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By Whom, all things; for Whom, all things.

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	PAGE
X DIVINE RETRIBUTION	1
PROF. FRANCIS L. PATTON, THEOL. SEM'Y OF THE NORTHWEST	
THE CHURCH AND CIVIL LAW, IN SCOTLAND AND AMERICA	22
ALEX. TAYLOR INNES, ESQ., EDINBURGH	
THE EASTERN PROBLEM	49
PROF. DANIEL S. GREGORY, WOOSTER UNIVERSITY	
CATHOLIC ELEMENTS IN PRESBYTERIANISM	99
PROF. EDWARD D. MORRIS, LANE THEOL. SEMINARY	
CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, IN ITS VITAL FORM AND POSITIVE ATTITUDE	127
PROF. RANSOM B. WELCH, AUBURN THEOL. SEMINARY	
GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH	143
PROF. WM. HENRY GREEN, PRINCETON THEOL. SEMINARY	
EVOLUTIONISM RESPECTING MAN, AND THE BIBLE	150
PROF. JOHN T. DUFFIELD, PRINCETON COLLEGE	
X CONDITIONS OF SUCCESSFUL PRAYER	178
REV. DR. WM. M. TAYLOR, NEW YORK	
CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY: HISTORICAL	192
PRESIDENT MCCOSH, PRINCETON COLLEGE	
MATERIALISM AND THE PULPIT	207
PROF. GEORGE P. FISHER, THEOL. DEPT. OF YALE COLLEGE	
CASUISTRY; THEOLOGICAL AND LEGAL	216
FRANCIS WHARTON, LL.D., CAMBRIDGE	

MARCH.

LIMITS TO STATE CONTROL OF PRIVATE BUSINESS	233
CHIEF JUSTICE COOLEY, MICHIGAN	
DESIGN IN NATURE	272
PRESIDENT CHADBOURNE, WILLIAMS COLLEGE	
THE <i>ORDO SALUTIS</i>	304
PROF. A. A. HODGE, PRINCETON THEOL. SEMINARY	
OPENING OF THE SYNOD OF DORT	322
PROF. SAMUEL M. HOPKINS, AUBURN THEOL. SEMINARY	
EVIL IN THINGS GOOD	345
REV. DR. JOHN HALL, NEW YORK	
THE BIBLE AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL	361
REV. DR. SAMUEL T. SPEAR, BROOKLYN	

MORALITY, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION IN THE STATE	395
PROF. LYMAN H. ATWATER, PRINCETON COLLEGE	
DUALISM, MATERIALISM, OR IDEALISM?	423
PROF. FRANCIS BOWEN, HARVARD COLLEGE	
NO PREACHING TO THE DEAD	451
REV. DR. NATHANIEL WEST, CINCINNATI	
GERMAN THOUGHT AND SCHOPENHAUER'S PESSIMISM	492
PROF. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, COLUMBIA COLLEGE	
THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS THE NINTH	505
BISHOP A. CLEVELAND COXE, WESTERN NEW YORK	
SHALL THE KEYS OR THE SCEPTRE RULE IN GERMANY?	535
CHARLES A. SALMOND, M.A., EDINBURGH	
EVOLUTION FROM MECHANICAL FORCE	567
REV. DR. LAURENS P. HICKOK, AMHERST	
CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY: MIND AND BRAIN	606
PRESIDENT McCOSH, PRINCETON COLLEGE	

MAY.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE FRANCE OF TO-DAY	633
REV. DR. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, PARIS	
EVOLUTION AND THE APPARITION OF ANIMAL FORMS	662
PRINCIPAL DAWSON, MCGILL COLLEGE, MONTREAL	
A PERSONAL RESURRECTION AND MODERN SCIENCE	676
REV. DR. E. A. WASHBURN, NEW YORK	
GOD'S THREEFOLD REVELATION OF HIMSELF	702
PREBENDARY C. A. ROW, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON	
THE DRIFT OF EUROPE, CHRISTIAN AND SOCIAL	733
JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, LL.D., BERLIN	
SCIENCE AND REVELATION	760
PROF. ANDREW P. PEABODY, HARVARD COLLEGE	
CRIME: ITS CAUSE AND CURE	784
REV. DR. E. C. WINES, IRVINGTON-ON-HUDSON	
AMERICAN ART: ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS	815
JOHN F. WEIR, N.A., SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS, YALE COLLEGE	
THE MIRACLE OF CREATION	830
REV. DR. J. H. McILVAINE, NEWARK	
DISPUTED SCRIPTURE LOCALITIES	851
PROF. PHILIP SCHAFF, UNION THEOL. SEMINARY	
ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES	885
JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, D.C.L., LONDON	

CATHOLIC ELEMENTS IN PRESBYTERIANISM.

PROFESSOR MITCHELL, in his valuable introduction to the "Minutes of the Westminster Assembly," recently edited by him from transcripts of the original records, pays a thoughtful tribute to the moderation and the catholicity which characterized that remarkable body of divines. While he admits the rigidity and even the sternness with which the views of the Assembly were sometimes expressed, and confesses the occasional want of breadth and of true liberality apparent in their action, he still claims, with historic justice, that "by limiting obedience to the lawful commands of civil and ecclesiastical authority: by limiting lawful commands in matters of faith and worship to things positively enjoined in the Word of God or by fair inference deducible from it: and also by recognizing the right of the civil authority to form an independent judgment in things religious, the Assembly helped to forward the cause of freedom, both in Church and State, and to plant the seed from which, as the Word of God was better studied, a fully developed system of toleration could not fail to grow." He further claims that, although the Westminster divines did not at once perceive fully the effects and issues of their own teaching, or themselves illustrate in all cases what they taught, yet "this will ever remain as their unquestioned honor, that they first reclaimed for liberty a large province in which the civil and ecclesiastical authorities had previously claimed absolute and arbitrary sway." To this he appends the important statement that, in addition to a considerable amount of toleration within the Church in things of minor importance, they ultimately

acquiesced in a larger amount of it, without the Church, than had ever been enjoyed in England before.¹

It may be a profitable task to inquire how far such moderation and catholicity were actually incorporated in the Westminster symbols, and to what extent they have been characteristic qualities in historic Presbyterianism. It must be confessed that these are not the qualities which the popular mind has been accustomed to associate with the Presbyterian name, or to regard as dominating in Presbyterian catechisms and confessions. It must be admitted that Presbyterians themselves are not accustomed to speak frequently or glowingly of these as the characteristic excellences of either their creed or their church. Nor can it well be questioned, in view of some phenomena in both belief and history, that there is room for a reasonable, and possibly a stern challenge of the claim here made by the eminent historian of St. Andrew's. How far is that claim historically just? In what degree are the Westminster symbols suffused and animated by this temper of Christian moderation? To what extent may it be properly affirmed that Presbyterianism, though a strong and positive, is also a tolerant and catholic type of the common Christianity?

