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ARTICLE I.

ECCLESIASTICAL DISCOVERIES OF THE PURITANS.

By REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D., New York.

1. *A History of the Work of Redemption, including a Church History in a method entirely new.* By JONATHAN EDWARDS, Pastor of a Church in Northampton.
2. *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with elucidations.* By THOMAS CARLYLE. New York. Wiley & Putnam.
3. *The Protector : A Vindication.* By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE. New York. Robert Carter.
4. *Neal's History of the Puritans.* Edited by JOHN O. CHOULES, A. M. New York. Harper & Brothers.

MEN seeking God earnestly for themselves, always find him for others. This is the case both with individuals and nations. This is one reason why our blessed Lord, when his disciples returned from their novel and difficult mission with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject to us through thy name, simply and solemnly answered, after assuring them that Satan's power was indeed broken, Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the devils are subject to you, but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven. Take heed to your own holiness and salvation, for thus only can you conquer Satan, by conquering yourselves. One of our elder poets has said that

"Only he who knows
Himself, knows more."

It may be added, that only he who *saves* himself, *saves* more. God never saves one alone, but others ; and the fountain of power is through individual experience, individual baptism of the soul in fire. A man like Henry Martyn, Brainard, Edwards, Payson,

setting out in such fire after God, builds, with the flame of his own spirit, a chariot of glory, that takes multitudes to heaven. Just so, a nation, seeking God truly for itself, discovers principles and lays foundations, for the salvation of a world. Almost the whole aim of the Puritans was to find God. In this search, passing almost into the Theocracy of the Hebrews of old, by the consuming energy of the impulse with which they started, they discovered principles, or rather wrought them out into noticeable and practicable form, by reason of the ignorance or perversion of which, the whole world, and even the Christian world, had lain in bondage. Starting for salvation themselves, they worked out liberty for others. It was only by degrees that they began themselves to see what great things God might be doing through them; and it is thus that God has made the record of their history more full of himself, a more unmingled shining light of his providence and grace, than almost any other record, out of the Scriptures, in the history of man.

The relation in which the work first named at the head of this article stands to those that follow will be recognised at once. It is like an announcement of the true system of the universe in comparison with after investigations concerning particular planets. The work on the History of Redemption was a very grand conception in the mind of Edwards—simple and grand, a view of God's plan almost as by revelation, so comprehensive, so illimitable. Butler's Analogy and Edwards's History of Redemption are two very different works, and yet in many respects very similar; both of them wonderfully acute and comprehensive reductions of vast systems within the scope of common minds. But if Edwards's work had had the felicity of being completed by himself according to his first great conception of it, and published by himself with his own final, best judgment, long considered, long elaborated, it might have been the greatest of the two productions. The title which Mr. Erskine gave to it was as follows: "A History of the work of Redemption, containing the outlines of a Body of Divinity, including a view of Church History, in a method entirely new."

The newest thing in this "method entirely new," was not so much the arrangement, as the design and accomplished fact of letting God be seen and not man, or rather God above man, God directing man, and disposing of him and his affairs for the great end of Redemption. The Divine, and not the human, comes out in such a history, or the human only as subordinate to the Divine, and for its purposes. All history is to be viewed in this light, and in its connexion with the scheme, which the mind of Edwards beheld and delineated as the soul and end of all things. Not only God's providence is to be investigated and displayed, but in every part it is to be connected with the onward progress

of the work of Redemption; providences are not only to be marked and acknowledged, but it is to be seen to what great point they converge, what consummation they hasten.

The entirely new method of History thus suggested, is in fact the one adopted by D'Aubigné, with a more vivid-dramatic arrangement and coloring, but for the same end, the manifestation of the Divine directing the human, in subordination to the cross. The endeavor to find God, gradually discovers all truth; so this method is destined to reveal the depths of history, and as soon as all the facts of history come to be viewed in this significant light, it will appear as a new science. All history is in fact but an adjunct to Church history, and Church history begins with the creation. If there could be anything cut apart from Church history, so that between the two there can be no connexion traced, the gulf would be like that of chaos, separated by a wall of light from Heaven, and filled with nothing better than a conglomeration of wood, hay, and stubble. But all things tend, in one way or another, into the channel of the work of Redemption; they may tend thus by discipline, if in no other way; and events which seem disconnected from that channel for ages, yet come up afterwards, like streams that have run under ground, reappearing, to pour into the great sea.

The existence of Homer might seem for centuries an affair having nothing to do with the world's redemption. By and by comes up Plato, then Aristotle, then Alexander, and Homer's mind pours through these channels into the soul of the world's conqueror, and Homer's native Greek is spread over the East by the same impulse that makes Alexander a half incarnation of Homer's Achilles. Then comes the translation of the Septuagint, so that the birth of Homer and the spread of God's Word, though disconnected by an interval of hundreds of years, are linked by no fanciful, but a real, deep, and most remarkable connexion.

The poet Goethe said that Aristotle was like a huge Pyramid resting on the earth, and built mathematically for the earth; while Plato shoots upward towards heaven like an obelisk, yea, like a pointed flame. Now there are these two types of character, and only these, in all historical literature. The greater part of history rests upon the earth as its foundation, and has the earth for its end; if it is mathematically correct, and solid as a Pyramid, it is only a mausoleum for dead bones, and even its apex does not mean to shoot towards heaven, any more than one of its four corners. But another, though as yet a very small part of history, shoots like the obelisk to heaven; yea, as a pointed flame, or a chariot of flame, carries the soul up to God. Just so, indeed, in all science; one part has the earth only for its object, and is dead; another part has God for its object, and is alive.

The facts of history are living or dead facts, according to the

mind of the observer, and the use men put them to. God lets them remain, sometimes, with their meaning hidden, or overlaid by men's speculations. God lets men work upon providences and facts first, secularly, for their own purposes, sifting them and coloring them for themselves. Next he passes the same facts under different conjunctures, through other mediums, bringing them nearer to a perfection for his purposes. Then he raises up workmen to interweave them, so prepared, into a true history of the Divine Providence in human affairs. Such a history demands the highest qualities and accomplishments of the human mind at work upon it.

There is yet room for such a History of the Puritans. Such a history is demanded, written on the same general plan with D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation. It will be one of the grandest subjects ever yet given to a man of genius; and its masterly execution would make a work so full of interest in regard to the ways of God's Providence and grace, that nothing out of the Divine records could be a more impressive and delightful study. Perhaps the time has not fully come. The facts have not passed through all their previous processes of preparation. They are rapidly doing so, at the hands both of enemies and friends. One man takes them, and puts them in this light, another in that. One constructs a gallery for their arrangement with only one window; another has a skylight, but without the direct sun; another builds a huge camera obscura; one seeks to reveal, another to distort, another to hide. By and by, some mind of united genius and piety will arise, and gather all the facts into the right point of view, with God's own light shining on them, and then this history, with the great consequences traced from it, will be the foremost history of all the modern world, in importance and complete development.

The preparations for this great work are gradual and slow. Whole masses of opinion rise and fall again, the tides go in and out, sands shift, and coasts, almost, are altered. The sea rolls where there were palaces. Now and then comes up a mass of materials, with a hand like Carlyle's, to arrange them, under the guidance of an unprejudiced, independent, heroic, and sympathizing mind, and the being whom nearly all the world saw before as a hypocrite and usurper, shines forth, confessed, a man of Truth, a Hero, and a Christian. If the fixed lights of our universe were once wandering mists, which ages have condensed into form and glory, it is no more than takes place in the moral universe, with the growth and fixedness of truth. The elements are long at work. At length nebulosities become distinctly formed masses, and what was at first dimly and falsely seen in other lights, is found to have an unchangeable and imperishable light of its own.

Carlyle's work on Oliver Cromwell is the first brilliant, strong, steady light thrown back from modern times into the recesses of the English Puritanic Epoch. It is one of the most valuable books ever published in this country. It is a book, we might almost say, of Homeric grandeur and simplicity, an Epic in its way, the story of a mighty life, and a mighty period. The partial grotesqueness of manner, half serious, half satirical, cannot diminish the sublimity of its impression, and the way is prepared for a thoughtful, steady investigation of the play of motive and character in the life and soul of the great man, heretofore misrepresented, but now reproduced, an undissembled, undissembling reality.

Next comes the Vindication of the Protector by D'Aubigné; another work of great value, which we are glad to see published by Mr. Carter in as accessible a form as the History of the Reformation. It is important and valuable as the Christian Commentary of an unbiassed and acute mind, passing the facts more deliberately and clearly under the searching light of the Divine Law, and tracing in them the paths of Divine Providence and grace. Few things can be more instructive than two such works, brought together from two such minds, shining on one another's path, and on the religious and secular phases of the same period and subject. When the times are ready, such works are powerfully revolutionary in public opinion. There is already a complete reversal of the judgment passed on Cromwell by the enemies of the man, his republicanism, his patriotism, and his piety.

"With the documents before us, which have been published at various times," says D'Aubigné, "we are compelled, unless we shut our eyes to the truth, to change our opinion of him, and to acknowledge that the character hitherto attached to this great man, is *one of the grossest falsehoods in all history*. Charles II., who succeeded him after Richard's short protectorate, and this monarch's courtiers, not less immoral, but still more prepossessed than himself; and the writers and statesmen, too, of this epoch, all of them united in misrepresenting his memory. The wicked followers of the Stuarts have blackened Cromwell's reputation."

D'Aubigné declares that in his earnest search into the law of the remarkable unity in Cromwell's character, he has been compelled to discard the hypothesis by which the majority of historians have been content, with a mixture of indolence and injustice as disgraceful to the genius, as it is injurious to the morals of history, to account for the seeming contradictions in his nature, the trite and easy hypothesis of a consummate hypocrisy. He has been *compelled*, by the absolutism of facts, to drop and reject this miserable solution. "The documents now before us are a striking contradiction," says he, "to this hypothesis; and no writer

who possesses the smallest portion of good faith, will ever venture to put it forward again."

The character of this great man he declares to be one of the most astonishing problems that time has handed down to us; a problem, the historical darkness of which is scattered, as darkness is driven from the natural world, only gradually, and by slow degrees. He has been presented as a hero to the world; "I present him," says D'Aubigné, "as a Christian to Christians, to Protestant Christians; and I claim boldly, on his behalf, the benefit of that passage of Scripture, *Every one that loveth God that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him.*"

The worth of these declarations is rendered very great, by the struggle, the resistance, the conviction, against former opinion and strong prejudice, through which a man, perhaps the greatest historian of the modern age, has been forced into them. A foreigner, and therefore placed in a position of impartiality not to be gained by Cromwell's own countrymen, D'Aubigné had been nevertheless carried by the stream of royalist English history into the gulf of falsehood; he had been as hopelessly plunged in the common misrepresentation and delusion as any of the readers of English history from their childhood in their native land. It was only by a struggle that he got out of this gulf; but let it be marked—it was not a struggle to *get out*, but to *keep in*; it was the wrestling of the truth with *him*, that overcame *him*, and not his wrestling with falsehood that overcame *that*. The power of truth raised him from the gulf, and brought him into the light, in spite of his own resistance against it. This is an extraordinary fact.

"We have," says he, "so deeply imbibed in our early youth the falsehoods maintained by the Stuart party, and by some of Cromwell's republican rivals, among them the narrow-minded Ludlow and the prejudiced Holles, that these falsehoods have become in our eyes indisputable truths. *I know it by my own experience, by the lengthened resistance I made to the light that has recently sprung up, and illuminated as with a new day, the obscure image of one of the greatest men of modern times. It was only after deep consideration that I submitted to the evidence of irresistible facts.*" This experience is of a character that will give, and ought to give, by itself, apart from D'Aubigné's reputation and power as a historian, the greatest weight to his vindication of the Protector. That vindication is at once a work of conscience and of love, and of that principle which impels D'Aubigné in all his historical studies, the acknowledged duty and desire of accepting and presenting God and not man, God's truth and providence, instead of man's ambition and intrigue. Hence he says, speaking of the fact that it is seldom that a great man is a Christian, but that Cromwell was both, "it would be an act of great meanness, a criminal falsehood, if those who, by studying the life of

this great man, find in him an upright heart, and a sincere piety, should unite their voices with those of his detractors. We, on our part, desire to the utmost of our ability to renounce all participation in this gross imposture."

Who is there, but must be delighted with this frank determination? We hope the life and mind of D'Aubigné will be spared and sustained to go through the whole History of the Reformation in England with the same determination. There are plenty of gross impostures to be dissipated, and Christian lights to be hung up in their stead. We accept this noble memorial of Cromwell's true character by the great Historian of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, as a pledge of the impartiality, independence, and Christian feeling and discernment, with which he will carry his researches into the caves of ecclesiastical history in England. We are yet to view those recesses opened to the daylight, and no longer to wander through them under the care of guides with torches, revealing little else but the splendor of prelatial stalactites, appearing to support the roof, when in reality they hang from it. A Reformation that stops in semi-popery can never afterwards be expected to go on to perfection; but the history of its mingled light and darkness, with all the admonitory lessons to be drawn from it, we may yet have in such perfection, that the value of the experience may be worth to the world almost its incalculable cost.

D'Aubigné's remarks on the character and position of the Protector are closed by a solemn warning, which cannot be deemed exaggerated, considering the indications of the present age. "If there is any one man, who in times past has contributed more than another, more than all others, to the wonders of the present day, that man is Oliver Cromwell. The existing greatness of England is but the realization of the plan he had conceived. If that enthusiasm for the gospel, if that opposition to Popery, those two distinctive characteristics of his mind, which Cromwell has imprinted on the people of Great Britain, should ever cease in England; if a fatal fall should ever interrupt the Christian course of that nation; and if Rome, which has already ruined so many kingdoms, should receive the homage of Old England—then should I at any period revisit her shore, I should find her glory extinct, and her power humbled in the dust."

We come now to another work, the title of which we have placed at the head of these pages. At the period when that work was written, a more valuable contribution to historical literature had hardly ever been made, than the History of the Puritans by Mr. Neak. It was, and still is, a noble work. We are glad that it has been printed again in this country, in so accessible and convenient a shape, by the Harpers. As a work of genius, none ever claimed for it a pre-eminence. But as a work of

truth, a work filled with the spirit and principles of religious liberty, a plain, unvarnished story of the great struggles and sufferings of godly men, endured beneath oppression for Christ and the truth's sake, and made interesting, not only by the inevitable, irrepressible interest of the tale, but by the honest, unexaggerated sympathy of a pious heart, it has won and maintained a very high place in the standard historical literature of England and the world. Indeed, it was almost the first great effort to collect the light of an age of heroic religious enthusiasm and principle, and to let it shine. The masses of its facts, and presentations of facts, were so indisputably true, that nothing could successfully be said or done against it. And it made an impression like that which the faithful testimony of an honest, unpolished, but evidently strong-minded, straight-forward, undissembling man from the country would make upon the minds of a court and jury, listening to his statements in a case of great importance before them.

It is a trustworthy, and has become a familiar, well-known, respected work. Calm, unprejudiced, impartial, entirely free from bigotry, but written from the heart, in a deep sympathy with the pious spirit of the Reformers, it has accomplished a great mission, in a time of obscurity and calumny. It has carried the truth into many a household, where all the historical impressions before had been gathered almost exclusively from the pages of Hume. It is a work which we rejoice to see spreading throughout our country, so much more readily and generally than it could do in the edition in five volumes.

A full history of the Puritans, according to Edwards's "method entirely new," is yet to be written. The history of Neal, following only the stream of Puritanism in England, through its surprising developments of truth and principle there, affords no view of the still greater developments of God's Providence with the Puritans of America. But these latter developments have come to be the great river, and the historical record of them remains to be written. It should be written only on the same principles on which Cromwell in England, and the Puritans in America, spoke and acted. "Supposing this cause or this business must be carried on," he once said to his Parliament, "it is either of God or man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man since the world begun hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that he hath not planted. And

as this is, so let the Allwise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contriving to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will tumble."

One would think it was old Latimer or John Bunyan speaking in this strain, instead of the greatest ruler and statesman in the world. But this is simply that entirely new method in history, which ought to have been as old and as familiar as God's Providence itself, but seems new and strange even now, whenever state affairs are made to bend to it, and are measured by it in the scale of importance. That which is to be sought in History is *the births of Providence*; of which Cromwell and his age in England was a remarkable one indeed, but the unobtrusive growth of the Puritans and their institutions in this country a greater. "Without Cromwell, humanly speaking," remarks D'Aubigné, "liberty would have been lost, not only to England, but to Europe. And the defeat of liberty would have been the defeat of the gospel." But, Cromwell or no Cromwell in England, the irresistible progress and triumph of the gospel in this country would have been the same, and must have been followed by the great developments of God's Providence, through the principles of Puritanism, extending from this country over the world. It is this wonderful sweep of Divine Providence which is yet to be traced by some great and devout mind; and perhaps God for this purpose is training, or will train, some acute and comprehensive intellect, to discern the steps of God, and to pour upon the history of this country, beginning with New England, as powerful a light of Providence and grace in union, as was ever poured through the mind of Jonathan Edwards to form and illustrate the body of New England theology.

