, however, through all this fog and smoke the lofty mind of Chalmers was enabled to send its penetrating glance, and to form, to a great extent, a correct Christian and philosophical estimate of this grave question.

With all his economic objections to slavery, as a system of state policy, and social life; with his deep convictions that it exposed its subjects to greater evils than other systems; and with his most sanguine expectations of its ultimate annihilation;—while we say—as was to be expected from his position—Dr. Chalmers cherished these views—he, nevertheless, saw clearly the fundamental errors on which abolitionism is based. That slavery *in itself considered, is a necessary and heinous sin*—that it ought therefore, to exclude those who live under its system, and sustain the relation of master, from the communion of other churches, and from all claim to the character of Christians and Christian churches themselves; and that this system being essentially sinful, ought *at once, and at all hazards*, to be done away; these positions, which are the axiomatic data of the abolitionists,—were the subjects of most unqualified condemnation by Dr. Chalmers. With the holders of them—as he energetically assured us—he had no sympathy, and in their proceedings he had no confidence. Their principles he regarded as fanatical and visionary, and their conduct as foolish, suicidal, and disastrous. Sin was contracted, in his opinion, not by holding the civil relation of a slave-holder, but by abusing that relation to the commission of sin or the omission of duty. And “the business of Christianity,” he regarded as having to do, not with civil or political institutions, (as slavery unquestionably is,) but with persons and with ecclesiastical institutions, and that the object of these last is to operate directly and proximately with the most wholesome effect upon the consciences and character of PERSONS. At our own request, he put these sentiments in writing, and sent them to us, to be made use of as we desired, in the following letter, which we give entire:

“EDIN, 25th Sept., 1844.

“MY DEAR SIR—I do not need to assure you how little I sympathize with those who—because slavery happens to prevail in the Southern States of America—would unchristianize that whole region; and who even carry their extravagance so far as to affirm that, so long as it subsists, no fellowship or interchange of good offices should take place with its churches, or its ministers.

“As a friend to the universal virtue and liberty of mankind, I rejoice in the prospect of those days when slavery shall be banished from the face of the earth; but most assuredly the wholesale style of excommunication, contended for by some, is not the way to hasten forward this blissful consummation.

“Few things would afford me greater satisfaction than to hear of a commencement in your country, of that process by which the labor of freemen might be substituted for that of slaves. As I mention to you, I was exceedingly struck, so far back as twenty-five years ago, by the description of such a process in Humbolt’s Travels through Spanish South America. This was long anterior to the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies; and such was the confidence I then felt in its efficacy, that I ventured to draw out a sketch of the Spanish plan which, if adopted at the time, might have ensured a far safer and even earlier emancipation than took place afterwards. You will find my account of it in the twelfth volume of my works, from page 395 and onwards.

“I have not been able to engage in any sort of public business since I had the pleasure of meeting with you, but I observe that in our Assembly’s Commission, a few weeks back, the subject of American slavery was entertained. I do hope that the Resolutions which they have adopted will prove satisfactory.

“I felt it a great acquisition that I have made your acquaintance. We owe you much, and I trust the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland will ever entertain a grateful sense of your able and disinterested services.

“Do believe me, my dear sir,

“Yours most respectfully and truly,

“THOMAS CHALMERS.

“To Rev. ——— ———

“N. B.—I shall be happy at all times to hear from you.”

The publication of this letter led to a demand made upon Dr. Chalmers by the Anti-Slavery Society of Edinburgh, for a disclaimer of the letter or a fuller expression of opinion. This he gave in a letter on American slave-holding, of which a copy lies before us issued by the Belfast Anti-Slavery Committee, with their violent comments upon it. From this correspondence also

arose that fierce onset made upon the Free Church by the combined abolition fanaticism of Scotland; and against which Dr. Cunningham has so nobly presented the irresistible shield of christian truth and charity.

In this second letter Dr. Chalmers, repeating the sentiments already quoted, says, "Our understanding of Christianity is, that it deals not with civil or political institutions, but that it deals with persons and with ecclesiastical institutions, and the object of these last is to operate directly and proximately with the most wholesome effect on the consciences and the character of persons. In conformity with this view, a purely and rightly administered church will exclude from the ordinances NOT ANY MAN, AS A SLAVE-HOLDER, but every man, whether slave-holder or not, as licentious, as intemperate, as dishonest. Slavery, like war, is a great evil—but as it does not follow that a soldier cannot be a Christian, neither does it follow that there may not be a Christian slave-holder." * * * "It holds experimentally true that within its limits." * * * "THE MOST EXALTED SPECIMENS OF PIETY AND WORTH ARE TO BE FOUND." * * * "Neither war nor slavery is incompatible with the personal Christianity of those who have actually and personally to do with them. Distinction ought to be made between the character of a system and the character of the persons whom circumstances have implicated therewith. We hope that our free church will never deviate to the right or the left from the path of undoubted principles. But we hope, on the other hand, that she will not be frightened from her propriety, or forced by clamor of any sort to outrun her own conviction, so as to adopt, at the bidding of other parties, A NEW AND FACTITIOUS PRINCIPLE of administration, for which she can see no authority in Scripture, and of which she can gather no trace in the history or practice of the churches in Apostolic times. But I must repeat my conviction, that slavery will be not at all shaken,—IT WILL BE STRENGTHENED AND STAND ITS GROUND, if assailed through the medium of that most questionable and ambiguous principle which the abolitionists are now laboring to force upon our acceptance, even that slave-holding is in itself a ground of exclusion from the Christian Sacraments. . . . Not only is there A WRONG PRINCIPLE involved in the demands which these abolitionists now make on the Free Church of Scotland, it is HURTFUL IN EFFECT. Should we concede to their demands, then, speaking in the terms of our opinion, we incur the discredit, (and in proportion to that discredit we damage our usefulness as a church,) of having given in,—and at the bidding of another party—to A FACTITIOUS AND NEW PRINCIPLE, WHICH NOT ONLY WANTS, BUT WHICH CONTRAVENES THE AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE AND OF APOSTOLIC