Presbyterianism, as a system, must be regarded as both positive and strong. As a type of evangelical doctrine, it is plain and exact in its definitions, clear in its principles, thorough in inference, and uncompromising in deduction: careful and methodical in structure, and symmetrical and substantial and decisive in its completed form. As a type of organization, it exhibits similar characteristics: and, in its practical development as a system, it is seen to be in vital harmony with these peculiar qualities in its belief and order. It therefore both requires from those who study it serious and diligent attention, and commends itself strongly to those to whom ability and grace are given to receive it. Wherever it is embraced, it is tenaciously, ardently held: the reason, the judgment, the heart, alike accepting, revering, loving it. And such accept-

¹ See, also, the suggestive note on "Toleration in the British Isles," Introduction, lxxii-lxxv. Hetherington, "History of the Westminster Assembly," chap. v., *passim*. Stoughton, "Church of the Civil Wars," vol. i. chap. xx.

ance bears its legitimate fruit, not merely in an earnest loyalty, but also in zealous and retentive, and sometimes extreme devotion. That Presbyterians have been as ready as any other class of disciples to put forth effort, to make large sacrifices, and even to suffer or to die for their cherished system, is a fact sufficiently verified in their history. And it is certainly natural that such devotion as this should, in occasional instances, incite to tempers and acts out of harmony with, if not quite contrary to, true Christian catholicity. The adherents of such a system are always in danger of exalting the system unduly, even in comparison with other forms of evangelical faith or polity. They may place overmuch stress on what is really valuable in the system : they may magnify its points of difference, and extol these as primary excellences : they may become blind to its remaining weaknesses or imperfections. And, from this experience, the descent is gradual and easy to narrowness, to intolerance, to partisanship and dogmatism, and all the other errors into which undue denominational zeal, under whatever system, may plunge even sincere and earnest and thoughtful minds.

And if one glances with candor at the actual career of Presbyterianism from 1648 to the present time, in the different countries where it has been planted, and in the numerous varieties it has assumed, he will find some things which give an air of reasonableness to the impression, somewhat current, that this is hardly a catholic or even a tolerant type of Christianity. He who looks with honest vision through the records of any single branch of the Presbyterian family, whether American or European, will surely find occasion for confessing that a narrower spirit, a temper far from moderate or generous, has sometimes prevailed. Nor is the prospect brightened, if the eye be turned toward the historic relations of one branch in that family to another, toward the controversies which have divided and subdivided those who bear the common name, toward the parted and fragmentary condition of the Presbyterian churches throughout the world. Nor will the inquirer be greatly relieved, if he begins to consider the actual relationship of these churches, from the seventeenth century onward, to those other churches of various names which, together with these, have

constituted the broader household of evangelical Protestantism. In whatever direction the honest student may turn, in the field either of history or of present observation, he will be confronted by some facts which are unpleasant to contemplate, and are somewhat trying to his Christian feeling: and he may even be led to ask what has become of the moderation and the catholicity which, according to Professor Mitchell, were inscribed at first on the Presbyterian banner, and which manifested themselves so decisively—as he affirms—in the heart of the labors of the Westminster divines?

Notwithstanding such tendencies and such historic developments, the CATHOLICITY of PRESBYTERIANISM is a grand and central fact, proven by a careful consideration of what Presbyterianism really is, in both its doctrinal and its ecclesiastical structure, and by a closer survey of its actual history and position as a branch of the common Protestantism. The elucidation and illustration of this fact will be the aim of the present article.

Turning, at the outset, to the Westminster symbols, one may find several marked exhibitions of the moderate and catholic spirit, whose existence has been affirmed. Underneath all the rest, as a granite foundation for the entire structure, whether of doctrine or of order, lies *the broad Protestant principle of Christian liberty*. The enunciation of that principle is not to be traced primarily to the deliberations of the Jerusalem Chamber. The doctrine of liberty of conscience, in the special form of the right of private judgment, had been proclaimed, from the time of Luther, as the "formal principle" of the Reformation. It had been strongly maintained, not only against the assumptions of Rome, but even against the undue assertion of authority by the various Protestant churches. It had been perverted by the Socinians and others, as a justification of destructive license in both thought and interpretation: yet even in the face of such perversion, it had been defended as an essential basis of both the Protestant doctrine and the Protestant life. But on the other hand, the strong churchly sentiment which still pervaded all parties, and possibly some remnant of reverence for that very authority, *ex cathedrâ*, against which they had revolted, led the continental reformers too often

to repress the spirit of Christian liberty, and even to hesitate in the full and bold enunciation of the abstract doctrine. To the British Protestants that doctrine was specially dear : their attachment to it was instinctive and ardent : and their loyalty had grown with every struggle and every sacrifice they had encountered in its behalf. And in the long contest of parties and tendencies which extended from the days of Knox onward to the downfall of Charles and the rise of Presbytery, the Presbyterians especially had been taught, through many a painful lesson, the priceless value of the principle of religious freedom, and the necessity of incorporating it as a cardinal element in their creed. That principle had been their support and their defence, when they were struggling with a dominant and arrogant episcopacy : and they were both too loyal and too logical to foreswear it in the period of their temporary triumph. Hence they made Christian liberty and liberty of conscience the theme of a special chapter in their noble confession : and while explaining such liberty, on the spiritual side, as an outgrowth and consequence of true fellowship with Christ, and therefore as forever opposed to all spiritual licentiousness, they declared it on its outward and temporal side, in terms whose emphasis has never been surpassed, to be a heritage and a right of which no believer ought ever to be deprived. GOD ALONE IS LORD OF THE CONSCIENCE, are their heroic words : 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. Nor did they hesitate to present the doctrine in its preceptive and mandatory forms, or to indicate the perils to which this liberty of conscience is always exposed. To believe such doctrines or to obey such commandments, out of conscience, they declare, is to betray true liberty of conscience : and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, they add, is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also !