A part of the preparation for this work must lie in memorials of individual manifestations of the grace of God, drawn from hitherto neglected materials. It is a good indication that the descendants of the Puritans are becoming sensible of the importance of opening and enshrining these records of their ancestors. When God thus turns the heart of the children to the fathers, we may hope it is done, that he may not be compelled to smite their inheritance with a curse. The works and biographies of the fathers of New England ought, before this, as precious stones neglected in the rough, to have been set, and to have formed, as far as possible, the commanding volumes in our national literature. For a long time this work of filial piety was hardly thought of, and Mather's *Magnalia* stood conspicuously alone, without imitation or rivalry, as, indeed, it ever must in its quaintness and singularity.

There have been some glowing and admirable testimonials; now and then an orator has spoken in tones that have gone to the

heart of the nation; but in truth no mind can measure, no language describe, the extent of our obligations to the costly virtues of our ancestors. Every year that we live, their names ought to be dearer to us; for every year we see more clearly that but for the sternness of the stuff with which they builded, our state ere this would have gone to decay. It may be that the battle of religious freedom which they fought in one of the most discouraging periods of religious tyranny, will have to be fought over again: for new elements have come in, of which they never dreamed, or from which they thought themselves and their posterity had escaped for ever. Their example may yet be a light to us in the perils of the conflict.

Character, sometimes, is like the simplicity of the atmosphere, which men breathe without attempting to analyse. How noble is the work, when a set of men, thinking simply of God and duty, can create a moral atmosphere for their race, with neither the pretence, nor even the consciousness, of doing so, but simply in obedience to the in-working law of a holy nature, struggling up to God! When the earthly vessel appointed for such precious elements is returned to him who made it, the light it held can shine abroad without injury to that humility and unconscientiousness. If a star, said a devout poet of that age, Henry Vaughan,

If a star were confined even into a tomb,
Her captive flame must needs burn there,
But when the hand that lock'd her up gave room,
She'd shine through all the sphere.

Much of the world's history has been as a tomb to the world's true lights. Instead of setting them in candlesticks, the masters of our ceremonies have put them under bushels, to make theatrical displays of their own lying transparencies. But an end is coming to such historical despotism.

Indeed, the virtues of our ancestors, and of the whole crowd of "slain witnesses," and the encompassing bright cloud in Heaven, are like great buried forests of timber of a former age, that, while generation after generation walk over them and go to the dead, change into mines of mineral riches, and then, when opened, supply the world with fuel. We are working those mines now. Our fires are kept burning by the deep, inexhaustible material. It is a curious and most instructive process in what may be called our moral geology, to go down and examine the circumstances in which this wonderful deposit for future ages was made.

From the close of the reign of Mary in England, and the return of the English exiles from Germany and Switzerland, there was a fermentation of thoughts, principles, prejudices, opinions, and feelings going on in England, of which little or nothing is to be

seen in ordinary history. In a history like Hume's, for example, which maintained so long an absolute despotism and monopoly of representation, we see little of what is passing among the common classes, or of movements in the heart of the people. Sometimes the word *fanaticism* occurs in his pages; it seems to indicate some temporary monstrosity shooting up to impede the calm, royal course of affairs; a *snag*, as it were, on which the theory of unreserved submission to hierarchical and political supremacy had touched for a moment; or, as if, on the smooth ocean, you had seen the fin of a shark come out from the surface, warning you of the monsters that lie in wait beneath. Sometimes a form like Wentworth's is seen rising like a veiled prophet from the shades, as Samuel's ghost suddenly confronting Saul, asserting, amidst a cowering assembly in parliament, the freedom of a representative of the people; but it seems a strange apparition, out of place, and struck down instantly at the touch of the Queen's prerogative. The mighty working of principles, thoughts, feelings, opinions, knowledge, and religious and political convictions, of which these things are both the indication and the consequence, could never be known from Hume's pages. Nevertheless, sometimes he is forced into a declaration which, rightly pondered, reveals a world of things of which there is no detail or suggestion; as, for example, the famous declaration attributing the whole freedom of the English constitution to the English Puritans. This sentence is as if a great mountain had risen, or a volcano had broken forth in the midst of the sea, so little does he prepare the mind for it, or recognise, or suffer to be seen, its connexions or its foundations. The word *fanaticism*, in such a history, is a majestic word. And if you watch narrowly, you may conjecture, even from that history alone, something of the truth concealed under it, but falsified by it, and of the commotion of religious and popular principles and power, which was soon to shatter the crust of despotism into a thousand pieces.

The administration of Elizabeth was indeed a despotism, the restrictions of which upon the liberty of thought and speech, had it not been for the indomitable spirit of religious freedom awakened among the people, must have been fatal. Her own character is one of the very worst ever recorded in history. If the moral could stand out as fully personified as the physical, it would make a more deformed image of ugliness than the decrepitude of the witch-hags in the Fairy Queen. Her utmost efforts could not destroy the inflexible religious principle, which still grew, in defiance of her despotism, nor suppress its demonstrations. And never was there such a sight in the world as that of these noble religious men, trampled beneath her government, and yet upholding it, racked, tormented, torn, by the ecclesiastical engines which she set in motion, and laboring in the very fire for

their principles, and yet manifesting the purest patriotism. If a right hand was cut off for penning words of remonstrance against Elizabeth's religious despotism, with the left hand the man would swing his hat in the air, shouting, God Save the Queen! Never was there such a sight in the world as this conflict. A great portion of the literature of Elizabeth's reign grew up in the midst of it, and no small part was the production of leaders in it.

The Puritans were men who had had the dross of Popery burned out of them, and a temper inwrought, which would not again endure its superstitions. But in passing from Mary's reign to Elizabeth's, they only went out from one fire into another, and they found the fires of Protestantism not more tender to the flesh than those of Popery. Mary, in addition to her other cruelties, had contemplated the establishment of the Inquisition in England, for all Protestants. Elizabeth did really establish an Inquisition for Nonconformists. The most despotic writers admit that scarcely any feature of the Romish Inquisition was wanting in the Star Chamber and Court of High Commission. The Spanish Armada, therefore, which came prepared to set up the Inquisition in due form, would have brought no novelty; the machinery was already at work in England; the powers of the Armada would only have enlarged its sphere, and kindled its fires impartially for all. Elizabeth was her tyrant father's counterpart in female form, without her father's careless prodigality or quickness of impulse. She was eminently the Protestant Persecutor. In the fifth year of her reign, it was made death to deny her supremacy. In the twenty-third year of her reign it was made death to withdraw any persons from the established religion, or to be so persuaded or withdrawn. From 1581 to 1603, not less than one hundred and twenty Romish priests were put to death for exercising their sacerdotal functions. The plea of State necessity, or security against treason and conspiracy, is insufficient for such cruelties, and detestable in itself. These cases were as clear instances of religious intolerance as the persecution of the Anabaptists and Puritans. Two of the former were burned at an early period of Elizabeth's reign, by the same dreadful writ, issued by the Papists in 1401, and renewed almost word for word by Elizabeth. The venerable Fox, the martyrologist, did all in his power to dissuade her from such intolerance and cruelty. He wrote her an admirable letter of remonstrance, being desirous, as Fuller wrote of him in his Church History, that the Papists might enjoy as their monopoly the cruelty of burning condemned persons, but in vain. Much information, solemnly and sadly instructive in regard to the cruelties of Elizabeth's reign, may be found collected in the tenth of Professor Smyth's Lectures on Modern History, edited in this country by Professor Jared Sparks.

The true liberty of conscience was, as yet, neither understood nor permitted, by any party whatever. The Reformation, as Mr. Neal most justly remarked, was "limited to the conceptions and ideas of those who were in power. Such as held sentiments or pursued inquiries different from their model, so far from being allowed to propose their opinions, or to hold separate assemblies for religious worship agreeably to their own view of things, were stigmatized as heretics, and pursued unto death." In the Church of Scotland the Reformers made the reading of the mass punishable with death. In the Church of England the Reformers made the rejection of the Established Prayer Book and Communion punishable by death. In the Church of Geneva the Reformers made the heresy of Servetus punishable by death. So it went on. When the Reformers were driven out of England by Popish intolerance, the Lutherans of Germany persecuted even them, because they denied consubstantiation! Luther himself would have excommunicated, and probably, if he had had the power, would have violently persecuted the great and good Zuingli for differing from him on this point. Perhaps not one individual in that age understood religious liberty. The true idea of it, preparatory to its practice, was working out through the whole reign of Elizabeth; but it was discovered and saved in England and in Europe only so as by fire.

The Reformers themselves seemed at times under an infatuation almost diabolical, an intense ambition and selfishness of power which was amazing, in contending which party should keep the discovered light of God exclusively in their own shrines or vessels, under their own dominion, permitting none to draw but from their own urns. Instead of uniting all their energies of benevolence and learning at once, to give to the people the running streams from those living fountains that had just been unsealed, the hydra-headed monsters of superstition that kept guard over them being slain, they went to work building enclosed conduits or reservoirs, under lock and key, so that no man could come freely to drink; nay, if any man found a hidden spring that *would* burst up outside the conduits, and drank thereof with his family, and gave thereof to his neighbors, they shut him up in prison, or even put him to death! It was religious and civil despotism in the Romish world that had taught them this lesson, and it was hard to unlearn it. It had been enacted in the end of Henry's reign, that all books contrary to the doctrine set forth or to be set forth by the King, should be abolished. No person should sing or rhyme contrary to the said doctrine. The genius of music and poetry was muzzled and put under police, to make utterance only as taught by authority. This was Popery; and might have been expected. But the next reign was the Reformation.

Now then, in the next reign, even that of the gentle, saintly Edward, it was enacted in regard to the book of the order of divine worship, published by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other learned divines, that such of the clergy as officiated in any other manner, or refused to perform divine service exactly according to it, should have all the Church preferments taken from them, and be imprisoned for life. Writing or printing against this service book was to be punished likewise by fines and imprisonment for life. So it went on. The transfer of the Pope's supremacy to the crown of England was an immeasurable addition both to Henry's and Elizabeth's despotism. Under that alone could arise the Court of High Commission in 1559; and with this coincided the despotic act of uniformity, compelling all men in the kingdom to worship exactly alike; the fatal mistake of the Reformers, showing that they knew, as yet, little, if anything, of religious liberty. By such measures, the kingdom was for more than eighty years a scene of persecution, and the people were long excluded from anything like a free and general enjoyment of the benefits of the Reformation.

The Exodus of our Pilgrim Fathers from that ecclesiastical and political bondage, under which they had been suffering in England, singularly resembles the departure of the Israelites from beneath the hand of their task-masters in Egypt. Both these movements were the commencement of new dispensations, in which God took the instruments for his work as by violence, out of an old hierarchy. It has almost always been characteristic of the materials of such dispensations, that God's instruments in them have been inclined to remain in the old hierarchical form. God himself has forced them from it by his providence. The disciples of our Lord, when the New Testament Church was to be formed, would all, if possible, have remained in the Jewish dispensation, and preserved its form. They were violently broken away from it. Luther and his coadjutors would have remained in the Church of the papacy;—they were compelled to quit it. The Puritan Reformers in England would have remained in the Church of the Prelacy. But God did not suffer it; his purposes could not thus have been accomplished. Had they succeeded in getting the ecclesiastical establishment of England ordered according to their minds, they would never have learned the great lesson of liberty. They would have oppressed those, who differed from themselves. They would never have learned the true freedom of the Church in a sole and entire dependence upon God. This was a truth that had been so entirely lost sight of, so beaten down and destroyed from men's minds, that when it came up anew, with anything of its primitive glory, it seemed a heresy. Wherever the ground has

been long overgrown with weeds, if the good seed begins to spring up, men will at first look upon it as tares.

The seed corn of Christ's Church has been beaten from the chaff by the flail of persecution. So it was with the Puritans of England. Sometimes some kernels flew aside in strange places, and sprang up, men knew not how. The 20th of November, 1572, in England some of this seed corn, under the blows of that heavy flailsman, Archbishop Parker, fell out from the husk and cob of the establishment, and the first Presbyterian church in England grew from it. But in 1554 the great flail of Queen Mary had already driven a handful of this corn across the British seas into Frankfort. There, however, the tares of ceremonial despotism were sown along with it, and the good seed was soon after transplanted thence into Geneva. After remaining awhile in that mountain-girdled region of liberty and light, a school of great souls, where lessons were learned that were of power to change kingdoms, John Knox went to Scotland, and in the year 1559, on the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of England, the exiles generally returned from Geneva and other foreign parts, to their native kingdom. Here some of them conformed to the State-and-Church discipline themselves, and sought to enforce it upon others. Others refused such conformity, and endured the oppressive tyranny of Church and State united against them, as against the Papists, the severity of the prelates becoming continually more severe, and the temper of the Puritans themselves growing more inflexible, like a steel anvil, the more it was beaten. Principles were beaten into form and consistency on both sides. The Puritans were formed from the outset in the school of suffering and of patient endurance. They never made any revolution or rebellion in their native kingdom. Long before the civil wars broke out between the first Charles and his parliament, the persecution against them under James had grown so hot, that they were forced to leave the country, and take refuge in Holland.

The canons of Archbishop Bancroft were of such mortal despotism, that it would have been a reproach to the Church of Christ, if there had not been within it a body of Christians determined to resist them. A true regard to the purity of the gospel would on such an occasion, of itself alone, bind Christians to such resistance as a duty. The Puritans were likewise compelled into it as a necessity. The unmitigated cruelty with which the canons were enforced caused many of the Nonconformists to quit the kingdom, and form churches on freer independent principles in the Low Countries. To such an excess of vigilant severity had proceedings been carried, that ministers and private Christians were imprisoned on the charge of having held a conventicle, merely because, on the Lord's day, they had repeated

together the heads of the discourse which they heard preached in the Established Church. A learned barrister who undertook to be their counsel, was himself thrown into prison for this boldness, and not released to the day of his death.

All true liberty was stricken down. But it needed such an extreme of cruelty to bring things to a crisis, and to teach the disciples of Christ that in separating from such a tyrannical church they were not committing a sin, but performing a duty; they were not separating from the Church of Christ, but maintaining its liberty; they were not committing schism, but resisting the causes of it. If the persecuting flailmen had let them alone, they would have remained in bondage all their life-time. They would have remained under the yoke and tyranny of the national Church, trembling at the bare thought of an independent Church, that simple form of Christ's kingdom in the New Testament, as if a step towards it were a mortal sin. The compulsion which, under God's Providence, drove them to it, was the only thing that tore from their minds the veil of the prelacy, that removed their blindness, that enlightened them as to the nature of the Church and of its Christian liberty.

Thus Archbishop Bancroft, and they who before and with him worked upon the Puritans, were but beating off the Nightmare of ecclesiastical superstition from their souls. They were filing away the rust, and purging out the dross from the metal. They were all unconsciously hard at work, in a perfect tug and sweat of persecution, carrying on the processes which were necessary in order to smelt the ore and separate it, when they thought verily they were confining it in the bowels of the mountain. It was a great work, a wonderful work of God's providence and truth, this work of teaching our fathers that they had themselves a right as Christians to be a Church of Christ, without asking leave of the rubrics or the prelates, of the King or the Church of England. It was an idea that may be truly said to have been beaten into them—welded as it were, to their souls, and wrought into unalterable hardness, by the blows of Church and State despots, on the anvil of ecclesiastical tyranny. Their enemies thought they could terrify them from separating, by holding it up to their consciences as a sin against Christ. They thought with this terror on the one side—the terror of quitting the Church, as if they were committing schism—and the threat of prisons and tortures on the other, they could frighten and beat them into conformity with the superstitions of the Church of England, and make them its tools. But instead of this, they disciplined and beat their consciences out of darkness into light, out of the remaining bondage of the Papal church and the despotism of the prelatial, into the liberty of the gospel. So, from looking upon a great duty and privilege as if it

were a sin, persecution taught them the cheerful performance of it as a duty, trusting in God.

This great work of separation from a corrupt and oppressive Church once accomplished, there would be the possibility and room for a free and symmetrical growth in Christ. But not, as yet, in England. The despotism of the Church there was almost omnipotent. There must be a transplantation of the separated free germ into a land prepared of God for it, where it might demonstrate to the world how much more powerful is the Church of Christ under Christ's headship and government, than under man's; in Christ's liberty, than under the State's protection and jurisdiction. Nearly all that could be done in England was the effecting the work of separation; but that done, the germ separated, being a living germ in Christ, almost everything was done; its growth from strength to strength, from glory to glory, under Christ's care, was inevitable. The vine shot forth its branches, and was filled with fruit, although the boar out of the wood strove to waste it, and the wild beast of the field to devour it. Once brought out of Egypt, it could grow; and God himself cast out the heathen and planted it. He prepared room before it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.

There was a remarkable providence, and discipline of providence, in the selection and training of the chosen keeper of this vine, in its infancy, before its final setting in New England soil. The roots of this vine, under the care of John Robinson of Norfolk, strike back into the year 1602, when, in the language of the pious pilgrim, Governor Bradford, certain men of England, "whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth, shook off the yoke of Anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people, join themselves by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel." In the persecutions and labors of this band of Christians, Mr. Robinson participated, and his friends were almost ruined by the tyranny of the Ecclesiastical courts. Born in 1576, and educated at Cambridge, he became a minister of the gospel in 1607, and in the same year went over with the Pilgrim Church into Holland.