EXAMPLE, AND INDEED HAS ONLY BEEN HEARD OF IN CHRISTENDOM WITHIN THESE FEW YEARS, AS IF GOTTEN UP FOR AN OCCASION, INSTEAD OF BEING DRAWN FROM THE REPOSITORIES OF THAT TRUTH WHICH IS IMMUTABLE AND ETERNAL—EVEN THE PRINCIPLES THAT NO SLAVE-HOLDER SHOULD BE ADMITTED TO A PARTICIPATION IN THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS.”

And in concluding this letter, Dr. Chalmers says,*—“We admire the practical wisdom of the American Board in the deliverance which they have come to, and in which they state, ‘that the Board was established and incorporated for the express purpose of propagating the gospel in heathen lands, by supporting missionaries and diffusing the knowledge of the scriptures;—that the Board had confined themselves to this one great object;—and that a regard to our sacred trust requires us to pursue this object with undiminished zeal, and not to turn aside from it or mix any other concerns with it. And we still think that the Lord of missions and the Saviour of the world will approve of this deliberate purpose of ours and this course of action, and would frown upon us if we depart from it.’”

Such were the views of Dr. Chalmers on this most delicate and difficult question; and greatly do we rejoice that the man who was regarded by the united voice of the Free Church as most competent to fill the Chair of Dr. Chalmers and to wield its mighty influence, has adopted both the principles and the spirit of his great predecessor on this subject, and that with his mantle of honor, Dr. Cunningham has received from above many of his gifts and graces. We rejoice that there is a CUNNINGHAM ready to stand in the place and maintain the principles of the illustrious Chalmers, and to confront *eloquence*, ribaldry, and popularity, in sustaining *right* against *wright*, mercy against acrimony, truth against misrepresentation, and the cause of the stranger and defenceless against their slanderous and unjust judges. Sure we are that in the plaudits of an approving conscience, the admiration of the candid and impartial, and the love and gratitude of the whole American Zion, he will be amply remunerated for the loss of that flattery which might have echoed round him, as it does round others, had he sacrificed to the interests of party what he owed to the interests of mankind and to the glory of God.

But we proceed to remark, that in Dr. Chalmers we have AN ILLUSTRIOUS EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TRANSFORMING EFFICACY OF DIVINE GRACE, and a triumphant demonstration of the truth that the Gospel is the power of God.

Just think of a planetary orb rushing forward in its course at the rate of thousands of miles per second, and at the same time while propelled by the irresistible law of motion, held fast

*See similar language in his pamphlet on the Evangelical Alliance.

in its course by the equal powers of centrifugal and centripetal attraction—suppose, we say, this immense body all at once, and without any convulsive movement, turned round in its orbit, and wheeling with even accelerated speed in a directly opposite direction. When you have conceived this, then you will be prepared to appreciate the nature and extent of that change which took place in Dr. Chalmers, when, by the grace of God, silently but irresistibly working in his heart, he was brought to a pause in the race of ambition and self-indulgent speculation, and led to consecrate to the service and glory of that divine Redeemer of whom he had previously such lifeless and inadequate conceptions, his body, soul, and spirit as a living, a reasonable, and a most willing sacrifice.

His path was as a comet in the heavens ;
 He through the fields of science swept along,
 His orbit all his own, till far beyond
 The gaze of common men led by the power
 Of Heaven's attractiveness, his smitten heart—
 Smitten with dying love—received new stores
 Of truth and joy, and holiness and peace.

We cannot realize the change in Dr. Chalmers, better than by perusing the following extract from his first publication,—long since out of print—in which he repelled the opinion of Professor Playfair, that clergymen had not time to become adepts in science.* It is plain from the whole tone and bearing of this first pamphlet, that when it was written and published Dr. Chalmers had no notion that any distinction he might attain to in the world would ever be derived from, or connected with his clerical character. He insists, almost in so many words, upon his profession being considered as a mere accident, or at any rate as a circumstance of no more importance than the colour of his coat. "Clergymen," he goes on to contend, "are not accountable for being clergymen: the choice of their profession often depends on the most accidental circumstances, a whim of infancy or the most capricious destination of parents." He therefore speaks of his being a clergyman as misfortune, indignantly deprecating and protesting against the cruelty of people looking down upon him for what he cannot help. His estimate of the work and duty of the ministry at that period will be evident from the following quotation:

"The author of this pamphlet,'—Dr. Chalmers here writes with the honesty and intrepidity which were part of his

*For this information see Fraser's Magazine. The same facts are attributed to the Rev. J. McKenzie, in the Visitor or Monthly Instructor, published by the London Tract Society, for October, 1847, p. 364-5. Mr. McKenzie says that on the above occasion Dr. Chalmers was himself the candidate for the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, and that it was in reference to him Playfair made his representations to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

being—the author of this pamphlet can assert from what to him is the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experience, that, after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure, for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage. In as far, then, as the command of time is concerned, it will be difficult to find a situation in the country more favorable to the free and uninterrupted exercises of the understanding. Mr. Playfair may smile contempt when I say that a clergyman is more favorably situated for the successful prosecution of the mathematics than a mathematical professor. For one half of the year the professor has three different classes to attend to, and we apprehend that the fatigues and the preparations of teaching will be found to leave little time and less energy for those higher exercises of his mind which are to add to the stock of his information, and to raise him above the level of his present acquirements. A minister has five days in the week for his own free and independent exertions.'