It should be readily admitted that, following the opinions and usages of their times, the Assembly failed to carry out the principle thus boldly announced. They sometimes shrank from the actual granting to all men, of whatever religious belief, of the liberty which they had themselves proclaimed. The desire

for uniformity and the dream of an established church, under the Presbyterian name, led them even to exercise undue restraint upon the freedom guaranteed to all by their own magna charta.¹ It was their especial weakness that they granted to the civil magistracy so large a measure of control in church affairs, and even in the formulating of the legalized belief. It is painful to read the title which, with their own hands, they prefixed to the Confession they had prepared: *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a Confession of Faith.* It is even more painful to know that the authority first standing behind the Confession, and giving it national validity, was not the Church of Christ, but the civil magistracy: and that the Confession was first described as containing the *Articles of Christian Religion, approved and passed by both Houses of Parliament, after advice had with the Assembly of Divines, by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster.* It was left to another age, and to a type of Presbyterianism nurtured under other influences, to correct this inconsistency, and to eliminate from the creed all recognition of State authority or jurisdiction within the Church of Jesus Christ. But it should be gratefully recognized as a decisive step taken in the path of true spiritual progress, when the Assembly thus stated and defined a principle which can nowhere be put into practice without involving the exercise of the broadest Christian catholicity. The declar-

¹ One of these departures from the catholic principle announced by the Assembly may be seen in the record (*Minutes*, p. 111-116) of their action in the case of a certain volume, written to prove that *God is the author of sin.* As the writer, "a man of some note," was already dead, the book itself, apart from its author, was reported by the Assembly to Parliament, with the suggestion that so dangerous a publication be suppressed, by seizing and burning all the copies. Parliament, it is added, "concurrs in the damning of the book:" orders it to be burned by the public hangman at five conspicuous places in the city of London, and requests the Assembly to be present at this interesting exercise. That body "did account it a very acceptable service:" and accordingly appointed five committees, of four members each, to discharge this remarkable duty. One of the places selected for the ceremony was Westminster itself: and surely it must have been a strange and lurid glare which, from those ascending flames, shot through the magnificent painted window fronting northward, into the stately Chamber where the remainder of the Assembly, "in black coats and bands," sat unmoved in high debate!

ation that God alone is Lord of the conscience, and that liberty of conscience must be neither betrayed nor destroyed, carries with it, by inevitable inference, not only a mutual recognition of liberty on the part of all believers, but also the living sentiment of brotherhood, binding and uniting all by the closest spiritual ties. Toleration, forbearance, confidence, the sense of unity amid diversities not fundamental, the consciousness of a common fealty to Christ,—all flow resistlessly from this divine fountain. Of such liberty, properly apprehended, a holy catholicity is the essential outgrowth.

There is another of these illustrations of the temper of the Westminster Presbyterianism in *the conception of the Church, especially as catholic and universal*. That conception was not, indeed, new : it had been stated and defended by Luther and Calvin, and the larger part of the Reformers ; it had been incorporated into most of the continental Confessions, and had become a current and prominent article in the Protestant belief. The conception was requisite to Protestantism, on one side, as a high spiritual antithesis to the papal notion of the Church as being one vast, visible, and material organism ; and, on the other side, as a preservative of that sentiment of spiritual oneness to which the Protestants, notwithstanding their many diversities, tenaciously and tenderly clung. It also had its historic genesis in the earliest Christian creed, where this one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church is placed in direct succession after the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, as if that Church were the immediate outgrowth of his restorative processes in the heart of humanity. And it was natural, therefore, that even the Confession of Augsburg should define the Church as the *congregatio sanctorum* : and that the Reformers generally should declare with the Confession of Basle : We believe in one holy Christian Church : that is, the fellowship of the saints, the congregation of spiritual believers, which is holy and the bride of Christ : in which all are citizens who confess truly that Jesus is Christ, the Lamb of God.

But there are none among the Protestant symbols which bring out this conception so fully and vividly as the Creed of Westminster. That creed describes this Church universal as consisting of the whole number of the elect that have been, are,

or shall be gathered into one under Christ, the head thereof. So far as this Church is visible or organic, it is defined as consisting of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion, together with their children, and who constitute among men the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, the one house and family of God. The creed further recognizes this visible Church catholic, as divided into particular churches, which may be, in themselves, more or less pure, but which nevertheless are to be viewed as parts of the one grand Church of Christ. All varieties of evangelical Protestantism are, at least by implication, included in this common household of faith; and even the Papacy is cast out, only on the theory that it had become a synagogue of Satan, and was the Antichrist foretold in apostolic prophecy. It may be, as has been suggested, that these broad and catholic definitions grew, in part, out of the peculiar position of English Presbyterianism in relation both to other religious parties and to the State. It was certainly natural that those who were laboring to make the national church Presbyterian should have endeavored so to broaden their statement on this subject as to make it inclusive of all varieties of evangelical belief. Stoughton, in his "Church of the Civil Wars," says, with niggardly praise, that the Assembly aimed to "build a huge cathedral for the nation, with small side chapels here and there for the use of certain crotchety people, who might privately pass in and out if they would but always enter through the great door and walk up the main aisle." It may easily be that considerations of policy, growing out of the very peculiar juncture of affairs, led Westminster divines to lay more stress than they would otherwise have laid on this attribute of universality in the Church. But it would do them great injustice to suppose them to have been actuated by motives of policy only. This broad conception was one which they had derived directly from the Scriptures and the Apostolic Creed, and which had been made real and precious to their apprehension by the teachings and conflicts of the Reformation. It had found its way, as a grand spiritual truth, into their deepest convictions; and, therefore, while they adhered strongly to their own view of what the Church of Christ should be in outward form, they cordially admitted the more generic truth, and wrought it, with

all the consequences involved, into their accepted system of belief. Westminster Presbyterianism was, consequently, by its own definition of the Church, tolerant, generous, catholic. However widely other evangelical bodies might differ from it in either doctrine or order, it was prepared, by its own tenet and conviction, to give them a place with itself in the *multitudo fidelium*, and to regard them as parts with itself in the one Church of Christ on earth. It thus obligated itself to carry this high doctrine into practice; and to cherish toward all other church organisms that consequent brotherly feeling, that comprehensive charity, that sweet temper of union and communion, of which the term catholicity is, perhaps, the happiest expression. That amid the conflicts of opinions and parties, this obligation was always effectual and prevalent with all the adherents of this symbol, history forbids us to affirm; but that, even amid such scenes, that obligation was still deeply felt, and was obeyed to a degree quite unexampled in that age of sectarian animosities, even the enemies of Presbyterianism have not hesitated to admit.

It is easy to pass from this conception of the church to the doctrine of *the communion of saints*, as furnishing a kindred illustration of the temper under consideration. As the doctrine of the Church, as one and universal, flows directly out of the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, so the affirmation of the Confession concerning the fellowship of believers, like that of the Apostolic Creed, is directly consequent upon its teaching respecting the one Church of Christ on earth. If that Church be ONE, then it follows, inevitably, that all saints, being united first to their Lord by faith, and having fellowship with Him, are also united to one another in love, have mutual communion in gifts and graces, and are obliged to the performance of such duties, public and private, as may conduce to their mutual good, both in the inward and outward man. It is properly denied that such communion should include individual possessions, or be regarded as subverting any of those natural and just distinctions which exist in human society, even among believers. But so far as religious fellowship and true sympathy and fraternal aid are concerned, each believer rests under holy obligations to every other, and is bound to maintain this spir-

itual union in love while life lasts. This communion is said to be unlimited by any view of party, or race, or interest ; but is, "as God offereth opportunity, to be extended unto all those who, in every place, call upon the name of the Lord Jesus." It has its basis in a common oneness in Christ ; its impulses are such as the Holy Ghost inspires ; its law is revealed directly in the Scriptures ; and its objects are found wherever true disciples exist.