John Robinson of Norfolk! There is all his name, title, heraldry. Who knew or cared for him, except to endeavor to set foot upon him, as a worm, save those "touched hearts," of which Governor Bradford spake, that came with him out of bondage. He never reached this country, though his heart was set upon it, nor does his name appear with the roll of the May Flower Pilgrims, except for a few moments on the deck of the vessel

in prayer; and, therefore, it is not so embalmed in our history as that of some other men not at all superior to him either by nature or grace, or in the honor of original obscurity and humility. He was a remarkable man. Had he come to this country, what between the love of faithful souls, the strength of a great mind, a sacred superiority of trial and suffering, and the weakness of his flock, his own power might have been too great, might have been laid up to accumulate, and might have grown into worms, like Israel's manna, kept for future use, and not received from God and Providence, according to occasions of want. There was a wonderful guardianship from God against this evil, an evil which lay in man's nature, and not in mere circumstances, not only in the case of Robinson, but of some other dear and necessary men, dangerous by their very dearness. It was a wonderful providence which sent this vine to take root in New England, not only a Church without a Bishop, but without even the simple New Testament Bishop, the ascension gift of Christ, the beloved, legitimate, usurping pastor. The Church was to be thrown in its simplest original elements as a band of Christians, in its barest independence of any earthly power, and its most entire dependence upon Christ, into a state of isolation, unrivalled, unequalled, since the formation of the Church at Antioch. There was in all this an evident return of Christ's Church to those original sources of power which it possessed, disconnected from any earthly organization in existence, at the day of Pentecost. There was in this kind of original plantation in New England one of the greatest exercises of God's superintending wisdom ever manifested in the history of mortals. It seemed as if man was to do nothing, God everything, in this new reformation and creation of the Church.

Its foundations were sunk deep down in an abyss of trial, in faith, in self-denial, in love, in God. There was hardly ever in the world a more complete cutting off from all human dependence, no, not even when the Israelites, just escaped from Egypt, with the chariots of Pharaoh rattling behind them, stood at the Red Sea. And, indeed, the miracle in such a case is a lower kind of training of the soul to faith, than the deliverance by the pressure of God's gradual providence, when the sense can see nothing but nature, and the soul must be armed with grace, must see God by faith, or see him not at all. The miracle is but the bud of greater dealings, of a more refined and exquisite spiritual training; the miracle is good for babes, the great things of God's ordinary providence for men; the discipline of the soul for a life of faith, and for the daily sight of God in daily trials, is the most costly and the greatest thing. The old miraculous dispensation was comparatively crude, but this is more perfect; that was of sense, but this is of the Spirit.

Mr. Robinson was a remarkable man, placed in circumstances very like those of the original founders of Christianity, and with a simplicity, honesty, and freedom of spirit, singularly similar to theirs. As Pastor of the Pilgrim Church, he was called by some the author of *Independency*; but Mr. Cotton of New England afterwards wisely replied, that "the New Testament was the author of it, and that it was received in the times of purest primitive antiquity, many hundred years before Mr. Robinson was born." Besides this, the Church, and not the pastor, were appointed to plant it, and under God did plant it, in New England. Unto principalities and powers in heavenly places, as well as to the gazing monarchies on earth, and angry counselings together of kings and rulers, has been made known *by the Church*, as of old, the manifold wisdom of God.

There was at this time a degree of religious liberty in Holland, such as was not to be found anywhere else in the world. It was brought about by the fierceness of the persecutions of Philip the Second, through the exercise of God's great prerogative of bringing good out of evil, and causing the wrath of man to praise him. The Romish Church, in the persons of Philip and the Duke of Alva, put up a gallows in the Netherlands to hang the Reformation, but hung their own cause upon it. To this place of liberty Robinson and the Pilgrims with much difficulty escaped in 1607. It was a night of many nights in one, when they made their Exodus out of Egypt. Not in one body, but separately, individually, and with many tears, harassments, and persecutions, did they effect their escape. And when this was accomplished, they dwelt many years as strangers on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea, before they crossed the ocean to come to that Canaan, which God had chosen and prepared for them.

They removed from Rameses and pitched in Succoth; and they departed from Succoth and pitched in Etham. They seemed all the while to hear as of old the voice of Jehovah, "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God: and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob: and I will give it to you for an heritage." God, who was with them, made them feel that it was not for a lasting encampment in Amsterdam or Leyden that he had brought them out, nor for themselves alone, nor for their own enjoyment, that he was leading them. God awoke within them the great purpose of crossing the ocean, and incited them to it by many inducements, providences, and trials, inward and external. Above all, God caused to grow up in their hearts, in the language of Gov. Bradford, "a great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way

thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be as stepping stones unto others for performing of so great a work." Their first motive in getting out of Egypt had been, as it were, simply a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice freely unto their God. They do not seem to have dreamed, while in England, of the great conception of founding a colony of God in the New World. But this was what God had for them to do, and in due time he told them of it, made them sensible of their mission, woke up in their hearts a desire for it, broke up their encampment in Etham, and caused them to enter the sea.

The day before their embarkation in 1620, their beloved and venerated pastor preached from the text in Ezra 8 : 28, "And there at the river Ahava I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." "So," says the Pilgrim Bradford, "they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years. But they knew that they were PILGRIMS, and looked not so much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." It was a great day in the history of the world, this fast day by the sea. It was a remarkable discourse in which the Pastor poured into the minds of these framers of a new world in Christ the last instructions he was ever to give to his flock this side the grave. What would we not give for the whole of what he uttered that day! Mr. Winslow, who was present, has reported part of it, a prophetic part, of almost inspired wisdom. "I charge you," said he, "before God and his blessed angels, to follow me no further than I follow Christ; and if God should reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as you ever were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy Word."

This address of Robinson to the Pilgrims was something entirely out of the ordinary course of human affairs. It was like a message from some old prophet of God. It has the character of something supernatural, as if the speaker were rapt into a vision of the future, and were under an impulse, not of his own spirit, but carried, as it were, in an inspiration out of himself. You seem to see a prophet, a lawgiver, lifted as on a mount of vision, from which he bends forward, addressing, across the ocean, the future millions of the Western world.

The next day, the Pilgrims proceeded down to the port at Delft Haven, a few miles from Leyden, and the wind being fair, went at once on board ship. On the deck of the vessel, Robinson knelt down in the midst of them, and in the presence of

many spectators on the quay, commended them and their enterprise to God. How sacred and solemn was that hour of supplication! In all history there is no finer subject for a great painter, than the moment of this parting prayer of Robinson's on the ship's deck.

No eye but God's followed the Pilgrims across the wintry ocean. Little have they said of their sufferings in that long and dangerous passage, but have spoken of God's providence and mercy. With a simplicity, that in itself is sublime, they narrate the perils of their landing, and first surveys, on an icebound, untried coast, in freezing weather, which was death's icy arrow to many a precious frame. They tell of God's good providence in the discovery of hidden corn, beneath ground so covered with snow and so hard frozen, that we were fain, say they, with our curtlexes and short swords, to hew and cut the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers. They tell of the delight with which they found fresh springs, and sat down and drank their first New England water—emblem of that sacred stream God was opening, through them, for future generations, to supply the city of our God. They tell of their first perilous encounter with the Indians, whom it pleased God to vanquish; and how, after giving God thanks for this deliverance, they went on, amidst snow and rain and bad weather, and imminent danger of shipwreck to their little shallop. The labor of their discovery and landing at Plymouth was amidst watchings all night in the rain; the wind northwest and freezing hard, with great difficulty to kindle a fire for the wet, cold, and feeble. The pleasure of the Divine Providence is hailed by them. "But it was very cold," say they, "for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron." They recount their first Sabbath of rest at Plymouth; but what a rest! amidst hunger and peril; houseless, in the open bitter elements! And meantime God was preparing severer trials than any of these; for when the little worn and wearied party returned to the ship to comfort the hearts of their brethren with news of their discovery and landing, they had to learn that the dear wife of William Bradford had fallen from the ship and was drowned. By what a baptism of hardships and suffering did it please God that our Pilgrim fathers should lay the foundations of his Church in our beloved country! yet with what patience, what calm simplicity of resolution and trust in God, what undying hope, and unrepining endurance! Indeed, they died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and Pilgrims on the earth.

And these were the men by whom God was opening and demonstrating to the world the discoveries of truth essential to the

world's peace, on which only the world's welfare could rest, by the working of which alone individual kingdoms could be conducted to the enjoyment of an indestructible liberty, and all the world's empires could be bound in mutual harmony and love. The opening of these discoveries was to be from point to point, not all at once, as a flood of supernatural light, but disciplinary, providential, by more truth and light breaking forth out of God's word, as Mr. Robinson prophesied, as they were able to bear it; truth and light received by those whom God had placed in such circumstances as made them willing to receive it, those from whom he had, even by inimical and violent hands, removed the films of prejudice, those from before whose minds he had broken down the darkening piles of State despotism at the door of the Church, and whom he had removed, by themselves, into the wilderness, in order to let the light of the Scriptures shine. And the *demonstration* of these discoveries was to be as gradual as the growth of a vigorous, free, Christian State, in perfect religious liberty, beneath their light and influence. As a child passes from discipline to discipline, from school to school, from lower to higher masters, so from step to step God led our Fathers, so naturally, that at the time they could no more see the great end to which he was bringing them, or the intended and expected consummation of light, than a being ignorant of the material processes of our world, who should be placed for the first time where he could watch the dawning of the day, could measure the stealthy imperceptible steps of the morning, or predict the glorious appearance of the sun. Indeed, at the time, they were often so overwhelmed with difficulties, and absorbed in the questions of this day's and the morrow's preservation, that as to God's providence and intentions, or their own discoveries of his future will, they were like men lost in catacombs, and feeling their way in almost total darkness.

And yet they were coming to discoveries, which were to renew the face of the earth; they were working out problems by the solution of which the world was to be brought from its abode with the dead into the light of the living. They were discoveries grander than that of a new world, and to be gained through infinitely greater toil than that of Columbus. They were problems, indeed, upon the solution of which they could merely enter, merely take the first steps, while other generations would be requisite to complete them; but the right *entrance* was essential, and had not the first steps been steps in God, the after progress would have been from intricacy to intricacy, instead of opening into perfect day. The corn of wheat must fall into the ground and die, or it would have remained alone, and nothing would have grown from it. There must of necessity be this death to self, and then the seed was to ripen into a glorious harvest.

They offered themselves as this self-denying, yet ever-living corn ; God selected, God prepared them, and by his providence and grace induced and perfected the self-offering. They were that corn that fell into the ground and died forgotten, uncared for, unpraised, cast out and derided, of the whole world. They were that corn, that handful of corn, as on the tops of the mountains, and from it sprang the fruit, shaking like Lebanon, that now fills this country, and is fast filling the world.

But these discoveries all lay involved in the knowledge and development of the true idea of the Church. That was to be disentangled from the lies of the god of this world, from the despotism and mistakes of men ; it was to be disinterred from the mighty fabric of wood, hay, and stubble, in worldly ceremonies and hierarchies, under which it had been buried for centuries. The Church, rightly conceived, contains the destinies of the world wrapped up in it ; the Church is the germ of the world's true life, and only as that germ grows, the world's true life grows. The Church, or rather, the Spirit through the Church, is to govern the world's form, will conquer it, will control it, will shape it for God. When the world's form is such as springs *from* the development of life in the Church, or grows by an indissoluble connexion *with* it, then, it is true, it is indestructible, it is imperishable. The Church is the soul of the world, containing the law of the world's permanent happiness, from which the world's forms are to be organized and developed, just as the germ of a seed in the earth contains folded up within it the law and form of the future plant in its perfection. If the world's forms grow awry, despotic, infernal, by and for themselves, they are mere excrescences, and will have to be changed or cut away. Everything shall grow from and for the immortal germ, the Life of Christ, hidden in the Church, to expand and subdue the world to itself. The conquest is to be perfected, and in it the glory of the Lord is to be revealed, and all flesh is to see it together.

The kingdom of God is as leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened. The world is as raw and unprepared for God's glory, until the Life of Christ in the Church interpenetrates and governs it, as a measure of meal unleavened, unformed, uncooked, unfit for nourishment, without bond or principle of unity or continuity, ready to be blown away by the wind, ready to scatter like dust. Until the true principles, the indestructible, eternal principles, on which God would raise his Church, were discovered, nothing of permanence was discovered, nothing of lasting interest, nothing of importance, nothing that could give peace. The world rocked to and fro, like a ship in a storm, without helm, without anchor-

age, and so, till Christ rules, it must continue to rock, beneath God's great announcement, I will overturn, overturn, overturn.

The ecclesiastical discoveries of the Puritans were discoveries at the centre, discoveries of the way in which God works, not man. They were discoveries of divine law. They were not speculations like an Ecclesiastical Polity of Hooker, theorizings of ingenious sophistry in support of power, grand scaffoldings to build a system that was to be thrown down. They were neither the inflations nor the sweepings of the house of philosophy. They were not forms of external law and organization presupposed, or copied from the man of sin and son of perdition, and impressed upon the world to make everything bend to them, beneath the power of a machinery of despotism, brought to bear upon crude, ignorant, barbarous, unprepared material. They were discoveries of the principles of Christian liberty and law, working from within, not from without; not things that could be laid down and demonstrated in eight books, but things which God only could demonstrate, by showing them in actual life, free life, spontaneous life, life from inward principle, not from law laid down, and organization prescribed in a human directory. They were discoveries of the leaven of bread, and not of a machinery, or the laws of a machinery, by which bread could be made *without* leaven. They were discoveries in regard to the principle of gravitation in the spiritual universe, and not speculations in regard to the crust of our globe, or conclusions of despotism from the vestiges of creation, how to make, develope, and govern a globe like ours.

Some of these discoveries were things that almost seem to us at the present time to be truisms, we have seen them so long, we have lived by them, we are so accustomed to them from our infancy. But Hooker well said, that many talk of the truth, who know not the depth from whence it springeth; and eminently true is this of the principles of simple liberty, which, at such incalculable cost, by such intense discipline of suffering, the Puritans were made God's instruments in working out. They were then unknown to the whole world. They were principles hated of the world, and guards were set over them, and proclamations issued against them as the world's enemies, and rewards offered for their extermination. They were regarded as monstrosities, as forms of evil and malignity, worse than ever issued from the fabled caves of demons sealed up by Solomon. And they are still so regarded by a large part of the world, the blindness having been removed only from a few kingdoms, and only in part from them.

The spiritual discoveries so precious and familiar to us, are almost as strange and monstrous to multitudes, as the brute gods of old Egypt seem now to a Christian mind, as the true system of

the universe to a devotee of Vishnu, as the motion of the earth round the sun to the Inquisitors of Rome, who imprisoned Galileo. And so far as we can see, these simple principles of truth would not have been discovered and wrought out at all, except for the instrumentality of the Puritans. God's only laboratory for a long time, seemed to be his church in America. His divine agency he deemed fit to display especially there in the demonstration of these truths, these discoveries. There were glimpses of them at times elsewhere, but they came to nothing or stopped short of the idea of true Christian liberty, the idea, in fact, of Christ's Free Church. The Free Church has since been scourged and beaten into existence elsewhere; but probably even in Scotland not for ages later might this great work have been accomplished, but for the previous discoveries, demonstrations, and examples of the Puritans in this country.

For there is a vast difference between the announcement of such principles, or a glimpse of them by some individual emancipated understandings, and God's demonstration of them in actual successful experiment. Cromwell was a Puritan in Old England, who understood them as well, perhaps, as any man living in his day in New England. "What most distinguishes Cromwell above all great men," says D'Aubigné, "and especially above all statesmen, is the predominance in him, not only in his person, but also in his government, of the evangelical and Christian element. He thought that the political and national greatness of Britain could not be established in a firm manner, unless the pure gospel was communicated to the people, and unless a truly Christian life flowed through the veins of the nation." It was Cromwell's belief that England as a State was blessed and would be, only "by reason of that immortal seed, which hath been and is among them; those regenerated ones in the land, of several judgments, who are all the flock of Christ and lambs of Christ; his, though perhaps under many unruly passions and troubles of spirit, whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others. Yet they are not so to God, since to us he is a God of other patience, and he will own the least of truth in the hearts of his people. And the people being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of gospel liberty."

"These men," continued Cromwell, "that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*, their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it, and thence his atheisms and murmurings at instruments,

yea, repinings at God himself. Give me leave to tell you, those that are called to this work, it will not depend for them upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches. I do not look the work should be done by these. No, but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God, strengthened by Providence, enlightened in his words, to know his word, to which he hath set his seal, sealed with the blood of his Son, with the blood of his servants. That is such a spirit as will carry on this work."

