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ART. I.—*The Works of Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellor of England. A new edition, with a life of the author, by Basil Montagu, Esq. in three Vols. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart. 1842.

IT is with unspeakable delight, that we hail the republication in this country, of Montagu's edition of Bacon's works. It is indicative of an improving literary taste, that the enterprising publishers could venture to publish so costly a work, of a kind so entirely different from the great mass of the literature of the day. And we cannot let the occasion pass, of again reverting to the Baconian philosophy. In two former numbers (July, 1840 and April, 1843,) of this periodical, we pointed out its method of investigation, its starting-points, its processes and its foundations. We will now take a general survey of its objects, and its spirit, and the power and influence which it has given to England, and is likely to exert over the human race.

In every age of the world, since the human family has been so numerous as to be divided into separate communities, some one nation has exerted a predominant influence over the rest. This appears to be the economy of civilization. The Grecian Republics, (for they all were but one nation,) and Rome, in their successive order in history, have, of all the nations of antiquity, exerted the most

important influence on the destinies of man. But, in modern times a new order of civilization has arisen; and for more than two centuries, England has stood at the head of this new order of things. Enthroned upon the riches of a universal commerce, enlightened by the knowledge of every science, armed with the power, and accomplished with the embellishments of every art—baptized into the spirit of Christianity, she is influencing and controlling the destinies of the human race towards a glorious consummation.

In the progress of this civilization, there have been three great revolutions, the religious, the philosophical, and the political. After the human mind had thrown off the coercive authority of the Romish Church, the moral authority of the ancient philosophers still remained; and what Luther did in the emancipation of the mind from the first, Bacon did in the emancipation of the mind from the last. Luther burnt the Pope's bull in 1520, and Bacon published his Novum Organum in 1620. The religious revolution, therefore, preceded the philosophical, and both of these, the political. Not, however, that these revolutions did not move on simultaneously; but, that in their progress, they were in advance of each other, in the order which we have indicated. Though they grew together they differed in maturity. Their crises were successive. Perhaps, the divine wisdom is displayed in this order of things—perhaps any other order is impossible in the moral economy of the world: it being necessary that the restraints upon man, should be thrown off, not all at once, but separately, as he advances in mental and moral improvement. These then, are the movements, which Europe has made in civilization. She has thrown off religious despotism, she has thrown off philosophical despotism, she has thrown off political despotism. And she has advanced to this position, through many a bloody agony. The treasures of the industry of ages have been spent, the chivalry of thousands of heroes, the studies by day and by night of scholars and philosophers, the genius of poets exhibiting in their compositions those actions which ennoble the soul, the patriotic and humane sentiments of orators clothed in the thunders of impassioned diction—all these have been spent in purchasing the civilization of modern Europe. It becomes then, an important inquiry to ascertain the character of the philosophy of that people, into whose keeping, so far as human agency is con-

cerned, the destinies of Europe have been confided in the progress of history, by divine providence.

Our object, therefore, in this article, will be, to pass over the religious and political revolutions, and even the literature of modern times, and confine ourselves entirely to the philosophical revolution which originated in England, and which is enacting so important an influence over the destinies of man, through the agency of that great people.

We propose, then, to sketch the rise and progress of the most wonderful philosophical revolution, and the most glorious in its results upon the pursuits and happiness of man, of any within the whole history of the world. We propose to give some account of the philosophy of utility—the philosophy of lightning rods, of steam engines, safety lamps, spinning jinnies and cotton gins—the philosophy which has covered the barren hills and the sterile rocks in verdure, and the deserts with fertility—which has clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and healed the sick—the philosophy of peace, which is converting the sword into the pruning hook, and the spear into the ploughshare. This is the philosophy of which we propose to give some account in this article.

It was Lord Bacon, who launched the human mind upon this new career of discovery. He is the great reformer, who stands at the head of the teachers of this philosophy. Physical nature seemed perfectly impenetrable to the acutest intellects of the ancients. They could not get over even the threshold of physical science. Indeed, they cannot be said to have had any natural philosophy at all; so absurd were all their doctrines about physical nature. Neither did the philosophers of the middle ages, with all their assiduity, succeed in exploring this field of knowledge. And, though the discoveries of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo and Tycho Brahe show that Providence was preparing the way for a new era in physical science, and even the discoveries of Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century indicate the same fact, yet it remained for Lord Bacon to generalize the idea which philosophers were beginning to see obscurely and in single instances, and to reveal to the philosophical world, what it had been prepared to comprehend:—That true philosophy must be connected with the sciences, that while it satisfies the highest faculties of the speculative intellect it may be applied to the physical wants, and the general well-being of man. That living as we do in a world where general and permanent laws obtain, and un-

der their dominion, it is the object of natural philosophy to ascertain these laws, in order that we may not, in our endeavours to promote our comforts, act against these laws, and thus attempt impossibilities; and also, that "these laws are not only invincible opponents, but irresistible auxiliaries." Bacon wished to make every power of nature work for man, the winds the waters, gravity, heat and all the mighty energies, which lie like the fabled giants of old under the mountains. These he wished to unloose from their fetters, and bring as servants under the dominion of man. Such are the grand conceptions which Bacon proclaimed to the world.

Scarcely had Bacon published his writings before they were republished upon the continent of Europe. The treatise De Augmentis was republished in France in 1624, the year after its appearance in England; and it was translated into French in 1632. Editions were also published in Holland in 1645, 1652 and 1662. The Novum Organum was thrice printed in Holland, in 1645, 1650 and 1660; and men of every cast in the higher walks of life on the continent of Europe were conversant with his writings. Gassendi, Des Cartes, Richelieu, Voiture, and at a later period Leibnitz and Puffendorf were loud in his praise. Indeed, his fame spread beyond the bounds of his own country, more rapidly than that of any philosopher within the whole history of letters. What an impulse, then, must the philosophy of Bacon have given directly and indirectly to the progress of the human mind upon the continent of Europe! for its advances there, have been made by pursuing the Baconian method of investigation. But let us see the progress of his philosophy in England, and cite some of the leading discoveries which have been made by the Anglo-Saxon race.

Not long after the death of Lord Bacon, in 1626, the Royal Society was established for the promotion of the sciences, and all England resounded with his praise. The philosophers of England almost adored his genius. They felt that he had a true English mind. That he was the father of English philosophy. That the English mind had at last given to it a method of philosophizing suited to its practical and common sense turn. And, behold the results written upon the glorious records of English philosophy!

In every department of physical science, England has made the leading discoveries; and other nations, though

their scientific labours have been so brilliant, have done little more than extend her researches and verify her theories. In physiology, the two greatest discoveries were made by philosophers of the British isle. Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, and published his treatise Exercitatio de motu cordis, as early as 1628. He was the cotemporary and intimate friend of Bacon. Sir Charles Bell discovered that there are two distinct sets of nerves, those of sensation and those of motion. And it is worthy of remark that both these great discoveries, so important to medical science, were discovered by considerations founded upon the evidence of final causes. Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, by reflecting on the use of those valves in the veins whose structure is such as to prevent the reflux of the blood towards the extremities. And Sir Charles Bell tells us in a note to his Bridgewater treatise on the hand, that the views taken of the nervous system in the chapter of that work on "Sensibility and Touch," where the uses and endowments of the different nerves are considered, guided him in his original experiments by which he established the great doctrine, that there are two sets of nerves pervading the whole animal system. Modern medicine also may be said to have arisen in England. Sydenham, who had maturely studied Bacon's writings, laid the foundation of the science of medicine by pointing out, both by precept and example, the true method of observing the symptoms of disease, and of applying curative means according to the natural indications. Since his time, medicine has, by the aid of its auxiliary sciences, made rapid progress: but still his works are of much value, even yet, on account of their profound general views. And John Hunter may be said to have originated the sciences of comparative anatomy and physiology, by bringing experiment into the study of these branches of knowledge, thereby showing how to lay open the great mysteries of the human organization. Surgical and medical pathology, which before his time were entirely conjectural, assumed from his principles a more positive character. In chemistry too, the greatest discoveries have been made in England. The laws of chemical combination, which are of so much practical as well as scientific utility, and are perhaps the most important discovery in physics, except the law of gravity, was discovered by Dalton. The composition of water, the knowledge of which is an element in so many chemical reasonings as to render

it one of the most prolific of chemical discoveries, was discovered by Watt, and confirmed or verified by Cavendish, who burnt oxygen and hydrogen in a dry glass vessel, when a quantity of pure water was generated equal in weight to that of the gases which had disappeared in the formation of the water. The doctrine of latent heat, which is so important a chemical truth, as to be the salient point of many chemical discoveries, was discovered by Dr. Black of Edinburgh. The discovery of the metallic bases of the alkalies and earths was made by Sir H. Davy, who contrived an apparatus to collect and condense the galvanic electricity, and thereby apply this powerful agent in chemical analysis. The fundamental truth of electricity was discovered by one speaking the English as his vernacular language. Franklin, by the beautifully simple apparatus of a kite having a key attached to the lower end of a hempen cord, and being insulated by means of a silken thread, by which it was fastened to a post, demonstrated that the electric fluid and lightning are identical. The kite was raised while a heavy cloud was passing over, and after some time, the loose fibres of the hempen cord began to bristle. Franklin touched the key with his knuckle, and the electric spark was received, and thereby the identity of electricity and lightning was verified. The fundamental truth of optics was also discovered in England. Newton discovered that a beam of light, as emitted from the sun, consists of seven rays of different colours possessing different degrees of refrangibility. This great discovery was made by darkening a room and boring a hole in the window shutter, and letting a convenient quantity of the sun's light pass through a prism. The light was so refracted by its passage through the prism, as to exhibit all the different colours on the wall, forming an image about five times as long as it was broad; instead of forming a circular image, according to the received laws of refraction at that time, and of a white colour, according to the nature of light as then understood. In order to ascertain the true causes of the elongation and colours of the image, Newton then placed a board with a small hole in it, behind the face of the prism and close to it, so that he could transmit through the hole any one of the colours, and keep back all the rest. For example, he first let the red light pass through and fall on the wall. He then placed another board, with a hole in it, near the wall where the red ray fell, so as to let it pass

through the hole in the second board, and then he placed a prism behind this board, and let the red light pass through it near the wall. He then turned round the first prism so as to let all the colours pass in succession through these two holes, and he marked their places on the wall, and he saw by their places, that the red rays were less refracted by the second prism, than the orange; the orange, less than the yellow, and so on, all being less refracted than the violet. From this experiment, Newton drew the grand conclusion that light is not homogeneous, but is composed of rays of different colours and of different degrees of refrangibility. But the greatest of all human discoveries, the universality of the law of gravity, the foundation of physical astronomy, was discovered in England. Copernicus had discovered the motion of the earth on its axis around the sun; Kepler, that this motion around the sun, is in an elliptical orbit, with the sun in one of its foci; and that an imaginary line drawn from the planet in its revolution, to the sun, describes equal areas in equal times; and that the square of the time that the planet takes in moving around the sun is equal to the cube of its distance from that body. This is the starting point where the discoveries of the English begin. It remained to inquire into the causes of these general facts which had been discovered by Copernicus and Kepler.

In the year 1666, Newton, while sitting alone in his garden and reflecting upon the nature of gravity which causes all bodies to descend towards the centre of the earth, considering that this power suffers no sensible dimunition at the greatest distances from the centre of the earth to which we can reach, being as great on the summits of the highest mountains as at the bottom of the deepest mines, conjectured that perhaps it extended further than was commonly supposed. He therefore began to consider what would be its effects if it extended to the moon. That the motion of the moon was affected by this power, he conceived to be beyond a doubt; and further reflection led him to suppose that this body might by this power be held in its orbit around the earth. For, though gravity suffered no sensible diminution at the comparatively small distances from the centre of the earth to which we can go, yet he thought it highly probable, that it was greatly diminished at the distance of the moon, and that it therefore did not cause that body to fall to the earth. And he inferred, that if the moon be held in its orbit by the principle of gravity

that the planets also must be held in their orbits by the same power; and that by comparing the periods of the different planets with their distances from the sun, he might ascertain in what proportion the power by which they were held in their orbits decreased. By this process he arrived at the conclusion that it decreased in the duplicate proportion, or as the square of their distances from the sun. In order then to test the truth of the conclusion, that the law of the force by which the planets are drawn to the sun, was that it decreased as the square of their distances from that luminary, he endeavoured to ascertain, if such a force emanating from the earth and directed to the moon was sufficient to retain her in her orbit. To do this, it was necessary to compare the space through which heavy bodies fall in a given time to a given distance from the centre of the earth, viz: to its surface, with the space through which the moon, as it were, falls to the earth in the same time, while revolving in a circular orbit; for in all his reasonings, he supposed the planets to move in orbits perfectly circular. At the time Newton made this calculation, he adopted the common estimate of the diameter of the earth, as then used by geographers and navigators, which was erroneous. Therefore his conclusions were erroneous also. Some years afterwards, the discovery that a projectile would move in an elliptical orbit, when acted upon by a force varying in the inverse ratio of the square of the distance, led Newton to demonstrate that a planet acted upon by an attractive force varying inversely as the square of the distances, will describe an elliptical orbit in one of whose foci the attractive force resides. But though Newton had thus established an hypothesis which explained the elliptical orbits of the planets, and this hypothesis was founded upon an induction of facts made by Kepler, and demonstrated by the application of mathematics by himself, yet an indispensable condition of the induction had not been fulfilled. He had not yet obtained any evidence that a force varying inversely as the square of the distance, did actually reside in the sun and planets; because his calculations for testing this, founded upon a comparison of the space through which heavy bodies fall in a second of time to a given distance from the centre of the earth, with the space through which the moon, as it were, falls to the earth in a second of time while revolving in a circular orbit, assumed an erroneous estimate of the diameter of the earth, as we have shown, and con-

sequently did not test what it was intended to verify; but showed that the force which retains the moon in its orbit as deducted from the force which causes the fall of heavy bodies to the earth; is as *one-sixth* greater than that which is actually indicated in her circular orbit. But M. Picard having in 1679 executed the measurement of a degree of the meridian, Newton afterwards deduced from it the true diameter of the earth, and trying his former calculation, he realized his expectations; and found that the force of gravity which regulates the fall of bodies at the earth's surface, when diminished as the square of the distance of the moon from the earth, to be nearly equal to the centrifugal force of the moon as deduced from her observed distance and velocity; and he thus fulfilled the fundamental condition of the inductive method of investigation, of always ascribing a cause known to exist, to explain an effect. By this course of reasoning Newton connected the physics of the earth with the physics of the heavens, and established the universality of the law of gravitation.

What more delightful employment can the speculative philosopher have than the grand contemplation of the discoveries which we have been considering! To one who loves truth for its own sake, and feels delight in the mere contemplation of harmonious and mutually dependent truths, the knowledge of such great truths are of sufficient value to repay him for the labour of discovery, even if they did not admit of any practical application. To know what it is that paints the beautiful colours of the rainbow, and covers the hills and valleys in green, and gives the delicate tints to the flowers which illuminate the fields; to know that the scathing lightnings which rush with such tremendous fury from the vast magazines of the heavens, is the same with the spark rubbed from the cat's back; to know that the water which we drink and which appears so simple, is composed of two gases, one of which is more combustible than gunpowder, and produces instant death when inhaled, and the other is the supporter of combustion, though the two united is the chief agent by which we extinguish fire; to know that the planets of such vast magnitude, and moving with such velocity through such boundless space are held in their orbits by the same force which causes an apple to fall to the ground; to know the times of eclipses and the returns of comets dashing with a velocity quicker than thought over millions of miles of space and returning

with unerring certainty to the goal whence they set out: and all the other wonders which natural philosophy reveals, must forever, as mere matters of intellectual contemplation, be considered as inestimable treasures. And the mere process of investigation according to the Baconian method, is one of the noblest and most delightful employments. The philosopher at almost every stage of his progress, is meeting with hints of greater things still undiscovered, which cheers the mind amidst its toil, with the hope of making still further progress; and new fields of discovery are continually opening in prospect and the light of his present discoveries throwing enough of their rays across the darkness before him, to reveal as much of other new truths as will stimulate him to continued exertion for their discovery; thus curiosity is ever kept alive, and exhausted energies renovated in the laborious pursuit of knowledge.

How utterly insignificant as mere matters of intellectual contemplation, is all the physical philosophy of the ancients in comparison with these magnificent discoveries in the different sciences! And what can form a more striking contrast than the sublime argumentation of Newton and the petty sophistry of the philosophers of the middle age! What are the eloquent reveries of Plato and the ingenious reasoning of Aristotle in comparison with the mighty mensuration by which Newton beginning with the dust on the balance measures the earth, and rising in the sublime argument measures planet after planet and weighing them, balances one against the other, and not content with holding as it were, worlds in the hollow of his hands, he measures and weighs systems of worlds; and his mighty calculus still not exhausted, he balances system of worlds against system of worlds, and embraces in his arguments the infinitude of the universe, until the words of the sacred poet, "he weighed the mountains in the scales and the hills in a balance," intended to describe the omnipotence of the deity, fall short in describing the power of one of his creatures. The wisdom of the Academy and the Lyceum have been overshadowed by the glory of Cambridge, and Greece yields to England in philosophical renown!

We see then, that as a mere matter of intellectual contemplation to satisfy the speculative mind, the Baconian philosophy is preëminently sublime. We will now show that it is also eminently practical; and in this particular, it differs from all the philosophy of the ancients, who thought

that the only use of philosophy, was in its influence upon the mind in elevating it above the concerns of life, and thus purifying and preparing it for the philosohical beatitude of their heaven, into which none, but philosophers were to enter; and that the practical affairs of life belonged to those of common endowments who are fated by destiny to be mere "hewers of stone and drawers of water." But far different is the spirit of the Baconian philosophy. Humbling itself before Christianity, it acknowledges it to be a revelation from heaven, pointing out the same way to future bliss, for the peasant and the philosopher, and that *it only*, has the power "to deliver man from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God;" and that though philosophy enlarges and elevates the mind and affords us unspeakable intellectual pleasure, yet that its chief office is to promote the general well-being of man in this life, by connecting the sciences with the arts, and arming them with a power which mere empiricism can never attain.