Such is the Westminster doctrine as to the Communion of Saints—the most full, the most elaborate, the most practical and precious statement on this subject to be found in the entire series of Protestant symbols. It is an utterance from the very heart of Christianity, fragrant with the spirit of Jesus. And it may be accepted as a conclusive vindication, not merely of the theoretical judgment, but also of the broad and loving temper of the Westminster Assembly. It shows them to have been men of too large and noble structure to expend themselves in labor for their own sect or party merely—men who loved the Christian people of the British Isles, whatever the differences which might superficially or temporarily divide them—men who loved the entire Protestant Church, whether Reformed or Lutheran, and who were ready to lay down a platform on which the broadest Christian fellowship might be enjoyed by all. To their perpetual credit, it should be remembered that, in an age when Protestantism had been widely divided and separate, and in a land where the fiercest sectarian strifes were raging, they dared to set forth so thoroughly the law, and the only law, of spiritual fellowship for all lands and ages—the rule, and the only rule, requisite to the ultimate realization in the Church of that oneness for which the Saviour prayed, and which every true disciple must desire to see, like some century flower long waited for, blooming into its promised and glorious consummation. And if they sometimes fell below the full embodiment of their own doctrine—if, in the commotions of the times, they yielded too much to the spirit of party, and were more ambitious for themselves than for the Church at large, and hesitated to extend such fellowship to all, as God gave them opportunity, yet their chapter on the Communion of Saints stands unchallenged in the Confession they framed as an enduring tes-

timonial to the divine origin and the divine estimate of a true Christian catholicity.

Passing from these specific chapters in the Confession to consider what may be described as *the general mode and temper of its doctrinal deliverances*, further evidences of tolerance and of moderation will be discovered. Every student who has compared the Westminster symbols with the canons of Dort, promulgated in 1619, must be impressed with the difference between these representative creeds—a difference less marked in language and definition and tenet than in tone and spirit. The canons originated in the midst of the fiercest ecclesiastical strife that had occurred since the Reformation dawned. They were written in answer to, and in refutation of the great Arminian heresy which had suddenly risen in Holland, and which was casting its portentous shadows over the whole of Protestant Europe. They were therefore polemical and intense, for they stated the truth in its sharpest, most positive, most dogmatic form. They were not intended to win adherents, or even to confirm the inquirer, so much as to refute and overwhelm the gainsayer. In this fact lay both their strength and their weakness. And it is safe to presume that, had the canons of Dort been left to stand forth as the latest, most complete and authoritative exposition of Calvinism, the subsequent progress of Arminianism in Europe would have been far easier, and the name of Calvin have occupied a considerably lower place on the roll of Protestant teachers.

Instead of following this conspicuous example, so near in time, and, to partisan minds, so full of incitement, the Assembly pursued a course widely opposite. To them it was given to rescue the Calvinistic system from the exposures under which the Synod of Dort had left it—to state that system in more moderate and considerate forms, with less of extreme inference, less of extra-scriptural affirmation, less of speculative dogmatism; to breathe into the system more of the Christian temper, more of sympathy with honest doubt and error, more of desire to win over, or at least to conciliate the Arminian antagonist. There were two motives which incited the Assembly to such a course, and which together were strong enough to overcome the force of the Hollandish example. The first of these mo-

tives was the ardent desire to harmonize and unify the various tendencies in British thought, ranging from an extreme Calvinism down to a more or less conscious Arminian revulsion from the popular belief, within the broad boundaries of one national Church and in allegiance to one generic creed. The *Thirty-nine Articles*, in whose consideration the Assembly spent the first months of their sessions, and which, in part at least, had received their formal indorsement, were in this respect quite as much their norm and model as either the earlier Irish Confession or the Creed of John Knox. The Calvinism of these Articles was generic and sincere, and in substance sound, even if it was cautious in inference, guarded in affirmation, and occasionally weak or uncertain in expression. As a pattern, it was evidently imperfect, and in need of improvement; yet its moderate position and its catholic temper could not fail to secure both notice and imitation, especially as the Assembly were aiming to introduce a substitute for it, to which they trusted that even positive prelatists would prove loyal. They knew that the unqualified canons of Dort would never answer the purposes of a creed for the British mind; and that none but a generic Calvinism, strong in its principles, precise in definition, symmetrical and commanding in structure, yet considerate in its presentation of the truth, and conciliatory rather than polemic in tone, could take captive and firmly hold the British heart.

The second motive appears in the constituent elements of the Assembly itself. Not to speak of the prelatists, whose connection with the body was but slight, and whose influence was small, the Independent party, headed by Goodwin and Nye, were decidedly averse to all intolerance, as well in doctrine as in ecclesiastical organization; and while they were soundly Calvinistic, were none the less unwilling to incorporate in the creed any type of Calvinism which might be characterized as one-sided or extreme. Among the Presbyterians themselves, there were wide diversities in doctrinal tendency; there were many who sympathized in this respect with the Independents, and were equally strenuous in the effort to eliminate from the symbols all that had looked forbidding or extreme in the *decreta* of Dordrecht. Outside of the Assembly, in England at least, a similar spirit prevailed, if not in the majority, still in a

minority strong enough in numbers and character to influence not only the public sentiment, but also the deliberations and decisions of the Assembly itself.¹ There is consequently found in the confession and catechisms, what the reader frequently discovers in the *Minutes*, traces of the conflict of this liberal spirit with a more positive and rigorous tendency in ecclesiastical statement, and evidences of final compromise upon a more mediate position, where all could be agreed. While neither party was disposed to abandon, or even to state weakly or inadequately, any of the essentials of Calvinism, neither party was able or inclined to win triumphs over the other; both were agreed in such presentation of these essentials as would best set forth the system itself, and would win general acquiescence. It is also obvious that the spirit of conciliation was habitually prevalent in the Assembly, even in the height of the famous debate concerning the *jus divinum*, and during the exciting period when Presbyterianism as a polity was assuming for a brief period the dangerous sceptre of politico-ecclesiastical supremacy. History has at least preserved but few memoranda of such undignified wranglings, such disputatious strifes, such conflicts of feeling and of interest, as, ever since the robber synod of Ephesus, have so often dishonored the deliberations of religious

¹ Stoughton is disposed to divide the credit for the establishment of the principle of toleration in England chiefly between the Independent party, led by the noted John Goodwin, and the more liberal element among the prelatists, represented by Chillingworth and Hales and Jeremy Taylor. He gives considerable prominence also to Cudworth and Henry More, and especially to John Locke, who, as he says, "brought the doctrine of toleration out of the domain of theology, and placed it on the basis of political righteousness." In describing the efforts of the Presbyterian party to prevent toleration from disintegrating into license, and thus making room for the wildest excesses in religious thought, he apparently misinterprets such effort as indicative of want of sympathy with toleration itself. The obvious fact is, that that party were as tolerant as they were conservative, and that they believed that nothing could be more destructive of true liberty than indiscriminate and irresponsible license. It is simply absurd in Hallam to describe them as "a countless brood of fanatical sectaries, nursed in the lap of Presbyterianism, and fed with the stimulating aliment she furnished, till their intoxicating fancies could neither be restrained within the limits of her creed, nor those of her discipline." A true historical spirit could never have dictated the sentences that follow: "*The Presbyterian zealots were systematically intolerant: a common cause made toleration the doctrine of the sectaries.*"—"Const. Hist. of England," chap. x.

assemblages. It may be that the fervent spirit which so largely pervaded the body, and which is exhibited in the record of their frequent religious services, not only saved them from such manifestations of differences, but also did much to harmonize their conceptions of the truth, and to assist in formulating their common belief.