That is such a spirit as must discover, draw forth and demonstrate, truth against power, truth overlaid by power, truth belied and perverted by power, truth driven out of the world by power. It was such men as these, who were required to reestablish truths that to us are plain as the daylight, but to the world then wore the guise almost of fiends. They were truths, put by their opposers, as the wise and godly Halyburton once said of certain caricatured doctrines of the gospel, under the guise of gross misrepresentations, mistaken notions, and strained consequences; and having thus put them in beasts' skins, as the primitive persecutors did the Christians, they set their dogs on them to worry them. The very strangeness of those truths made men hostile to them, as if they were enemies; and, indeed, for their defence no common decision or mere friendship would answer; it needed a mind to be grounded deep in them, to be persuaded of them as the truth of God, to have a conviction in them, which came from God's spirit, and was the fire of individual experience, and carried all things in the soul before it. Unless a man were of this adamant resolution, and at the same time intense earnestness, he would be, in the pursuit of truth against which the whole array of State and Church launched their anathemas, like those hesitating doubtful men of whom Milton speaks, "who coming in the course of these affairs to have their share in great actions above the power of law or custom, at least to give their voice and approbation, begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of some noble deed, as if they were newly entered into a great sin."

The Puritans were impelled, as well as taught, of God's Spirit; burned onward, as it were, by God's fire; forced, as well as guided, by God's Providence—shut up to measures of liberty, and driven on to the discovery of truths, from which, in mere human strength or impulse, they would have retreated. They carried by assault impregnable citadels, before which generations might have passed away in the action of an ordinary siege. The children of Israel, if time had been given them, would have crossed the Red Sea in ships of their own construction, nor ever would have stirred a step into the hazard of a miracle, in obedience to God's voice to go forward. But the celestial fire of spirit in our depraved nature, that which whirls a man on for God in face of

an opposing world, is a greater miracle itself than the cleaving of the whole ocean.

We speak of the great principles established by the Puritans, or rather wrought out and brought from concealment into clear day by the Divine Providence, Word, and Spirit through them, as all springing from, and returning to, the true idea of the Church. They were a body of men, a band of believers, in whom, by the Divine demonstrations through them, may be seen an illustration in this world of a passage of scripture concerning the Church, the action of which throws us mainly into the next world: To the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God. The true nature of the Church—the freedom of the Church—the unity of the Church—the rule of the Church—the mission of the Church—the life and dependence of the Church;—all these are questions, the solution and application of which are stirring up the world from its foundations. All these are questions developed and demonstrated by God's Providence and Grace in the history of our fathers, about as clearly and fully as we can expect truth to be demonstrated through the medium of humanity.

First, the true nature of the Church. The idea very widely prevalent, long after the commencement of the Reformation, in regard to the Church, was that of a national ecclesiastical society, of which men became members by baptism. The Puritans soon learned, partly by experience, and partly by the Word of God, that *the Church* is composed only of persons born of the Holy Spirit, and that *a Church* is any number of such believers whatever, who, "as the Lord's free people, join themselves, by a covenant of the Lord into a Church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel." This idea, in distinction from that of a national Church, "combined together of all in the land promiscuously," under government of the hierarchy, must necessarily be developed, if the Church of Christ would have purity and power. It was equally necessary for the *freedom* of the Church. In the development of this truth, and in the establishment both of the independence and the pure discipline belonging to the Church of Christ, the Puritans were carried further onward in the providence of God, and were made more perfect, than any other body of Christians since the days of the Apostles. The prevalence of deep and true piety in New England is greatly owing, under God, to the vigorous, uncorrupted scriptural sense of the nature of the Church of Christ, taught of God to our Puritan fathers, and transmitted by them to their descendants.

The Church in their view was an existence solely of God's creation, not man's. It is made up only of those who are born again by the Holy Spirit; it is a company, *the company*, of new

creatures in Christ Jesus. The Church is the union of individuals abiding in Christ, having Christ's life in their souls, united to Christ first as individuals, and united together only by virtue of that personal union with Christ, and that life common in and to the Church only as derived by each and all first and independently from Christ. The Church is a union of believers, who come into a church estate by virtue of their faith in Christ, and their covenanted privileges as his disciples. They do not come to Christ through the Church, but they come to the Church and are made members of the Church through Christ. The distinction between these two ideas comprehends the whole difference between a Church which is of man only, and the true Church, which is of God only. It is the difference between a mere earthly machinery and a spiritual existence, between a ceremonial despotism and servitude, and a spiritual, immortal, indestructible independence and freedom. It is the difference between death and life. The Church, which is a church by sacraments, and not by Christ, is despotism and death. The clergy-church, the Church by a priesthood and not by Christ, is despotism and death. The Church, which is not a Church by individual regeneration of the Spirit of God, is no part of the Church of Christ, but is a corporation or synagogue of dead men in their natural state, who, if they arrogate to themselves the title of a church, do it by as great a usurpation as if a fraternity of masons or of chemists should take that title, and make the entrance to the Church consist in swallowing a phial of the tincture of Peruvian bark. All the successions, societies, and ceremonies, from Adam downward, sacred or profane, could not make a Church without individual personal union of the soul to Christ, nor introduce a soul into the Church but by such union. This was one of the vital truths of the Reformation, and sources of its power, so long as it went on. This was the truth which our fathers saw with the utmost distinctness, and by which they held, while the world was losing it, while in its place, usurping the keys of the kingdom of heaven, there came in a religion of sacraments, a Church of forms. This is the governing truth in the kingdom of Christ, the truth by which alone the Church can be a spiritual power and life to the world, and by which alone can be seen its independence of all earthly authority, its superiority to all earthly power, as a kingdom not of this world.

Till within a few years the statement of this truth has been in this country as complete a spiritual truism, as if one should say the sun shines with colorless light. We have been born into this scriptural idea of the Church as the element of spiritual existence, as we are into the atmosphere, as the element of our physical existence. It is a simple idea of Christianity, which nothing else could supply the place of, and which kept everything

else in its *right* place. There has been such a great gulf fixed between us and the Papal Church, and, indeed, every Church of state sacraments, that we have been as a separate spiritual world, a world of different existences and experiences. But the truths which have been and are

The fountain light of all our day,
The master light of all our seeing,

as much so as the idea of individual existence, are now occupying the world in theoretic disputation. In America we are singularly enough placed in regard to such agitation. We have been living upon these truths, acting by them, and acting them out, and now we see the old world intensely questioning and analysing them. The Church—what is the Church? and what is our relation to it? Questions that seem to us as needless as to ask concerning the air, what is the air? and what is our relation to the air? We are reminded of those remarkable cases of trance, in which grown men have lost the whole of their acquired knowledge, and have had to begin again spelling words of one syllable in the primers of their childhood. Part of the world seems to have gone into such a trance. The speculations of those who are just awakening, display, in some instances, as great a lack of practical knowledge and right conception, as if the people of another planet should undertake to inform the people of this in what proportions we must have our atmospheric gases mingled, and under what municipal regulations the atmosphere must be doled out. Or it is as if a society of theoretic chemists should tell our housekeepers that the only proportions and regulations in and under which our bread must be yeasted, kneaded, and baked, are according to the algebraic formula, $a+b+c-d=b+r+e+a+d$. We cannot help regretting, when we see the volumes, however able, devoted to the discussion of things that have long been demonstrated here in open day, that the noble minds engaged in such discussions could not have had the advantages of some twelve or twenty years' residence in a flourishing New England Congregational Church. But God seems to have appointed it as a law for our race, that all valuable knowledge in all important things, indeed in all things, shall be gained by personal discipline and experience. They who are working out these problems now in Europe do it almost as convulsively and painfully in intellectual discernment as our Pilgrim Fathers did in the endurance of real toil and suffering. Sometimes their theoretic speculations as to what ought to be, coincide wonderfully with what is. But we imagine that, in general, the sentiment with which our speculations concerning the degree of caloric requisite to sustain animal life in the planet Jupiter would be regarded by the inhabitants of that planet, might not be greatly different from the

feelings which in this country we inevitably experience in regard to the speculations of many minds in our world concerning Christ's Church.

The problem of the Church—what is the Church, what are its claims, what is its relative position to the State, what its connexion with the welfare of society? is a problem not difficult of solution in the light of the New Testament, but difficult by *a priori* reasoning and philosophic speculation. But without doubt, it shows the great advancement of Christianity in the world, that this problem should have become the one great question of our times, whatever ignorance of the very nature of the Church, or misrepresentation of the first and simplest principles of Christianity, may be involved in the manner of its discussion.

Sometimes, indeed, the philosophic analysis of principles can be pursued more deeply apart from their life and demonstration. Those who *live* principles most thoroughly are not always endowed with the same power of philosophically comprehending and expressing them, that they have of developing them. Hence we have seen a foreigner, De Tocqueville, taking perhaps in some respects a more profound and searching survey of the working of social and political principles in our country, than our own citizens are qualified to do. But in the matter of religious principle, and as to the working of religious freedom and voluntary Christian socialism, no mind seems capable of understanding it, but by both experiencing it personally, and dwelling where it has full scope and power. With us, the nature of the Church and its relations to society have first been experimentally demonstrated, and in consequence of this, a thousand questions, that might beforehand have proved impossible to settle, have not even been mooted. The religious philosophers of Europe are agitating the *questions* beforehand, with no satisfactory experiment, or pure, spontaneous, unconstrained development to guide them.

Two great fallacies have prevailed, and filled nearly all Ecclesiastical History. The first is the fallacy of epithets, applying the title of the History of the Church of Christ, and of the Christian Religion, to what is merely the history of human wickedness, of the "Synagogue of Satan," and of the *corruptions* of religion. The second is the fallacy of things, changed from what they once were, yet retaining the primitive name, and treated as the original essence, there being no line drawn, no point assumed, beyond which the legitimate application of the first name ceases. Between these fallacies the history of Christianity has been confounded with the history of Church establishments, and the sublime and pure reality of the Church of God has been confounded with the intruding and intriguing Church of man. The tares have sprung up in luxuriance and rankness,

till they have filled the whole space which the good seed originally occupied, and then the world has been poisoned with food concocted from those tares, and this has taken up in men's minds the place of Christianity, this has been regarded as the operation of the Church. The salt which had lost its savor, and was fit only for the dunghill, has continued, nevertheless, an article of traffic and of consumption, an article dignified with the highest place in history, and described and treated as sacred, instead of being condemned to the historical dunghill, as by our Lord it was to the moral and spiritual. The consequence was inevitable; the reputation of the Church of Christ has been blackened by infidels with the reproach of all the incarnate demonism of human nature at its most bestial and infernal ebb; for the wickedness of man has been greater, enacted under the name and mantle of the Church, than under any other conjunctures of time and circumstance. What is the Romish Corporation under the Borgias, but such an incarnation of depravity?

Archbishop Whately relates how the Royal Society were once imposed upon "by being asked to account for the fact that a vessel of water received no addition to its weight by a live fish put into it; while they were seeking for the *cause*, they forgot to ascertain the *fact*, and thus admitted, without suspicion, a mere *fiction*." Thus in history men have professed to trace, and have really thought that they were tracing, the path of the Church; when it was only the path of a succession of ungodly men imposing the despotism of their own iniquity upon the world under that fiction. It might well be asked how it is that the Church can be in the world, and displace no one of its ungodly elements? Ascertain the fact, before you seek the cause, and you will find the fiction; you will find that in such a case the elements put into the world under the name of the Church, are merely the world's own, native, unchanged elements of corruption in a more intense form. Not to detect this imposition is somewhat pardonable in a man who never attained to any other conception of the Church than as a mere human organization or element of man's creating, but it is unpardonable for one who has been taught the nature of the Christian Church, not to see it at once, and expose it. D'Aubigné remarks that most historians have presented only the barren history of the exterior Church, *because they themselves were only the outward man*, and had scarcely even imagined the life of the spiritual man. Even the mind of Guizot has fallen into great errors, in not distinguishing between the Church and its corruptions.

In the Old World, wherever the state-veil remains untaken away, great mistakes are mingled with great truths, even in minds that are advancing in many respects before their own age. The great truths which such minds discover, though old and common

to us, are announced there, in the midst of error, with prodigious power. Perhaps no man in Europe has uttered a nobler, more solemn protestation against a Church that sacrifices living truth to lifeless form, or puts the form in place of the spirit, than the Chevalier Bunsen in Prussia. Speaking of the English Episcopacy under that assumption of it which makes the essence and possession of religion to consist in successional sacraments, he remarks as follows :

“ If the Church, as manifesting herself and existing through Episcopacy, is to take the place of Christ and the Spirit, who alone can give real church-membership, because new life ; if covenanted salvation is to be made dependent upon this Episcopacy, then I think the death-blow is aimed at that Church’s inmost life, the eternal decree of condemnation is passed upon her, unless she repent. For she is seeking salvation in man, and not in God, in the beggarly elements of this world, and not in the Divine Spirit, the source of all life, and the sole deliverer from death and corruption. She is attacking the glorious liberty of the children of God, of Christ’s redeemed, the new-born, the native citizens of the Lord’s kingdom ; she is crucifying Christ, and practically denying the merits of his sacrifice. I should consider it as a parricidal act, if I did not vow to devote all the energies of my mind, insignificant as they are, and the last drop of blood, to protest against such an episcopate in the Church of that nation, to which it is my privilege to belong. If an angel from heaven should manifest to me that by introducing or advocating, or merely favoring the introduction of such an episcopacy into any part of Germany, I should not only make the German nation glorious and powerful above all the nations of the world, but should successfully combat the unbelief, pantheism, and atheism of the day—I would not do it : so help me God ! Amen !—We may be doomed to perish, Church and State ; but we must not be saved, and cannot be saved, by seeking life in externals.”

This is a declaration that could come only from a soul, from the depths of a soul, baptized by the Spirit of God in the experience of that life in Christ, which constitutes, and which alone can constitute, the being of a church, or the essence of Christianity. The grace of Christ only, vouchsafed personally to each believer’s soul, the work of the Spirit only, producing such personal faith in, and experience of, that grace, in each individual, can make a church on earth, or constitute any creature of the race of man a member of that church. So far as the knowledge of this first principle of Christianity prevails in Europe, there is a foundation for the correction of all error, and the development of all truth.

It is obvious that opinions and speculations which make light of this truth, or distort it, or conceal it, or put human judgment

and machinery in the place of it, are subversive of the benevolent end of God in establishing the church. If it comes to be proclaimed and generally held that the church of Christ is a society of sacraments, by virtue of which alone there is salvation, and by partaking of which, salvation is secured to all the members of that society, and to none others, then the church of Christ becomes a spiritual despotism, but at the same time is paralysed of all vital and saving power. The Word of God, which proclaims regeneration by the Holy Spirit alone, and salvation only by personal union of the soul to Christ, is made of none effect by man's tradition; and that usurpation called the Church, is made Satan's grand instrument to lull men in the security of their sins under the seal of a state sacrament, and to dandle them, in the lap of sacred ceremonies, down to hell.

II. Intimately connected with the *nature* of the Church, and both growing out of it, and dependent upon it, stands, in the second place, the *freedom* of the Church. If the Puritans were selected of God to teach any one thing more especially than another, it was this. They themselves came to the knowledge of it gradually, but it was the inward working of it, from the very nature and necessity of a true Church placed like theirs, that impelled them.

The Church holds its privileges of freedom and independence by charter from God, as a society of the just, a body of believers. These privileges belong to none others, except by usurpation, by intrusion of earthly things upon divine. A society of unregenerate men may enter the Church and take the badge of church-membership, and vote themselves by that to constitute the Church. All the members of a nation may do this, and may constitute themselves a national church; but they are not a truly a Church, but an usurping, anomalous society calling themselves the Church. In this usurpation they may vote to take away the privileges of independence and of freedom granted to the Church of Christ from heaven, and to make over to the state authorities the power of binding and loosing in the Church, and the jurisdiction over forms of worship and articles of faith. But it is not a church that does this, but a corporation of dead men usurping the name and power of living Christians and of Christ.

The Church is not so much an institution to be governed or regulated, as a spontaneous growing life to be cultivated, the life of Christ spreading in the world, with the regulation of which governments have no more authority to interfere, than they have to determine the colors in which the verdure of the field shall clothe the earth with beauty, or the forms in which a forest of oaks shall spread its branches. The whole difficulty in this direction has arisen from that gubernatorial *rabies*, which will suffer nothing to live and grow spontaneously, that can be ordered by external law. Everything must be governed, and must be

monopolized by the governors. Should the Church escape the play of this necessity? Strange indeed if the State should leave the Church unregulated, the Church that has had such unlimited control in the affairs of mortals. This mistaken habit of feeling and of reasoning has been doubtless in part the consequence of the universal caricature and misrepresentation of the Church under the guise of a polity of this world. The Church, as demonstrated or rather belied by Rome, has been an element that the State has learned to watch, and is a power that the State thinks not safe to be left out of its own management. We should have the same feeling in regard to the very atmosphere, if by some malignant influence the atmosphere had been drawn for centuries under the control of a vast despotic corporation, which had used it or withheld it for its own purposes, and accustomed mankind to imagine that it could not be breathed safely, except under such and such regulations. If in such circumstances some benevolent and far-sighted philosopher should propose that the air be set free to circulate at its pleasure all over the world, the world would be terrified at such a monstrous proposition, and would pronounce the philosopher a hopeless, dangerous heretic.