It is then the great excellence of the Baconian philosophy, that even those of its discoveries which have contributed most to the satisfaction of the speculative intellect and are apparently the most remote from everything like practical application to the comforts of man, have frequently been applied to the most useful purposes of life. The discovery of the nature of light by Newton, at once led him to attempt a practical application of it; and though nothing of importance resulted from his labours, yet Hall and afterwards Dolland constructed achromatic telescopes, which could never have been done, if the fact of the different refrangibility of the different rays of light had not been known; and this discovery, was thus applied to the arts in accordance with the utilitarian spirit of the Baconian philosophy. Scarcely had Franklin discovered the nature of lightning, before he constructed an apparatus to protect our buildings on land and our ships on the sea from the ravages of the electric fluid. And thus by a discovery apparently so remote from all practical utility he disarmed the spirit of the storm of his thunders, and thereby showed to the world that knowledge is power. But the most fruitful practical applications have been made of chemistry. It has been applied to agriculture, to medicine, and to the mechanical arts. By analyzing the nature of soils, and applying the principles thereby ascertained, to the improvements of agriculture, it has made the

most sterile waste so fertile, as to yield all the various fruits of the earth in the richest abundance. Where not a blade of grass grew, now the most abundant harvests gladden the sight, as they spread out in ocean waves over the fields where chemistry has shed its fertilizing dews. And by its magic power, chemistry has released the various medical agents which lie embedded in the innumerable vegetable and mineral products of nature, and handed them over to the healing art, to aid the vital powers in throwing off from the body the many diseases which prey upon man. And its application to the mechanic arts, has bestowed the richest blessings upon man. Sir H. Davy applied its principles in the construction of the safety lamp; by which man is enabled to walk with comparative safety in the bottoms of dark mines, with a light, amidst a gas more explosive than gunpowder, where, without this lamp, the miner is frequently exposed to as much danger as though he were walking in a magazine of powder with a lighted torch; and thus thousands of lives and millions of money are saved by this one application of science to art. But the crowning invention of all, the one which constitutes the chief glory of science in its application to art, is the steam-engine. A profound chemical knowlege applied by the most exquisite mechanical skill, enabled James Watt to bring the steam-engine, which had been invented by Savery and Newcomen, to a degree of perfection which renders it the most valuable of all inventions of art. It brings under the control of man, an agent more potent than a hundred giants, swifter than the Arabian horse, and capable of assuming more forms in mechanism, than a Proteus, so as to apply itself to all kinds of work. It can pull a hundred wagons as easily as one—perform one kind of labour as easily as another. It is on the ocean, it is on the rivers, it is on the mountains, it is in the valleys, it is at the bottom of mines, it is in shops, it is everywhere at work. It propels the ship, it rows the boat, it cuts, it pumps, it hammers, it cards, it spins, it weaves, it washes, it cooks, it prints, and releases man of nearly all bodily toil. This mighty agent is revolutionizing the world—annihilating time and space by its speed, and bringing the most remote parts of the earth together. And all this mighty power is gained by a scientific knowledge of the nature of the atmosphere which we breathe, and the water which we drink and applying this knowledge to mechanism, so as to make these so familiar objects work for man.

Here let us pause, and reflect upon the benefits conferred on England by the Baconian philosophy. It has made her the greatest nation in the world. It has done more to develop her wealth than all the legislation of all the statesmen who have adorned her history by their financial skill. It has given her hundreds of bushels of wheat, thousands of yards of cloths, and bestowed innumerable comforts, where without its instrumentality, there would have been but one. It has enabled her to extend her commerce over the whole earth, and bring into her treasury countless millions of wealth. And this commerce is the source of her great power, both in war and peace, and is the means by which she is controling the destinies of the world. And though her whole policy is to extend her commerce by cultivating the arts of peace, yet it is true, that she sometimes (and we abhor the wickedness of it) pushes her commerce by the thunders of her cannon into regions where ignorance forbids its entrance; but the people who are thus treated, will in time learn, that it is equally for their benefit, with that of England, that her trade is extended to their shores, and they will feel that peace is the true policy of the world, and that all men are mutually interested in each other's welfare and should live like members of one family. The commercial spirit of England is also the power which pioneers the way for the other great influences which she is exerting upon the civilization of the world. Her sciences, her arts and her literature are carried on the wings of her commerce over the whole earth. And the Christian religion is soon found smoothing the thorny pillow of the dying man, and pouring the balm of consolation over his drooping spirit, in every clime where British commerce has placed her foot.

But the Baconian philosophy is not confined to physical nature, as has been often asserted. It embraces all knowledge. Bacon expressly says that his method of investigation is intended to be applied to all the sciences. "Some may raise this question (says he) rather than objection, whether we talk of perfecting natural philosophy alone according to our method, or the other sciences also, such as logic, ethics, politics. We certainly intend to comprehend them all. And as common logic, which regulates matters by syllogisms, is applied not only to natural, but also to every other science, so our inductive method likewise comprehends them all." And in his advancement of learning,

where he defines the boundaries of the different seiences, he has devoted as much attention to the intellectual and moral scienees as to the physieal. But it is nevertheless true, that his labours were direeted ehiefly towards physical seienee, beeause, in this, there was the greater neeessity for exertion; as it was principally through ignoranee of this part of knowledge, that man was delayed in his eareer of civilization. And many, from the faet that Baeon has said so mueh about physieal nature, miseoneeiving the seope and spirit of his philosophy, have asserted that it is eonfined to sense, and is utilitarian, in the gross meaning of avariee, and that it necessarily leads to a selfish moral philosophy.

It has happened to Baeon, as to other philosophers, who have originated a new movement of the human mind, that the errors of many of his successors who claimed, and many who did not elaim to be his diseiples, have been eharged to his philosophy, as its legitimate fruits. The doetrines of Hobbs, and Hume, and Hartly, and others in England, and of Condillae, and Helvetius and D'Holbaeh and the host of infidels and atheists in Franee, have been again and again proclaimed as the legitimate and neeessary deduetions from the principles of the Baeonian philosophy. The doetrines of the philosophers just mentioned, resulted from these philosophers seizing upon some one only of the great prineiples of the Baeonian philosophy, and earrying it out to the wildest extremes, without modifying it by the other prineiples of the system, and are, therefore, at most, nothing more than the errors whieh necessarily result in the development of the Baeonian philosophy, and are not a part of that philosophy, but merely the exuviae thrown off from it as it passes through the proeess of development. Cieero, in his De Oratore, has remarked the very same thing of Soerates, which we are now remarking of Baeon. "For, as they all," says he, "arose from Soerates, whose discourses were so various, different, and universally diffused, that each learned somewhat that was different from the other; hence families, as it were, of philosophers were propagated, widely differing among themselves and vastly uneonneeted with, and unlike one another; yet all of them affected to be called, and thought themselves the diseiples of Socrates. For, in the first plaee, Aristotle and Xenoerates were the immediate seholars of Plato; the one of which was the founder of the Peripatetics, the other of the

Academics. Then from Antisthenes, who admired chiefly the patience and abstemiousness of Socrates in his discourses, arose first the Cynics and then the Stoics. Next from Aristippus, who was charmed with the sensual part of Socrates' discourses, the sect of the Cyrenians flowed, whose doctrines, he and his successors maintained without any disguise of sentiment. There were also other sects of philosophers, who generally professed themselves to be the followers of Socrates." We see then, that all the different sects of philosophers, who succeeded Socrates, the morose and abstemious Stoic, and the gay and voluptuous Cyrenian all claimed to be the true disciples of Socrates, and that Cicero says that their errors resulted from their seizing upon one principle only of the philosophy of Socrates, and losing sight of the other principles. The Stoics seized upon patience and abstemiousness, and the Cyrenians upon sensual enjoyments, both of which, when modified by the other, are correct principles, but when carried to extremes, each is wrong, and will lead to a false moral philosophy. Having thus indicated the source of the error which we are combating, we will now show that it is an error.

The position that the Baconian philosophy leads to a selfish morality, is maintained by many on the ground that the Baconian philosophy admits but one source of ideas, viz: sensation. The argument is, that within the sphere of sensation, there is no idea of right and wrong—that pleasure and pain are the only ideas furnished by sensation to denote the moral qualities of human actions, and that we approve of some acts, because they give pleasure, and disapprove of others because they give pain; and that, therefore, according to this theory of the mind, utility is virtue, and self-interest the ground of moral obligation. But in the April number of this periodical, we have shown that the Baconian philosophy admits two sources of ideas, viz: sensation and consciousness; and therefore this argument falls to the ground; because the ideas of right and wrong are developed in consciousness, and it is in consciousness, that the Baconian philosophy lays the foundations of morality, and not in sensation.

According to the Baconian philosophy, we must examine all the facts of man's moral constitution, and establish the fundamental truths of moral philosophy by psychological observation. Rejecting all innate moral principles or

notions, it appeals to experience, to both the light of nature and revelation. It therefore leaves man perfectly free to examine all the facts of his moral constitution, and to establish whatever system of morals, a sound induction may warrant, whether the selfish or the disinterested system. When then, we look into the heart of man, we there find certain instinctive affections, such as love, hope, fear, anger, pity and many others which are all certainly disinterested in their nature; as they seek their respective objects, by natural impulse or sympathy, without the mind's thinking of anything beyond, whether their satisfaction or disappointment will be agreeable or disagreeable. We also find in the mind, the power to distinguish moral good and evil. It is upon these attributes of our spiritual nature, that the Baconian philosophy founds morality. And the correctness of our moral philosophy will depend upon the enlightenment of our reason and the purity of our affections. That goodness is goodness, is hard to be perceived by the greatest intellects, if the moral feelings are corrupt. This is a truth written in blood upon the pages of history, by the swords of the conquerors of nations. If then, the psychological attributes upon which moral philosophy is founded, be in their nature disinterested, the principle of moral obligation must be disinterested. We see then, that according to the psychological facts, which the Baconian philosophy points out, as to the foundation of morality, that its principle is disinterested.

But some contend that the Baconian philosophy leads to a selfish morality, in a different mode from that which we have just examined. That it tends to corrupt the moral feelings by infusing into them, the spirit of selfishness, in directing so much inquiry into the development of the resources of physical nature; and thus making man to think continually about his physical comforts, and to place too much value upon the riches of this world. That the Baconian philosophy has done more than all other philosophies put together, to develop the resources of physical nature, and thereby to multiply the physical comforts of man, we have already shown; and so far from shunning this result, or wishing to conceal it, it has been the main purpose of this article, to exhibit the fact in all its amplitude, and to proclaim it as the chief glory of the philosophy which we expound. If such a result makes man selfish, then is the destitution of barbarism, better fitted to produce a sound

morality than the wealth of civilization. Then is man, clothed in skins, possessed of more generous sympathies, than when clothed in the comfortable fabrics of cultivated art; and his heart contracts to a narrower selfishness, when he accumulates wealth by millions, than when he saves it by mites. If these be true propositions, then, have we entirely misread human history. The fallacy of these conclusions, shows the falsity of the premises from which they are deduced. And it is evident, that the whole tendency of the Baconian philosophy is to elevate the condition of man. It enables him to supply his physical wants by a small portion of labour, and to devote his consequent leisure to the cultivation of science and art. And it dignifies and ennobles the employments which are devoted to the promotion of our physical comforts, by connecting them with the sciences. Under its influence, mechanics are no longer mere handicraftsmen, but are men of science, possessed of enlarged views of human advancement. The names of Watt and Fulton occupy the highest places amongst the benefactors of mankind; and are quite as fit to join that divine assembly of spirits, where Cicero, in his De Senectute, rejoices that he shall meet Cato, as either of these sages of antiquity.

But let us throw aside all speculation, and look to facts. Where is the nation that can boast a literature pervaded by a loftier morality than England? It is true that some of her writers maintain the selfish system of morals, and some the disinterested. But this has been the case at every era of philosophical development, in every nation of the civilized world. In morals, as in every thing else, men often bewilder themselves in the minuteness of analysis. Those who maintain the system of disinterested morals differ as to the basis of morals. One class referring our moral ideas to a special faculty, termed the moral sense, others to reason, and others to both the reason and the sensibility. And those who maintain the selfish system differ widely, also as to the basis of their principle. This is inseparable from the nature of the subject, for it is not purely a philosophical subject: but derives more of its light from revelation than from nature; and therefore, in attempting to ascertain the philosophical foundation of moral obligation, we shall often find our line too short to reach the bottom. The difficulties are inherent in the subject; and they have been more nearly overcome by the English than

any other people. And not only is the literature which has grown up under the influence of the Baconian philosophy pervaded by a lofty morality, but the people who have drunk most copiously at its fountains, and whose mental habits and moral principles have been formed under its influence, are distinguished by their disinterested benevolence. They dispense millions annually in charities at home; and their benevolent societies are healing the sick, clothing the naked, and feeding the hungry, and instructing the ignorant in every clime of the earth.

In examining this question, we must distinguish the commercial spirit of England, from her spirit of philanthropy. While the first toils by day and by night to accumulate wealth, the latter toils by day and by night to expend it in alleviating the sufferings of the afflicted of all nations, and kindreds, and tongues. How superficial and ignorant then, is the opinion so often expressed, that the Baconian philosophy leads to a selfish morality! We have shown the contrary, both by philosophical analysis and historical fact, which are the only two modes of proof of which any subject is susceptible.

The same class of thinkers who maintain that the Baconian philosophy is purely sensual, a mere pander to our animal comforts, maintain also, that it has no ideal, but is utterly inconsistent with all the arts of beauty. That its main object is to make money plenty in men's pockets; and that the spirit and style of its kindred poetry is exemplified in the following couplet:

> "A penny sav'd is two-pence clear,
> A pin a day 's a groat a year."

Let us examine the truth of this charge. The Baconian philosophy teaches that we should examine all the facts exhibited in our moral constitution; and as it recognises (as we have shown in the April number of this periodical) consciousness as clearly as it does sensation, as a source of ideas, it of course recognises all the sensibilities on which the science of aesthetics is based, and in accordance with its utilitarian spirit, teaches us to apply the principles thence adduced, to the arts of beauty. But it is useless to deal in philosophical analysis, when we have historical proof that the Baconian philosophy is consistent with the arts of beauty, in the noble productions of English literature; for the literature of every nation partakes of the nature of its philosophy, as the very charge which we are considering

assumes. Where then is there a nobler literature, than that which has been cultivated in the same soil and by the same people, with the Baconian philosophy? Shakspeare, who was the cotemporary and friend of Bacon, and whose productions are so signally marked with the common sense which, arising in the Baconian philosophy, pervades the whole of English civilization, stands at the head of the dramatic writers of the world. As though he had borrowed the magic wand of nature herself, he creates all beings with the same ease that she does, and fixes them in their appropriate employments, and plans and executes their different offices, with an exactitude which shows that every act proceeds from its natural motive, and every destiny from a plan of coincidents in exact conformity to the dispensations of Providence. The most dreadful passions are managed with as easy a conformity to nature, as the most gentle. Murder, with its ferocity and its relenting, its determination and its hesitancy, before it reddens its hands in blood, and its remorse, and its imaginative agony, after it has done the dark deed, is dramatized with as much perfection as if the poet had seen with his eye the naked heart of the murderer throbbing in guilt. And with equal ease, true love is presented in all its artlessness, whispering its affection in words as soft and simple and sweet, as the attic bee ever distilled upon the lips of a Grecian shepherdess; or else, sitting silent, under the restraining diffidence of a pure heart, "until concealment, like a worm in the bud, feeds upon her damask cheek." And jealousy, that monster of suspicion, to whom, "trifles light as air, are confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ," is presented in all his odiousness. And avarice standing by his bond, and humour holding both his sides, and every human passion are presented in ideal perfection. The dark, and awful, and mysterious abyss of the human heart is completely fathomed, and the poet sees by the light of Christianity, how fearfully and wonderfully it is made, and paints it, as with a pencil dipped in inspiration. And though Greece had her Homer, England has her Milton; and never since the angel's harps, which hailed the morn of the creation, has a nobler been strung than his. The angels sang the joys of life, Milton, the woes of death. And did a deeper melody, and fuller of the dirgelike sounds of woe, ever flow from the versification of poetry? Was the great epic of eternal death in all its horrors, ever before made a reality to the

living? Catching the sublime pathos of the old poets of Judea, and the fire and finish and copiousness of Greece, and transforming and subordinating all to the type of his own mighty genius, he has made a poem worthy of the great theme of the fall of man. The contrast between paradisaical innocence and happiness, and infernal wickedness and misery is presented in terrific reality. Such is the grace and beauty and loveliness of the first woman as she appears to the creative fancy of the poet, that he represents Satan, though with a bosom filled with the malice of hell, and intent upon the destruction of man, merely because man was innocent and happy, as captivated for a moment by her charms as he beheld her alone, amidst the rich shrubbery of Eden, enchanting the scene of bliss she moved in. But this exquisite sympathy of the poet for true loveliness, does not, for one moment, lead his judgment astray, so as to make him soften the character of Satan. For the unconquerable malignity and insatiable hate of the arch fiend, is depicted in all its dreadful deformity; and the horrors of hell are seen amidst the "darkness visible," in such horrifying import as to show that "there, hope never comes, that comes to all." The poet is always master of himself—is never overpowered by the sublimity, nor enchained by the beauty of his conceptions: but with the self-possession of a great artist, he sets forth every thing in its proper position, and in its proper character, and in language so expressive and so suited to every topic, as to place him perhaps at the very head of the great masters of diction. And Butler, in his Hudibras, has given to the world, the great epic of ridicule. With a fancy alive to the ludicrous, he has caught its minutest shades in every action of life, and presented them in an epic poem; and thereby the majestic epic becomes ludicrous. The conceptions of the poem are ludicrous, the language is ludicrous, and even the very rhymes. The poet, it is true, shoots keen shafts at his fellow-men, but they are dipped in the unction of good-nature, and not in the venom of malice. Such a poem opens the heart to the frailties of human kind, and makes us sympathize with the whole race, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, as we view their extravagances; and is therefore worthy a place amongst the great works of art. And Robert Burns, with his harp, whose golden touch sent forth tones so soft, and sad and tender, is heard amidst the choir of English poetry, reviving by his natural strains, the

youthful freshness of human feeling, and keeping in harmony, those delicately tuned chords of the heart, which in the trials of life are so apt to lose the sweetness of their primitive melody. But, we will not particularise further; for the English muse has sung of every theme in original strains; and has also proved the beauty, and strength, and copiousness and flexibility of the English language by translating into it the master-pieces of antiquity, and showed that the streams are almost as pure in these channels, as in their Grecian and Roman fountains. The prose literature of England also, is rich in its abundance of matter and excellence of style and the wide range of its topics. Her historians are superior to any of modern times, and perhaps equal to those of ancient. Her orators, as suited to the sphere of modern civilization, are equal to any in any period of human history. In profound views of human nature, in far insight into the policy of legislation, and in all the knowledge of statesmanship, English oratory is far before that of antiquity. And in the mere art, English oratory is not easily surpassed. In the choice of those topics, both local and general, which lead the intellect and the heart captive; and in the easy and shining fluency of narrative, the sparkling ripples of wit, the bold, and headlong and dashing cataracts of declamation, and the full, and swelling, and sweeping and overwhelming tide of argument, and the lightning's flash of suddenly provoked invective which illuminates the whole flood of speech, and falls mercilessly upon its victim, it may well compare with that of any nation ancient or modern. In criticism also, whether exegetical or purely rhetorical, English literature is highly distinguished. And as a specimen of historical criticism, there is nothing so ingenious, so original, so masterly, so triumphant and so to be marvelled at, as Paley's "Horae Paulinae." It is a wonder of ingenuity—a miracle of logical acumen. Facts in the epistles of Paul, which, separately send forth a mere glimmer of light, and which are apparently so unconnected as never to be at all associated in thought, by even careful readers, are selected and brought together in logical order, and the feeble lights of each are so concentrated upon the fact sought after, and the fact is so illuminated in every point, that you can no more doubt of its truth, than you can of the reality of day, when the sun ascends the meridian. In fiction too, what literature can compare with the English? How many thou-

sands of all cultivated nations, have been charmed by the magic writings of Walter Scott! The young and the old, the learned and the ignorant, the wicked and the pious, have all been carried along on the enchanting tide of his narrative as it flowed from its exhaustless fountain, through the ever-varying scenes of an epitomized world, and all have been equally delighted with the wonderful exhibition. Such then, is the literature, laden with so many masculine beauties, which has been cultivated in the same soil and by the same people, with the Baconian philosophy. How erroneous then is the opinion, that the Baconian philosophy has no ideal, but is confined to sense, and leads to a mean literature.