"And then he expatiates for a couple of pages more upon the 'almost no consumption of intellectual effort which there is in the peculiar employments of a parish minister.'"

Subsequently to this period Dr. Chalmers was so far smitten with the warlike spirit that prevailed as to enrol in a volunteer corps, and a very curious anecdote is told of the astonishment created on one occasion, by his rapid transition from his clerical to his military character on a Sabbath day.

Such was Dr. Chalmers in his spiritual character at the age of twenty-five, and as the minister of Kilmarnock.

Twenty years after this, when at the height of his influence as an evangelical leader, he was twitted in the General Assembly with a reference to his former views and habits. "It was," says Mr. Mackenzie, "in a debate on the question of pluralities, or unidos of a pastoral charge with an academical chair, in the General Assembly of May, 1825, in which Dr. Chalmers warmly espoused the negative side, that a clergyman of the opposite party, in order to convict him of inconsistency, charged him with the authorship of this pamphlet, and quoted the above, along with other sentences from it. Every eye in the crowded house and overflowing gallery was fixed upon Dr. Chalmers, who sat unmoved till his assailant had concluded his harangue. As soon as he had ended, he arose and for a few moments the silence of intense expectation suspended the gazing audience. In his reply, which was instant and overwhelming, Dr. Chalmers acknowledged that it was his own production; and after explaining the circumstances which had called it forth, he said in reference to the sentiment therein expressed, "Alas! sir, so

I thought in my ignorance and pride. I have now no reserve in declaring that the sentiment was wrong, and that in giving utterance to it I penned what was most outrageously wrong. Strangely blinded that I was! What, sir, is the object of mathematical science? Magnitude, and the proportions of magnitude. But, then, sir, I had forgotten two magnitudes. I thought not of the littleness of time, I recklessly thought not of the greatness of eternity!"

"It was," says the writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, "humbly yet proudly spoken, for the speaker felt, while the words fell from his lips that he was acquitting himself nobly, and lifting himself to an immeasurable height, even while thus assuming the tone and attitude of sorrow and self-condemnation, above his humiliated assailant. We never witnessed any effect of eloquence like that produced by those few solemn sentences, thus firmly and dignifiedly pronounced, in circumstances that would have covered most men with abashment and confusion. They were followed by an universal storm of applause, in the midst of which the ashamed and mortified blunderer, whose vulgar abuse had been so manfully encountered and so splendidly repelled, endeavored in vain to make himself heard even in apology for his luckless onset. His voice, repeatedly raised, was as often drowned in an outcry of aversion and disgust."

Surely therefore when we "look on this picture and on that,"—when we contemplate Dr. Chalmers as he was and as he became—we are not extravagant in saying that it is only in the Apostle Paul we find a case perfectly analogous. Both in their unconverted state were exemplary in their personal morality—in their attention to all the outward services of religion—and in their laborious and zealous discharge of the duties of the ministry, so far as it bears upon the moralities of life—and both were, by an act of free, sovereign, and omnipotent grace, led to the spiritual comprehension of saving truth and to the adoring worship of "the Lord their Righteousness."*

The circumstances connected with his conversion are thus given by Mr. Mackenzie: "About the year 1809 he was engaged in writing the article 'Christianity,' for Brewster's 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' and it was in the course of his studies connected with that work, his perusal of the lives of the primitive Christians, but more especially of Wilberforce's 'Practical view,' that he began to perceive that the religion of Christ was something very different from what he had hitherto

*This analogy has, I since find, presented itself to the Rev. Mr. Lothian, of St. Andrews, in his sketch of Dr. Chalmers' life. See the *Christian Witness*, London, August, 1847. "There was," says he, and he speaks from much personal knowledge, "a striking similarity between the characters of the Apostle Paul and the late Dr. Chalmers."

imagined. When in this transition state, he fell into a severe illness which, under God, was the means, along with the counsels of a pious dissenting minister who visited him on his sick-bed, of consummating the blessed change; and great was the surprise and joy of many, when on re-appearing in his pulpit, he boldly avowed his previous ignorance, and preached the doctrine he had once despised."

When thus experimentally acquainted with this "great salvation" it became to him, what it did to the Apostle Paul, his theme, his triumph, and his joy. His previous glory he counted but shame, his attainments dross, and his knowledge vanity. He now knew "nothing among men but Jesus Christ and him crucified. He "gloried only in the cross," and this one thing he did"—"he lived not unto himself but unto Him who died for him," and who had "called him by his grace."