The secret, mainly, of the agitations of modern society, and the key of a great part of modern history, is to be found in this one phrase, *my kingdom is not of this world*. It is this truth, striving to realize itself, that produces such revolutions; or rather, it is this truth carried forward *towards* its realization, by Him, who will overturn, and overturn, and overturn, till that kingdom, which is not of this world, shall in all this world be established.

The consequences of the opposite principle, so long and so successfully made to reign in human society by the God of this world, and the conflict between the two, form the staple of the greater part of modern history. Not being able to exclude the Christian Church from the world, the great enemy, who first made his assault upon the Son of God himself, the founder of that Church and kingdom, and offered him all the kingdoms of this world, if he would fall down and worship, changed his plan of attack, and said to himself, when he began to comprehend the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, Very well; we can corrupt and conquer the Church, if we cannot tempt its founder. We will accept it as a kingdom, but we will change it into a kingdom of this world; and so it shall be my kingdom, though under the name of Christ.

Accordingly, the same temptation which had been put before Christ and rejected, was renewed to the Church, and accepted. All the kingdoms of this world, and the glory of them, were shown to the Church, and to its earthly hierarchy of authority and power, and to the Pope, its head, and in consideration thereof, it bowed down and worshipped. The temptation was fearfully,

sweepingly, infernally successful. And the compact was performed. All these things, and the glory of them, were given to the Church, and it was made a tremendous, universal, overwhelming, all-crushing unity of spiritual and temporal despotism. The similarity is so striking between the temptations of Christ in the wilderness, and the temptations which have assailed the Church of Christ in the world, that we might be induced to regard the first as a figure, prediction, or foreshadowing of the last. The primary step of the temptation in the wilderness, that of making the stones bread, may have its answering reality in the reign of traditions, legends, and false miracles, instead of the word of God, and in the almost universal belief of that lying, miraculous power, supposed to dwell in the bones and tombs of dead saints and martyrs, and in the efficacy attributed to penances, pilgrimages, and wax candles, trusted in for salvation, instead of the word of the living God. This was Satan telling the Church to command the stones to be made bread. The second great step, as we have seen, is shadowed and realized in the great Apostasy, the hierarchy as a worldly kingdom, becoming, under its perfection in the Pope, a supreme dominion, and an Anti-Christian Church. The third great step, where Christ was tempted by the letter of the word to cast himself from the pinnacle of the temple, may refer to the great temptation now prevailing, that of a presumptuous reliance upon bare reason interpreting the word, according to its own fancies and dry pride of learning, without a proper entire dependence on the Holy Spirit.

These, however, are ideas which we cannot pursue. But the change by Satan of the character of the Church of Christ as a kingdom not of this world into the nature of a kingdom of this world, with all this world's accursed ambition, pride, tyranny, and strife, we are compelled to consider. Whether it were foreshadowed in Christ's great temptation in the wilderness, or not, it has been the great temptation and successful corruption of the Christian Church. There has been always, it is true, in the midst of all this corruption, a chain of opposing witnesses, a voice as of Christ, proceeding from a part of his Church against the temptation; Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. The witnessing Church of the Waldenses uttered such a voice, and most remarkably protested against the Pope and the hierarchy, as an anti-Christian kingdom, and against Church and State establishments, as making, contrary to Christ's words, a kingdom of this world. But the corruption has been almost universal.

And now the reaction against it, and the recovery and reassertion of the great declaration of Christ, My kingdom is not of this

world, and the unseen but universal working of that principle, form the great cause of the present shaking, tumult, and crisis, the world over. It is the recovery and assertion of religious liberty, after which the world is groaning and laboring. The gaining of this liberty, so long disallowed, a liberty to worship God according to conscience, and the practical understanding and acknowledgment of the limits and difference between the kingdom of Christ and earthly governments, are previous steps and conditions of progress, necessary to the rapid, unhindered spread of the gospel of Christ through the world. The State must learn and consent to let the Church alone, and simply keep her protected from injury and insult, in her proper operations, just as it protects every independent profession and pursuit of life among its citizens. And the Church must learn and consent to exercise no coercive power, and to reject the assumption of secular authority for the support of her establishments or the enforcement of her rules. When this separation between the temporal and the spiritual is effected, when the difference between the two is understood and acknowledged, when each advances in its own way, occupies its own sphere, and is established on its own proper foundations, without molesting or intruding upon the independent dominion of the other, then, and only then, the world will have peace. In other words, in the words of Christ, When men render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's, the kingdom of Christ will everywhere be established, that kingdom which is not meat and drink, nor traditions, prayer-books, and ceremonies enforced, but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Little did the eager Scribes and captious Pharisees, that gathered round the Savior, and thought to entrap him by their question concerning the tribute money, think that his answer, condensing the wisdom of his whole system of religion, would become the cause of commotions that should shake the earth to its centre, the cause of the fall and rising again of empires, and of the upturning of the world's kingdoms for more than eighteen hundred years.

Some minds are so constituted, or have been so moulded and warped by accustomed forms around them, as to be apparently incompetent to ascertain any idea of a Christian State, save only under a union of Church and State, or else the merging of the State in the Church. That only can truly be called a Christian State, whose affairs are regulated on Christian principles by Christian men. A national Church under State patronage cannot of itself make a kingdom a Christian State. The declaration of the Christian religion in the State forms cannot make a Christian State. A State is Christian no further than its statesmen are under the power of Christian principle, and its affairs are governed in accordance with the spirit of Christianity and the Word of God. A State-

sacrament cannot make a Christian State, neither can a National Church of which every citizen in the State is by his very citizenship a member. A State is truly Christian, only in proportion as its citizens and rulers are themselves individually and personally Christians. The idea of an organized Christian State as one with the Christian Church, can be realized only so far as all the members of the State are at the same time members of Christ's Body; and even then there would still be, in the nature of things, a difference and separation between the State and its powers as ordained of God, and the Church and its powers as a kingdom of God not of this world.

Even in some great minds there has been a great confusion of ideas in regard to this subject. But there has never been any confusion of policy in the nations, whatever there may have been in their conception of Church and State; the policy has remained inveterately and infamously selfish. The existence of a national Church has never helped this matter at all. The policy of sacramented and sacramental States has been as warlike, as ambitious, as wicked, as lustful of power, as if the obligations of a Christian sacrament or a State Church had never been heard of. A National Church, constituted and kept by edict and headship of the State, can not only not regenerate a nation, but may sink it deeper in corruption by its own impurity. When nations cease to be selfish, and come under the dominion of Christian principle, then there will be such mutual love and good will, such righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, as will, of itself, make all things new. At present we are very far removed from such a point. Whatever Christianity has done, it has never yet reached and penetrated the policy of a single nation. Whatever number of churches or pious individuals there may have been in any community, the government has continued perfectly worldly; there has never been the least regard to the will and glory of God as the rule of political and legislative action, nor to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, nor to the spiritual interests of the world. And the establishment of a National Church has been so far from making this state of things any better, that it has only added a vast complication of bitternesses, and the acid of an intense bigotry, to all other causes of strife and cruelty. If we are not mistaken, it will be found that the only years, in which the State policy of England, with her National Church and in spite of it, can be suspected of a Christian spirit or of Christian ends, were the years when, under Cromwell, her national Church no longer existed, but men not under the oaths and enforcements of a National Church, but under the personal influence and fire of the gospel, bore sway. It will be a wonderful spectacle, to behold a single kingdom or State penetrated in its public policy, in all its movements, its expenditures, its laws, with the

principles of the New Testament, becoming, under the Christian dispensation, in reality what Judea was under the Hebrew dispensation in theory ; governed in all things by the spirit of divine love, and a desire to meet the approbation of Jehovah. It is to this devout state that not one nation merely, but all the nations, are to be brought ; and then it will be seen that the prosperity and happiness which, when it was made a selfish, and the highest object, could never, with the utmost effort, be attained, but was inevitably lost, will come, as it were, by itself, when it is neglected for a nobler end, when it is no longer cared for, or fought for, with a selfish aim ; just according to the maxim, which holds good of nations as of individuals, that he that seeketh his life shall lose it, but he that loseth his life for Christ's sake and the gospel's, shall find it.

But this can be the result only of the wide influence of the Spirit of God regenerating a nation by regenerating the individuals that compose it. A truly Christian government can ordinarily be formed in no other way. If, indeed, the Spirit of God should be poured out upon all the members of the government of any people, so that they should come under the full power of a conscientious regard to God in all things, that would certainly be a Christian government so long as those individuals administered it. But if the people remained unregenerate, the next company of rulers chosen by them, or rising out from among them, would be no better, nor more Christian than themselves. But make all the people Christians and the rulers will be so too. Until the great majority shall become Christians, it is hardly to be expected that we shall have Christian rulers ; and until we have Christian rulers, we shall not have a Christian government. Until we have Christian rulers, we may have selfishness, injustice, and iniquity in the government, even though the great majority of the nation may be at any given time entirely opposed to such a policy. We may have party strife, and games played out of the interest of the nation for individual power : and we may have wars, the whole iniquity of which may rest, not upon the people, but upon the selfishness and iniquity of the rulers ; so that nearly the whole responsibility and the whole vast retribution of an unjust war may be heaped, by a God of justice, upon the heads of the comparatively few persons who, in stations of authority, have concocted such measures and plunged the nation into them. Nor can there be conceived any retribution in the eternal world so vast and horrible as that which is to be suffered by such men. They had better have been in the most suffering and miserable condition on earth all their lifetime, than occupy such exalted seats of fire and pain. They had better have been in the slime pits when Sodom and Gomorrah were burning. For they who produce a war upon earth stand, as it were, at the very fountains of per-

dition, and pour its streams through the world. Christian men could never do this; wars would cease for ever, if the men at the head of the nations were true Christians. And when governments are truly Christian, they will be striving to bless one another instead of cursing; to conquer one another in deeds of love, instead of murdering innocent beings under each other's sway, and battering down cities. The earth groans under the bondage of wicked rulers: it will continue to groan till the Spirit of God be so poured out, that either the rulers themselves are men of true piety, or the people are true Christians in such vast majority, that the selfishness of wicked rulers will not be tolerated. But no mere National Church will ever accomplish this. No National Church ever yet prevented a single war, or made the policy of any nation a Christian policy.

The government of God evidently assumes that his creatures, as in a state of probation, are all equally entitled to the privileges of civil society, and are not to be excluded from those privileges by religious belief. A government cannot rightfully exclude from a participation in its powers and rights a man because he is a Christian, nor because he is of a particular species in the Christian family. A government cannot rightfully exclude a man because he is *not* a Christian. His interests as a member of civil society are as important to him, and a voice in regard to them belongs as much to him, whether he be a Christian or not; for he may *become* a Christian, and government was not appointed to legislate in regard to Christianity, but to preserve peace, to preserve a mutual course of respect to one another's welfare in all classes, to keep men from mutual violence, to keep all classes and pursuits from mutual aggression, to preserve those who are Christians from the violence of those who are not, and those who are not from the violence of those who are, and to keep both Christians and unbelievers from injuring one another. Civil policy, the adjustment of men's interests and rights in regard to this world, the protection of society from crime and violence, the protection of men in the callings which they choose to pursue, is all common ground, on which religious differences are to be mingled and merged, for the maintenance of the freedom of all to pursue in peace their religious as well as secular paths, without any partial application, either for or against, of the powers of civil society, on account of the nature of those paths. It is a common and mutual obligation and compact to protect and enable all men, undisturbed, to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.

God does not permit a Christian to disturb Cæsar, or to refuse obedience to Cæsar in things that do not interfere with or oppose his duty towards God. And God does not permit Cæsar, or a Cæsar's man, a man as a member of that civil society of which

men are members *as men* and not *as Christians*, to disturb the Christian in his duties towards God, or to interfere with him in the performance of those duties, or to refuse protection of him from the violence of others, in such performance. God does not permit Cæsar to arrogate to himself the things that are God's, or to set up his own authority over those things, or over the arrangements by which Christians choose to render those things to God. God has given to Christians a directory and charter separate from and above the directory of all civil governments, in regard to the duties which Christians owe to God. Civil governments are bound to protect Christians in their observance of the duties laid down in that directory, and bound to do this on precisely the same grounds on which they are bound to protect their citizens in the peaceable pursuits of trade and commerce. But there is no rule from God, by which Christians have a monopoly in civil governments, or any right, even if they could, to exclude men who are not Christians from a voice and share in the civil policy, no more than men in the pursuits of agriculture have a right to exclude men in the pursuits of commerce from such common voice and share. These are things that belong to all, irrespective of employment and belief, for all belong equally to Cæsar's government. But the duties and privileges of Christians are also things that belong to all, if they choose to receive them, and all have an equal right to their undisturbed possession and pursuit, for all belong to God's government. And Cæsar's government, as appointed of God, is bound to take care of those duties and privileges, bound not to interfere with them, bound to secure them from violence for all who choose to appropriate them, and to secure those who thus choose, from any violence, or intrusion, or oppression on the part of those who do not.

But if Christians have no right as Christians, as men under God's paternal government, under the rule of rendering unto God the things that are God's, to monopolize the civil powers and arrangements of the State, much less have they any such right merely as members of the Church on earth, as members of a National Church. Here, then, on the commonest, plainest principles of civil government as ordained of God, a National Church, which by church-membership gives its citizens a power in the State over and above that which all the subjects of the civil government of right possess, or ought to possess, is an intrusion upon, and despotism over, the rights of the whole. It is just as much such an intrusion as it would be if the agricultural part of the community were allowed, by virtue of their embodiment and membership in an agricultural society, to monopolize the law-making power for those engaged in the pursuits of trade and commerce, and not members of that society. It would make no difference, even if the members of the said National Church were all

true Christians, all members of the invisible, holy Church of God ; for God has given that church no authority as such, or monopoly as such, over the things that are Cæsar's, or the arrangements which men choose, with due respect to the things that are God's, and to the privileges of all, as under God's government, to make for themselves in civil society. But where the said National Church is a society bound together only by a religious sacrament, and cannot *certainly* assert even of any, much less of all its members, that they are regenerated persons and true Christians, then and there by virtue of the form and sacraments of a Church to instal it into a superiority of power over other classes in the State, or to unite it to the State and make it a special co-ordinate authority, is just as outrageous a despotism and injustice, just as great a contravention of the principles of civil society as ordained of God, as it would be to give to a company of wealthy bankers, or an association of prosperous tanners and shoemakers, the same monopoly of power.

Nothing can well be plainer than these principles, viewed not from a side position, nor from within the entrenchments and monopolized privileges of a class, but from the bosom of the Word of God. The things that are Cæsar's belong equally to all, who behave themselves as "well-doers." The things that are God's belong also equally to all, who choose to avail themselves of them. But they are as clearly distinct and separate, in themselves and in their provinces, as the oxygen and hydrogen gases in our atmosphere ; although in another view as clearly one and the same, and as little to be distinguished or divided. They are one and the same, mingled in their due proportions as an atmosphere of life and action ; appointed for life by the Being who mingled and composed them. They are not to be separated, and the monopoly given to one, or to either. If to the oxygen, which may stand as the symbol of the Christian Church in civil society, then that would kill us by a super-sublimation of element, too intensely refined and ethereal for our earthly state, and passing into a despotism over the forces of life, instead of being a sustenance and support for them. If to the hydrogen, which may stand as the symbol of Cæsar separated from God, and of an earthly government unmodified and unmingled with any regard to heaven, that again would kill us, much the sooner, and with infinitely the grosser and more detestable death, by the suffocation of the spiritual life, by the despotism of the corruption of depravity, the putrefaction and poison of sense forced upon the soul, gasping and expiring in it.

They are not to be separated, for the one derives its true, life-sustaining power from the other, and they are both equally from God ; but they are to be mingled, not united, by God alone, not man ; and let not man dare contrive to make them interfere one

with another. Let man respect the progress of the Church, as a power which God infuses into society for its salvation; let man give free course to that power, and leave God to glorify it; but let not man take it up and confine it in a State machinery, to be condensed and let off as steam for State purposes. Let not man grasp a monopoly of it, or the pretence of its sole possession, for the purpose of a party, or even for the glorification of a State. It is not the state's thing, but man's; it is not for the State, but for humanity. It must reach the State, must be in the State, must penetrate and imbue the State, through the man, the citizen, the individual; through humanity, through the organization of the elements of a sanctified humanity in society, and not through the installation of a sect. It must mingle in and through the State in spirit, not be united to the State in form. Till it does this, all attempts to unite it otherwise will prove a disastrous despotism; but let it have its free course, and it will be glorified; it will *transfigure* the State by the spirit of the Church, the Spirit of Christ, without changing the state into a Church, or putting a Church over the State, or a State as the head of the Church. By so much the more as it is a spiritual element, so much the more hideous and abominable is the incongruity and despotism of putting an earthly or State head upon it. By so much the more as it is a spiritual element, so much the more inconsistent is the compulsion of the State into it by form merely, a process which inevitably delays, hinders, and even effectually prevents that free transfiguration which by the Spirit is destined to take place.