While answering the charge just considered, we have admitted that the literature of every nation or epoch partakes of the nature of the philosophy of that nation or epoch; because it is a well-established historical fact, and is in truth, nothing more than the exhibition, by a people, of the same bent of mind in literature and philosophy. The common sense of the Baconian philosophy is manifested throughout every department of English literature. The characters in Shakspeare's plays are not mere personified qualities like the persons in an allegory: but are real men and women, such as we meet with in the world, actuated by the same diversity of motives and seeking the same objects. For example, murder, and avarice, and jealousy and humour are not exhibited each in some metaphysical creature, which has no other passion than the one exemplified, but in real characters, which can sympathise with the circumstances of real life, and are at times under the influence of all the other passions of man, as their various situations call them forth. Murder is exhibited in Macbeth, avarice in Shylock, jealousy in Othello, and humour in Falstaff, who are all men full of the common sympathies of humanity. It is true, Shakspeare also created such characters as Calaban; but this was merely a wayward freak of his genius. And the same characteristic is exhibited in the writings of Milton. His fiends and angels are not mere metaphysical abstractions; but are men exaggerated into superhuman greatness. Though Satan does not appear "less than archangel ruined," still he appears like a wicked man of superhuman powers. And the angels appear such as we may imagine good men may become in a world where all their powers are strengthened. This like-

ning of spirits to men, we are well aware has been censured by some critics as a great impropriety, and the Mephistophiles of Goethe, which is a metaphysical incarnation of sin, has been reckoned a finer delineation of the spirit of wickedness than the Satan of Milton. But this criticism, we apprehend, is founded in a misconception of the nature of the poetic art, whose province it is to seize upon practical criterions, and not upon speculative—to deal with realities, and such things as can be made so much like realities, as to awaken the common sympathies of the human heart, and not with metaphysical abstractions—to be like Shakspeare, and not like Goethe, like Robert Burns, and not like Coleridge. But be this as it may, Milton has certainly taken a common sense view, and not a metaphysical one, of his great theme, and thereby showed the national trait of his mind. And Butler has taken a common sense view of human nature in his great poem. Hudibras, with all his solemn fanaticism and ludicrous folly, is still a man; and so of every other character. And as to the poetry of Burns, it expresses more of natural feeling, such feeling as all men have, than that of any poet known to history; and we cannot but consider it a favourable omen of sound taste, that his poems have lately been translated into German, though we must confess that his simple muse must cut rather an awkward figure in the coarse fabric of German diction. But it is useless to dwell upon this topic; for all the late writers upon the history of literature on the continent of Europe, have made special reference to the fact that English literature is pervaded by a vein of common sense. The English have even examined the evidences of Christianity according to the principles of the inductive method, or of common sense. Butler in his analogy, has drawn conclusions as to the truth of Christianity from the analogy which exist between it and the course of Providence as exhibited in nature; which is as strictly an inductive process, as any used in the investigation of natural philosophy.

But there is a still graver charge brought against the Baconian philosophy. It is said to lead to materialism and atheism. DeMaistre, in his commentary on the philosophy of Bacon, says: "Every line of Bacon conducts to materialism: but in no part has he shown himself a more skilful sophist, a more refined, profound and dangerous hypocrite, than in what he has written on the soul." And

Schlegel, in his history of literature, says: "The philosophy of sensation which was unconsciously bequeathed to the world by Bacon, and reduced to the shape of a regular system by Locke, first displayed in France, the true immorality and destructiveness of which it is the parent, and assumed the appearance of a perfect sect of atheism." In the April number of this periodical, in the article on psychology, we showed that the Baconian philosophy recognises the testimony of consciousness as fully as that of sensation. If this be so, how can that philosophy lead to materialism? Consciousness tells us that the soul is not material; for we are certainly conscious that its attributes are not those of matter. Sensation informs us of the material world, consciousness, of the spiritual world, and we have no right, according to any rule of evidence or logic, to predicate in the way of philosophical affirmation, any idea derived from the material world, of the objects of the spiritual world; because the qualities or attributes of spirit we get from consciousness, and we cannot predicate any quality of it, but what is ascertained by consciousness, and vice versa. We have no evidence, therefore, that the soul is material; because its nature is derived from a source of knowledge, from which not one idea relative to matter is derived. The Baconian philosophy, therefore, admits the same amount of evidence in favour of the immateriality of the soul, that the most transcendental philosophy does; and therefore rests upon the same foundation in this particular.

And so far from the Baconian philosophy being atheistical, Bacon has defined the boundaries, and pointed out the nature of the evidence upon which natural theology rests upon the principles of his philosophy, with admirable precision. And no nation has cultivated natural theology with such assiduity and success, as the English. The more the Baconian philosophy has been cultivated, the more has natural theology advanced. It is in fact the boast of this philosophy, that it has revived the study of natural theology, after it had been abandoned and scouted by the philosophers of the continent of Europe, as an unprofitable study. "It gave a particular pleasure to Sir Isaac Newton," (says Maclaurin in his account of the writings of Newton,) "to see that his philosophy had contributed to promote an attention to final causes, as I have heard him observe, after Des Cartes and others had endeavoured to banish them." And where is the great work of Paley?

the two first chapters of which approach as near to the certainty of mathematical demonstration, as it is possible for moral reasoning to do. The evidences of natural theology pass through the achromatic mind of the author, without being discoloured by prejudice or passion, and paint upon his pages, their doctrines with all the life and precision of daguerreotype. And yet there never was a mind more thoroughly imbued by the philosophy of sensation, as Schlegel calls it, than Paley's. And the Bridgewater treatises have brought all the discoveries of the Baconian philosophy to prove and illustrate natural theology. And Bishop Butler even in his day, considered natural theology as so well established in English philosophy, that he assumed its truth as the foundation of his great work on the analogy between natural and revealed religion. So we see that in English philosophy, revelation, natural theology and physical science, are united in perfect harmony, proclaiming with one voice that there is a God.

Such then is the character of the Baconian or English philosophy: it embraces every thing that is sublime in speculation, useful in practice, lofty in morality, beautiful in art, and reverential in religion.

We now feel ourselves free to declare, that Bacon has done more to advance the progress of the human mind than any uninspired man known to history. There are no writings in the whole of literature, which take so profound a view of human nature, and point out so exalted a destiny for man, as his. With a philosophical forecast unparalleled in the world, he has given anticipations of some of the greatest discoveries of modern science. Even the law of gravity is conjectured, and its application to the explication of the tides of the ocean is distinctly stated. And his philosophy possesses within itself the principle of perpetual progress; for, it is not like the ancient philosophies, confined to speculative principles, from which an explanation of all things is to be deduced, and as these principles are in time found to be incapable of explaining the phenomena of nature, the ancient philosophies all sink into skepticism and become extinct, but it is commensurate with the phenomena of the universe, as it deals with phenomena, and deduces its principles from them, and not them from its principles. It is, therefore, not like the ancient philosophies, a means of culture and progress for one people or epoch only, exhausting itself upon that people or epoch, but it is the means of cul-

ture and progress for all the nations and periods of the world. The nations which have been most under its influence have risen superior to all the rest of the human family, and have advanced progressively, and their speed is daily accelerated, to a degree of intellectual development, moral superiority, and political power, which seem to indicate that it is destined to form the type of the civilization of a greater part, if not of all of the human race. And that this progress is likely to be perpetual, is also indicated by the fact, that England, the nation which has most assiduously cultivated this philosophy stands at the head of modern civilization, and is not only the great progressive and regenerative nation of modern times, but is also eminently conservative, possessing in happy combination the elements of both progress and stability. She never loses sight of ancient landmarks in her progressive movements. How often, for example, has she thrown her conservative influence over the troubled waters of European politics, even when the commotion received its first impulse from the influence of her own principles of government! Scarcely has a quarter of a century elapsed, since she exerted all her power to rescue Christendom from political and moral ruin, brought about by a revolution with which at first she sympathized strongly. And it seems, at this distance of time from the event, that if it had not been for her, all Europe would have retrograded in civilization. During the awful storm of the French revolution, when almost every government of Europe lay a wreck upon the tremendous tossings of the political waters, a gleam of hope still broke across the scene, as the wise men of the earth turned towards England.

We have, therefore, strong reason to hope, that the Baconian philosophy sanctified by the spirit of Christianity, will pour its sanative floods over all the earth, and bring back all nations from the delirious wanderings of the transcendental philosophy, to walk in the plain and sober paths of common sense.

Arch'd Alexander

Art. II.—*Universalism Renounced, Exposed; In a series of Lectures, Embracing the Experience of the Author, During a Ministry of twelve years. And the Testimony of Universalist Ministers to the Dreadful Moral Tendency of their Faith.* By Matthew Hale Smith. Boston: Published by Tappan & Bennet. New York: Dayton & Newman, Saxton & Miles. Philadelphia: Perkins & Purvees. pp. 396.

Since every benevolent mind rejoices in the happiness of every fellow-creature, it may seem strange, at first view, that serious people, generally, are so intolerant of the doctrine which teaches that all the rational creatures of God will be ultimately happy. The true explanation of this paradox will be found in the narrative contained in this volume. The moral tendency of the doctrine is uniformly evil. It is not embraced from feelings of benevolence, but from a disposition to remain undisturbed in the love and practice of iniquity. The embracing of the doctrine of universalism requires, also, that we should divest ourselves of reverence for the plain teachings of the holy scriptures; for it can be supported only by a forced construction of innumerable passages, which seem to hold forth the opposite doctrine; and no clear testimonies can be found in the Bible favourable to the doctrine of universal salvation. Now it is the disposition of pious minds to venerate the holy scriptures, and to receive whatever they plainly inculcate, even when it may be contrary to what appears to them most reasonable; for they are conscious that their own reason is a blind guide in matters of this kind. They have learned, therefore, to submit their reason to the plain declarations of God; believing that what appears to them dark and mysterious, may nevertheless be right and true; and that their difficulties arise from the imperfection of their knowledge of the plan of the Almighty.

But the objection to this doctrine which strikes the serious mind with the greatest force is, that it renders piety and a holy life unnecessary. It levels all important distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and thus darkens and confounds all our clearest perceptions of the moral character of God, and goes far to nullify his moral government. For, according to this theory, whether a man

has repented of his sins, and spent his life in acts of piety and beneficence; or has continued in open rebellion, and dies with blasphemies on his tongue, and with his hands red with the blood of his fellow-creature, maliciously shed, he is to be admitted to the bliss of paradise. Now a doctrine which thus confounds the distinction between the righteous and the wicked, and allots the same reward to the obedient servant and the haughty rebel, never can be received as from God, by men of a serious temper. Hence the opposition given to the doctrine of universal salvation, by all pious persons, of every Christian denomination. Even the Pagan religions made a wide difference between the condition of good and bad men, in the world to come. The first they assigned to Elysian fields, where they enjoy every delight; and the latter to the dark regions of Tartarus, where they are tormented by every species of punishment. And the Mohammedans believe firmly in the doctrine of everlasting punishment, which, according to the Koran, will be the portion of all unbelievers.

If the doctrine of future and eternal punishment had not been clearly taught in the Bible, it would never have been so generally received by Christians, as it has been from the beginning; none having ever called it in question in the successive periods of the Christian church, but a few speculative persons; so that until very lately, it formed no part of the creed, even of any sect of heretics, much less of any branch of the true church. Now, this universal consent in receiving an unpalatable doctrine, can never be accounted for on any other principles than that it is clearly taught in the scriptures of truth. And that the doctrine of endless punishment is thus clearly taught in the Bible, is so evident, that we may challenge all who impugn it, to invent any forms of speech which would exhibit this doctrine more emphatically than those which are used by the inspired writers. The exceptions taken by Universalists to the common import of the words and phrases employed, are of no force, and have so little plausibility, that they scarcely deserve a serious consideration; and would never have been resorted to, but by men determined, at all events, to support a favourite theory. It is, however, no part of our object, in this review, to argue a point, which has been so fully and ably discussed by others. The proof is evident enough, if prejudice would permit deluded men to open their eyes to see it. Our object is to introduce to our read-

ers, the experience of a man educated in the school of universalism, and for many years, one of its ablest advocates: but who, by his own reflections and observation, has been convinced of the fatal tendency of this doctrine; and who has, accordingly, renounced it; and now preaches the scripture doctrine, which he once laboured to destroy. The narrative throughout is interesting and instructive: and we shall therefore, for the most part, permit Mr. Smith to speak for himself, and in other cases, will do little more than abridge the history which he has made public. We wish to draw particular attention to this volume, as we are of opinion that it will do more to bring into discredit the pestiferous doctrine of universalism, so industriously propagated by many, than any publication which has appeared for a long time past.

Mr. Smith, in his first lecture, has given us a particular narrative of the several steps by which he was led to renounce universalism, and embrace the orthodox system of belief. As his experience was of a very interesting kind, we are persuaded that our readers will be gratified to have the substance of it transferred to our pages.

"My acquaintance with universalism enables me to speak advisedly in relation to its practical tendency. An experience of years with the system and its friends, a settlement over one of the largest congregations of Universalists in the country, and an extensive acquaintance with the preachers of the system in all parts of the country, fit me to bear an intelligent testimony as to that system, and to state what I know and have seen.

"In discoursing upon universalism, I presume to speak as one familiar with my subject. Its doctrines I learned in childhood. Its arguments I wielded while I had confidence in them; and only resigned them when I was convinced that they were unsound. Its moral tendency I know too well; its influence upon man, and the best good of man, I have repeatedly seen. And it is but just to say that its results are uniform; one tendency distinguishes it; it bears one kind of fruit; it every where is peculiar for one sort of influence; and is ever characterized by the same results. Describe its triumphs in one place, and you describe them in all. Exhibit its tendency in one case, and you have a picture of the system everywhere.

"I feel most forcibly the peculiar circumstances under which I speak. I am expected to exhibit reasons which have led me from a defence of, and a belief in, universalism. My doubts touching the truth of universalism were not of my own seeking. They came unbidden, and were unwelcome. I had no desire to leave universalism. It was bound up with my earliest associations. Nearly all my relations and acquaintances were of that faith. For it I felt the highest attachment, and my desire was to live in its defence, and die in its embrace. And I cannot describe my wretchedness when I found myself surrounded with doubts, and my system opposed by difficulties, that I could not remove. Against my wish, I was compelled to listen to those difficulties and objections. And when I sat down to remove them, I arose from my work convinced that the attempt had only added to the number, and increased my labour.

"This to me was a source of very great anxiety and trouble. Conflicts before unknown assailed me. Distrust, fear, and perplexity, multiplied on each side, and well nigh overcame me. And when I finally abandoned universalism, the step was not a hasty one. The conflict cost me almost my life. Nor was it for want of determination or desire on my part, that these difficulties were not removed, and my mind set forever at rest on my former faith. But no relief or comfort could I gain until my refuge of lies was abandoned, and I, as a penitent, sought, and, as I trust, obtained mercy at the foot of the cross of Christ."

The change in the sentiments of our author will appear the more remarkable when it is considered, that he was imbued with the errors of universalism from his very infancy; and that from his earliest years he had imbibed the strongest prejudices against the truth as it is in Jesus. But it is best to let Mr. Smith tell his own story. "I never," says he, "enjoyed early religious instruction. In my father's house there was no family altar; no voice of prayer was there heard; no reading of the Bible as an act of worship. I never enjoyed the benefit of Sabbath school instruction. I have no recollection of having ever passed a night in my life, until I was more than twenty years of age, in a house in which there was family prayer and reading of the Bible, as an act of religious worship.

The corrupt and ruinous sentiments which from such an education he imbibed, are distinctly set forth in the following narrative.

"My earliest recollections as to religion are identified with universalism. My first impressions upon the subject are very distinct at this hour. I thought the gospel was designed simply to teach that men would not be damned; that, however men died, God would make all equally happy at death; that the Bible, besides this, taught little else that was important or interesting, and, on the whole, was rather a dull book. The Sabbath I was taught to regard as a day of rest from toil, but not from sport; and no one who had influence upon my childhood interposed any restraint from my doing my own pleasure upon the holy Sabbath. When I was six years of age, my father embraced the doctrine of universalism, and became a preacher of the system. Nearly all that I heard upon the subject of religion, was favourable to universalism; nearly all my relatives were of that faith: and almost all my acquaintances received the same sentiments. Very early I imbibed a hatred toward all systems that differed from this. So soon were the seeds of error planted in my heart—seeds watered by impure counsels and hurtful instructions."