The transformation thus effected was as conspicuous to others, as it was clear and undoubted to himself. He became a new creature, and both in his doctrine, conversation, and conduct gave manifest proof to all around him that he testified to the things which he had both seen and felt. His own reference to this change is one of the most striking passages of his works, eminently illustrative of his bold and fearless spirit, and a noble testimony to the efficacy of the gospel as the only efficient moral regenerator of society. This will be found in his "Farewell Address to the inhabitants of Kilmarnock," which contains a beautiful summary of his future pulpit ministrations. "And here, says he, I cannot but record the effect of an actual though undesigned experiment, which I prosecuted upwards of twelve years amongst you. For the greater part of that time, I could expatiate on the meanness of dishonesty, on the villainy of falsehood, on the despicable arts of calumny—in a word, on all those deformities of character, which awaken the natural indignation of the human heart against the pests and disturbers of society. Now could I, upon the strength of these warm expostulations, have got the thief to give up his stealing, and the evil speaker his censoriousness, and the liar his deviation from truth, I should have felt all the repose of one who had gotten his ultimate object.

"It never occurred to me that all this might have been done, and yet every soul of every hearer have remained in full alienation from God; and that even could I have established in the bosom of one who stole such a principle of abhorrence at the meanness of dishonesty that he was prevailed upon to steal no more, he might still have retained a heart as completely unturned to God, and as totally unpossessed of a principle of love to Him as before. In a word, though I might have made him a more upright and honorable man, I might

have left him as destitute of the essence of religious principle as ever. But the interesting fact is, that during the whole of that period in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the mind of God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel of salvation; while Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the Heavenly Lawgiver whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or spoken of in such a way as stripped him of all the importance of his character and offices, even at this time I certainly did press the reformation of honour, and truth, and integrity, among my people; but I never even heard of any such reformatioms being effected amongst them. If there was anything at all brought about in this way, it was more than I ever got any account of. I am not sensible that all of the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and the proprieties of social life had the weight of a feather on the habits of my parishioners. And it was not till I got impressed with the utter alienation of the heart in its desires and affections from God, it was not till reconciliation to Him became the distinct and the prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not till I took the scriptural way of laying the method of reconciliation before them; it was not till the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask him, was set before them as the unceasing object of their dependence and their prayers; it was not, in one word, till the contemplations of my people were turned to those great and essential elements in the business of a soul providing for its interest with God, and the concerns of its eternity, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformatioms which I aforetime made the earnest and the zealous, but I am afraid, at the same time, ultimate object of my early ministrations."

"You," he adds, "have at least taught me that to preach Christ is the only effective way of preaching morality in all its branches, and out of your humble cottages have I gathered a lesson which I pray God I may be enabled to carry into a wider theatre, and to bring with all the powers of his subduing efficacy upon the vices of a more crowded population."† In Dr.

†See also his *Essays on the Efficacy of Missions in Wks.*, vol. 12, p. 251. In the preface to that volume published within a few years, he says, speaking of the moral elevation of the people, "For it is unnecessary to state it as our conviction, that, to carry this cheering anticipation into effect, the education, as comprehensive of what is taught both in churches and in schools, must necessarily be a Christian education. The present unholy attempts to dis sever the scholarship from the religion of our people, if not counteracted by the friends of Christianity, will land only in the derangement of all our existing social relations, and utter discomfort of the people themselves."

Chalmers, when we see the wonder-working influence of that divine grace which can "subdue all things unto itself," make even the most towering and lofty intellects to "become as little children" and to "bring all their gifts" to the humble shrine of the despised and rejected Saviour. And in him we see also that the hearts which are thus given to God to be transformed "by the renewing of the Holy Ghost." He gives back again to their possessors enlarged, elevated and ennobled.

Upon the hill of Zion strong he stood,
 And like the eagle conscious of his strength
 Soared into realms unknown, and soaring, breathed
 A heavenly atmosphere, where keen his eye
 Beheld a purer light than ere was seen
 By proud astronomer, in plenitude
 Of power, with ready aid of skillful lens,
 Or help of new constructed telescope.
 On earth a citizen of heaven, he looked
 Down from the battlements of lofty thought
 Upon imprisoned minds encamped below;
 Nor looked he heedlessly. Ah, no!—he felt
 The weight of other souls upon his own.
 Dark lanes and wretched dwellings of the poor
 'Scaped not his keen and territorial search.
 To those who came he gave, and unto them
 Who would not come he went e'en like to Him
 Whose words the common people gladly heard.
 He shone, a light amidst terrestrial gloom,
 Bright and more bright, unto the perfect day.

Time will only permit us further to contemplate in Dr. Chalmers THE SUPERIORITY OF MORAL, OVER INTELLECTUAL, POLITICAL OR MILITARY GREATNESS, and to learn

That not in *mental*, but in *moral* truth
 God excellence placed, and only to the good;
 To virtue, granted happiness alone.

It was the saying of the sage and "*naturally*" wise Cicero, that, "the heart is the source of moral greatness," and that, "no man was ever great without a certain divine influence."* The efficient cause of true greatness, he places in this divinely implanted principle by which men are elevated above the world and its mean, selfish, and dishonorable motives, and enabled to resist temptation, encounter and overcome difficulties, and perform actions for the good of others not only of great magnitude but of extreme difficulty.† How bright the anticipation of that perfect gospel which teaches that truth is in order to goodness;—that goodness is greatness;—that resemblance to the moral image and character of God is the foundation of goodness;—and that "peace on earth and good will to men" are the fruits and evidences of goodness. Compared with this *moral* greatness what is "all Greek, all Roman fame," and how peerlessly do its ancient representatives, Plato and Socrates,

*Nemo vir magnus sine aliqui divino unquam fuit.