In either of these incongruities religion becomes a monopoly instead of a free element; it becomes a strife-stirring, cancerous, vitriolic ingredient, instead of the gentle, healthful, hidden, but pervading, life of society. It is a life, the free development of which should be secured by the civil society to all; and men should be left as free to get out of error in that life, and not be forced out, if they are in it, as others are to make progress in the truth. An Arius should be as much under protection, and in the enjoyment of freedom, in civil society, as an Athanasius; a Servetus, as a Calvin. Tyndale had as much right to protection and freedom, with his work of translations, his Bibles, and his faith, as Wolsey, or Cranmer, or More in their State offices. Cartwright should have been held as fully protected by the State from Christian or Protestant persecution, and as free to publish his opinions, as Whitgift. Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry had as much right from God to the civil protection in their work, as Walsingham, Cecil, and Elizabeth herself in theirs. These are mere truisms; but the moment the Church is united to the State they are flung to the winds as so many lies, and the State religion, under particular conjunctures, becomes the most remorseless,

hardened, unappeasable, implacable, imperious essence of persecution on earth.

It was in and for the working out and realization of this principle, *My kingdom is not of this world*, that our Blessed Lord raised up, educated, and disciplined the band of Puritan Pilgrims, our ancestors, and brought them out from their captivity in the Old World into their freedom in the New. They themselves did not understand fully this principle, though in suffering for the privilege of worshipping God according to their own conscience they were taking the first step towards learning it; but it was necessary, in order for their descendants to understand it, in order for it to be worked out thoroughly, and set in clear light before the world, that they themselves should be removed from under the pressure, and from the example, of a politico-religious establishment; from under a monarchy, which headed the Church, into a wilderness, where Christ's authority alone could be supremely regarded. It was necessary that the taint of prelacy should be left, and that they should be planted in a place, where the pride and severity of prelacy could not persecute them. The attempts to realize and set up the kingdom not of this world had been gradual and imperfect; the greatest advancement towards it had been at Geneva, where the world saw a Church without a Bishop, and a State without a King. But further than this it seemed as if in the Old World the Church of Christ could not go, and the Church was still united with the State. And even in the New World, though the experiment was to begin where at Geneva it left off, still the process was to be gradual and tentative, that it might be perfect and lasting. Men were still to learn, by slow degrees, and through many mistakes and some failures, what was true religious liberty, what was a kingdom not of this world. It was still to be more than the passage of one generation, and the filtration of the principles of truth and liberty down through the societies of 200 years, before the true separation of the spiritual from the temporal would be accomplished, before the world would see an example of the water of life in the Church of Christ cleared, as at the first, from extraneous mixtures, and held up to view with the sun shining through it.

For this purpose the republican colonies of this country formed a cradle for the Church, or a political frame-work of society, more favorable than any in the Old World for the expansion, development, and proof of its principles. And in the change of those colonies into an independent State under a republican form of government, we cannot but believe that God had the growth and perfection of his Church in view. This belief is our great encouragement and hope that he will continue to bless us as a nation, to keep our government pure and free,

and to pour out his Spirit upon us. It is because we are sure he has his Church's advancement and perfection in view; and all things that take place in the world are entirely subservient to that. In the formation of the government of this country, it was done with us as with nature, in the formation of the kernel and the shell together. The kernel is not formed, and then put into the shell, nor the heart of the tree, and afterwards put into the bark, but both grow together. So it was here; freedom in the Church and freedom in the State grew on together, though the one, indeed, was the soul of the other.

We believe that God designed to prepare men for civil governments in this country by disciplining them in the government and constitution of the Church. In the primitive purity of the Church they are members of a heavenly republic, a family of love, yet a representative arrangement. They all have a voice, they all bear a part, each is for the whole, and the whole is for each; if one member suffers, all are grieved; the whole system of government and obedience in the House of God goes on in quiet and harmony, there being at once freedom and subjection, independence and control. This system, taking the mind from childhood, and training it up under such discipline, prepares men for what is called self-government in the State, prepares them to be citizens and not mere subjects, to have and to exercise a part in the affairs of State, and not thereby be elated with pride or spoiled of humility. It is like a bracing atmosphere, which, breathed from childhood, prepares the man for exercises and climates, for which otherwise his constitution might have been wholly unfitted.

Hence the Constitution of the Church of Christ, without human additions, pure from the hierarchical imitations of monarchies and despotisms, is the model and the cradle of a well-ordered, wise, and heavenly liberty. The Church of Christ, in her primitive purity, is the Mother and Nurse of Freedom; not of licentiousness, but freedom; freedom in civil governments, representative freedom. In our civil state it seems to have been intended that we should "serve unto the example and pattern of heavenly things."

III. The discipline and experience of our Puritan Fathers, combined with that of the Church as it has grown on from them, have taught us as much concerning the unity as the freedom of the Church of Christ. Some writers are laboring after what they call a Catholic Unity in the Church with as much vagueness and indistinctness as some pretended philosophers are laboring after a kind of Transcendentalism, which may be suspected to be no better than Pantheism. What do they mean by it? What is the Catholic Church, any more than the Church? And what is the Church except it be the Catholic Church? It is the merest tau-

ology, nowhere admitted in the Scriptures, whose highest formula is THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, which, wherever it be, is universal or Catholic no further than this, that it comprehends all true believers and none others. Hence that expression in the creed, The Holy Catholic Church, seems a needless departure from the majesty and simplicity of the Scriptures, and a source of division rather than of Union. For when we believe in a Church of Christ, we believe of necessity in a holy Church, for none other is holy, and the Church of Christ is; and also, believing in the Church of Christ, we believe in a Catholic or Universal Church, that is, in the Church of Christ, which alone is universal, but universal in no other sense than as comprehending in itself all its living members. For a man, therefore, to say I believe in the Church of Christ, is a grander and more Catholic formula than to say I believe in the Holy Catholic Church. The terms Holy Catholic Church may be assumed and usurped by a particular schismatical Church, casting out others, and acting the Diotrefes. But the designation, CHURCH OF CHRIST, is universal, and needs no addition to its blessedness and majesty. It would be almost as tautological and needless, instead of the formula, I believe in Christ, to say, I believe in the Universal Christ, or in the Holy Catholic Christ. Is Christ divided? Neither is his Church divided. As Christ is one, so his Church is one. As the Head is one, so the body is one; and those members only are truly schismatical, who say to others, Because thou art not the hand or the eye, therefore thou art not of the body. But the universality of the Church of Christ is a thing invisible, and which ever in this world must remain invisible. Instead of seeking it in a visible organization, we are to seek it in a manifested imitation of the Life of Christ. Instead of seeking it in one branch of the Vine, we are to seek it in all. Instead of acknowledging it only in one, we must acknowledge it in all. We are no more to say, We are the Head, or because thou art not the hand or the eye, therefore thou art not of the body. We are to acknowledge the body in all, and all in the body. Instead of looking for a historical Christianity in one sect or denomination only, or at one era only, we are to look for it and to find it wherever there are communities of Christians holding the head.

If we refuse to do this, we become schismatical in our pretended zeal for what we call Catholicism. The way to promote unity is not to enforce it, but to go on taking it for granted. The way to promote unity is not to mark peculiarity, but to disregard it, and to view minor differences as things indifferent. Perhaps you are considering with horror the various denominations in the modern Church, and you pretend to compare with this the unity of what you call the Catholic Church, and you blame the liberty of denominations, as a liberty against Christian unity. Be

assured, it is not because you have so much Catholicism, or so deep yearnings after it, that you speak thus, but rather because you know not what it is, because you have mistaken the nature of Christ's Church, and do not and cannot enter into the greatness and freedom of his plan. The variety of denominations appears to you schismatical, because you yourself are infected with the spirit and the sophistry of schism; not because they have too much liberty, but you not enough charity; not because the body of Christ is divided, but because you are not willing to acknowledge the body of Christ, except under your own chosen form; not because denominational distinctions are wrong, but because you make too much of them.

By the coming of the Puritans to this country, and the blessing of God upon the various churches that have sprung from them, God has taught us more concerning the true unity of the Church, than had been learned since Luther broke from the Church of the Papacy. The age of the Puritans, and the country which the vine planted by them has filled with its branches, is now the age and country in which there is greater unity in the Church of Christ than there has been in the world for centuries. Some men are gravely lecturing the descendants of the Puritans on the alarming nature of the modern "leprosy of sectarianism," and the duty of returning from our wanderings into the bosom of our Mother Church! The unity which these men are striving after is the despotism of uniformity; a backward movement towards the Romish Apostate Church. But God is beginning to show, in the remarkable unity of the various Protestant Evangelical Denominations in this country, as the same Body of Christ, holding the same Head, what is the real, free, spiritual, and not false, enforced, formal, Romish unity of the Church. It is in this country, and among the descendants of the Puritans, that this glory is most developed. In Europe there is as yet too much despotism both in Church and State, and too much mingling of Church and State together, to permit it. In Europe it is not as yet even understood. In this country there are those who will not understand it, simply because of their extreme sectarianism and spirit of schism, in holding up their own denomination as the only Church, and casting out all others. This is genuine schism. This is the greatest of all violations of the unity of Christ. All genuine unity includes permitted differences. If not, there may be a despotism, and a system of spiritual pride, but no true unity. The Hand would cease to be a unity, if its five fingers were compressed into one. The hand is much more a unity with its five separate fingers, than if it were a simple indivisible mass. There is more true unity in the Protestant Church of Christ in this country, than there ever was in the Romish Church, and more of that unity which Christ requires, and which

makes one Body *in* Christ, and *the* Body of Christ, than there has been in the Church of Christ for ages. We look to the things in which we agree, and consent not to trouble each other concerning the things in which we differ, and thence results the true unity of the gospel.

The idea of the Church of Christ may be presented under the figure of a Cathedral, begun and reared under the superintendence of its immediate founders and architects. Before they died, or in their own writings and plans, the body of the building was finished, and all things at all essential to its perfection were in progress. There was here and there a tower not reared to its full height, but begun and plain, in all its intended proportions, so that all that after generations had to do was to build on in the same direction in which the apostles were building. This Cathedral is in the Word. All that traditionary or historical development can do, all that it is worth, is to finish and perfect certain corners, towers, or projections, and perhaps to add a great bell, with a clear, ringing sound, made up of metal cast in by the pure in faith for successive generations; together, if you please, with a chime of bells on various towers, all ringing in sweet melody and harmony, yet with a variety that a thousand fold increases the sweetness. Whoever holds the Head, whoever is united by faith to Christ Jesus, worships in it. The various denominations are all in it at once, all having one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism. They may be called to worship by the great roar of the bell of all ages, or they may come at the sweet unison of the commingling chimes from all its towers at once, or they may gather at the musical note of a single steeple; but they are all one, and the chimes are all in harmony, because all ringing the truth, all ringing to the praise of Christ, all saying to one another, Come, brother, come! But if there be a schismatical bell foundry, that shall hang upon the steeple a bell sounding out the chime—No Bishop, no Church; or, No Synod, no Church; or No Saybrook Platform, no Church; that is truly a discord, that is a schismatical bell, that was tuned by Diotrephes, not Christ; that calls to persecution, hostility, strife, bitter envying and devouring, and not to Christ.

This Church is large enough for all worshippers, and for all families of worshippers to gather around their own pulpit in their own mother tongue. The multitude come together, and hear, every man in his own language, in which he was born, Medes and Parthians, Elamites and Persians, Jews and Mesopotamians. There are chapels for Lutherans, Calvinists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, German, Dutch, French, English, and we care not how many others, if they do but hold the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, with one Lord, one faith, one baptism. There can be no strife

here, but perpetual harmony, unless one should say to the other, There shall be no place for you here except you worship in my chapel; or unless one should fence off half the Church with a railing of rubrics and traditions, or unless one should send about an apparitor or beadle with a bell, disturbing the worship of all the rest, and accusing of sectarianism and dissent, all who choose not to meet in his enclosure.

How great, how blessed, yet how difficult a thing is real unity! It is difficult in one view, because of the pride, prejudice, and passion in the hearts of men. It is easy in another view, because true love, in proportion as it exists, will produce it. Denominational distinctions and preferences there will be, perhaps, as long as the world stands; but they ought to be like the inequalities in the bottom of the ocean, kept there to sustain and regulate the motion of the tides, and not like the sharp rugged tops of glaciers, constituting dangerous and impassable barriers, or making enemies of nations. They ought not to be suffered to protrude in rough prominences, against which, as against a terrible reef of rocks, the peace and charity of men make shipwreck; but the tide of love ought to rise so high and to cover them so deep, that the ships of all nations in the Christian community may sail safe over them without touching. Unity is not the destruction of differences, or the levelling of inequalities and varieties in Church polity, but the covering of them all with what John Foster once called the great spring-tide of love.

“Yes,” says D’Aubigné, speaking of the position which Evangelical Christian Theology occupies, and more especially of its *formal* principle, “there is one holy Catholic Church, but it is, as the Apostle says, the general assembly and Church of the first born, whose names are written in heaven. *Unity* as well as *holiness* appertains to the *invisible* Church. It behoves us without doubt to pray that the visible Church should advance daily in the possession of these heavenly attributes; but neither rigorous unity nor universal holiness is a perfection essential to its existence, or a *sine qua non*. To say that the visible church must absolutely be composed of saints only, is the error of the Donatists and fanatics of all ages. So also to say that the visible Church must of necessity be externally one, is the corresponding error of Rome, of Oxford, and of formalists of all times. Let us guard against preferring the external hierarchy, which consists in certain human forms, to that internal hierarchy, which is the kingdom of God itself. Let us not suffer the form, which passes away, to determine the essence of the Church; but let us on the contrary make the essence of the Church, to wit, the Christian life, which emanates from the Word and Spirit of God, change and renew the form. *The form has killed the substance*—here is the whole history of the Papacy and of false Catholicism. *The*

substance vivifies the form—here is the whole history of Evangelical Christianity, and of the true Catholic Church of Jesus Christ.”

IV. We look next to the **RULE OF THE CHURCH**. In the year 1536 it was declared in Convocation to be King Henry's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained, which did not rest upon that authority. God made use of the selfishness of the monarch to disinter this grand principle from the grave, in which the sextons of Rome had buried it. But the royal intelligence which a selfish aim in the conflict with the Pope had rendered so keen, beheld not the whole reach of this principle, nor ever imagined that it would not only set the Church beyond the Pope's jurisdiction, but also above the king's. Yet so it was. The discovery which the king commenced, the Puritans perfected. They made the Rule of Scripture the only rule of the Church, and therein made a free Church. They made the Word of God the only Rule of Faith, binding every man to the study of that rule, to take it not upon the trust of the Church, but to examine himself and the Church by it. Every man was to do this, relying on the teaching of the Spirit of God. It was this that made the Puritan Theologians such men of depth and power. It was this that gave the principles of their reformation such hold upon them and such stability, that nothing could beat down their progress. They had the power and tenacity of conscience, the obstinacy of the clearest convictions of duty.

This independence, this right of private judgment, in reliance on the Spirit of God in his Word, carries with it the obligation of great and permanent duties. It enforces those duties, keeps the soul in them, and makes the whole of our authority and life in Christ to consist in their spiritual performance. If you rely upon the Church, and take her faith, her teachings, her commandments, as yours, and infallible, and deem yourself safe in her communion, you will give up those duties, you will not feel yourself called upon to perform them. You will say, I believe as the Church believes, and can read and pray only as the Church reads and prays. I am in the Church, and so I am in Christ, and I partake of the life of Christ by partaking of the life of the Church and its ordinances, and nothing more is requisite. This is the ingenuity of the enemy of all righteousness, to keep men out of Christ by imbedding them in the Church, as lifeless fossils in a bed of stone. For if the members thus rely upon the Church, as the medium between them and Christ, the whole Church relies upon the Church, and is therefore no Church, cannot be a living Church, is not united to Christ, but is no better than a bed of limestone. For a Church can be a true Church

only by the individual union of its members to and with Christ ; and if they be not so united with him, and so depending upon him, they are no part of his Body. If each individual is depending upon his membership with that union of individuals which he calls a Church, or *the Church*, for his religion and salvation, then the whole Church are depending on the same, on a nonentity, on a shadow and a lie. It may be likened to a great company of speculatists, issuing shares on fictitious stock, and each individual trading on the credit of the company without one farthing of capital. It is neither more nor less than a great South Sea scheme in religion, a bubble, with which thousands amuse and delude themselves now, but which is to burst at last to the destruction of thousands.

But if you maintain your independence in private judgment, in reliance, not upon the Church, but upon Christ, upon the Spirit of Christ in the Word, then, having no external thing to support you, no false credit of the company to go upon, no figment of Church stock to make your professions available, you must go yourself to Christ, you must seek for yourself the power of his Spirit, you must for yourself study his Word to feed upon it, to be strengthened by it, to receive divine teaching in it. Your doctrine of private judgment binds you to prayer, to the searching of the Scriptures, to personal communion with your Savior. Your doctrine of private judgment and sanctification is monstrous presumption and hypocrisy without this. It is pride, rationalism, and impiety, without this. It is life, power, and glory, *with* it.