About the age of sixteen, he fell under the influence of some serious concern about his own salvation, but by erroneous opinions received from those around him, those impressions were removed without issuing in any salutary change. He deliberately adopted the doctrines of the Universalists in his seventeenth year, and resolved to become a preacher, in connexion with this society. Having been ordained to the ministry, by Universalists, he took charge of

two congregations in Vermont, where he laboured zealously and assiduously to propagate the faith of this corrupt sect. But from the very outset, he says, "I was mortified at the result of my ministry, and pained with what I saw in those who were loudest in their professions of regard for the "blessed doctrine," as universalism was usually called. I saw none of the reform which I expected would attend my preaching; no moral reformation, though none needed it more than my personal friends; no changes for the better; though I saw many changes for the worse." What he says also of the kind of hearers who attended his ministry was not singular, but may be taken as a specimen of Universalist congregations, we suspect, throughout the land. "I was," says he, "praised in the bar-rooms, and my health drank in almost every tavern in the country. On the Sabbath my congregation came direct from the tavern to my meeting, and went directly back to the tavern after the meeting."—"While those who attended my ministry were called the liberal party, I knew that most of them were profane men; a large portion were open disbelievers in the inspiration of the Bible; and nearly all had been peculiar for their habits of Sabbath violation, passing the day in business or pleasure." One of his most zealous followers, who would go to a neighboring town to hear him preach, and who was then engaged in a controversy with a Methodist clergyman, on this subject, would spend the Saturday night in gambling with a set of young men, whom he would invite next day to accompany him to meeting. This man was also an officer in the Universalist society. Wherever he preached he found his hearers of the same character. This led him to serious reflection. How, he thought, could his faith be correct, and yet be followed by such fruits. Often in the hours of silence and solitude, the secret inquiry would arise, "Does good attend your labours? Are men made better by them? Do profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, intemperance, licentiousness, fly at the approach of your faith, and cease when it spreads? Do religious fear, godliness, holiness, distinguish its reception among men? What good are you accomplishing? Who is made happier or better by your ministry?" Such suggestions rendered him unhappy, but did not yet shake his faith. This he still thought was good, though men were bad; the fault he attributed to the professors, not to the doctrine itself. From Guilford, in Vermont, he removed his residence to Hartford, Connecticut, but found no change for the better

in his hearers; and experienced no relief from the anxious thoughts that harassed his mind, respecting the moral tendency of his preaching. About this time he rejected the doctrine of ultra-universalism, that there is no future punishment for the impenitent, and adopted that of those who believe in a punishment of limited duration. This doctrine, the Bible seemed to him plainly to teach. After making this alteration in his creed, he accepted an invitation to settle as pastor of the Universalist society in Salem, Massachusetts. He now began to feel that the same arguments by which he endeavoured to defend the doctrine of future limited punishment, against the ultra-universalists, might be employed in favour of endless punishment. In the Bible, he could find no intimation, that the future was to be a state of probation. But on the contrary, many plain declarations of scripture seemed to confine the offers of salvation and the means of grace, to the present life. And it occurred to him, that if one man could be saved by suffering the punishment due to his sins, then, on the same principle, all might be saved, by enduring the penalty of the law; and thus the sufferings of Christ were in vain. Besides, as punishment, according to the Universalists of every class, is only for the benefit of the culprit, he was unable to avoid the force of the argument derived from the fact, that men would sin in the future state, and thus be incurring a new obligation to suffer, continually; for he saw that if to evade this conclusion he denied that they would sin, then there could be no reason for their punishment; since they were already free from sin.

As Mr. Smith wished to be an honest man and not a deceiver, his situation became now exceedingly wretched. He was convinced that the most popular arguments used in favour of universal salvation were sophistical, and that many texts of scripture which were employed to prove this doctrine, had no relation to the subject; yet he was unwilling to give up his favourite theory. He was aware, too, that there were many strong texts opposed to the doctrine, the force of which could not easily be set aside. A distressing state of doubt and anxiety ensued, from which he found no relief but by turning away his mind from the painful subject. This state of mind led to a great change in his method of preaching. Instead of dwelling on the proofs of Universalism, as he formerly had done, he now seldom adverted to the final destiny of man, but preached

for the most part, on the practical duties of life. This change was soon noticed by his hearers, and was by no means satisfactory to them; and of which they were not slow to complain. It was alleged, that a stranger by hearing his discourses would not be able to discover that he was an Universalist. They therefore urged him to preach over his old sermons, under the pretext, indeed, that his health was bad, but really, that they might hear more than they had lately, of their favourite doctrine of universal salvation. On one occasion, resolved to decide the point, and settle it forever, he preached a sermon, in which he arrayed in defence of universalism all the arguments he could muster, and presented them in the strongest form he was able. But this desperate effort to remove his doubts proved unsuccessful. His people, indeed, were greatly pleased, and requested a copy of the discourse for the press; but instead of complying with their wishes, he committed it to the flames. His situation at length became so exceedingly painful, that he resolved to resign his charge, and accordingly addressed a letter to the committee of the society, in which he candidly stated, that his views not being coincident with theirs, and not being able to act any longer in concert with Universalists, he felt it necessary to offer his resignation. They urged him to take back this letter, and to re-consider the subject; and at any rate, to continue his labours among them for a few weeks. Upon this, he determined to review the whole subject, and accordingly collected all the threatenings of the Bible and all the arguments which he could think of, opposed to universalism; and then all the texts and arguments in favour of the doctrine, and resolved impartially to weigh them, and abide the result. From this investigation he arose fully convinced, that universalism was supported neither by reason nor revelation, and that it was as as false in theory as destructive in practice. But whilst he had come to the conclusion that his former opinions were erroneous and dangerous, he had received no satisfactory views of the doctrines of the gospel; so that he no longer knew what to preach. "For the system of doctrine usually denominated orthodox," says he, "I had the most perfect contempt. Language does not enable me to express the abhorrence in which I held it. If I ever detested any thing it was the doctrines of the cross. The clergy who defended them I thought to be narrow-minded, bigotted, and on many important subjects, very ignorant. The people who pro-

fessed those doctrines, I regarded as a poor, infatuated class of men, duped and blinded by their leaders, and as having little comfort in this world, and little hope, if any, in the world to come." Of course, he could have had no inclination to attach himself to people so thoroughly despised. Up to this time, the investigation had been purely intellectual; a mere question of the truth or falsehood of a particular theory of religion. But now his attention began to be turned to his own personal piety; and the question, 'whether he had ever experienced that change which the Bible declared to be essential to salvation,' began deeply to interest him. His want of religious knowledge and of religious associates rendered his condition very uncomfortable. He knew not whither to turn, or to whom to apply himself. Rejected and reviled by his old friends, he had no acquaintance with any others from whom he could seek advice and direction, in the trying circumstances in which he was placed. It is not wonderful, therefore, that his health gave way, and medical aid was sought. His physician, to whom he found it necessary to disclose the feelings which harassed his mind, recommended to him to apply to some religious person in whom he could confide; as, continuing to endure the mental agony which he suffered, would be attended with imminent danger. Having, while a resident in Hartford, some acquaintance with the Rev. Dr. Hawes, of that city, and feeling confidence in him as a man and a Christian, he resolved to write to him. Accordingly, as he says, "with much prayer and many tears," he wrote a letter to the reverend clergyman before named, in which he briefly represented his unhappy condition; and to which, in a few days, he received an answer replete with sympathy and good counsels. This kind and seasonable letter greatly affected his mind, and had a happy effect on one who felt himself shut out from all religious society. But still his mind was not at ease. The sense of his sinfulness increased, and his sins were so set in order before his conscience, that he felt convinced, that unless relief was obtained from the cross, he "must perish, and perish most justly." But though relief did not come speedily, it came at last. His wounded, lacerated soul was made to rejoice in the mercy of God as manifested in Christ, so that he had "gladness in his soul and praise upon his lips."

During all this time, Mr. Smith had made no communication of his mental agonies and distresses to his wife, who,

like himself, had been educated in the belief of the truth of universalism. At length, however, he determined to unbosom himself to her, expecting nothing else but that she would feel sore disappointment and deep mortification. But to his astonishment, she expressed much satisfaction, on account of the change in his views; for she herself had for a year been fully convinced, "that universalism was an error, and had renounced it." The conduct of the ministers who frequented the house, was the occasion of her change of sentiments. She was persuaded, that a system which had such advocates could neither be true nor profitable. Though unaided by external helps, she had enjoyed communion with God in her closet, and had found the Saviour precious, but had concealed her feelings from her husband, because she apprehended the communication would render him unhappy.

In June, 1840, Mr. Smith was received by the orthodox church of Salem, Mass., into its communion; having first publicly professed his faith in the doctrines of grace, and assigned his reasons for renouncing universalism. But before the day arrived on which he was to join with the people of God in celebrating the love and death of Christ at his table, disease seized upon him. His mind, so long perplexed, and burthened with agonizing cares, lost its balance, and, in a state of delirium, he wandered from his home. Weeks of suffering, bodily and mental, ensued. In this state of weakness, his mind began to vacillate. Doubts respecting the doctrines of the gospel, and particularly, respecting the perpetuity of future punishment, obtruded on his mind, rendered imbecile by disease and melancholy. It began to be now rumored that he had returned to universalism; and great was the triumph of the abettors of this cause. In these circumstances, he formed, wisely, the purpose to leave Salem for a season; and recollecting the kind sympathy manifested towards him by Dr. Hawes, and knowing his ability to give him good counsel, he went directly to his house, in Hartford, where, for several weeks, he was hospitably entertained, and treated as if he had been a near relative. Here his health returned, his mind became again decided, and his purpose fixed. And he, gratefully, has published the opinion, that if ever he should be of any use in the church of Christ, it will be much owing to the friendly attentions, the judicious instructions, and the Christian sympathy of Dr. Hawes, his kind family, and affectionate church.

On the last Sabbath in the year 1840, both he and Mrs. Smith joined in communion with the First Church in New Haven, of which the Rev. Mr. Bacon is pastor.

On the fifth of January, 1841, he received license to preach the gospel from the New Haven West Association, of which the Rev. Dr. Day, president of Yale College, was moderator. And in regard to the stability of his mind in adhering to the doctrines now adopted, he says, "And not for one moment have I had any difficulty in relation to the doctrines of the gospel; nor has a shadow of doubt passed over my mind in respect to any truth embraced in the confession of faith of the church to which I belong. With my whole heart I embraced it; with my whole heart I defend it."

The author's own reflections, in the conclusion of this narrative, will be more satisfactory to our readers than any thing which we could offer.

"If any one has ever had reason to bless God for his mercy it is myself. In my most trying moments, I ever trusted that he who bruised the reed would not break it. Long ago I had perished but for the goodness of God. But for this I had fainted. Against very great light I have sinned, and most richly deserved to perish. For a long time, I have been visited with serious impressions. God's Spirit has often reproved me and bid me turn. But long and wilfully I rebelled. I trifled with my doubts, resisted light, and hated instruction, till I merited the sentence, "Let him alone; he is a blind leader of the blind." But God in mercy followed me by his Spirit, and would not let me go. Against my firm resolves, he stripped my system from me; against my wish, he made me see its deformity, and abhor myself because of my connection with it. When I hated the truth, and reviled the employments of those who fear God, he touched my heart, subdued my hatred, and caused me to love the truth, and all who love my Saviour's praise. He has also nerved my frame, strengthened my feeble system, and enabled me to stand in the place he has allotted to me.

"And now, as I enter the house of God with new feelings; when I find a new delight in the service of God, and in the place of prayer and praise; when I remember that I sought no light, desired no change of heart or opinion, and that I now love God, and his people, and the doctrines I once despised, and the duties I once detested; and when even Creation wears a lovelier garb, and Providence, no longer dark and frowning, sets forth the hand of my Father;—can I too much adore the grace that snatched me as a brand from the burning? can I too much magnify the divine mercy? or speak too often of his long suffering? O, can any employment so become my tongue as that which calls me forth to tell what God has done for my soul? It is the Lord's doing,—the work is his. To his service be my days henceforth devoted! To his name be all the glory.

"I have said that nearly all my near relatives were Universalists. There is an exception to this remark; and did I not name it, I should do injustice to the best friend I ever had. My own mother was not a Universalist. She was a religious woman. I have no remembrance of her; for she died before my memory received any impressions of her words or looks. I cannot recall anything in relation to her. But those who knew her well, speak of her piety and love for the things of God. I was her youngest child; and she wished to live

to train me up for God, and to guide me in the way of life. Very early in my life, I was made acquainted with her dying employment. As death approached, she called for me, and took me in her arms, and pressed me to her bosom with her dying embrace. Her last tears were shed for me; her last breath was spent in prayer to God for my welfare and my salvation. It was her dying petition that I might be saved from impiety and sin, and become a useful Christian. That death-bed, and the last moments of my mother, have never left my mind since first I was told of her dying hours. When far gone in error, this scene has spoken to me. When many have thought me hardened, past feeling and past redemption, this has made my mind tender, and sometimes almost overwhelmed me. It has spoken to me, when mothers have come to me in relation to their sons,—as mothers often have done,—and have said, with streaming eyes, "My son has become vicious and intemperate; he is the companion of the dissolute and the abandoned; he breaks the Sabbath, and scoffs at the name of God. And when I warn him,—when I tell him of the judgment, and the retributions of eternity,—he laughs my fears to scorn. He tells me that there is no judgment, that the Bible reveals no punishment for the future state, and he appeals to you and to your preaching to sustain him." And when such persons have urged me to use my influence to save their sons from ruin, and turn them from the way of death, I have felt the force of such appeals. The voice of my mother seemed to blend with the touching eloquence of those who pleaded for their sons. Then have I regretted my employment; and, half convinced, been almost tempted to throw up a calling that most manifestly strengthened the hands of the wicked.

"Next to my existence, and the conversion of my soul, I would bless God for a praying mother. I could do no less than record this tribute to her memory, and leave on record the part she bore in my rescue from death. Let all take courage who have the moulding of young minds, who make the first impressions upon an immortal soul. No matter how hard the soil,—how long the seed lies in the ground. If it be good seed, sown in faith and prayer, it will not fail. The hand that sowed may be palsied by death; the eye that wept may be closed in its long sleep; the voice that counselled may be hushed; and the heart that prayed may cease to beat. Still the blessing will come. Your son, or brother, or friend, may be upon the ocean; he may fall into temptation and crime, or sit in the seat of the scorner. But upon the mast-head at midnight, in the haunt of sin, in the congregation of the impious, you will be remembered. If faithful to their souls, your sons and daughters will gather around your tomb, to bless you for what you have done for them.

"How can I review my past life? The retrospect is terrible beyond description. Twelve years of this short life wasted, and worse than wasted! Employed in strengthening the hands of the wicked; in removing the restraints of the Bible; in preaching peace to the ungodly; in assuring them that they would not die, though they disobeyed God; in alluring men to destruction; in turning men from life to death; and in speaking encouragement to those already in the road to destruction, and urging them on their perilous way! My pathway seems strewed with the wrecks and ruins of souls! O, what a retrospect! My hands and my garments seem stained with the blood of my fellow-men. On every side, lost souls cry out, 'But for you we might have been saved!' O that I could recall the past! O that I could wipe out the influence I have exerted, and make those twelve years a blank! Could I do this, I would make any sacrifice. I would weep tears of blood, if I had them, to remove the impressions I have made upon the souls of men, while I was in the ministry of error. But this I cannot do. All that remains for me, is to lift my voice in defence of truth, and tell men what great things God has done for my soul."

In his second lecture, Mr, Smith gives us a brief account

of the leading advocates of universalism who have appeared in this country. He considers Mr. Murray, late of Boston, to be the father of universalism in America; but the system, as now received, owes its modifications to Mr. Ballou. This man received his first ideas of this system by reading a deistical book, as he says himself. But though he first adopted the new theory, yet he had not learning and talents sufficient to get it introduced; having had no more than a common education, and a limited knowledge of books. The person who has the honour (a bad pre-eminence) of giving currency to this pestiferous heresy, was Mr. Walter Balfour, who had been educated in the doctrines of the Scottish Church; but afterwards became a Haldanite, and came to the United States, as a missionary. He was an open communion Baptist, but was not popular as a preacher. Soon after his arrival, he changed his ground and became a Congregationalist; but not finding in this denomination that standing and encouragement to which he thought his talents entitled him, he connected himself with the Regular Baptists; but still being dissatisfied, he joined the Puritan Baptists, who celebrate the communion every Sabbath, and follow the practice of washing one another's feet. He did not, however, remain long with this obscure sect, but attached himself next to the Unitarians, then to the Restorationists, and finally came over to the Universalists; adopting all Mr. Ballou's new opinions; but going far beyond him in the extravagance of the notions which he entertained. As Mr. Balfour made great pretensions to scholarship, and talked much about the original tongues, and used many hard words, the Universalists considered him their great Apollo—one of the greatest and most learned of men. To bring himself into notice he addressed a series of anonymous letters to Professor Stuart, of Andover; but the Professor judiciously took no notice of them. He then came out under his own name in other letters addressed to the same distinguished scholar; but neither was any notice taken of these. Indeed, it was commonly believed, that Mr. Balfour did not expect Professor Stuart to descend into the arena and contend with him; his real object was to bring himself into notice with the public.

To give some idea of the opinions of Universalists, at this time, it will only be necessary to mention some of the doctrines maintained by Mr. Balfour, who now was followed as a leader by the society. He ridiculed the divinity

of Christ—denied that any such person as Satan existed—denied, also, the immortality of the soul, and taught that the punishment of the wicked was limited to this life. The Bible was held to be an inspired book, if it contained this doctrine; otherwise it was worthy of no confidence.

Our author next proceeds to discuss the subject of universalism. And he begins by stating eleven difficulties which stand in the way of receiving this doctrine, on each of which he expatiates at some length. They are: 1. The doctrines which Universalists teach. 2. The irreligious character of their congregations. 3. The deportment of Universalist ministers. 4. The fact that but few Universalists are confirmed in the doctrine. 5. Reasonings which proved satisfactory to others, were not so to the author. 6. The want of sanctions to enforce the practical duties of life. 7. The number and character of those who reject universalism. 8. The recent date of universalism. 9. The doctrine liable to the same objections which may be urged against atheism. 10. The description of false teachers in the Bible, applicable to Universalist preachers. 11. The Bible is not written as a text-book would have been, had universalism been true.

In the third and fourth lectures the author brings forward those passages of scripture which clearly, and in various ways, teach the doctrine of the perpetuity of future punishment. He also considers those texts which Universalists use to prop up their doctrine, and refutes the arguments which they derive from them. As these texts and the arguments founded on them, are to be found in every treatise on this subject, it will be unnecessary to adduce any of them in this place; and the only remark we would make is, that if the doctrine of future punishment is not taught in these passages of scripture, it would be impossible, by any selection or collocation of words, to convey the idea. We are also of opinion, that men who are so far blinded by prejudice as to be able to believe, that no future punishment is threatened in the Bible, are not in a state of mind to be benefitted by any kind of argument, and may very well be left to enjoy the fruit of their own insane theory.

In the fifth lecture our author takes up the arguments which Universalists draw from the light of nature, in favour of their favourite doctrine.

The first argument which he undertakes to answer is that derived from the character of God as a Father. This

he briefly but conclusively confutes, by showing that if the various and bitter sufferings which men endure in this life and in death, are consistent with the character of God as a Father, then He may still stand in the relation of Father to the children of men, although all which is threatened in a future world be literally fulfilled. But he shows that men have forfeited their claim to paternal kindness, by their unreasonable rebellion against his authority.

The next argument is derived from the "mercy of God," and as this may be considered the most popular argument which the Universalists employ; and as the answer will furnish a favorable specimen of the manner and style of the author in reasoning on this subject, we will extract what he says on this particular.

"Those declarations in the Bible which assert that God 'is merciful,' that 'his tender mercies are over all his works,' and that 'his mercy endureth forever,' are cited as proof that universalism is true.