Under such conditions, it was natural that the Westminster symbols should assume, not the form and tone of partisanship, resounding like a trumpet-blast that summons warriors to battle, but rather the calm temper, the stately aspect and movement, the measured and quiet utterance which ought always to characterize such authoritative statements of the truth as it is in Jesus. Deliberation marks every chapter, almost every section. By no Protestant council was so much of time given to the consideration of what was to be stated ; by none was each paragraph, each sentence, each word, so carefully weighed. If the spirit of contention broke out in the debates, it was carefully eliminated from the final definition of the doctrines discussed. Hence, while there are no compromises in the symbols, there is much of tolerance and of conciliation. Though Arminianism receives no countenance, yet no legitimate variety of Calvinism is trodden under foot. Speculative questions are either set aside, or stated in their more moderate forms. It is the grand facts, the essential truths of the common system, which elicit the chief interest, and are made most central and prominent. The abstinence of these symbols, it should be specially observed, is as remarkable as their utterances are ; there is as much of wisdom often in their silence as in what they actually express. The dogmatizing literalist is generally disappointed in his search for the very word which would give authority to his private and patented dogma ; and if, perchance, he finds the desired indorsement somewhere, he is perplexed to discover suddenly, at another point, some balancing word or phrase which cuts down his conceit, and teaches him that the confession was made for no class of mere sectaries, for no differentiating school of theorists, but for all who receive, in good faith, the truths essential to the Calvinistic system. It is, consequently, no perversion of language, or of fact, to speak of the symbols of Westminster as moderate and generous, tolerant and catholic, in their main features

as well as in certain specified chapters. Although they sometimes fail, they still are seen to be remarkably such, if we take due account of the times, the circumstances, the conditions, amid which they were prepared. Embodying at least the purest catholicity of their age, they may justly be ranked as among the best Protestant affirmations of the broad principle, as old and as sacred as Christianity, that Christ is equally the head of all his saints, and that in him all his saints are vitally and eternally one.¹

Turning, at this point, from the doctrine and the ecclesiastical structure of Presbyterianism, to consider its actual career as a section of the common Protestantism, we shall find, notwithstanding some specific contradictions, a second series of convincing signs of catholicity. Such proof might legitimately be introduced by a reference to the historic attitude assumed by the Westminster Assembly towards other churches and polities in Britain, and toward the various branches, especially of Reformed Protestantism on the continent. The Assembly were substantially true, from the beginning, to the broad doctrine of their own chapter on *Synods and Councils*. Having affirmed that, since apostolic times, all such synods or councils may err, and that many such have erred—and, consequently, that these are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but are to be used simply as helps in both—they were bound not only to refrain from assuming to themselves the infallibility which they denied to others, but also to accord to all parties the liberty of estimating the symbols they had prepared, and even to submit their aspirations for ecclesiastical supremacy to the popular judgment. While, therefore, they claimed a certain

¹ Some further illustrations of the fact under examination might readily be drawn from the "Form of Government," and from the "Directory for Worship," regarded as expressions of the current feeling of the Westminster divines. It is surprising how little of the more rigid *jus divinum* theory of the Church, or of the prescriptive theory of worship, so common in that age among all classes, has wrought itself into the firm texture of these documents. Broader and juster views of authority and of discipline can be nowhere found; and the tone as well as the precepts of the Directory are simply unsurpassed. FREEDOM, such as is vested inherently in every true child of God: and ORDER, such as ought to prevail in every true household of faith, are here most exquisitely blended.

measure of divine right for the polity they had framed, they neither could nor did assume the attitude of exclusive intolerance toward either the Prelatist or the Independent. While, during the brief period of their exaltation, they did insist upon uniformity in matters of usage and worship, as the delusive conception of a State Church constrained them to do, they did even this in no arrogant or exclusive temper, as if they were the sole inheritors of truth and grace. And when Presbyterianism yielded the sceptre of civil control to the rising party of Owen and Cromwell: and when, again, at the Restoration, it gave way irretrievably to the restored and dominant prelacy, the Presbyterian leaders could justly claim the benefits of their own good antecedents. As they had asserted the principle of liberty of conscience, they could now assert freely their own right to the liberty they had accorded to others. The more resolutely they had affirmed the full communion of saints and the universality of the Church, the more effectively could they now resist the assumptions of prelacy, and stand forth as advocates of a just and generous toleration. It is probably true that, in consequence of being thus thrown into the minority, they contributed more decisively to such toleration, and especially to the culture of a generous and catholic disposition in the British mind, than they could or would have done, had they still retained in their grasp the dangerous sceptre of civil supremacy.

But the efforts of the Assembly, and of the Presbyterian party, to establish a closer fellowship with their brethren of like faith on the continent, furnish a still more striking illustration of their true temper. Hetherington¹ has briefly described a movement for the combination of the various Reformed churches, on the basis of the Westminster symbols, which deserves a fuller examination and a more conspicuous place in denominational history than it has as yet received. He asserts that the Assembly entertained "the idea of a Protestant union throughout Christendom, not merely for the purpose of counterbalancing Popery, but in order to purify, strengthen, and unite all true Christian churches: so that, with combined

¹ "History of the Westminster Assembly." Amer. ed. p. 290. Also, "Bicentenary of the Westminster Assembly." Amer. ed. p. 92.