It is this private judgment, which leads the soul to the only known rule and standard, known and read of all. They who deny it, and assert that the individual soul must rely upon the judgment of the Church, let them tell us how that judgment is to be discovered. Where is that judgment? In answer to this question, true Protestants say, The judgment of the Church is in the Word of God ; but others, denying private judgment, must throw the soul back again upon a judgment of the Church, in order to discover what is the sense of Scripture. And where is *that* judgment? Where can the common, unlettered believer find it? Is there any volume in which it is recorded plainer than the Word of God? Any volume, which the believer would not have, after all, to judge by private interpretation? Where is the judgment of the Church to be found? It is like the sign-post at a place sometimes overflowed with water, on which you read, When the water is above this mark—the traveller must not attempt to cross. But where is the mark to be seen, when the waters rise above it? So with this pretended judgment of the Church. On what post, above high water mark, is it to be found recorded? Where can the believer, who cannot be trusted with the Word of God, find it?

The judgment of the Spirit and the Word is certain ; the judgment of the Church is uncertain. The judgment of what is called the Church may at any time have been the judgment of men for the greater part without any reliance upon the Holy Spirit, or any teaching or illumination from the same. The judgment of the Church may sometimes be nothing more than the judgment of men, who themselves exercised private judgment in the worst way, without the sense of their dependence upon the Spirit ; without seeking the guidance of the Spirit, and who then unitedly sought to enforce opinion so formed upon others, and upon all who should come after them. But the judgment of the Word, and of the Spirit enlightening the mind and sanctifying the heart by the Word, is right judgment ; it is the judgment of Christ, not of man.

This is that blessed and power-investing individual independence, which we maintain and teach, and in which consists the whole hope of freedom and victory for the Church of Christ. It is entire dependence on the Spirit of God in the Word of God. That constitutes independence, power, glory. That makes the Church one, one in the individual, one in the mass, one by the translucence and reflection of all in each and each in all, one in the Body, because of the perfect individuality and independence of each member in Christ, one like the wheels of Christ's chariot, as described by Milton, full of eyes, each eye an individual existence. Such a chariot for Christ is his Church, not in reliance upon itself, its own greatness or infallibility, but upon Him.

Evangelical Protestants rely not upon the Word of God alone, but upon the Word with the Spirit, the Spirit in the Word, the Spirit teaching, enlightening, sanctifying, by the Word. This fact has been greatly forgotten, or rather, it has not been dwelt upon, and impressed on men's minds as it ought. The principle has always been acted upon by all evangelical Churches, by all sincere heart-Protestants, but it has not received such an utterance, such an external manifestation in form, such an open recognition and acknowledgment, as was necessary. The principle as stated generally, The Bible, the only religion of Protestants, has exclusively occupied attention in the formal announcement. Going along with this, the doctrine of private judgment has been declared in such a manner, so exclusively of all notice of that higher and deeper reliance, which true Protestants have upon the Holy Spirit as the guide of private judgment, that the friends of tradition and of despotism in the Church, and the enemies of the Reformation, have enjoyed some opportunity of objecting against this private judgment as a thing of individual pride and presumption. We must take away all color for that objection, by stating and maintaining our doctrine of private judgment as always in the most express reliance, both implied and positive, upon the Spirit of God as our teacher. It is with the Spirit of

God alone that we assert the privilege, the right, the duty, and the blessedness of private judgment. Private judgment without the Spirit, private judgment not cognisant of the Spirit, or recognising and relying upon the guidance of the Spirit, is worthless, nay, pernicious. It is no better than Rationalism. It is mere unsanctified, unilluminated human theology; the theology of men, not of God; the work of human speculation, relying solely upon human reason. Such is private judgment without the Spirit.

The theologians and the theology of New England hold to no such private judgment as this. They hold reliance on the Spirit and the Word, reliance on the Spirit teaching in and by the Word. This was the private judgment of the great Jonathan Edwards. He relied not upon a fallible Church, but upon the infallible Word and Spirit of God. He maintained, and the Evangelical theologians and Christians of New England now maintain, the right and duty of each individual to exercise an individual interpreting judgment, under guidance of the Spirit of God, directly upon the Word of God; to exercise it not with the Church as its mediator, not with the Church coming in between the soul and the Word and the Spirit of God, but with the Spirit teaching by the Word, and leading into its truth, with just as entire a solitude and independence, as if no Church but the individual soul itself existed. For this is the independence, which Christ confers on every Christian by entire dependence on Him, his Word, and his Spirit. We recognise and proclaim the duty of each individual member of Christ's Body to rely, not upon the Body, but upon the Head. We proclaim the truth that he who does not rely upon the Head is not of the Body: that the very essence of Christianity is union by the Spirit with the Head.

There is to be a great and glorious period of Christianity, when it shall be developed in and from the common mind under the instruction and influence directly, not indirectly, of the Word of God. Divine providence in the discipline of the Puritans, in the effusions of the Holy Spirit upon the Churches planted by them and continued from them, and in the perfection of the institution of Sabbath schools, has been preparing for this development. It is not science that will produce this epoch, nor the eclecticism of a Christian philosophy of history, seeking to gather into one age the various peculiar characteristics of past ages. It is the Word and the Spirit of God moving upon the common mind, that shall bring it about. Heretofore, the characteristics of what historians call Christianity have been those of science rather than of life, and of science occupied with the letter of dogmas, rather than with the footsteps and workings of the Spirit; and with the letter exterior to self, rather than in self-

research and meditation. Hitherto, also, this development of Christianity has been owing to a few minds, which alone have been acquainted and familiar with the Word of God, and which have stamped their views upon the multitude; coming, as it were, between the common mind and the Divine Word, so that, however correct, profound, and excellent their views may have been, the mass of men, even of Christians, have received the truth at second-hand, and not immediately from the Scriptures. The business of the teachers of the Christian schools and churches has been rather to dogmatize concerning the contents of the Scriptures, and to put them in scientific formulas, than to make the Scriptures to be known and read of all. Consequently, Christianity, so called, has degenerated into theories, and neglected life. But theories and dogmatic systems cannot be perfect without life; if they be framed without life, or by men, who themselves are scientific dogmatizers and systematizers, rather than Christians feeding on the Word and feeding others, they must and will continue not only imperfect, but erroneous. If Christianity be studied in them, false views will be adopted concerning it; if a historical Christianity be gathered and taught from them, that also will be erroneous.

A scientific Christianity, in order to be perfect, must be the work not only of the Doctors of the Schools, but of the life and knowledge of common Christians. The word as known and revealed through them must contribute to it, and not merely as known in the crucible, in the theoretic laboratory of the student. The common life of the Church must reflect light upon it, and give life to it, else it is partial, one-sided, and in a measure dead. It is cut off from the Church, which is the Body of Christ, if it does not come from the experience of the Church, and receive and interchange life with the Church. Hence the necessity of a theology learned from the Word of God by practical pastors, who have much to do with the experience and for the guidance of common minds under the operation of the Spirit of God; the necessity of a theology brought from the Word of God for the wants of the Church, by men, who are working for the spread of life, and not merely the perfection of science. If it comes from scientific formal theologians alone, it must necessarily be defective and partial; if it comes from the Word through them alone, it is not the true scriptural, nor the true historical Christianity, because the Word, as it flows through the life and opinions of the family of believers, is neglected. The historical Christianity that some men talk of is the phase of Christianity in a few scholastic, scientific minds, while the great body of believers have either not known the Scriptures personally, or very defectively, or have been so cut off from contact with these minds, that they have had no representation or representative in the casting of the scientific

form, and have been utterly disregarded. Thus the historical Christianity, so called, has always hitherto been greatly dissevered from the common life and experience of Christianity. It has, moreover, in the feverish anxiety to keep up a visible succession proudly and ostentatiously noted, passed by with utter neglect some bodies of Christians, in whom the Word has been manifested, both as life and science, far more clearly and purely, than in the stream of succession as pursued and adhered to.

Not such is the type of an Evangelical, experimental, and popular Christianity, a Christianity drawn from the Word of God under the teachings of the Spirit by minds from the people, and both transmitting and reflecting the experience of the people of God, both giving and receiving light, both modified by and modifying the common knowledge, as science and life, interchanging, combining, becoming one. A Christianity not passed through the mere channel of a successional priesthood, but drawn fresh, by the impulse and power of the Spirit, from the fountain of the Word, for the wants of the Church and the life of the world. This is a theology better for use, and for science too, than that of all the schools in all ages. This is a theology, of which admirable examples may be found in the writings and lives of two of the greatest Puritan Divines in the Old World and in this respectively, and two of the greatest theological giants ever known in any age of the world, John Howe and Jonathan Edwards. This is the living practical theology, which grows out of private judgment of the Scriptures in entire dependence on the Spirit of God. A theology, in which the living Church in all ages will find its truest life and opinions reflected, not because it was drawn from the study, or comparison, or obedience, or imitation of those opinions, but from the only infallible, immutable, independent source of all true life and true opinion, the Word and the Spirit of the Living God. The true historical Christianity is drawn from the Word and the Spirit, and not from the pages of history, or from human speculations.

In any other sense it seems not possible for any man not to see that the period for the formation of a true historical Christianity, or a perfect scientific Christianity, has not yet come, and cannot come, until the Word has had opportunity to be developed and reflected in the mass of Christians, in the life of the Body of Christ, and not in the movements of some of the mere extremities of that body. The Word must spread, the life of the gospel must circulate, far and wide, before what is called, in some quarters, the organic whole of Christianity, or its true Catholicism in others, or its historical fulness and perfection, can be developed, or surveyed, or fairly conceived of.

And hence, in the fifth place, the MISSION OF THE CHURCH of Christ is not now to be anxiously comparing symbols, and

sifting creeds, and arranging and examining names, and studying national theologies, and sweating over the crucible, and running for help to the science of the world, but to give the Word of God to the world. Her Mission is not to be analysing theology, but spreading life. Her work is not to be inquiring what is the Church of Christ, but to be gathering ignorant and lost sinners into that Church. What unutterable absurdity to be disputing about Catholicism, to be regarding the question of the Church, the Catholicism of the Church, as the question of the age, the determination of our crisis, the mission of our generation, when, as yet, the Church is but a handful of seed-corn, scarcely sown; when even in Christendom, so called, the Church is not one hundredth part of the community, and Christendom is not one twentieth part of the world; when, indeed, the world is still lying in wickedness!

For the Church to be absorbed in the problem of her own Catholicism, under such circumstances, for the Church to be parading rival catalogues of successional priesthood, for the Church to be bandying the watchwords of exclusion and dissent, is as if a body of physicians, called to the bed-side of a patient in imminent danger of dying, or commissioned into a hospital filled with the subjects of a dreadful plague, should deliberately set themselves down to studying and comparing their diplomas, saying that the great medical question of the age was the universality of the medical degree. The lord of the hospital would turn such men out with contempt and punishment; and we fear the great husbandman of the vineyard cannot be less offended, when he sees those to whom he has said, Go work, endeavoring to exclude one another from the field, and contending at its very gate about the Catholicism of their diplomas, and setting themselves to work out the problem of a historical Christianity, instead of taking care of the vines, and gathering in the harvest; we have reason to fear that he will have cause to rebuke his Church with great judgments, to purify it of its proud, fanciful, scientific janglings and theories, so as by fire.

The Mission of the Church is the work of Missions. God began to disclose this to the Puritans before they left their own country, just as he disclosed it to the Church of Jerusalem, when he scattered them abroad by the blasts of persecution. The work our Puritan Fathers set upon was a missionary work, with missionary aims and motives, for that age remarkably far-sighted, elevated, and pure. We trust in God that it is for this work he has been preparing the Evangelical Church in this country ever since, and that he will not now suffer us to be turned aside from it. How absurd to be occupied, at such a period as this, with foolish questions, genealogies, and contentions, unprofitable and vain! How absurd to dream as yet of encompassing in our theology the

organic whole of Christianity, when as yet we have seen so little of the development of Christianity even in its parts; when, as yet, we are acquainted with so small a portion of the great family, and with the experience of that portion so indistinctly! How absurd to dream of perfecting our scientific Christianity by the study of a historical Church, when, as yet, we have seen so few of the phases of that Church, have seen that Church in only such minute portions, such bits of leaven, prevented from working, and hindered by the wicked one! How absurd to send us to the organic whole for instruction, when, as yet, so small a portion of the redeemed belonging to that whole are gathered in; when, as yet, we know so little what forms of development the Church in her enlargement may take; when, as yet, the Church has performed so little of her mission in the world.

The question of this age is, and ought to be, not the organic whole of Christianity, nor the Catholicism of the Church, nor the Unity of the Church, but **THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD**. Our crisis is not that of the Church Catholic, but of the Church Militant and Missionary. It is the most extreme neglect and perversion of duty and of grace, to turn aside from our great work at the voice of a pretended philosophic and scientific theology, after the idea of a transcendental organic whole, or at the voice of a false outcry about sectarianism and unity, instead of devoting ourselves to the building up of the real whole, to the gathering in of the Gentiles into the fold of Christ; instead of giving ourselves to the great business of "making all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Christ Jesus, to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church the manifold wisdom of God, according to his eternal purpose, which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."

If we will but work on, in fervent love for Christ, we may safely leave the unity of our Church, and our reputation for unity, to take care of itself. The Mission of the Church is **THE WORK OF MISSIONS**. We cannot possess the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace except just so far as we are engaged for the love of Christ, in the work of saving souls. By that work God will unite and distinguish his Church. We have little to do with the organic whole of Christianity, and still less with the imitation or the boast of a Romish unity, but to labor after the fulfilment of Paul's prayer, "that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith, that we, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that we may be filled with all the fullness of God."

The zeal of some writers about the Catholicism and organic

whole and the visible unity of the Church, reminds us of some striking remarks of Edwards in his great work on Revivals. "Persons," he says, "that are influenced by an indiscreet zeal are always in too much haste; they are impatient of delays, and, therefore, are for jumping to the uppermost step first, before they have taken the preceding steps; whereby they expose themselves to fall and break their bones; it is a thing very taking with them to see the building rise very high, and all their endeavor and strength is employed in advancing the building in height, without taking care withal proportionably to enlarge the foundation; whereby the whole is in danger of coming to the ground; or they are for putting on the cupola and pinnacle before they are come to it, or before the lower parts of the building are done; which tends at once to put a stop to the building, and hinder it ever being a complete structure. Many that are thus imprudent and hasty with their zeal have a real eager appetite for that which is good; but are like children, that are impatient to wait for the fruit until the proper season of it, and, therefore, snatch it before it is ripe. Oftentimes in their haste they overshoot the mark, and frustrate their own end; they put that which they would obtain further out of reach than it was before, and establish and confirm that which they would remove."

VI. By the same discipline of the Word, Providence and Grace of God, the Puritans were taught the great practical things which they learned so thoroughly concerning the true LIFE AND DEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH. That life is inward, and it grows less, the more approximation men make to dependence on an arm of flesh, of whatever nature. But it grows more vigorous, the less regard there is to anything external, except simply the work of saving souls, which truly is itself an inward work, and can hardly with propriety be called external, so entirely are its activity and success derived from the Spirit. This inward life is the element of joy in the Lord; and the strength of the Church consists so much in that, that the experience of David may be assumed as that of the whole Church of Christ, the lips of the Church being sealed like his, until God opens them. "Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me by thy free Spirit; then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee." This experimental knowledge of the joy of God's salvation, and this buoyancy and fulness of freedom and delight in teaching and winning souls, in which consists the strength of the Church, are to be found only in a life hid with Christ in God.

This life is sustained by his Spirit, fed by his Word. The more men are beaten from all external reliances, and thrown upon Christ, the stronger they are, and the more indestructible, vigorous, and joyous this life becomes. The Providence of God with

our Puritan Fathers made this lesson conspicuous. With heroic faith they practised it, when once they had learned it, when once God had broken them away from all that mortals are accustomed to rely upon or to hold dear. They were long time in learning it, in some things, and with much difficulty, because some of their reliances, which were in reality an arm of flesh, looked to them like a refuge of the Spirit. They held on to the Church Establishment, they were afraid to separate, they hoped in princes, they trusted in an arm of flesh, taught to do so by that union of State and Church, to which they had been accustomed, and from the blindness produced by which it took long time perfectly to recover. God was teaching them His great lesson continually, endeavoring to make them see it, and yet they constantly, in this matter, endeavored to lean upon man. But God would disappoint them, would beat them off, would leave the reed to pierce them. At length he broke them away from king, country, State, Church, all.