"Upon no subject have men so vague and erroneous notions as upon mercy. All believe in the mercy of God. But what that is, to what extent, and under what circumstances it may be exercised, and what may hinder its interposition, few seem to understand. And Universalists, when they talk about the mercy of God, have evidently no just conception of the subject on which they speak. For, instead of being an argument in favour of universalism, the fact that God is a God of mercy proves their system false. Multitudes repose a delusive confidence in what they call the mercy of God. They think they may indulge in sin, live in all lust, and die in crime, and at last be saved, because God is plenteous in mercy.

"But what is mercy? It is not merely goodness. Goodness led to the creation of angels and men, and to the making provision for their happiness. But mercy has nothing to do with *innocent* beings. It can be exercised only toward the guilty and undeserving. Where no guilt is there can be no mercy. Goodness blesses the innocent; mercy, the guilty, and only the guilty.

"It is not justice. It is the opposite. Justice deals with men as they deserve: mercy, contrary to their deserts. Justice by no means clears the guilty; but mercy shows favour where punishment is due.

"Mercy can be shown only to those on whom it would be just to visit the evil from which mercy proposes to save them. In all other cases, men want only justice. It is no *mercy* in a ruler, that he does not imprison his innocent subject; for there would be no *justice* in the act. It is no act of mercy to open the prison-doors to those who have been unjustly imprisoned; they ask no mercy; they ask only justice. To release a prisoner at the expiration of his term of imprisonment, is not mercy; he can demand liberation as a right. He has satisfied the demand of the law, and is entitled to a discharge as an act of simple justice. In these cases there is no room for mercy or grace. Mercy, then, is a *pardoning* power, or favour shown to guilty men. The *innocent* do not need it; for mercy always implies ill-desert in those who receive it. The words of penitence are ever a confession of sin. No man would claim exemption from punishment on the ground of mercy, who could appeal to justice for protection.

"Universalists affirm that they have the only worthy and expanded views of divine mercy. They charge others with making God all justice. But with

them, to what does mercy amount? They are shocked at the idea of future woe. They assure us that men do not *deserve hell*; and God is too merciful to send men there. What? God too merciful to send men to hell, when they do not *deserve* to go there! Absurd! There can be no mercy in the case. If men go to hell, it will, on Universalist grounds, be for want of *justice* in God, not for want of mercy.

"What great thing is it to save men, who are almost, if not quite, innocent? who deserve little or no punishment from the hand of God? Is it any great stretch of skill for a physician to cure a headache which a night's slumber would have removed, and which would have done no great harm if not removed at all? If it would be unjust to cast men into hell, it is no mercy to save them from it. What have men to do with mercy who can claim exemption from hell on the ground of justice?

"Again; it is said that men are punished as much as they deserve in the present life; and God is too merciful to send them away into everlasting punishment. But what room is there for mercy, when the criminal has in his own person answered the demands of the law? Can you pardon a man who has served out his term of imprisonment! Will he thank the officer for his *clemency* in opening the prison door, when it could lawfully be kept closed no longer? He wants no mercy; he has satisfied the claims of justice, and can *demand* his liberation as a *right*. If Universalism be true, and men are all punished as much as they deserve, what has mercy to do in the salvation of our race? You cannot pardon a criminal who is punished to the extent of the law. A physician cannot cure a man who has healed himself. You cannot save a person from drowning who by his own exertions has reached the shore. A governor cannot remit the penalty, after it has been fully executed upon the convict. And yet we are told that these are the only worthy views of mercy! A sinner becomes his own saviour. Compassion, grace, love, and forgiveness, are swept away by these exclusive magnifiers of the divine mercy, which turns out to be an empty pretence. Nothing remains but stern, exact, and even-handed justice.

"If God is a God of mercy, then there is guilt, deep and awful, from which mercy offers to save men. Its conditions are plainly written. 'Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God for he will abundantly pardon.' (*Isaiah* lv. 7.) If, then, the wicked do not abandon their ways and their thoughts, and turn unto the Lord, he will not have mercy upon him, nor will he abundantly pardon. That the mercy of God may be exercised to some, at the same time others are destroyed, we learn from Ps. cxxxvi. 13—20."

In the sixth lecture, the fruits of universalism are considered. And under this head he shows, that the doctrine "does not produce the fruit that attended the preaching of Christ and the apostles." Here the author points out the effects of the preaching of Christ and the apostles, to be 1. The alarming of careless sinners. 2. Their reformation. 3. A change of heart in such as obeyed the gospel. And he asks with emphasis, does the preaching of Universalists awaken, reform, and change the hearts of the hearers who embrace it? On this subject the writer could speak from experience, and his testimony, as having been long a distinguished Universalist preacher, is important. "Twelve

years in the ministry have not," says he, "brought one instance of reformation from that cause [universalism] under my observation. I have never heard of an instance, nor have I ever seen a man who had been more favoured than myself in this respect. I have known moral men to embrace universalism and continue moral. I have known them to embrace it and become immoral. I have known bad men to embrace it, and continue as bad as ever. But never in a single instance have I known a bad man to be reformed by attending the preaching of universalism. So far from reforming men, it is the fact that almost all persons excommunicated from evangelical churches fly to universalism for shelter. I have before me a certificate of the excommunication of an individual from a Christian church in Boston, for an offence which it would be improper to mention here. Immediately upon his excommunication he embraced universalism; and in less than a year from the day in which he was cut off from the church for immorality, he was an accredited minister of universalism."

The absurdity of supposing that the doctrine of Universalists has any tendency to reform men is set forth by the author, in a forcible, and even in a ludicrous manner. "Who," says he, "rises up and says, 'once I was an unbeliever, in universalism. Then I was profane, and all my words were mixed with blasphemy. By accident I heard the doctrine of universalism, and learned, that in the future world, God will hold them guiltless who take his name in vain, and that all blasphemies, none excepted, will be forgiven unto men. I turned at once from my evil way, and from the hour that I heard and believed, I feared an oath.' Who says, 'Once I was a drunkard—I was degraded, being a burden to myself, a curse to my friends. Bnt I embraced universalism. I learned that the drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God, and that though I were to die in my sin, I should not be excluded from the favour of God. When convinced of this, I dashed the poison from my lips. I have since been a sober man.'"

The downward tendency of universalism is shown by our author in a number of particulars. The first is the denial of most of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. "I had preached," says Mr. Ballou, "but a short time before my mind was entirely freed from all the perplexities of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the common notion of atonement." But Mr. Murray, who has been called the

father of universalism, believed that the divinity of the Saviour was a fundamental doctrine. And Mr. Mitchell, late of New York, had the same views, and refused to hold any fellowship with Universalists of the New School.

The second downward step of modern universalism is, the denial of all future punishment. This was a doctrine unheard of among the former Universalists. Those who still believe in a limited future punishment, have separated from the ultra-universalists, and have taken the name of Restorationists. Those now denominated Universalists, are all followers of Ballou and Balfour, who teach, "that beyond this mortal existence, the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality."

The third downward step was the publication of the opinion, that sin was no evil; and that, as there was no hell, so there was no devil nor angel.

The fourth step was, the rejection of the Sabbath, as a divine institution. The observation of this day, according to them, is merely a matter of expediency. But, generally, Universalists, are regardless of the sanctity of the Sabbath, and spend the day, without scruple, in parties of pleasure, in journeying, or even in secular work.

The fifth downward step, according to our author, is infidelity. The same mode of interpreting scripture and of reasoning, which is employed against orthodoxy, will lead if pursued, to infidelity and even to atheism. Infidels have a great sympathy with Universalism. They often hold offices in the societies of Universalists, and are among the most active members. The author testifies "that the Universalist Society of Hartford was mostly composed of infidels." "When Frances Wright gave her lectures in Boston, the Universalists were among her most ardent admirers. And I heard Mr. Ballou, of Boston, say, that he agreed with Miss Wright in the sentiments she advanced, in her lectures; except in one thing; what she called *religion* he should call *superstition*." And the respect of this lady for Mr. Ballou was reciprocal. The ablest work on universalism, written in England of late, was by T. S. Smith, who is now an infidel, and rejects the Bible altogether. "The Purchase Street Universalist Society, in Boston, called the sixth, ran down in 1840, and the hall and fixtures were transferred to the infidels, who hold meetings in it on the Sabbath." "Mr. Kneeland was for many years one of the

most popular advocates of universalism. He is now an atheist, and states most explicitly, that universalism is but a stepping-stone to infidelity. Years before he publicly renounced his faith in the Bible, he was known to be an infidel. His ministerial associates knew this; but it did not hurt his standing, or injure his popularity. Mr. Kneeland says, that he, as an atheist, has reached his position only by carrying out those principles of interpretation, which, when a Universalist, he brought to the Bible." O. A. Brownson, who was an influential defender of universalism, in western New York, gives his testimony of the tendency of this doctrine to scepticism. When infidels join the Universalists, they make no change in their sentiments, but only find in universalism the same general principles they held before. "The only literary institution patronized by Universalists, called the "Clinton Liberal Institute," is, to all intents and purposes, an infidel seminary.

But the tendency of universalism is not only downward, in regard to doctrines and opinions, but equally so in relation to practice. It renders men irreligious—a devotional Universalist is a character unknown. The author assures us, that he never knew a Universalist minister who prayed with his own family. It is unnecessary to reason on the tendency of these principles to make men licentious, intemperate, and dishonest in their conduct. The known character of those who frequent the meetings of Universalists is a condemnation of the whole system, which nothing can gainsay. "I have, repeatedly," says the author, "had my congregation follow me upon the Sabbath from the bar-room to the place of meeting, and then back again to the tavern."

The testimony of another Universalist preacher, on account of whose accession to their cause, the Universalists triumphed, is as strong as that of Matthew Hale Smith. The reference is to the Rev. Sidney Turner, who graduated at the Bangor Theological School; but, to the grief of his friends, became a Universalist. His learning, his piety, his honesty, his independence, all were the subjects of high commendation. The manner in which his conversion was hailed by the Universalists, will appear from the following notice of it in the TRUMPET: "*Rev. Sidney Turner.*—This gentleman is the clergyman in Maine who has recently renounced the false notions of orthodox partialism, and embraced in full the doctrine of universalism. Mr. Turner was a regular bred, orthodox clergyman. He pur-

sued an entire course of studies in the Theological Seminary in Bangor, Maine, and was one of the beneficiaries of the American Education Society. After this he was settled over an orthodox society in Maine, who highly prized his labours, until they learned that he was a Universalist."

The following is Mr. Turner's renunciation:

"*Renunciation of Universalism.*—It is well known, to a large portion of the religions public, that, some three years ago, the writer publicly announced his belief of the doctrine of universal salvation, and, for two years, preached as pastor of the Universalist society in Brunswick. A year and a half ago my confidence in the truth of the doctrine was so much weakened, and my convictions of the lamentable prevalence of error and irreligion in the denomination of Universalists were so deepened, that I was constrained to abandon my public station, and withdraw wholly my fellowship from Universalists. But it was not till very recently that I was led to take the stand which I now take. Owing to various influences,—most of all, as I have no doubt, through the blinding influence of the arch deceiver,—I still clung to the impression that we were not wholly without grounds of hope that God would eventually save all mankind. I blamed my Universalist brethren for being confident that all would be saved, and blamed, in about the same degree, my orthodox brethren for their confident belief that some would be forever lost. During a few weeks past, with unusual opportunity for reflection and prayer, and for the counsels and prayers of my Christian friends, I have been enabled, by the overruling power and goodness of God, to see and abandon my remaining error and criminality, and to once more take my stand with those that I forsook and opposed, and with them to pray and labour for the upbuilding of God's kingdom in the earth. I now publicly declare my entire renunciation of every form and species of universalism, and my unqualified and unwavering belief, that some, and a very large number, of the human race will never be saved. I sincerely regret that I ever admitted those doubts and queries that laid the foundation for that superstructure of error that was reared in my mind. Had I more carefully and seriously *watched* and prayed to be guarded from *every* species of temptation, those doubts and queries would never have been suffered to remain and do the work they did. I lament my own blindness, haste, and perverseness, in deciding, when and

as I did, to cut myself off from my Christian brethren, and connect myself with those whom I, at the time, knew to be, generally *far* from the way of the true followers of Christ. I am astonished to see how I, for so long a time, blinded my eyes to evident facts in the state of things among Universalists; how I smothered my convictions, and yielded to the current of error and ungodliness. I have grieved and saddened the heart of many a Christian friend. I have emboldened many a prayerless, irreligious person to continue in the neglect of his soul's salvation. True, I preached upon the indispensable necessity of a change of heart; but all I said was neutralized by the insidious workings of that poisonous leaven which is in the very nature of universalism.

"I thank God that he has, at last, opened my eyes to see where I have been, and what I have done; I thank my Christian friends for their prayers in my behalf; and it is my prayer that, for their tears of sorrow at my defection and departure from the truth, they may now have hearts of joy at my return.

"I would to God that I might be able, in some way, by my pen or tongue, or by both, to fully undo what I have done; to convince some, that are now clinging to universalism, that it is a dangerous and ruinous delusion; and to warn all, who are in danger of coming under its influence, to beware of it, as they value the salvation of their souls.

"I cheerfully submit this communication of my views and feelings to the public, in the belief that every truly Christian heart will be gladdened by learning that another has been recovered from the snare of the devil, who was led captive by him at his will, (2 *Tim.* ii. 26,) and in the hope that *some other*, yet in the same snare, will, ere long, see his error, be recovered from it, and testify to the truth as it is in Jesus. SIDNEY TURNER.

"*Portland*, March 7, 1842."

Mr. Chapin, a preacher in the Methodist connexion, became a Universalist; but renounced it on account of its bad moral tendency.

Of thirty-two preachers, mentioned by our author, who renounced universalism, twenty-five assign as the reason of their abandoning the system, its dreadful moral tendency. Even Mr. Balfour confessed to the author, that the practical tendency of universalism was not what he expected to find it; and that the cause could not prosper, unless the

sect changed their course, and both clergy and laymen became more religious. He acknowledged, that universalism was notoriously on the wane, especially, in Western New York; and he regretted that he had published a book on universalism. (See pp. 304.) "I AM TEMPTED," said he, "TO CURSE THE DAY I EVER PUBLISHED A BOOK," I am heart-sick of it, and to be told that my books have contributed much to the rapid spread of universalism, has no tendency to remove this kind of sickness." (pp. 307.)

Many other confessions of Universalist preachers of the bad moral effects of their doctrine, are given by our author.

Universalism leads to suicide. And this, for reasons which cannot be confuted. For if our existence, in this world, be uncomfortable, why may we not put an end at once to misery, and enter into blessedness? What greater folly than to continue in misery when in a moment, by a single stroke, we can free ourselves from all pain, and usher ourselves into Paradise? Indeed, according to the clearest dictates of reason, if a man finds himself sunk into degradation and misery, self-destruction becomes an imperious duty; for by it "we ascend instantly from the condition of a down-trodden, suffering, sinful mortal, to that of a glorious, exalted immortal spirit." Many have acted on these principles. A few cases are mentioned by the author. The first is that of a man in Utica, N. Y., who becoming discontented with his condition, being unhappily married, sent for his preacher. To whom he said, "where shall I go when I die?" "To heaven," was the reply. "Have I any thing to fear beyond death?" "Nothing," was the response. "So I believe," said the man. "I am tired of this world, and mean to seek a better." He laid his hands on his pistols, and as he raised them, his spiritual guide took the alarm. "Stop," cried he, "there may be a hell, after all." The desperate man gave him a look of withering indignation and exclaimed, "You do not believe your own doctrine. But I believe that all men will be happy at death. I will convince you that I thus believe!" and raised both his pistols to his head; they flashed in the pan, and he was immediately secured; but he informed his spiritual guide that he was done with him, as he had had a good evidence of his sincerity.

Another instance related, is that of Cyrus C. Crawford, of Plymouth, New Hampshire, a young man of intelligence and respectable character, until he yielded to the tempta-

tion of passing counterfeit money. He was arrested and imprisoned; but before his trial, committed suicide. Previously to this act of violence, he wrote a letter to his mother, of which the following is the substance: "I have concluded, that the best way to get out of this scrape is to leave this world of trouble." He expressed an unwavering confidence that a few moments would introduce him into a world, where there is no trouble. The author states it as a fact, that Cilley, killed by Graves in a duel, in conversation with a pious lady, in Washington, the night before he was shot, confessed that, with her views, he should be deterred from fighting. But as a Universalist, he had nothing to fear. If he shot his antagonist the world would justify him, but if he was killed his soul would immediately ascend to heaven. And it is well known, that the late John C. Colt prevented his public execution by self-murder, committed professedly on the principles of universalism.

That universalism, notwithstanding all the boasting of the number of societies and preachers, is on the wane, appears evident from the facts stated by the author. Even in Boston and its vicinity, which may be considered the head-quarters of universalism, in New England, the society, is evidently on the decline. A certain evidence of the fact is, that Mr. Ballou, the father of the ultra system has been virtually ejected from his place, and a man of other sentiments introduced, against his wishes and those of his friends. Mr. Smith takes a rapid survey of the condition of Universalist societies, through New England, and shows that, everywhere, they are on the decline. And though they often give notice of the formation of new societies, as it were with the sound of the trumpet, yet far more become extinct every year, than the new ones formed. He then takes a similar view of western New York, where for a season, the sect greatly flourished; and shows that the same symptoms of decline are there also manifest. And as to the southern and western states their societies are too few and feeble to have any weight in the scale.

And in Europe, where the doctrine originated, how does it flourish? Mr. Lefevre, one of the preachers of the city of New York, went to England on purpose to ascertain what the condition of universalism was in that country. His departure, and the object of his visit was announced in their papers, with due pomp; but what must have been his mortification to find, "that there was no universalism in

Europe, such as is thus called, in America. THE SYSTEM OF AMERICAN UNIVERSALISM HAS NOT A SINGLE DEFENDER IN ENGLAND." Mr. Lefevre, himself, informs us, that his only opportunity of preaching while in England, was at a small chapel at Newington, near London. The number of his hearers was about *thirty*. 'Tis true, the day was unfavourable, and he was informed that if the weather had been good, he might have had twenty more! Mr. Thom, of Liverpool, did, indeed, send him an invitation to come and preach for him, but he was then just on the eve of returning home, and could not comply with the request. But Mr. Thom describes his congregation as made up, of "*a few stragglers, amounting in all to some hundreds!*" And in England, the very names of the founders of the sect are so gone into oblivion, that Mr. Lefevre could learn nothing of them there.

We need not follow Mr. Smith any further. Let those who would know more of the present state of universalism, read his volume, which we earnestly recommend. We will conclude our review by inserting the conclusion of the volume.