energy and zeal, they might go forth in glad compliance with the Redeemer's commands, teaching all nations, and preaching the everlasting Gospel to every creature under heaven." Baillie, in his "Letters," alludes to the same sublime idea in the words: "We are thinking of a new work *over the sea*, if this church were settled. The times of Antichrist's fall are approaching. The very outward providence of God seems to be disposing the continent for the receiving of the Gospel. And when the curtains of the Lord's tabernacle are thus far and much further enlarged, *by the means which yet appear not*, how shall our mouth be filled with laughter, our tongue with praise, and our heart with rejoicing." It is well known that, with this object in view, the Scotch Commissioners, under the leadership of Alexander Henderson, petitioned Parliament to authorize the Assembly to enter into correspondence with the Protestant churches in Holland and elsewhere: and that copies of the League and Covenant were sent with such correspondence, for the consideration of these continental churches. It is also known that the leading divines in the church of the Netherlands responded heartily to the proposal of such fraternal union, and sent letters approving the Covenant, and expressing their desire to be associated with British Presbyterianism under it. The conception of such fellowship was not new, in either ecclesiastical or political circles. Eighty years before, Calvin, in a letter to Cranmer, with that remarkable prescience which he so frequently exhibited, had advocated the calling together of a "godly synod" representing all parties, in order to promote both harmony in teaching and concert in ecclesiastical action. For nearly twenty years the eminent John Duræus had been inspired by the declaration of Godemann, one of the councillors of Gustavus Adolphus, that whoever should bring about a reconciliation between the great parties into which Protestantism was divided, would be the greatest of peacemakers.¹ Oxenstiern, the distinguished Chancellor of

¹ The name of John Dury, "the unchanged and single-hearted peacemaker," as he was styled, deserves, like that of George Calixtus, to be lifted in this age of catholicity into higher and worthier remembrance. Born in Edinburgh, educated at Leyden, sometime a student at Oxford, and afterwards pastor of an English congregation in Prussia, he gave himself at length, for life, to the work

Sweden, had already taken a vow, Lightfoot tells us, to "prosecute a reconciliation between Protestants in points of religion." And it was not surprising that the Assembly of Westminster should have hoped that, on the basis of the creed and polity they had framed, the whole of Protestantism, continental as well as insular, might ultimately be joined together in one broad and grand compact around the essentials of the common faith. If the spirit of the age was hostile to such a movement—if political interests and provincial differences, and the small jealousies of men and parties were too influential to permit such a consummation, it still must ever redound to the credit of British Presbyterianism that it had the mind to appreciate such a conception, and the heart to attempt its realization. Nor does it detract from that credit to recognize the fact that it was their own symbols which they hoped to make the basis of this broader fellowship; for those symbols were not in contrast with the preceding creeds, especially of the Reformed churches, but were rather the completest exposition extant of the faith equally dear to all of these churches, and as such were cordially appreciated and approved by all.

It must be frankly admitted that the British Presbyterianism of the seventeenth century was not on a level with the standard which it had itself set up, and that the spirit of the age was not sufficiently cultured to permit the exercise of a catholicity so high and inclusive. Both in England and in Scotland, denominational zeal and political scheming, and especially the desire for State supremacy and patronage, constantly tended to repress the more generous impulse; and instead of persisting in the scheme proposed by Henderson, and cultivating a truly ecumenical feeling, British Presbyterians fell into the narrownesses of sect, and lost something of both dignity and force. They became provincial rather than continental, and so re-

of pacifying and uniting Protestant Christendom. From 1630, till his death at Cassel in 1680, by journeys, by conferences, by letters, and publications, he was assiduous and absorbed in this single task. He visited successively Sweden, Denmark, the Palatinate, Germany, Prussia, Poland, Switzerland, and France, as well as the British Isles, in the prosecution of his high purpose. And futile though that purpose was, so far as the immediate results were concerned, it may well be held in grateful remembrance by all who believe in the one church of Christ on earth.

mained. Nor is there reason to suppose that the various churches across the channel, which were Calvinistic in doctrine and Presbyterian in form, would have been able to respond effectively to the British overtures. Each monarch, each petty prince, from Denmark to Switzerland, desired to have his own Church, with creed, and usage, and ceremony, such as pleased himself. The lines drawn by the bloody hand of civil power could not well be crossed, even by the Church of Christ. Protestantism was thus disintegrated by being provincialized, and on every side the avenues to a broad and helpful catholicity were closed. Protestantism became, under such influences, blind to some of its own grandest conceptions, and deaf to the voice of some among its ablest founders and defenders. And, consequently, the failure of Henderson, like that of Duræus and of Calixtus, was rendered inevitable. The spirit of the times was not equal to the realization of so grand an idea, and the Antichrist, whose end seemed to Baillie so nigh, only laughed to scorn a discordant and belligerent Protestantism, and went on his way to conquer again the continent which had once so nearly been delivered from his grasp.

It has sometimes been supposed that the catholicity infused by the Westminster symbols into British Presbyterianism was dangerous as well as unfruitful, and that it should be recognized as one among the remoter causes of that moderatism which afterwards became the occasion of so many ecclesiastical convulsions in Scotland; and which, degenerating into latitudinarianism finally, in the following century, corrupted and well-nigh destroyed the Presbyterian Church in England. It is true that an indiscriminating catholicity may lead on to indifference, not only to things unimportant, but even to essential truth. It is true that fellowship with loose men may incite to looseness in faith, as in conduct; that mere generosity may easily degenerate into careless acquiescence in error; that the moderate man may insensibly change into a latitudinarian, culpably negligent of matters sacred and vital. But true catholicity bears no such fruit; and it may well be questioned whether this tendency, as it subsequently developed itself in both the English and Scotch churches, should not rather be attributed to reaction from the prevalence of a spirit directly oppo-

site to such catholicity. As a highly dogmatical type of Calvinism in Holland aroused in Arminianism a strong reaction against itself, it is probable that a similar type of Calvinism, becoming prominent in Britain, and associating with itself an excessively rigid and sometimes tyrannical interpretation of polity and usage, was rather one chief cause and source of moderatism, whether north or south of the Tweed. The historian of British Presbyterianism is indeed bound to give some account of a fact so marked, and in many aspects so painful. The rise of moderatism in the very heart of a system so positive, compact, and vigorous, was certainly no accident; it must have been the outgrowth either of forces inherent in the system, or of efficient causes acting upon the system from without, and compelling structural changes within it. But there is certainly nothing in the Calvinistic conception of Christianity which could directly produce such a phenomenon as the cold and dry Arianism that came like a blight upon the churches which the fathers of the Assembly had once planted and nourished into fruitfulness; nothing that could directly have originated such men as the Scotch Moderates, "latitudinarian in doctrine, Erastian in policy, and worldly in life." Still less was this probably so much an abnormal development of Christian catholicity as it was a revolt of sinful human nature, under the guise of Christianity, against a rigidity which allowed no departure from the stiffest dogma, and a spirit which admitted no sort of compromise with imperfection. The very strength, firmness, cogency of the system, in the view of many, only increased the liability to such revolt, and made it more dreadful when it came. And it is not improbable that this liability was rendered the more serious by the dogmatic temper which men so often exhibit in dealing with sacred things, by the hair-splitting narrowness and harsh censoriousness, which betrays itself, ever and anon, even in the most orthodox who "preach Christ of contention." The Gospel itself may be preached, even by earnest minds, in a tone so denunciatory, or in proportions so distorted, as to produce nothing but a brood of errorists and of bold transgressors.