†De officiis lib. 1, cap. 20.

outshine the glittering show, and all the pomp and circumstance of an Alexander, a Hannibal, or even the fame of an Aristotle? And when the vain pageantry of earth shall vanish before the splendour of eternal day, how will the torch-light of all human fame be lost amid the unfading and ever-brightening glory of true moral greatness.

And if, as Cicero also teaches, the highest and perfect glory of a man consists of these three things: "when the multitude love him, when they have confidence in him, and when they deem him worthy of special honour and admiration,"¹ how far even in this life, does true moral greatness draw after it the heart-homage, love and admiration of every right minded man, beyond either intellectual or military greatness. Well may the tribute paid to the great Athenian sage and Father of Philosophy, be ascribed to Chalmers.

"He in every street
Dealt priceless treasure, Goodness his delight
Wisdom his wealth, and glory his reward
Deep through the human heart, with playful art
His simple doctrine stole, as into truth
And serious deeds he smiled the laughing race
Taught moral happy life, what'er can bless,
Or grace mankind: and WHAT HE TAUGHT HE WAS."

"No man, in our day, was ever followed by such crowds of admirers, or was exposed to a more severe ordeal of adulation; all ranks and denominations vied with each other in doing homage to his genius, and the highest nobles of the land paid court, both in public and in private, to the humble presbyter of the Scottish church." We see him invited to London by members of the established church as the champion of their endangered Zion against the levelling principles of a reckless and unbelieving parliament, and listened to for days by the highest dignitaries and nobles of the realm. We see him chosen by that same church as one of the honoured few to whom were given the emolument and the fame of the Earl of Bridgewater's treatises. We see him enrolled as an honorary member of the Royal Institute of France—and his character and opinions deferred to by the mighty minds of all countries, as one of "the purest, greatest and most self-sacrificing patriots of the 19th century."

Dr. Chalmers has "rested from his labours, but his works follow him." They abide forever. In his writings—which have become the classic eloquence of every religious denomination in every land: in his posthumous works, which have commanded a greater price than those of any other author, in ancient or modern times, and which constitute a rich legacy

¹Summa igitur et perfecta gloria constat ex tribus his:—Si diliget multitudo:—si fidem habeat:—si cum admiratione quadam honore dignos putat.—*De officiis* lib. 11 cap. 9.

to his family and to the world:—in the stupendous monument of a Free Church destined, we trust, to be the model church of Europe, and of which he was the architect, and to no small extent the builder: in the spontaneous outburst of national respect which was exhibited in a funeral procession embracing one hundred thousand persons,* of whom, besides the members of the Free Church Assembly, then in session, from eight to nine hundred were ministers and elders of the Establishment whose Assembly was also in session, and of other religious bodies, besides the most distinguished professional men in the Scottish metropolis, including the Royal Commissioner to the Assembly of the Established Church, the Moderator or President of that Assembly, several Judges of the Court of Session, and the City Magistrates, in their robes of office, while tears were seen flowing down the cheeks of men who were "all unused to the melting mood:"—and in the unity of that grief which was felt from one end of Scotland to the other, and from one end of Christendom to the other, when they heard that

"—————his large deep heart,
Where world-wide love bore undivided part,
The master spirit of his native land—
The famed—the loved—of many a distant strand,
Had ceased to beat!"

in the grateful tribute of the Queen as an estimate of *his* peerless worth, who nevertheless had mustered triumphant oppo-

*The estimates taken of the numbers joining in the funeral procession must fall very short of the truth—the line having been very much compressed whilst at Morningside. The *Witness* says there could not be fewer than 100,000. It is difficult to state the number of persons in the procession, especially as considerable numbers fell into it by the way, and a large body were drawn up on the road leading up to the cemetery. We understand that there were from 800 to 900 ministers and elders in St. George's Free Church alone, in addition to the members of the Assembly. It would be still more difficult to compute the number of spectators who, without formally joining in the procession, were there, nevertheless, from respect and regard to the memory of the dead. On all such occasions there are numbers of mere sight-seers: but on this we were struck with the solemn feeling that seemed to pervade the great multitudes that lined the streets or covered the parks, from which the procession would be seen—and there were many evidences of the deepest concern for the loss that had been sustained, and seemed to be that day ratified and sealed.

The number of gentlemen in the procession at the cemetery must have greatly exceeded 2,000, and it was remarkable for several reasons. It embraced the most distinguished professional men in the Scottish metropolis, who were there to evince their regard for a giant in intellect, in literature, and in moral worth, whose words and writings were never again to be embodied in their discussion.

It consisted of ministers from all evangelical communions who laying aside over the tomb all their causes of difference, met there to express their sense of a great apparent calamity, and carry to his grave the chief man amongst Scottish theologians.