"I now close my labour, and take leave of this subject. My present position is not one of my choosing. Providence has called me to a post that I dare not desert. Neither from habit nor inclination am I a controversialist. I am fond of retirement and of peace. Universalists have laboured to leave the impression that I am actuated by malice, and that on every occasion I attack them. It is not so. The sermons which I preach upon the Sabbath, have nothing in them relating to universalism; and from them no man would know that I ever had any more to do with universalism, than any other preacher of the gospel.

"But while so much can be said upon this subject; while so many are groping for the light among Universalists, and need a friendly hand; while so many facts, all tending to throw light upon the dreadful moral tendency of universalism, were in my possession,—I should be recreant to the interest of truth, ungrateful to that God whose spirit has most graciously led me away from that awful delusion to which I was so blindly attached, and unfaithful to the souls of men, did I keep silence.

"Universalists have betrayed their consciousness of being unable to meet the facts and arguments in these lectures, by their violent assaults upon my character. In the prosecu-

tion of my labours, I have not only been called to meet calumny and persecution, but my public services have been disturbed, and my person exposed, by the violence of wicked men. I have been repeatedly interrupted, when preaching, by Universalist ministers. But God has been my shield and my defence.

"Universalists may attempt to divert public attention from the merits of their system by the cry of persecution. But it will not avail them. They have challenged investigation, and called the religious world dishonest, because they let their doctrine alone. I have only responded to their call. They may charge me with misrepresenting their faith and their arguments. But my labour will speak for itself. And to deny the truth of my remarks in relation to the moral results of their faith, will be unwise. The more severe and startling exhibitions of the fruits of universalism ARE FROM THE PENS OF THOSE WHO ARE STILL ENGAGED IN THE ADVOCACY OF THAT DOCTRINE.

"May God bless this effort to expose error, to stay the progress of crime, and to recover those 'out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will!'"

ART. III.—*Immanuel Kant's Biographie. Zum Grossen Theil nach handschriftlichen Nachrichten dargestellt*, Von Friedrich Wilhelm Schubert. Mit Bildniss, Facsimile und Medaillen-Abbildung. Leipzig: Leopold Voss. 1842. 8vo.

IN calling attention once more to the father of Modern German philosophy, it is not our intention to attempt any new exposition of his system, which has been sufficiently done on a former occasion; still less to recommend his speculations to the confidence of our readers; but only to deduce from the latest authorities some interesting particulars of his personal history. To this may be subjoined some notice of the controversies waged in the metaphysical world, upon the publication of his system. We feel justified in devoting our space to such a subject, in consideration of the unparalleled influence exerted by his alleged discoveries, of which the results are distinctly seen in the philosophical theories which have succeeded and supplanted those of Kant.

Immanuel Kant was born at Königsberg, on the twenty-second day of April, 1724. His grandfather was from Scotland, and his father, John George Cant, for so the name was written, was a master-saddler of good name but slender means, in the city just named. His mother, Anna Regina Reuter, was a woman of strong mind, and religious after the type of the more ancient Lutherans. In the old family-bible there was the following inscription, bearing the date of her wedding-day: "The Lord our God keep us in perpetual love and unity according to his good pleasure; give us of the dew of heaven and the sweetness of the earth, until he shall bring us together to the marriage-supper of the Lamb; for the sake of Jesus Christ his Son. Amen." In his father's house, a large family was educated on truly Christian principles, as he was wont himself to acknowledge, at a period when worldly wisdom had led him far away from the sound instructions of his youth. "If the religious ideas of that time," says he, "and the conceptions which they had of what were called virtue and piety were not clear or satisfactory, they nevertheless possessed what was the main thing. They enjoyed the highest portion man can have, in that repose, that cheerfulness, that inward peace which no suffering could destroy. Men may decry Pietism as they will; those who possessed it in sincerity, manifested it in a venerable manner. No straits, no persecution, destroyed their equanimity, no conflict availed to excite them to wrath and hatred. A single word would often awaken reverence in the mere bystander. I well remember, on a time when a feud arose between the saddlers and the harness-makers as to their respective rights, in the progress of which my father was a sufferer, that this quarrel was discussed by my parents in the family with such forbearance and kindness, and with so firm a reliance on Providence, that the impression made on me as a child was indelible." In the walks which the mother used to take with her little son, she directed his views to the wonders of creation, and discoursed of the power of the Almighty; and on these occasions she discovered in him an acuteness of observation, a liveliness of curiosity, and a facility of apprehension, which were extraordinary. She was induced by this to take counsel of her spiritual adviser, the Rev. Francis Albert Schultz, afterwards Consistorial Counsellor, but then instructer in a suburban hospital-school. He proposed to her to devote the youth to

the study of theology. In conformity with this recommendation he was placed in the Collegium Fridericianum, which about this time came under the care of Dr. Schultz. The Institution was under an evangelical influence, and Kant was accustomed to avow that his moral principles received from the spirit and example of his teachers a firmness which it never lost, in any change of opinion. His kind preceptor contributed in a delicate manner to the temporal relief of the family, and gratified them still more by his auguries respecting the promising boy. The young student remained seven years in this school, under the best masters. From Heydenreich, in particular, he imbibed a special love for the Latin classics, so that even in later years he could recite long passages from the poets, philosophers, orators and historians. The celebrated Ruhnken, afterwards of Leyden, was one of his fellow students, and of their correspondence in after years some parts have been published. In one of his letters from Holland, Ruhnken gently upbraids Kant for writing in German rather than in Latin, and for his predilection for the English philosophers. Kypke and Trummer were also schoolmates of Kant; they both rose to eminence.

In 1737 Kant was called to mourn over his invaluable mother. He never spoke of her, even in his old age, without manifest emotion. After this event, the circumstances of his father became still more straitened, but a worthy shoemaker, named Richter, his maternal uncle, assumed the charge of his education, and continued his aid as long as there were any university expenses to be met.

In the autumn of 1740, Kant connected himself with the university of Königsberg, with the view of studying theology. According to the custom then prevalent in Prussia, he delivered one or two trial sermons in country churches; but the weakness of his voice, and probably a secret distaste for the profession, filled him with discouragement. Before entering on studies which were strictly professional, he applied himself, as was usual, to certain preliminary sciences; and those which he selected were Mathematics and Philosophy. Philology indeed had hitherto been his favourite pursuit, but this was not well taught at the university. In Knutzen, Professor Extraordinary of Logic and Metaphysics, he found a teacher who stimulated his researches in the highest degree. He not only listened to his lectures with the profoundest attention, but spent hours

in private discourses on the more important topics. It was through the means of Knutzen that he first became acquainted with the works of Sir Isaac Newton, and the extensive library of the professor was freely opened to him. It would convey little advantage or entertainment to write the names of the numerous professors whose instructions were enjoyed by Kant at the University. In pursuance of his parents' plan he made some beginning in theology, and here he again received no small aid from his excellent patron Dr. Schultz. It should seem that the pious feelings of this good man found no response in the soul of his scholar, who was rather repelled by the pietism which prevailed in the theological department, to addict himself more zealously to mathematical and philosophical studies. This tendency was further encouraged by the belief that the Königsberg Consistory would not sustain the examination of any who were not of the evangelical stamp.

In 1746 his father died, and the straitness of his circumstances made him look about for some place as a teacher. It was with extreme regret that he left the schools, libraries and scholars of his native city, but he found himself under the necessity of becoming a private tutor, at Judschen near Gumbinnen, in the house of a reformed pastor, named Andersch. He afterwards filled the same place, in two families of rank, at Arensdorf and Rautenberg.

In 1755 Kant took his doctor's degree, maintaining a thesis 'de igne,' which is included in his Latin works. At the same time he entered upon the duties of a Privatdocent, in which he spent fifteen years of his life. He began his academical instructions with lectures on Mathematics and Physics, using as a basis the works of Wolff and Eberhard. For ten years he commonly began with these topics, and followed with the metaphysical and moral course. In Logic he followed Baumeister, and afterwards Meier; in Metaphysics, Baumeister and Baumgarten. In addition to his text-books, his usual preparation for lectures was a mere brief, or rather catch-words written on little slips of paper. With this help, he allowed himself to expatiate with freedom, enriching his discourses with manifold examples from history, science, travels, and even the news of the day, and enlivening them with the occasional play of wit. Seldom had any lectures been more popular. His auditorium was overflowing, and he was importuned to add new subjects to his course. Every moment of his life was employed,

and his zeal and activity as an instructer were such as have probably never been surpassed. He was now becoming an author, and contributed articles to the journals, and produced a work on the Natural History of the Heavens.

In 1756, his teacher Knutzen died, and Kant made application for the chair extraordinary of Mathematics, Logic and Metaphysics, thus left vacant: he was unsuccessful. Two years after, died Dr. Kypke, ordinary professor of Logic and Metaphysics; and Kant announced himself as a candidate. During the pendency of this appointment a little incident took place which shews the spirit which still survived among the older clergy. Dr. Schultz, already named, was desirous that his former pupil should obtain the place. But they had been more and more separated in their way of thinking, and Schultz was too conscientious to lend his influence to any man from whose religious sentiments detriment could be feared to the university. Sending therefore for Kant, the old man addressed him with solemnity, "Do you fear God from the heart?" Kant was at that period able to give him such an answer, as removed his scruples; he was however unsuccessful in his application, and the chair was filled by Dr. Buck. Twelve years more he was destined to remain in the ranks of subordinate instructers. Between 1760 and 1769, he so far enlarged his scope, as to lecture on Natural Theology, on the Philosophy of Religion, on Anthropology and on Physical Geography. He also gave special discourses on the arguments for the Being of a God, on the Sublime and Beautiful; on almost all these subjects making his opinions public by means of printed works. A lively impression of these lectures may be derived from the report of the celebrated Herder; who, though an avowed antagonist of the Königsberg philosopher, never failed to do justice to the acuteness and strength of his preceptor. Herder studied at Königsberg from 1762 to 1764. He heard Kant upon Logic, Metaphysic, Ethics, Mathematics and Physical Geography. One of his fellow-students, at this time, was Bock, afterwards known as the translator of the Georgics. Writing to Herder's widow, Bock observes: "Kant allowed him to attend all his lectures gratis. He grasped every word and every idea of the great philosopher, with intense interest, and when he came home reduced them to writing. He often favoured me with a sight of these manuscripts, and he used to talk these subjects over in a retired summerhouse, belonging to an

unfrequented public garden. On a certain fine morning, when Kant, led on by his subject, spoke with peculiar loftiness and poetic inspiration, and introduced passages from his favourite poets, Pope and Haller, this great genius burst forth with some of his boldest hypotheses upon Time and Eternity. Herder was visibly affected, and to such a degree, that on going home he clothed in verse the ideas of his teacher, in praise of Haller. These he next morning handed to Kant, who was so struck with the masterly and poetic reproduction of his own thoughts, that he read them with enthusiastic praise in his auditorium."

We must refer to this period the intercourse of Kant with John George Hamann. Their attachment seems to have arisen from their common taste for classical and English literature; but their temperament and their creed were so diverse, that it was not formed to be perpetual. Meanwhile the number of Kant's hearers increased. Not only young men, but gentlemen of mature years, attended on his instructions, and men of eminence took up their residence at Königsberg, for the express purpose of hearing him. In 1765, he received the situation of under-librarian to the library of the castle. During many of these years he lived in the house of Kanter, the bookseller, whom he sometimes assisted in his weekly publications, and by whose kindness he was kept acquainted with all the literature of the day. In 1768, Kanter erected a large new bookstore, which he adorned with twelve busts of old classic authors, and with portraits of Frederick the Great, Moses Mendelssohn, Rammler, Hippel, Willamov and Schaffner; and to this number Kant was now added. He was, during this period, honoured with invitations to several important chairs in other universities of Germany. In 1770, his long-cherished wish was gratified, and he became ordinary professor of Logic and Metaphysics, in place of Dr. Buck, who was transferred to the chair of Mathematics. The emolument was about three hundred dollars, of our money. Kant's inaugural exercise was a disputation 'de mundo sensibili,' which is chiefly memorable as containing the germ of his Critique of Pure Reason. And here it may be remarked, that this period of fifteen years, preceding his being ordinary professor, was that in which his system was taking shape; as is evident from the glimpses which occur in his works on other subjects, anticipating to some extent his maturer views. The mathematical and physical treatises

which he published are elaborate and voluminous, and have been much lauded by his countrymen, though little read out of Germany. His essay on Negative Quantities, published in 1763, is regarded by his biographer, Rosenkrantz, as one of his most valuable contributions to metaphysics. It was in 1763, that he first ventured on any criticism of the popular arguments for the Being of God, and we find in these strictures the germ of his future theory, when he declares that the true ground of the necessary conviction of a God, is the impossibility of thinking the contrary.

Having now, at the age of forty-six years, come into possession of the chair of philosophy, Kant was more than ever confirmed in his determination, never to leave his native city. He now lessened the number of his lectures, limiting himself to thirteen public hours in the week. Both in summer and winter he began, four days in the week, at seven o'clock, and lectured until nine, and on the remaining days until ten. It was made a part of his duty, to give a course on 'Paedagogik,' or the theory of Education. He accordingly transferred to other hours his instructions in Aesthetics, Mathematics, and Physical Geography, and resigned his office as librarian. His ordinary lectures were now upon Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Law, Ethics, and Natural Theology. During nine years, he is said never to have omitted a lecture. His lectures, at extraordinary hours, on Geography, and Anthropology, drew numerous hearers, as they pre-supposed no acquaintance with his more asbtruse principles. They were frequented not merely by university-men, but by gentlemen of mature age, and of elevated station. As he advanced, his mode of lecturing became more and more free, and he exchanged his elaborate manuscripts, for brief and fragmentary notes. In answer to the objection which was even then made to the obscurity of his language, he used to reply, "that he wrote exclusively for professed thinkers, for whom the advantage of brevity was secured by a scientific nomenclature; and, moreover, that the self-complacency of readers was flattered by an occasional obscurity, which served to quicken their acuteness." Some of his courses were so numerously attended, that it was necessary to enlarge the accommodations. His voice was naturally so weak, that the slightest noise prevented his being heard. But such was the extraordinary respect in which he was held, that the moment of his appearance in the cathedra was one of profound and unu-

sual stillness. He sat when he lectured, and it was his manner to fix his eyes on some hearer in his vicinity, and to judge from his countenance how far the discourse was understood. The slightest peculiarity of mien or apparel in such a one, even the loss of a button, is said to have disturbed the professor's attention. His emolument varied from four hundred and forty to four hundred and fifty rix dollars, with the addition of a royal bounty, after 1789, of two hundred and twenty rix dollars.

This is the period to which we must refer the construction of Kant's system. As early as 1770, in his dissertation 'De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis,' we meet with those doctrines concerning time and space, which may be regarded as the key to his theory of the Understanding. As the earliest statement of this, we subjoin his theses. I. Of Time. 1. Idea temporis non oritur sed supponitur a sensibus. 2. Idea temporis est singularis, non generalis. 3. Idea temporis est intuitus non sensualis, sed purus. 4. Tempus est quantum continuum. 5. Tempus non est objectivum aliquid et reale, nec substantia, nec accidens, nec relatio, sed subjectiva conditio, per naturam mentis humanae necessaria, quaelibet sensibilia, certa lege, sibi coordinandi. 6. Quanquam autem tempus in se et absolute positum sit ens imaginarium, tamen, quatenus ad immutabilem legem sensibilium qua talium pertinet, est conceptus verissimus, et, per omnia possibilia sensuum objecta, in infinitum patens, intuitivae repraesentationis conditio. II. Of space. 1. Conceptus spatii non abstrahitur a sensationibus externis. 2. Conceptus spatii est singularis repraesentatio, omnia in se comprehendens, non sub se continens, notio abstracta et communis. Quae enim dicis spatia plura, non sunt, nisi ejusdem immensi spatii partes, etc. 3. Conceptus spatii itaque est intuitus purus—sensationibus non conflatus, sed omnis sensationis externae forma fundamentalis. 4. Spatium non est aliquid objectivi et realis, nec substantia, nec accidens, nec relatio, sed subjectivum et ideale e natura mentis stabili lege proficiscens, veluti schema, omnia omnino externe sensa sibi coordinandi. 5. Quanquam conceptus spatii, ut objectivi alicujus et realis entis vel affectionis, sit imaginarius, nihilo tamen secius, respective ad sensibilia quaecunque, non solum est verissimus, sed et omnis veritatis in sensualitate externa fundamentum.

In 1781 appeared the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' the

first work on speculative philosophy, in the German language, and one which was destined thenceforward to revolutionize the German mind. A whole article would be insufficient to give a draught of its contents: nor is it our purpose to offer any epitome, since the reader may be referred to the article by Professor Stapfer, published by us in 1828. It would convey little real information if we were to give the titles of the numerous works, pro et contra, which were drawn forth by this extraordinary system. The first review appeared in the Göttingen Literary Indicator, in 1782. It was in reply to the charge of Cartesianism and Berkleyanism, advanced in this and other reviews, that Kant, in 1782, published his 'Prolegomena to all Metaphysics.' His private correspondence reveals the dissatisfaction felt by his philosophical friends Hamann, Herder and Jacobi. "Kant himself" said Jacobi, "I venerate as a man of extraordinary genius. His system is the utmost possible carrying out of the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum;* a proposition which I would gladly invert; and therefore I have my hopes that this revolution will be the last of the Cartesian doctrine."

Kraus and Hippel, the most intimate friends of Hamann, during his latter years at Königsberg, stood in the same relation to Kant. The latter purchased a house in 1783, which he occupied to the end of his life and which bears the inscription: "Immanuel Kant lived and taught here, from 1783 to 1804." On Sundays, he always dined with his friend Motherby, the merchant. On every other day, he invited one or two persons to dinner, increasing the number to four or five on special occasions. These were the seasons of his principal recreations. Between him and Kraus the connexion was most interesting. "Of all men I have ever known" said Kant, "I find none with such talents as Kraus, to comprehend everything and acquire everything, and at the same time to stand first in everything: he is altogether a man by himself." In return Kraus shows his attachment, by saying in regard to an excursion, "If I were to go away in the holidays, my friend Kant would have no dinner-companion, which is always with me a strong argument against travelling." They contrived in all companies to sit together, and Kraus made good use of his pen in defence of his friend and preceptor.