If moderatism was not so much the child as the parent of an excessive or inconsiderate catholicity, it should be admitted,

on the other hand, that the frequent and disastrous subdivisions of insular Presbyterianism especially, around mere ecclesiastical *differentiæ*, prove true catholicity to have been sadly defective in its practical influence. While the existence of a series of Presbyterian churches, national or provincial, is no clear indication of the absence of such a spirit, the wranglings, the splits, the secessions, the disruptions, the multiplied belligerencies occurring within the Presbyterian family itself, show too clearly that the temper of the Confession was far higher, purer, than that of many who thought they received, or professed to receive, it. The history of the divisions of the Presbyterianism of Scotland, for example, illustrates any and every other quality in the Christian apprehension and character rather than this. From the period of the formation, in 1733, under Ebenezer Erskine, of the associate Presbytery, and its speedy subdivision, in 1739, into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, onward through the subsequent conflicts and divisions represented in the Relief, the Old Lights and the New, and other seceding organizations, till the historic disruption of 1843, there is apparently a series of centrifugal forces warring against the coherencies of the Presbyterian system, and whirling into perpetual separation and antagonism those whom a true, warm catholicity would have held together in happy union. Stanley has, with very slight exaggeration, pointed out "the littleness and the minuteness of the points on which these religious divisions have taken place;" and he quotes the celebrated Lord Eldon as saying, in his judgment on the Craigdallie case, which involved the questions at issue between the Old Lights and the New: I hope I may be permitted, without offence to you, to say, that there may be some doubt whether we understand this subject, not only because the Court of Session is much more likely to understand it than we are, but because I have had the mortification, many times over, to endeavor myself to understand what these principles were, and whether the parties have, or have not, deviated from them; *and I have made the attempt till I find it, at least on my part, to be quite hopeless.*¹ It is but just to record the fact that most of these issues have occurred around the generic and still unsettled question as to the rela-

¹ Stanley, "History of the Church of Scotland." Lect. II.

tions between the Church and the State ; and that some others have involved important differences in doctrine, wherein the truth could be brought out in its completeness only through the strenuous, and even belligerent, advocacy for a time of its antithetic phases. Yet it is to be confessed that these antagonisms have played altogether too conspicuous a part in the history of Scottish Presbyterianism ; and with all possible allowance for diversity around the issue of patronage, or for variety in judgment on other points, it still must be regarded as a poor illustration of the catholicity of the symbols that four Presbyterian bodies, so largely one in faith and order, should be occupying their present position and relations in the small territory between the Firth of Solway and the Orkney Isles.¹

On a broader scale, it must also be confessed that European Presbyterianism, generally, has shared largely in the uncatholic spirit and habit which have so sadly marred Protestantism, in general, for the past two centuries. It was, perhaps, inevitable that that Protestantism, divided as it was by geographic and political lines, and by diversities of language and culture, should have come, before the close of the seventeenth century, to exist

¹ One cannot refrain from sympathizing with the pathos with which Dr. Norman Macleod, on assuming, in 1869, the Moderatorship of the General Assembly in the Established Church, quoted, with reference to these divisions, the touching lines from Christabel :

“ Alas ! they had been friends in youth ;
 But whispering tongues can poison truth ;
 And constancy lives in realms above ;
 And life is thorny ; and youth is vain ;
 And to be wroth with one we love
 Doth work like madness in the brain.

* * * * *

Each spake words of high disdain
 And insult to his heart's best brother.
 They parted—ne'er to meet again !
 But never either found another
 To free the hollow heart from paining.—
 They stood aloof, the scars remaining,
 Like cliffs which had been rent asunder :
 A dreary sea now flows between ;
 But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
 Shall wholly do away, I ween,
 The marks of that which once hath been.”

in a series of separate organizations, each keenly alive to its own peculiarities, and all too little conscious of the deep underlying unity which made them branches in the one Church of Christ. It was perhaps inevitable that even those which were substantially alike in their Calvinistic faith and their Presbyterian ardor, should pass into a similar state of isolation, and should even become mutually suspicious and antagonistic. As a fact, Continental Presbyterianism, like other varieties of Protestantism, so far as it has retained its primitive quality, has for the most part existed in this separate, isolated, unsympathetic condition: provincial rather than ecumenical in opinion, in feeling, in fellowship. One looks in vain for the beautiful dawning of that fair day of unity, and of consequent bloom and vigor, for which Calvin prayed, and which Henderson and Dury, and their compeers, labored to introduce. The rivalries of theological schools and teachers, the ambitions of princes and of states, the divisive influence of secular interests and institutions, and other kindred causes, have pushed and held apart those whom the strong bond of oneness in faith and ardor should have drawn indissolubly together. Against such forces the spirit of catholicity thus far has been too slight, too weak, to press its sacred claim; and European Presbyterianism, like European Protestantism generally, has had to bow in humiliation before the famous taunt of Bossuet, and to confess itself wanting, if not in that absolute, at least in that manifested unity which, as he fairly claimed, ought ever to distinguish the true Church of Christ.

The future historian of American Presbyterianism, as he traces its successive implantations, organizations, developments, conflicts from the beginning to the present hour, will be constrained to make some similar confession. As, with supreme fidelity to truth, he describes the career of its six or eight existing varieties, he will be compelled not merely to note their painful isolation one from another, but also to recognize a series of positive antagonisms and divisions among them, which he must regard as sadly at variance with the spirit of the symbols of Westminster. Granting the reality and the temporary importance of some, at least, among the occasions of such diversity, he will also realize that these *differentiæ* have had far

too much prominence, and have passed away far too slowly ; and he will confess that much of the influence which these bodies might have exerted on American life, and much of their inherent dignity and worth as churches of Christ, has in this way been impaired. He will not, indeed, have occasion to admit that Presbyterianism is, above other types of faith, weak or delinquent in this respect ; for among the evangelical sects of this land, none has done more to defend Christian liberty, or to maintain the common Christian doctrine, or to cultivate the temper of Christian confidence and love. If the crown of catholicity were to be set on any brow, it may justly be doubted whether any branch of the Church of Christ in this land would be pronounced worthier to wear it. But the hour for that grand coronation has not yet come !