It was thoroughly representative. These ministers were gathered from all the districts of the land—from lonely parishes in distant parishes—from the islands of the sea—from lowland straths and vales—from busy villages—from crowded towns, and cities densely pressed with human beings—and yet they were all thoroughly representative. They knew that through all their congregations, however differently situated, there was but one feeling of grief and of sincere mourning.

sition and defeat against the most firm and united counsels of the British parliament, and whose last work on earth was the noble testimony he bore against the policy of some noble Dukes;—in the unbounded eulogiums which are everywhere echoing to his praise;*—and in the anxious desire with which the relics of his greatness and his goodness,—his unpublished writings—are anticipated;—in all this we see the evidences of that glory which has been achieved by the moral greatness of the departed, and which tarnishes the lustre of the most august of princes,—the most renowned of warriors,—and the most exalted of intellectual giants.

The last end of Dr. Chalmers was appropriate :

“On him benignant Heaven bestows,
For honored life, an honored close,”—

It was in unison with his path of life, which had shone more and more brightly until it was lost in the splendours of his perfect day. “He rested in his bed” from the labors of his toilsome life. “He entered into peace.” “He fell asleep in Jesus,” and awoke in bliss.

“The voice at midnight came,
He started up to hear;
A mortal arrow pierced his frame:
He fell—but felt no fear.

“His spirit with a bound
Left its encumbering clay:
His tent at sunrise on the ground
A darkened ruin lay.”

And now “he walks in his brightness.”

“I have only farther to add,” to use the language of his friend Mr. Bruce, “the following short but most descriptive narrative of his last hours, supplied to me by his family:—‘On the evening of last Sabbath he went out into the garden behind the house, and sauntered round it, and there he was overheard by one of the family, near to whom he passed, in low but very earnest accents, saying—‘Oh, Father, my heavenly Father.’ It was a season of close and endeared communion with his God. He then supped with his family; and, as if he had kept the brightest and most beaming of that day’s smiles for the close, and the fondest of his utterances for his own, that supper, to himself and all around, was the happiest season of a very bright and happy day. After family prayer he retired to rest; and it could not have been very long afterwards, (not more, perhaps, than an hour,) when the summons came. In a season of perfect quiet and repose, he had laid himself gently back upon the pillows, which were so placed as to elevate him nearly to a

*“It may be doubted,” says Dr. Campbell, “whether half so many funeral tributes, throughout the pulpits of all communities, save and except the Church of England, were ever paid to any other individual.”

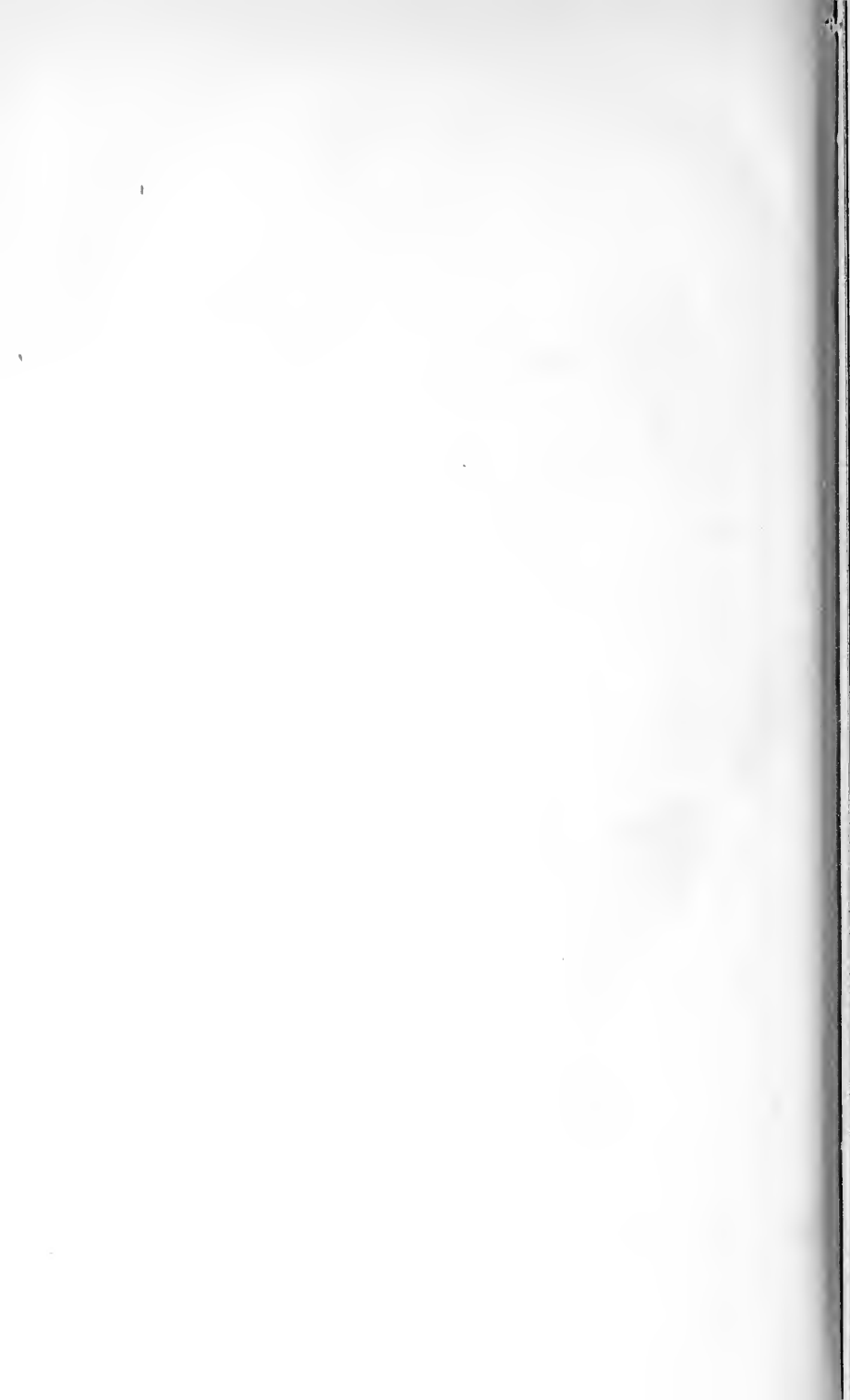
sitting posture; just then his heavenly Master came, and called, and he departed. It must have been wholly without a struggle. The expression of the face, as seen in the morning—that of a calm and dignified placidity—the position of the body, so easy that the slightest ruffle of a conflict would have disturbed it—the very lie of the fingers and the hands, known to each familiar eye of those around him as being that into which they naturally fell in the moments of entire repose—all showed that, undisturbed by even the slightest strife with the last enemy, his spirit had moved away, and ascended to its own place of blessedness and glory in the heavens.’ ”