Of the 'Critique of Practical Reason' we find no necessity for adding anything to remarks long since made by us; (volume for 1828, p. 331.) It comports better with our

purely biographical sketch, to pass to the closing period of fourteen years, from 1790 to 1804. It is the period during which the Kantian doctrines obtained their first great diffusion. Their spread appears to have had little reference to distinctions of sect. Catholics no less than Protestants adopted them with zeal. In Würzburg, Professor Reuss made a beginning in 1788; he was followed by Dorsch of Mayence in 1789, and by Schmitt in Heidelberg. In Ingolstadt, Professor Grafenstein read lectures on Kant's system, in 1790, as in 1791 did Emes and Muth at Erfurt, Damm at Bamberg, and Weber at Dillingen. As for the Protestant faculties, the beginning was made at Halle by Jacob and Beck. They were followed at Jena by Hufeland and Schütz; in Erlangen by Breyer and Abicht; in Leipsich by Heydenreich and Born; in Göttingen by Bouterweck, Bürger and Stäudlin; in Marpurg by Bering; in Giessen by Snell; and in Altorf by Will. By this list of names, more readily than in any other way, the amazing propagation of the system may be indicated. The influence on individual minds was such as is almost incredible; which it would be easy to show from the letters of such men as Fichte and Erhard. The latter, writing as none but a German ever wrote, speaks thus: "All the enjoyment I ever felt in my life, is nothing in comparison with the thrill which penetrated my whole soul as I perused certain parts of the Critique of Practical Reason. Tears of excessive rapture were often showered upon the book, and the very remembrance of these blissful days, moistened my eyes, and elevated my mind, when at a later period, adverse circumstances and a melancholy temperament had shut me out from every cheerful view of life."

In 1790 the 'Critique of Judgment' appeared. "You ask me," writes Erhard to Körner, "what I am now reading and studying. Nothing less than Kant. His Critique of Judgment fascinates me by its new, luminous, spiritual contents, and has wrought in me the greatest longing, to go more deeply into his philosophy. I have a notion that Kant is not so insurmountable a mountain, and I shall certainly make myself more thoroughly acquainted with him." The influence of Kant upon Schiller, may best be learned from the words of the poet, at the time when he was editor of the 'Horen:' "Accept the assurance of my liveliest gratitude for the benignant light which you have kindled in my soul—a gratitude which, like the gift on which it is

founded, is boundless and imperishable." Philosophers, such as Reuss, Baggesen, Kiesewetter, Thibaut, went on pilgrimages to Königsberg; and Baggesen did not hesitate to apply to Kant the impious title of Messiah the second. The judgment of a great physical philosopher, such as William von Humboldt, will not fail to gratify the inquisitive student in such a connexion. In one of his letters he thus expresses himself: "Kant undertook and accomplished perhaps the greatest work, which the world has received from the philosophic reason of an individual. He proved and sifted the sum of philosophical endeavours, in a manner which forced him to confront the philosophies of all times and all nations; he measured, limited and levelled the ground of these, destroyed the illusory structures with which it had been covered, and, after the completion of this labour, established principles in which philosophical analysis harmonizes with the common sense of mankind, so long misled and stunned by foregoing systems. In the truest sense of the words, he carried back philosophy into the depths of the human bosom. All that marks the great thinker was possessed by him in full measure, and he united in himself qualities which are usually incompatible, profundity and acuteness; a dialectic never perhaps exceeded, whereby the mind was never betrayed into the research of truth unattainable by such a method; and philosophical genius, extending in every direction the threads of a widely spreading web of thought, and connecting all by the unity of the idea, without which no philosophical system is possible. Schiller has justly remarked, in reference to the traces of a feeling heart which occur in his writings, that the high calling of the philosopher demands both properties, thought and sensibility. But if we contemplate him as pursuing, in a single direction, the one path which his genius indicated, we shall begin to comprehend the extraordinary power of the man, in its extent. He was indifferent to nothing, either in nature or in the domain of science: all was drawn within his circle. In Kant, grandeur and power of fancy stand in immediate connexion with penetration and depth of thought. How much or how little of the Kantian philosophy may have survived to this day, or may hereafter survive, I do not feel competent to determine; but if any man would estimate the glory which Kant has conferred on his nation, and the profit which he has bestowed on speculative science, three things are undeniable.

Much, namely, that he has demolished, will never arise again; much that he has reared, will never go down; and, which is the most important, he has introduced a reform, the like of which is not furnished by the history of philosophy. Hence, on the appearance of his Critique of Pure Reason, the feeble semblance of speculative philosophy awoke to an activity which we may hope will long animate the German mind. As he did not teach so much philosophy, as how to philosophize, he communicated little of absolute discovery, but rather kindled the torch of individual investigation, and thus gave occasion to systems and schools, varying in a greater or less degree from his own; and it is characteristic of the lofty freedom of his genius, that he was competent to awaken philosophies, perfect in their liberty, and pursuing each its own chosen path."

It was scarcely possible for such a mind as that of Goethe to become thoroughly Kantianized; as he confesses; yet he declares the Critique of the Judgment to have marked an epoch in his life, as harmonizing in a philosophic unity his "widest and most disparate employments, whether aesthetic or teleological." Jean Paul Richter did not escape the contagion. In 1788 he writes to his clerical friend Vogel: "In heaven's name buy me two books, 'Kant's Elements of the Philosophy of Morals,' and Kant's 'Critique of Practical Reason.' Kant is not merely a great luminary, but one entire radiant solar system all at once."

The new opinions, thus simultaneously pervading the different states of Germany, transcended its confines. In Holland, Paul Van Hemert of Amsterdam led the way in 1792. A literary society was there formed, composed exclusively of Kantians. In France, the revolutionary tumults left little room for metaphysics: de Villars published a sketch of the system, in 1799. In England some attempts were made to introduce transcendental philosophy, with such success as might have been expected. Mr. DeQuincy would have us believe that the unfavourable result is due to the incapacity of the agents. "The persons who originally introduced the Kantian philosophy to the notice of the English public, or rather attempted to do so, were two Germans—Dr. Willich and (not long after) Dr. Nitsch. Dr. Willich, I think, has been gone to Hades for these last dozen years; certainly his works have: and Dr. Nitsch, though not gone to Hades, is gone (I understand) to Germany; which answers my purpose as well; for it is not

likely that a few words uttered in London will contrive to find out a man buried in the throng of thirty million Germans. *Quoad hoc*, therefore, Dr. Nitsch may be considered no less defunct than Dr. Willich; and I can run no risk of wounding any body's feelings; if I should pronounce both doctors very eminent blockheads." The only respectable publications in England, proposing to call attention to Kant's system, have been an article by Dr. Thomas Brown, in the Edinburgh Review; Professor Dugald Stewart's notices, which were founded on no nearer acquaintance with Kant than could be gathered from Dégérando; Madame de Stael's Germany, originally published in London; Coleridge's scattered observations; the Article 'Kant' in the Encyclopedia Londinensis, and the brief hints of De Quincey, the English Opium-eater. For we cannot take into consideration the jargon of Wirgman.

The teaching of Kant occasioned just alarm among the friends of scriptural orthodoxy, and even drew upon him the censure of the government, though not in a public manner. For in 1794, he received a cabinet order, in which it was enjoined upon him by royal authority to forbear for the future all observations on religion, whether natural or revealed, either in lectures or through the press; an injunction which he sacredly observed to the day of the King's death. It is probable that the work which gave most offence was his 'Religion within the bounds of Pure Reason:' and it is well known by all who ever looked into his writings, that, without formally abandoning Christianity, Kant endeavoured to establish principles utterly irreconcileable with its fundamental doctrines. All the theological and philosophical instructers of the University of Königsberg were forbidden to read lectures upon the offensive work, and newly inducted professors were brought under a similar engagement.

Kant was now entering upon the seventy-first year of his age; and, after a life of unbounded popularity, he was greatly affected by the obloquy which his religious opinions now began to draw upon him, and especially by the censure of the court, with which he had been an object of special favour. It preyed upon his spirits and his health, and wrought a perceptible change in his manners. He ceased to appear in public assemblies, and after the year 1794 sought entertainment almost entirely within his own doors. The infirmities of age gained rapidly upon him. He soon

abandoned all private instructions, lecturing once a day, alternately on Logic and Metaphysics. He applied himself *sarcinas colligere*, such was his expression, and was busied in preparing for the press his Anthropology, and his unfinished work on the Metaphysics of Morals. He declined the rectorship of the university, which fell to his turn in 1796, but prepared for publication his work on Law. At the same time he was labouring upon his Theory of Virtue and the second part of the Metaphysics of Morals, which were published in 1797. His infirmities of body and mind continued to increase, and he ceased to deliver any public lectures. The commencement of his last course was celebrated on the 14th of June 1797, with great enthusiasm by the assembled students of the institution of which he had been the most distinguished ornament for forty-two years. The sufferings which he endured were the more embarrassing, as he had all his life maintained that health was in every man's power, and he still struggled against his infirmities, and wrote a treatise on the "power of the mind, by its mere purpose, to overmaster its morbid feelings." This was dedicated to the celebrated physician Hufeland, with whom he lived on terms of affectionate intimacy.

By the demise of Frederick William II., Kant felt himself absolved from his obligation to refrain from theological discussion; accordingly he published his work on the 'Conflict of the Faculties,' in 1798. The same year he closed the series of his own works with his Anthropology, of which two thousand copies were rapidly sold; stating in the preface, that he was prevented by the infirmities of age from giving to the public a similar manual on Physical Geography.

His next labour was the revision of his manuscripts, with the aid of several favourite pupils. Jäsche was entrusted with the editing of the Logic, while Rink took charge of the Physical Geography and 'Paedagogik.' But the venerable sage was sinking. In 1802 his memory was so much impaired, that he found it difficult to maintain a train of thought, and even hesitated in naming the most familiar objects. He still kept up his practice of making perpetual notes, on little memorandum-cards. He was by no means blind to the symptoms of this decay; but would often say, "Gentlemen, I am old and feeble, and you must treat me as you would a child." Till the year 1802, he persevered in his practice of never lying down from five o'clock in the

morning until 10 at night; but now his limbs began to fail him, and life itself became a burden. His sleep was disturbed by frightful dreams, and the detail of his distresses and weaknesses, as given by his biographer, is painful in the extreme. Seldom, indeed, have we perused the account of a more melancholy close of life; especially as we do not learn that the humiliating anguish was mitigated by any of the hopes derived from revelation. He died on the night of Sunday, the 12th of February, 1804, in the 80th year of his age.

The bodily frame of Kant was frail and diminutive. He was scarcely five feet high, of small bones, slender muscles, and contracted chest. His head and countenance were fine, his eyes soft and vivacious in their expression. His pupils often mention the beaming of his clear blue eye, and the peculiar penetration of his glance. His hair was auburn, and even to his latest years he retained a brilliant freshness of complexion. Notwithstanding the weakness of his frame, he succeeded, by extreme care, in accomplishing herculean labours, and this, for a large portion of his life, without positive disease; exercising himself constantly, according to his darling theory, in destroying the first symptoms of disease, by violently refusing attention to them. In disposition, Kant possessed a softness which might have been mistaken for weakness; being almost feminine in his sympathies, and slow to apprehend the bad traits of those around him. With his colleagues he was invariably courteous and obliging. To students, especially to indigent young men of merit, he loved to offer the hand of encouragement.

We have mentioned his punctuality in respect to university duties. His lectures were an hour in length, and were often so far extemporaneous as to betray the rise of new ideas and the process of new speculations and conclusions, as he went along. It is believed that on these occasions the riches of his mind was displayed far more than in any thing which he published. Even in his table-talk he often poured forth a lavish flood of eloquent discourse, the more effective from his uninterrupted serenity, his child-like simplicity, and the reverence manifested by all around him. During his years of strength, cheerfulness and hope so predominated in his disposition, that he was regarded by all who knew him, as one of the happiest of men.

Kant professed to honour the Bible as the best guide for

the public mind, and vehemently condemned such as sought to weaken its influence upon the common people; it is to be feared that of proper faith in its divine authority he was altogether devoid. Of Eloquence, he held a low estimate, believing it to be a deceitful art. In literature, he was peculiarly fond of satire; no man more relished such works as Don Quixote, Hudibras, and Lichtenberg's Illustrations of Hogarth. His favourite Latin authors were, first Juvenal, then Horace and Lucretius. In German poetry, his circle did not reach much beyond Haller, Wieland, Lessing, and Bürger. The master-pieces of Goethe and Schiller appeared when he was absorbed in greater cares. He adhered through life to his admiration of a few foreign writers, Locke, Pope, Hume, Hutcheson, Montaigne and Rousseau.

We cannot think it will be uninteresting to give some glimpses of his private ways, and the habits of his study. His life was like clockwork. Winter and summer he rose precisely at five o'clock; his servant, Lampe, who lived with him thirty years, having orders to pull him out of bed, in case of any delay. Towards the close of this period, he once appealed to his veteran attendant, during a dinner-party, to testify whether he had ever lain half an hour later. On rising, he smoked a pipe of tobacco, and drank two cups of very weak tea, but without eating. He then applied himself to labour, until his lecture-hour, which was usually seven or eight o'clock; returning to his toils after the lecture, and studying until half past twelve, when he dressed for dinner. On Sundays and holidays he spent the whole forenoon at the desk. As he took but one meal in the day, it was his custom at this hour to banish every thought of labour. His food was simple, but well-prepared, and his wines were of choice purity. He disliked hurry in eating, and often quoted with approbation the Roman phrase *coenam ducere*. The tone of conversation at table was familiar, and he even encouraged this by the free use of little provincialisms in his language. In the afternoon, he never failed to walk for an hour; in early years, with some one of his colleagues or pupils, but after the year 1785, always alone, in consequence of the injury which his lungs sustained from conversing as he walked. No change of weather caused any difference in this exercise. On returning to his house, he attended to little domestic matters, and then read the journals; which, from his strong curiosity for news, sometimes broke in upon his forenoons. Then he

paced his floor, meditating upon the lectures of the next day, or such other literary work as he had on hand, or jotted down memoranda on his little cards. He retired to rest about ten. Except the wine which he used at dinner, his only beverage was water; beer he abhorred, holding it to be the slow poison of Germany.

In the care of his person, Kant was punctilious beyond the wont of German literati. His daily ablutions were all but those of a Mussulman. His dress was neat, and he wore a sword as long as the mode of the eighteenth century endured. The three-cornered hat he never laid aside. Being a bachelor, he occupied a moderately-sized house of two stories, containing no other inmates except the servants. Here, with a certain degree of elegance, there was the greatest simplicity of arrangement.

Kant was no traveller. He died where he was born, and during a long life seldom passed the gates of his native city; nor did he ever go out of the province of East Prussia. With a number of valuable friends, he lived on terms of close intimacy, frequently meeting them at their own houses or at his own. Such were the merchants Green and Motherby, both Englishmen, Hay, Jacobi, Toussaint, and the booksellers Kanter and Nicolovius. He also cultivated the society of Hippel, Scheffner, Ruffman, the banker, General Meyer, Count Henkel, and the duke of Holstein-Beck. In these hours of relaxation, all his abstractions were forgotten, and it seemed to be his aim to make himself perfectly intelligible. Even children were won by his genial warmth and gentleness, and welcomed him to every house which he visited. In his own house, he made it a rule never to sit down to table without at least two guests; and these were times of unembarrassed relaxation, for they often remained at table three hours. Visits of ceremony or of curiosity always set him upon thorns. The history of one day is very much the history of all; the even tenor of his life knew but little change; and he grew old amidst the very scenes and habits of his youth.

It was not to be expected that a revolution so fundamental as that which ensued upon the diffusion of the Kantian philosophy, should be effected without opposition. Of that opposition, we have a word or two to say. The first and most violent attack upon the system proceeded, as was natural, from the Wolfians, and from Halle, as the citadel of Wolfianism. Eberhard, a popular writer, and not above

suspicion himself in regard to orthodoxy, established in 1788 a philosophical magazine, in avowed opposition to Kant. In 1790, Kant replied to Eberhard, and particularly to the charge that his theory was to be substantially found in Leibnitz. This reply went rapidly through two editions. Eberhard, however, was by no means daunted; he established a new journal at Berlin, the 'Philosophical Archives,' and sustained it during the years 1792 and 1793. His chief co-workers were Schwab, Brastberger and Maas. He also published philosophical epistles. In these works, the controversy turned chiefly on the speculative proof of the Being of God, in regard to which Kant's demonstration was denied the claim of originality, in favour of Basedow; the insufficiency of Kant's Categories to the structure of a sound Ontology; the relation of virtue to happiness; and the necessity of regarding the latter, which the Wolfians asserted. The opponents of Kant found the era favourable for charging his views with a destructive tendency, as connected with the French Revolution.

A second source of opposition was found in the more extended ranks of popular or superficial metaphysicians. In the estimation of these the opinions of Kant were intolerable. That time and space should be nothing, but forms of our subjective perception; and that our knowledge compasses only phenomena, and not the veritable things themselves; that the teleological argument for God's existence should be exploded; these tenets naturally struck them as absurd and dangerous; and there were not wanting some who stigmatized Kant as an Atheist. Similar objections were made to the system of disinterested virtue, and of obedience out of mere reverence to law, and compliance with the 'categorical imperative.' The new terminology was also repulsive. The more elegant scholars revolted against such barbarisms as Amphiboly, Antimony, Katharticon, Noumen, Epigenesis. The rigid and complicated systematic structure awakened similar opposition.

From this class arose a host of controvertists. Mendelssohn published his elegant defence of the ontological argument for the divine existence; and was thereby involved in a dispute with Jacob of Halle. Wit and sarcasm were enlisted in the service, and the very titles of the works evince the temper of their controversy. For example: 'Critical Promenade to the goal of Reason, in the Elysian Fields, by the ghost of desperate Metaphysick;'—'Critique of Fair

Reason; by a negro; Morocco, 1810.'—'The Ghost of Despairing Metaphysic; a critical drama, for the thorough analysis of the Spirit of Life.' The wit of these productions must have lain in something beyond the title-page. The opposition of the popular philosophy was brought out with far more effect, in the gay writings of Nicolai, of Berlin, in his 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' in his metaphysical romances, and in his discourses before the Berlin Academy of Sciences. These satirical and polemical publications gratified the public taste, and were extensively popular.

A third and more important source of opposition revealed itself in the religious world, both in its theological and its philosophical portions. Notwithstanding the endeavours of Kant to keep within the confines of church-orthodoxy, his speculations were in a high degree offensive to all the sounder theologians. Nowhere in Germany had Protestantism sunk more deeply into the hearts of the people, than in the kingdom of Wurtemburg. Let it be observed that this was the country of Schiller, of Stäudlin, of Schelling, of Paulus, of Hegel and of Strauss; all of whom were alumni of the university of Tübingen. The venerable Storr illustrated this seminary with his evangelical instructions. He was followed by Flatt, who entered the lists against Kant, in several well-known publications. Every university was in some degree agitated by the controversy. It reached to the examinations of candidates for the ministry: and, at length, as we have already said, called forth the edict of 1794. Among the Roman Catholics, there were many in the monasteries whose scholastic training had eminently fitted for entering into the subtleties of Kant. Several great men in the universities avowed themselves his disciples. But as the leaven spread, the restraints of superiors became more rigorous: the studies of monks were more closely guarded; and in 1791 the Capuchins ordained in the provinces of the Upper Rhine, that no works tainted with this philosophy should be printed among their order. Stattler, of Munich, wrote a work entitled Anti-Kant, in which he reviled the philosopher in unmeasured terms; and Adam Weishaupt, the father of the Illuminati, once a professor at Ingolstadt, issued a series of works on the same side.