With these proper admissions in regard to the imperfect realizations, historically, of the catholic spirit expressed in the Westminster Symbols, it may still be claimed, with entire fidelity to truth and fact, that this spirit is in a high degree characteristic of existing Presbyterianism, both European and American, and that especially on this continent it is rapidly becoming a conspicuous and dominant force in our denominational life. While that Presbyterianism sees no occasion to forswear or belittle its doctrines, or to surrender any essential feature of its polity, it still feels itself to be pledged, by the unaltered teaching of its ancient Confession, to the culture and the manifestation of a true Christian catholicity. That obligation it cordially confesses and assumes. It holds not less, but rather more firmly than of old, to the sacred affirmations of the fathers concerning Christian liberty and liberty of conscience : affirmations which have been maintained by former Presbyterians in the face of a thousand perils, and which are growing more significant and more precious, as the centuries go on. It still believes in the scriptural doctrine of the One Church of Christ, catholic and universal, in which all true churches are constituent parts, and in whose growth and triumph all believers may rejoice together. It still maintains, and seeks all proper occasions to make manifest, the apostolic teaching respecting the communion of saints : the vital oneness of all, in all lands and times, who are spiritually united to Christ, the

divine Head. It still breathes, as native air, the spirit of biblical moderation, of generous forbearance, of brotherly love and "sweet reasonableness," which flows off upon the Church from both the precepts and the example of the men who, like Henderson and Baillie, labored and prayed for the closer union of Protestant Christianity throughout the world. To all this, existing Presbyterianism, here and elsewhere, is forever pledged alike by principle and instinct, by position and by interest: and from that supreme obligation it is not likely to swerve, on the one hand, or to betray its own distinctive principles, on the other.

It is also obvious that existing Presbyterianism, especially in this country, is constrained to such exercise of catholicity, internally, in view of the considerable varieties in opinion, usage, tendency among those who agree in their generic acceptance of the common symbols. The Presbyterian who sings the psalms in the version of Rouse, and regards all other forms of social praise as illicit:—the Presbyterian who condemns all secret orders as inimical to Christianity, or who fences the table of the Lord around with tests of whatever sort, excluding true Christians:—the Presbyterian who believes in civil establishments, and claims the *regium donum* as a vested right of the Church: these, and all other Presbyterians who are differentiated from their brethren by cherished but non-essential peculiarities of any kind, are yet compelled, by their loyalty to the common system, to hold such peculiarities in reserve, and not only to tolerate, but also to respect all who rally with them around the one catholic banner. The tendency of the communion already established between these various bodies is to bring about the retirement of such differences, and to press into new prominence whatever is generic and universal. And as such communion is extended, this result will become more and more apparent: isolation and division will decrease: provincial peculiarities fall off: and the Presbyterianism of the world will become more and more unified, as well in spirit and action as in ardor and belief.

Existing Presbyterianism is also constrained to such exercise of catholicity, externally, in view of its peculiar relations to other sections of Protestantism, and of its special responsibility

with regard to the ultimate unification of Protestant Christianity. Already the Presbyterian churches of the world are coming to realize, not merely that they are under most sacred obligation to respect and to cherish each other, but also that they have broader duties, which include within their sweep every true church of Christ on earth. Presbyterianism is not indeed called to ignore or undervalue its own distinctive marks and principles, or to sweep aside any such marks or principles cherished by other denominations:—to reduce the aggregate of evangelical Christianity to that pulpy indifferentism, which has been fitly described as “a mush of sects.” Yet that Presbyterianism, as we believe, has been called of God to a special mission toward all Protestant bodies: a mission to proclaim and to exemplify before all its own true catholicity, in order to bring all into closer, more loving and fruitful fellowship around the central verities of the common Gospel. Set, providentially, in a central position among these churches, more widely diffused than any, strong enough to command attention and regard, pledged by its symbols and its history to charity toward all, and itself largely animated by the true temper of scriptural brotherhood, how grand an opportunity is now given to that Presbyterianism, and how sublime the mission on which it has already, half unconsciously, entered!

Presbyterianism provides for truth in requiring its ministers to be furnished for aptness in teaching, and to be true, in that teaching, to its standards—not in all minute *ipsissima verba*, but as containing the system taught in the Scriptures; for catholicity in opening the communion-tables to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; for government by the people in the representative character of its polity and the parity of its ministry. It sets up no wall of exclusivism by denying the validity of the sacraments and ordinations as administered by other denominations, or fencing away their members from its communion, or their ministers from the courtesy of occasional pulpit exchanges. It provides for unity by a system of government in which the parts are subject, in the Lord, to the whole, and each to all; not as lording over their faith, but helpers of their joy. It is prepared to take a leading place in promoting

genuine catholicity by those marked provisions for securing truth, purity, charity, and unity in its constitution.

The sessions of the Westminster Assembly were held chiefly in the Jerusalem Chamber, in that famous abbey where so many of the illustrious dead of Britain are sleeping, and which Dean Stanley has recently characterized in fitting words as "a consecrated temple of reconciled ecclesiastical enmities." That chamber was not only "a faire roome," as Baillie in his *Letters* describes it, and one already made venerable by centuries of religious use; it was also memorable for its association with some significant events in English political history. It was here, for example, that Henry IV. was carried after his swoon in the adjacent chapel; and it was here that, lying on a low pallet before the fire, that haughty founder of the royal house of Lancaster yielded up his life. Shakespeare, with some poetic license, has made the room famous by associating it with the death-scene which closes the fourth act in his familiar tragedy:

King Henry.—Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?

Warwick.—'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord.

King Henry.—Laud be to God! even there my life must end.
It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in Jerusalem,
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.
But, bear me to that chamber: there I'll lie:
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die!

In the middle of one of the longer sides in this room, and opposite the two long and narrow windows facing westward, stands the ancient fire-place where, during many of the sessions of the Assembly, a good fire blazed on the hearth, which, says Baillie, in his quaint account, "was some dainties at London." Spanning this hearth there is a curiously carved chimney-piece, which was placed there by Williams, Dean of Westminster in the days of Laud. It has recently been restored through the agency of the present Dean, and decorated with a series of Scripture texts in gold, suggested by the name given to the chamber itself. On the pilaster to the left are recorded the familiar words of the psalmist: PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM: words which, studied in their connection, are seen to

express the strong and the absorbing love for one Church of God, that throbs like a passion in all pious hearts, in all dispensations. On the right pilaster are written the kindred words : BUILD THOU THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM ; words wherein the psalmist, even out of his deep humiliation, pours forth not simply his personal desire for the welfare of Zion, but a prayer in which the people of God throughout the earth may continually join, as the consummation of all possible pleading at the throne of the heavenly grace. On the broad facing above, the visitor reads that triumphal utterance of the great apostle to the Gentiles : JERUSALEM, WHICH IS ABOVE, IS FREE. In these words, both the fraternal exhortation to prayer, on the one hand, and the trustful prayer itself, on the other, are transmuted into a prophecy and a hope, and all are invited to look forward by faith to a period when the divided churches shall be gathered, and all separating differences forever lost, in the fellowship and glory of the Jerusalem which is above. Well will it be for Presbyterianism, present and future, throughout the world, as it looks back to that chamber where its symbols were prepared, if it shall read afresh the psalmist hymn, the Messianic desire, and the apostolic prediction there recorded ; and if, under the influence of the better spirit breathed upon it from that hallowed place, it shall go forth to bear, century after century, some conspicuous part in the realizing of these inspired declarations. And unto God be all the praise !

EDWARD D. MORRIS.