Oh! lovely goeth down the sun at eve,
 When crimson clouds their glorious garlands weave,
 When golden streamlets shed their parting light,
 Till the bright morrow of a summer light,
 Thus set *thy* sun;—no tempest's power
 Darkened the brightness of thy setting hour,—
 No pang, no struggle crossed thy mighty frame:
 Swiftly the chariot for the prophet came,
 And from thy finished work—thy goal-won race—
 Bore thee to fill thy blissful blood-bought place!

And oh, our God? although we mourn that thou
 Hast torn our father from his children now,
 Yet for his joy we thank thee! And for all
 His glorious years of combat on the wall
 Of warring Zion—champion of the breach,—
 Where thou thy bucklered arm to him didst reach,
 And for his work in every land enshrined,—
 The living labours of a deathless mind,—
 We thank thee, Lord!

It was with painful interest we perused in the volume prefixed to our article, the evidence given by Dr. Chalmers before the Parliamentary Committee.* This was his last public labour, and the mental excitement to which it *must* have subjected him, (and which may have operated as an accelerating cause to his disease,) will be evident to every reader. He was like a stag at bay, surrounded by the hunters and assailed by furious blood-hounds, for it was manifestly the design of Sir James Graham to involve him, if possible, in contradiction or inconsistency. Foiled, however, in all his efforts, he was glad to leave the noble foe at rest. Yes, released from the pursuit, after having given noble evidence of his valour and the righteousness of his cause, he retired to his own favoured home, where he found that “rest which remaineth for the people of God.”

*Third Report of the Select Committee on Sites for Churches, (Scotland) together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, th July, 1847, Fol. p. 201, including the evidence of Dr. Chalmers, p. p. 121-124.