The more closely men are thus thrown upon Christ, the simpler will be their form, if they have that to choose, and the best adapted for use, growth, and effort. It was partly their deep sense of dependence upon Christ, and partly the external providences of God, and partly the teachings of his Spirit in his Word, that led our Pilgrim fathers to a form of Church organization so near to the primitive simplicity of the Scriptures. They broke down every external wall of partition possible, and would be brought in all things near to God, just as in all things they were thrown upon God. Their principles were tried in every way. They had had all the advantage of being experimented upon in the Old World by men without true godliness and spiritual wisdom, in cases where it is manifest that for want of these ingredients they failed; all which went to demonstrate that the kingdom of Christ is not one that can succeed by the mere Ark of God in the camp, or by a true, pure, and well nigh primitive form; but a kingdom that, *the more it is like the first model of its founder, the greater measure of his Spirit it demands*, to meet, sustain, and keep alive its excellence. So the attempt of the Brownists was full of instruction. It failed, because it had more of the Spirit of the World, than of the Spirit of Christ. It was the wine of the Old Adam put into new bottles, and so the bottles burst. We must have the wine of the new dispensation put into the bottles of the new dispensation, and so both are preserved; and this we say is in favor of the simplicity of these new bottles, that they require the new wine, the Pentecostal wine of the Spirit, and will not answer for the old. In the case of Robinson and the Pilgrims, it was most manifestly not an experiment of man but of God, an experiment with God's Spirit. Every step of it proved that, and its spiritual success proves it. The ex-

periment they made was of such a nature, that if it had been of man, it must have come to naught; and it would have come to naught the sooner, for the simplicity and freedom of the form which they had chosen. Had they moored their Church to the Hierarchy, and kept the form of the Hierarchy; the form might have held up long after the Spirit had departed. But throwing themselves as they did, solely upon Christ, if it had not been for the fulness of the Spirit, everything would have disappeared; form, existence, all would have suffered shipwreck.

Now the man of hierarchical tendencies will reason against the simplicity and unworldliness of such a form, because he will say, it wants a support in human nature, and possesses no power of appeal to anything but bare spirituality of mind, and if deserted of that, must go to ruin. But it is precisely this argument which is irresistibly in its favor. The simplicity of this form needs Christ to support it, and cannot be supported *without* Christ. For this reason it is infinitely precious to the world's best interests; and well would it be for the world, if *no form* could be supported without Christ. Had it been so, we should have been spared the almost infinite curse which the Form without the Power of godliness has inflicted on the world. The hierarchical despotism, which, by the prevalence of Form without the Spirit, has maintained such ages of remorseless persecution, would have been rendered impossible. And now, a return to the primitive *simplicity* of Form is one of the world's greatest securities against the repetition of such scenes of ecclesiastical wickedness.

It is also one of the best securities against schism. Whatever ingredient, form, or ceremony, not set down in Scripture as essential, men set up in the Church as essential, is schism. It is likewise the beginning of despotism and persecution. It was a declaration of Milton, worthy to be written in every language in the world, that "to us nothing can be catholic or universal in religion, but what the Scripture teaches; whatsoever without Scripture pleads to be universal in the Church, IN BEING UNIVERSAL IS BUT THE MORE SCHISMATICAL." To this corresponds that striking and noble declaration of Bishop Hooper that "*the Church of Christ, the more it was and is burdened with man's laws, the further it is from the true and sincere verity of God's Word.*" It is mine opinion unto all the world that the Scripture solely is to be followed, and the Apostles' Church, and no man's authority, be he Augustine, Tertullian, or even Cherubim or Seraphim."

The more simple the form, the more Christ is needed to fill it. And ordinarily the more there is in it of man and man's device, the less of Christ it can receive, and the less men feel the need of Christ in it. The fathers of the Church in New England were not so worldly and political, as to choose a form of Church

government, that, because it relied upon the State or the world, would make less of a tax and demand upon them for great spirituality and piety. They rather said, We will have that form, in which we must live near to God, or die; we will have that form, in which, if the Spirit dies, the form drops and breaks in pieces. Rather so than a form that, like the thick bark of some trees, can remain standing while all within is rotten, persuading the world that it is sound, and imposing the form of godliness without its power. We throw ourselves upon Christ in a form, to which he only can give energy, but which, imbued with his Spirit, we believe to be better adapted than all others for the spread of his kingdom.

The result has demonstrated the truth of this belief. That form of Church government is found to be the best, which, being rooted and grounded in God's Word, most fully recognises, relies upon, and displays, the *efficacy* of God's Word; which brings out the Divine rather than the human, and which brings the soul most immediately and directly, without distracting business and ceremony, to God. That form of Church government is the best, in which there is the least of government and the most of God. That form is the best adapted to save souls without deluding them, and to raise wheat without tares, which throws the soul most entirely, simply, uninterruptedly, on God's doctrines in his Word, and God's Spirit in the heart.

It has been singularly enough objected against the admirable and successful mission and missionaries of the American Board to the Armenians in Turkey, that they have nothing but naked doctrines to preach; no liturgy, nor hierarchy, nor grand imposing forms, but only the simple bare truth of Christ and Him crucified; and, therefore, some imposing form of Church government must be sent to them to save them. This kind of appeal in behalf of Bishop Southgate's Mission of an Episcopacy seems better adapted to produce infidelity than faith. It throws the truth upon Church government for its efficacy, instead of the Church upon Christ and the truth. It is, perhaps, the greatest compliment that could have been paid to the Missionaries of the American Board, and the best testimony to the power of God's simple Word as by them presented. Without any gorgeous ceremonies, or ostentatious organization of orders, to catch the favor of the soul, they have brought to bear upon the Armenians the foolishness of preaching in the simple doctrines of the Cross, without a word concerning any other government than that of Christ, and unincumbered by those human additions which, in a corrupt Church, have suffocated the soul. The true Church is the pillar and ground of the Truth, and these faithful men have preached the simple truth, and not the Church, and in so doing they have fulfilled the Church's whole vocation, holding forth, not the orders

of Church government, but the Word of Life in Christ and Him crucified. They have gathered a living Church, by preaching, not the Church, but the truth as it is in Jesus.

It is to these principles in reference to the Church of Christ, taught by the Spirit, the Word, and the Providence of God to our Puritan Fathers, that we owe the great external results accomplished by God's Providence through their instrumentality. No doubt it is to those principles. Nothing but a pure Church of Christ, built upon those principles, could have produced such results.

Our civil liberties have grown out of the freedom of the Church ; our representative system itself, with the habits of self-discipline and government necessary to support it, have sprung from the congregational independence of our Churches.

The elevation of the masses of the common people among us has been owing to the same ecclesiastical freedom, the same principles of independent thought and private judgment, made the habit of our Churches in reliance on the Word of God. Indeed, the Church of Christ in this country, with its primitive Scriptural principles, has made of the people of this country, but one common people.

A religious education is another of the great blessings that has come to us from the principles of the Puritans. It was a common possession and habit of the Puritan churches. In a Puritan family and a Puritan church there could be none other *than* a religious education. The Bible entered into everything ; the Bible was the rule of everything ; the Bible must be studied. Their Church principles of form as well as of the spirit threw them upon the Bible, them and their children. They felt as if God had spoken to them as to the Hebrews. "Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them to your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates." Educated as the Puritans were in the Scriptures, and in the most jealous reverence and love for them, as the foundation both of their civil and ecclesiastical privileges and blessings, they have bequeathed the habit of a religious education, and of the same enshrinement of the Bible in the heart, to all their descendants ; a habit, which no attempt was made to undermine, in any part of the country, till the Roman Catholics began, in the State of New York, an outcry against the Bible and the element of religion in our public schools, as a sectarian thing. But God be praised, the old Puritan habit is too strong for this infusion of Papal jealousy against the Bible to do much with it. The decision and

firmness of character, which marked our Puritan ancestry, are features of New England still; and New England schools and institutions have got their roots so entwined around the Scriptures, and imbedded in them, that under God's blessing all the miners and sappers of Romanism can do nothing to loosen them. And the habits that prevail in New England are, we would hope, increasing elsewhere; and the very attack and insidious effort of Romanism against a common religious education as sectarian, tends to awaken the sensitiveness and alarm of the Christian public on a point in regard to which the people had sunk into too sluggish a security. If we would keep our civil freedom, we must educate our children in the Scriptures. It came to us from the Bible; by the Bible only we can keep it. Like the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, it led our heroic ancestors through all the sufferings, discipline, and struggles, by which they established our liberties, and nothing else can preserve those liberties, or the spirit of them in their descendants. We must have a religious education; and if the cry of sectarianism frightens the State, then the Church must take it up, as she does the voluntary support of religion. In reliance on Christ alone she has advanced religion more than all State endowments in the world have ever done. In reliance on Christ alone, if compelled into it, she is able to do the same with education. She asks the appropriations of the government for a common school education; but if the condition of such help is to be an infidel exclusion of religious teachings, she abhors the treachery. It would be the death-warrant of freedom and religion to put her hand to such a covenant. There must be a religious education, or our life as a free people is ended. It is claims from other worlds, that have inspirited our star of liberty to rise, and other worlds alone can keep it above the horizon. No terrestrial expediency, nor infidel liberality, truckling to the cry of sectarianism, can save us. Our freedom is the product of celestial wisdom, and not a covenant with the powers of darkness, nor the child of a cunning policy; and celestial wisdom alone can keep it.

What came *from* heaven to heaven by nature clings,
And if dissevered thence, its course is short.

Another of the great blessings bequeathed to us by the Puritans and their principles, and a mighty result accomplished by the Providence of God through them, is that of the Christian Sabbath, sacredly observed in its purity. No language can tell the greatness of this blessing. A habit of regard to the Sabbath fixed as a feature in the character of a nation is one of the surest guarantees for its permanent prosperity. This is one of those hereditary habits, which the Puritans have transmitted to us as their legacy; a habit, when once fixed, very difficult to be eradi-

cated. We can hardly form an idea of the greatness of that step in the Puritan Reformation, by which the Sabbath was rescued from its almost universal profanation, and brought back as the possession of the Church of Christ. The Puritans suffered much in England in defence of its sacredness. They fought the battle nobly, and by God's grace and providence gained it, in spite of the Protestant Book of Sports, the Romish desecrations, and the lax principles on the Continent. They had a great trial in England, but in this country they had a virgin soil to put their seeds in. They could plant their institutions and principles clean and uncorrupted, and not amidst tares. They were not working with a people steeped for generations in the immoral teachings and indulgences of the Papal Church. Hence this great possession of a Scriptural Sabbath is ours in greater purity perhaps than with any other nation in the world. As we have it, so must we keep it, guarding against its corruption, whether from native insidious decays and profanations, or the importation of injurious foreign examples and principles. Keep we the Christian Sabbath, and God will make it the bulwark of our Zion, and the best protection of our civil state.

It is from a grand post of observation that we can now survey the course of great events, on the tide of which God carried the Puritans onward. In all probability there never has been a set of men since the time of the Apostles, honored of God with so mighty an instrumentality of good in our world, as those colonists of New England. They were the founders of a race, an empire, and an epoch. They formed a Church, the power of which is at this day felt throughout the whole world.

Obviously, as to the means by which the great designs of God in the planting and settlement of this country by Christian colonies may be carried towards their completion, as God began this great work *with* the Church, it must be continued *by* the Church. As our fathers were thrown upon God, so are we. Our fathers conquered, by seeking not their own, but the things that are Jesus Christ's. The mission of the Church, which they began to fulfil, we must continue. The habits of self-denial and fixedness for Christ, which made them strong, we must return to. Their reliance on the Word of God, and their jealousy against every corruption of it, must be ours. Vain is it for us to have received an inheritance from our Pilgrim Fathers, if we think to keep it without the Spirit of the Pilgrims.

By their struggles, liberty is *bequeathed* to us. We do not purchase it, as they did, by suffering; it comes to us as our inheritance, which the Fathers laid up for the children. Mark, now, the course of great possessions. The energy, the self-denial, the patience, the endurance, the hardy virtues of a disciplined nature, that gained them, are rarely bequeathed with them. These are

things that we *cannot* bequeathe. Men may give their children the title deeds of their houses, but they cannot of their virtues. And their children may have the ability to spend what they have laid up for them, without even so much virtue of nature and of discipline, as to gain one farthing of their own. The ability to spend is sometimes the only ability developed by those who inherit large possessions, without having been trained in the rigid qualities that are requisite to amass them. It may be so with us, in reference to the priceless blessings bought for us by the blood and toil, the prayers and self-denial of our ancestors. We seem now to be in the spending mood. There is a great spending ability developed in our rulers, and it is not, as yet, contradicted or restrained by the virtue, justice, and patriotism of the people. And our spendthriftiness begins to be developed in the most diabolical and fatal form ever invented by men's depraved passions. We have been plunged into a wicked, wanton, unnecessary war, the course of which makes us think of that sentence in the *Memoirs of Francis Spira*,—Man knows the beginning of sin, but who bounds the issues thereof? If we had been compelled to gather our patrimony of freedom and prosperity ourselves, by our own conflicts and sufferings, we should not now be spending our strength for the injury of others. There is nothing can save us from the destruction that overtakes the dissolute heirs of great fortunes, but a return to something of the uprightness and piety of our fathers. May God bring us back to that! It is as certain as that there is a God, that the blessings they have gained *for* us can be kept *by* us, only by the possession and exercise of something of their Spirit. May God thus turn the hearts of the children to the fathers, lest he come and smite our inheritance with a curse.

The re-perusal of the letters of Cromwell, and the observance of the extreme difficulty which even minds like Carlyle's and D'Aubigné's experience in overcoming the incredulity in regard to his true character, will make every lover of truth anxious that the works, on which we have slightly commented, may be studied in this country attentively. The octavo edition of Carlyle's work, from Messrs. Wiley and Putnam, presents an engraving of the face of the hero; a noble face, the features of one of England's greatest, noblest men, that ever were or will be. The Committee of Fine Arts connected with the new houses of Parliament in London determined, we are told, that amongst all the rulers of England, Oliver Cromwell should have no statue. In refusing the Protector a place of memorial in the Parliament, they seem to have done what, considering the difference in the times, is nearly equal to the farce of certain priests at the beginning of the fifteenth century in digging up the bones of Wickliffe,

and burning them. What is it to the master of this face whether the Parliament of England give him, or not, a statue or a portrait among the worthies marked with the stamp of State? Of what importance will it be as to the appreciation of his character by the people? The exclusion might once have been a blow; but who cares now?

Carlyle states the following problem. Given, a divine heroism, to smother it well in human dulness, to touch it with the mace of death, so that no human soul shall henceforth recognise it for a heroism. And Carlyle says that he will back our English genius against the world for working out such a problem, for truly great things have been done in that sort.

Put Carlyle's problem in the following formula, and "our English genius" itself will fail to work it. Given, the memory of a great ruler in the consciousness of the world, and in the hearts of his countrymen, to pit successfully against it a Parliamentary Committee of Fine Arts proscribing the statue of the man! Neither dulness, nor envy, nor dread of republicanism, nor the mace of death can do this, nor can do anything more in it, than make the proscribing Committee themselves assume the aspect of a viscous incapacity of flunkeyism (to adopt for the moment Carlyle's own idiosyncratical coinages of expression), so long as the transaction itself has a record in man's memory.

In battling against this dulness, misconception, ignorance, hatred, and proscription, in the "dull, dismal labyrinth of the past history of England, where centuries have rotted down, and gone confusedly dumb and quiet," Carlyle has achieved a piece of true heroism, almost as great as Cromwell's own conflicts. He has indeed performed a great work. For the first time he has taken the character of Cromwell out of the disfiguring bogs of history, and placed it in its indisputable integrity and truth, clearly before the whole world's vision. He has set the hero himself before us, speaking, acting, writing, in a simplicity, freedom, wholeness and nobleness of development, and perfectness of consistency, of which the world can show few other examples. Using Cromwell's own materials, the incontrovertible utterances and actions of the man, he has presented a portrait, in which, while its fidelity cannot be denied, is at the same time entirely a new thing in English biography and history. For, heretofore, "not men, but nightmares," have written and painted England's "Cromwelliad." In Carlyle's language, human writing, in reference to this period, and the great actor in it, has been the art of burying heroisms and highest facts in chaos. Out of this chaos the memory of Cromwell has loomed up like a horrifying Medusa spectre on the poor nations. Now, "like a Heaven's apparition, which it *was*, it stands radiant, beneficent, before all

hearts, calling all hearts to emulate it, with the recognition of it in a psalm and song."

The secret of this change is the apparition of truth instead of history. The continuous, unvarnished succession of a man's letters, speeches, actions, from the beginning of his appearance to his dying hour, must develop what he was, spite of all the glosses, entanglements, distortions and false colorings of history. Set forth the man in indisputable documents and events, which were the work of his own soul and body, and keep him in sight, himself speaking and acting, so that you lose him not behind the verbiage of the historian, or the clouds of historic speculation, or the supplies of conjecture and false coloring instead of fact, and you have a real life, a definable character, an undeniable existence, of the nature of which, you yourself, not the historian, are the judge. You, and the world with you, pass judgment, and what is it to you whether it be the judgment of the historian or not? You would not look into Hume to find the character of a man, whose life, conduct, and conversation you had been acquainted with.

The judgment of Cromwell's character no longer depends on a packed historic jury. Carlyle deserves a statue from England for showing so incontrovertibly that Cromwell deserved one. The greatest of all triumphs in this development, is the clearness, the consistency, the purity and depth of coloring, in which the Christian character of the hero comes into view, and remains supreme and unaltered, even to the close. If this, with D'Aubigné's *Vindication of the Protector*, be thoughtfully studied, the conquest of incredulity and prejudice is sure.