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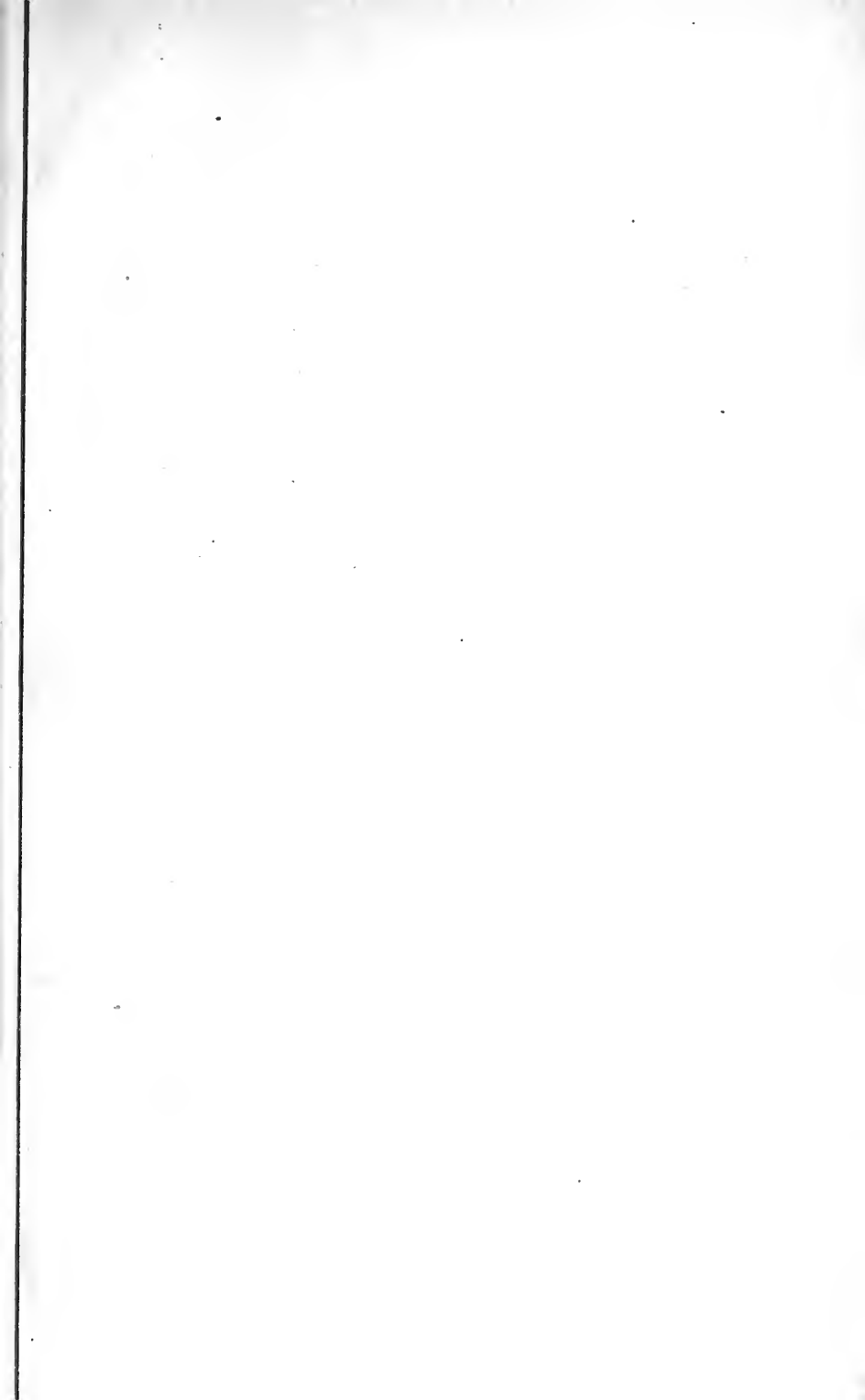
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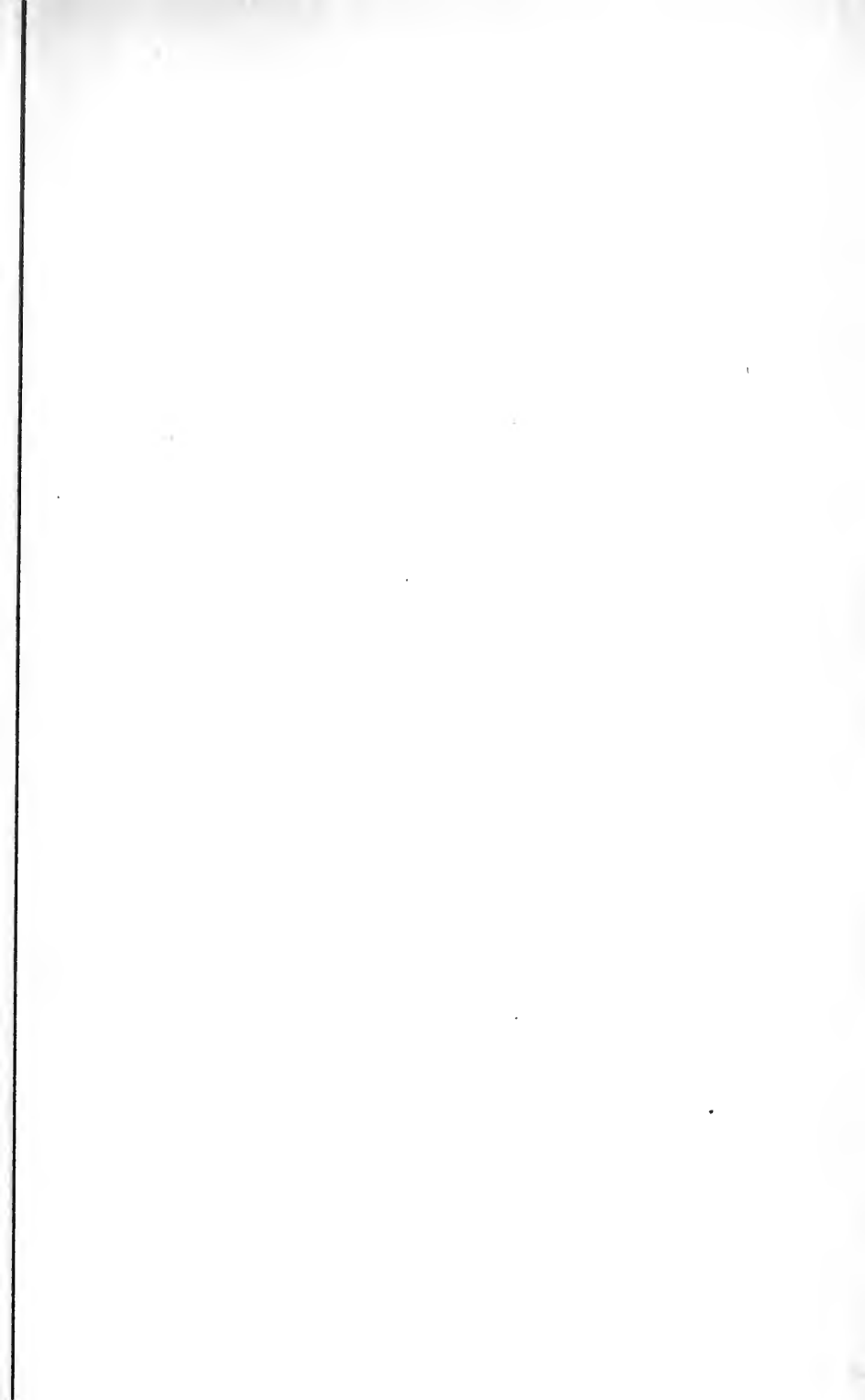
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