There is in every country and there has been especially in Germany a class of philosophers, whose tendency towards mysticism has kept them aloof from the cold rationalistic or skeptical systems. Such men there were, even

among the friends and pupils of Kant, and some of these were his most formidable opponents. Such was the profound, passionate and laconic Hamann, who composed a 'Metacritique of the Purism of Pure Reason.' Such was Herder, a no less celebrated man, one of the great names of the period; who in his 'Metacritique of Pure Reason,' and in other works, waxed fiercer and fiercer, and directed all the fireworks of his exuberant genius against his old master. Such was Jacobi, the philosopher of Feeling, who owned no basis for Philosophy but Faith, and who shrunk with apprehension from the monumental coldness of the Critical speculatioms. All these great authors considered religion as consisting very much in a felt communion with God; and were unwilling to exchange this for the frigid morality of Kant.

Notwithstanding these formidable classes of antagonists, the Kantian philosophy, considered as Transcendental, may be said to have triumphed. Not that there now exists on earth a strictly Kantian school; but that the successive surges of philosophies, which dash and break and die upon the German shore, all derive their impetus and direction from the swell of this Northern tide; while of the Leibnitz-Wolfian systems there has been no succession. It may be doubted whether there ever lived a philosopher, who in his own lifetime operated on so wide a circle, and whose particular teachings became obsolete so soon after his death. Plato, Aristotle, Bacon, Descartes, and Leibnitz, did not live to measure their own power, but it was a power which lasted for ages. In the case of Kant, his mission seems to have been to set others at work; and could he rise and see the doings of his successors; he would scarcely recognise a lineament of his own in the theories of Schelling, Baader, Daub and Hegel.

In conclusion we may be allowed to observe, that we have not the slightest expectation that the system of Kant, or any modification of it, will ever prevail in Great Britain or America. After all the zealous and often able attempts which have been made, it is only the extremest appendages of the structure which have been reproduced among us. A few phrases of the transcendental philosophy have been caught up, and this not so much by systematic students of science, as by popular *littérateurs;* but of the fundamental principles of the system, not one has incorporated itself into our theories, or even commended itself to

our apprehension. And when we consider the influence exerted, in every change, and without a single known exception, by the Critical Philosophy upon the doctrines of Christianity, we rejoice and are thankful that the barrier of our national stubbornness is so insuperable.

Art. IV.—1. *Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity, proved from the testimonies of Scripture, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, and the English and Oriental Churches. Also, the Antiquity of Presbytery, including an account of the ancient Culdees and of St. Patrick.* By Thomas Smyth, Author of Lectures on the Apostolical Succession, Ecclesiastical Republicanism, Ecclesiastical Catechism, etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1843. 8vo. pp. 568.

2. *Ecclesiastical Republicanism, or the Republicanism, Liberality and Catholicity of Presbytery, in contrast with Prelacy and Popery.* By Thomas Smyth, Author of Lectures, etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1840. 12mo. pp. 323.

We have here two new volumes by the indefatigable author of the Lectures on Apostolical Succession. The more elaborate and important of the two is constructed on the same general method with its predecessor, but with the advantage of appearing in a more digested, systematic form. In either case, the circumstance which first strikes the reader is the number and variety of authors quoted. None but a well stocked and selected library could furnish the material of such a volume. It is in this richness of material that the value of the work chiefly consists. That it should do so, would seem indeed to have been the author's purpose. It is important that this should be distinctly understood, in order that justice may be done both to him and his productions. Had his aim been simply to produce an original argument, the multitude of his citations would be a serious blemish. But, unless we misconceive his plan, it is a little peculiar. We have lately had occasion to expose the want of congruity between the high claims of episcopacy as a homogeneous system and the endless diversity of the grounds on which it is maintained. What

we then merely hinted at, is here carried out in full detail. Episcopal as well as Presbyterian writers here speak for themselves. The author acts merely as a judge, or at most as an advocate, to elicit and array the proofs. By this several valuable ends are answered. In the first place we are made to see what Presbytery has always claimed to be. The concessions, which have sometimes been imputed to us, and made the ground of adverse arguments, or at least of arrogant pretensions by our adversaries, are here disproved, in the most conclusive manner, by quotations from the highest Presbyterian authorities. At the same time, the essential harmony of Presbyterian writers is evinced, not by assertion but by documentary evidence. In the next place, the extent of prelatical pretension is made to bear witness against itself. We are not left to believe it on the word of controversial opponents, but on that of the most eminent episcopal writers. We also have an opportunity of observing their mutual disagreement as recorded by themselves. But the most interesting feature of the work is the display which it gives of important concessions on the part of prelatists. These are not directly or distinctly treated. They are scattered through the work; but even thus dispersed, they cannot fail to strike the reader. Their effect upon us has been to suggest a new task for our author's practised and unwearied pen. What we propose for his consideration is a professed exhibition of episcopal concessions as to the fundamental doctrines of church government. Such a performance would be eminently seasonable and, if well executed, no doubt most acceptable and highly useful. For its preparation Mr. Smyth, we think, is peculiarly qualified. He not only has at his command the requisite materials, but is now an experienced labourer in this very field. Much that he has already gathered would be available for this end also. At the same time he would be able to give such a work more unity of plan and execution, than belongs to either of his larger volumes which have been already published.

This brings us back to the description of the one now immediately before us. We have spoken of it as an essential part of Mr. Smyth's design to cite a great variety of testimony. This relieves him from the charge, which superficial or unfriendly readers might allege against him, of pedantic ostentation. It has, however, tended likewise to increase the difficulty of constructing a continuous and ho-

mogeneous argument of his own. He has evidently written with two ends in view. The one was to exhibit an array of testimonies, presbyterian and episcopal; the other to weave these into a compact whole, by making them the basis or material, or both, of an original argument. It would scarcely be possible to execute this double plan in such a way as to prevent one part from being carried out at the expense of the other. From this dilemma Mr. Smyth has not been able altogether to escape. In collecting and arranging his citations he has frequently allowed the thread of his own argument to be broken or entangled. The successive steps of his ratiocination are not always consistent. There is sometimes even an appearance of direct contradiction. In some cases, this is doubtless nothing more than an appearance. A mere variation in the mode of statement, in the turn of the expression, in the use of common technicalities, may give rise to apparent inconsistencies, when really the same substantial truths are taught. This may happen even when the writer is merely tracing the process through which his own mind has passed in reaching its conclusions. Much more, when at the same time he undertakes to show how other minds have been affected by the subject. He has then to keep in view at once the various forms in which a number and variety of writers have exhibited that subject, and the course of his own reasonings. In detailing the latter he can hardly be expected to escape the influence of the former. He can hardly be expected to express his own views with an invariable precision and uniformity, while he is reporting those of others, in every variety of language. What he says in his own person will inevitably sometimes take a tinge from the peculiar phraseology, if not from the peculiar mode of thought, belonging to some writer whose opinions have been just before examined and described. We are, therefore, not surprised that Mr. Smyth, while exhibiting the views of different authors, as to the nature of the apostolic office, and its relation to the ordinary ministry, should sometimes speak as if, in his own judgment, it was essentially superior to the eldership, sometimes as if it had no such superiority. And the same may be said, in substance, of some other points on which he touches. We are willing in such cases, to impute the variation not so much to the author as to his authorities; and as it was his very plan, in part, to show that variation,

it cannot, in reference to that part, be a fault or an error to have done so. And even if this apparent inconsistency were greater than it is, and of more frequent occurrence, it would scarcely detract from the value of the work, as a body of testimony drawn from various quarters. This, as we have said, is what will chiefly interest the great majority of readers. It is also what the author seems to have had primarily in view. If his design, as we suppose, was to present the views of many writers in different places, times, and ecclesiastical connexions, he has certainly succeeded in a manner at once creditable to himself and interesting to his readers.

The volume is divided into three books, in the first of which he exhibits the argument from scripture; in the second, that from the Fathers, the Schoolmen, the Reformers, and eminent Anglican and Romish writers; in the third, that from the practice of various ancient churches, including those of Ireland and Scotland. After some introductory remarks on the importance of the questions to be treated, and the manner of conducting the discussion, he defines his position as a Presbyterian, and that of the Presbyterian body generally, as he understands it. In opposition to the statements of Bishop Kenrick, the Oxford Tracts and others, he shows that Presbyterians have always claimed apostolical authority for their church-government. His next positions are that presbytery is the true episcopacy; that the apostles were both ordinary and extraordinary ministers; that as ordinary ministers, they were presbyters and are succeeded by presbyters; and that the succession of presbyters is the only ministerial succession that can be certainly proved. In support or illustration of these positions, he adduces the concessions or the arguments of various writers, ancient and modern.

He then proceeds to show that the claims of presbytery to the ministerial succession are sustained by the condition of the church during our Lord's ministry. In support of this position, after pointing out the necessity of an appeal to scripture exclusively, and showing that some determinate scheme of church government is contained in scripture, he undertakes to demonstrate that the character of the church and its ministry, during our Lord's continuance with it, was presbyterian and not prelatical, in the course of which he exhibits the commissions of the twelve and the seventy in parallel columns. The claims of presbytery to

the true apostolical or ministerial succession are then sustained by the character and condition of the church when our Lord ascended up into heaven. In order to this, the author attempts to show that the apostles were not fully commissioned until after our Lord's resurrection; that the final commission at the time of Christ's ascension is the true and only charter of the church and ministry; and that this commission was not given to the apostles exclusively, but to all the disciples as representatives of the church, and includes in it all ecclesiastical power and jurisdiction. To his argument from scripture, Mr. Smyth here adds, by way of inference, that while this commission was addressed primarily to the church in its universal character, and not to the apostles or ministers, it nevertheless as plainly and certainly implies the appointment of an order of teachers; that the great end and object contemplated in the appointment of these officers was the preaching of the gospel; that there is no foundation for the distinction, upon which prelatists build, between the power of *order*, including confirmation, ordination, the admission and exclusion of members, and the power of *jurisdiction* or *government*, including the cognizance of causes, the decision of questions on points of faith, and the granting of indulgences; and lastly, that the power given to the church is limited by the authority claimed for scripture, and by the rights reserved to Christ himself, as the sole Head of the Church. We are not prepared to go all lengths with Mr. Smyth, as to some of these positions. We hesitate especially in reference to the precise relation which the original apostles bore to contemporary ministers, and in reference to the derivation of ecclesiastical authority through the body of the church. We are aware, however, that the views which Mr. Smyth espouses, as to these points, are sustained by high authorities, and we have been not a little interested in the exhibition of those authorities in the work before us. We have no intention to discuss the question here, but shall proceed to state that in the closing section of the third chapter there is a clear and satisfactory exposure of the absurdities involved in the pretensions which prelatists build upon the apostolical commission.

That the claims of Presbytery to the ministerial succession are sustained by apostolical authority, is shown from the powers and titles ascribed to the ministry by the apostles themselves. It is then proved that there was but one

order of permanent ministers in the apostolical churches; that presbyters, not prelates, are placed next to the apostles, in the foundation of the church; that the classification of church officers in the New Testament excludes prelates; that the titles bishop and presbyter are convertible terms; and that the very usurpation of the former by prelates is a proof of the human origin of prelacy. The section in which these last points are treated (the sixth of the fourth chapter) is particularly worthy of attention, on account of the variety of valuable testimonies there collected to the truth of the positions which the author is defending. To this negative view of the matter the author very properly adds a demonstration of the positive position, that presbyters are clothed, by apostolical authority, with all the functions of the ministry, being divinely authorized to preach the gospel, to conduct public worship, to administer the sacraments, and to exercise jurisdiction, all which is proved, not only from scripture and the fathers, but from the writings of prelatists themselves. This view of the primitive church-constitution removes, as Mr. Smyth has well observed, all the difficulties thrown in our way by prelatists.

Having shown, from the fathers, that presbyters have the power of discipline and excommunication, the highest acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he maintains that the power of presbyters to ordain was formerly acknowledged by the churches of Rome and England, and is clear both from the nature of ordination, which he explains at length, and from the circumstances of Barnabas and Paul's ordination as recorded in the thirteenth of Acts. This last is another point respecting which we are not entirely satisfied with Mr. Smyth's conclusions or the reasonings which lead to them; but as we cannot enter into the discussion here, we choose to express doubt rather than positive dissent. The ordaining power of the primitive presbyters is further shown from the cases of Timothy and Titus, confirmed by the practice of antiquity, the teachings of the schoolmen, the concessions of the prelatists themselves, and the universal judgment of the church, all which combine to make presbyterian orders more valid, regular, and certain than any other.

Thus far the argument has had reference exclusively to bishops and presbyters; but now the author attacks the prelatical doctrine that the deacons constitute one order of the ministry, and undertakes to show, from scripture, the

fathers, the practice of the Roman church, and the concessions of prelatical writers, that the deacon's office is entirely distinct from the Christian ministry in the highest sense of the term. It ought, however, to have been more distinctly stated, that the application of the terms *minister* and *ministry* to deacons is not unscriptural, since these words are in fact mere Latin equivalents for the Greek διάκονος and διακονία. In the sense which is generally put upon the words, however, and in which the author avowedly uses them, his proposition is unquestionably true. The alleged prelatical character of Sylvanus, Andronicus, Junia, Epaphroditus, Timothy, Titus, James, and the seven angels, is examined and disproved; as well as the arguments in favour of that system drawn from the heavenly hierarchy, the Jewish hierarchy, the constitution of the ancient synagogue, and from the early rise and general prevalence of prelatical episcopacy.

But the claims of presbytery to the true apostolical succession may be further sustained by an appeal to the Fathers, and such an appeal our author makes, though not without necessary cautions with respect to the authority belonging to that class of writers. Laying it down as a fundamental maxim, that the word of God is the only authoritative standard of faith or practice, he exposes the popular fallacies arising from the ambiguity of the word *old*, and a false notion of the quantity and quality of testimony furnished by the Fathers. He shows that this testimony is, to a great extent, discordant, and therefore inconclusive, that the Fathers themselves teach us not to rely implicitly upon it, that prelatists themselves admit its insufficiency, even when unanimous, to establish any doctrine or practice, and indeed its irrelevancy to the questions in dispute. Having thus laid down the necessary limits and restrictions, he defines more positively how far the testimony of the Fathers is admissible, desirable and highly important, especially when it clearly favours Presbyterian principles, in spite of the sophistical devices which have been employed to nullify its force, and which the author exposes in thirteen introductory cautions. The sophisms thus detected are such as the confounding of three offices with three orders in one ministry, or of mere conventional distinctions with essential ones; the antedating of patristic testimonies; the putting of earlier and later Fathers on a level of authority; making the later authoritative expounders of the elder; ignoring the

distinction between parochial and diocesan episcopacy; letting a few select divines speak as organs of the universal church; arguing from the mere existence or expediency to the necessity and binding obligation of a certain system; false translation and forced interpretatation of the testimonies cited; making partial testimonies exclude full ones; rejecting arbitrarily those ancient writers as schismatics and heretics, whose testimony cannot be evaded; denying the antiquity of presbytery, because the reformed church did not exist before the reformation; and lastly claiming apostolical authority for papal institutions, because they existed before the papacy was formally established.

In citing the testimony of the Fathers, our author classifies them as the Apostolic Fathers, the Primitive Fathers, the later Fathers, and the Schoolmen. After stating the true value of the Apostolic Fathers, he shows the uncertainty which overhangs the epistles of Ignatius, and the want of any proof in them, corrupted as they are, in favour of prelacy, nay, their direct testimony in behalf of presbytery. The other witnesses cited are Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Victor, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyprian, Firmilian, Novatus, Eusebius, Hilary, Damasus, Aerius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssene, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine, Paphnutius Synesius, Pelagius, Severus, Theodoret, Primasius, Sedulius, and the Apostolical constitutions and canons. To these he adds the testimony of the Schoolmen, or Fathers of the Middle Age, and of the Roman, Greek, Syrian, and Reformed Churches, including that of England, to the apostolical succession of presbyters.

In the first four books, the author's purpose has been to establish the scriptural authority of Presbyterian government, not only by direct appeal to scripture itself, but by the testimonies and concessions, both of churches and individual writers in all ages. This being established, as he well observes, the mere historical or antiquarian question, as to the actual execution of the primitive design, in different times and places, is of secondary moment. Even this, however, is a test from which our doctrine has no need to shrink, as Mr. Smyth has clearly shown in his third book, the design of which is to demonstrate positively the antiquity of Presbyterian order, by showing its existence in the primitive churches, and in those of Gaul, Egypt, Scythia,

Bavaria, and the East. The same thing is then more particularly shown, with respect to the first churches of Britain and Ireland. We have here a minute and interesting account of the Culdees, drawn from a variety of sources. The chapter on Saint Patrick and the Irish churches is also worthy of particular attention. It closes with a spirited appeal to the author's countrymen, which we should rejoice to see effectual. After a section on the Paulicians, Aerians, and Vaudois, he shews the same thing to be true in relation to the Lollards and the Syrian and Bohemian churches. He also dwells upon the curious fact, that the Episcopalians of South Carolina, in 1785, held and avowed Presbyterian principles as to the constitution of the church, a practical concession which deserves to be regarded as a very striking testimony in our favour. The last position taken by the author is that the Presbyterian churches of America, so far from being justly chargeable with "novelty" and "mushroom growth," are the most ancient churches in the country. The whole work closes with a series of brief but pertinent reflections on the history and present aspect of the controversy.

If, in addition to the summary view which we have given of the author's plan, and the more general remarks preceding it, we thought it necessary to characterize this treatise as a whole, we should call attention, in the first place, to the comprehensiveness of its design. We are not aware of any interesting or important question, involved in the controversy, which is left untouched. The extent and variety of the author's reading, upon this and kindred subjects, have made him acquainted with the various aspects under which the whole dispute has been presented, and with the precise points which are now at issue. If he has not always made them as distinctly visible to the reader as they must be to himself, it has arisen from the difficulty, which we have already pointed out, of executing with uniform success, a somewhat peculiar and complicated plan. We are free to say, however, that no one can attentively peruse this volume, without having fully, and for the most part clearly, brought before his mind the various theories of church government, and the grounds on which they are supported, often in the very words of their respective advocates. This latter circumstance, while it detracts, as we have seen, from the unity and absolute consistency of the author's own argument, adds much to the historical and

literary interest of his performance. Its merit, in this respect, is greater than any but an attentive reader would imagine. We are constantly surprised at the industry with which all accessible authorities have been resorted to, and so cited as to furnish the means of more particular examination on the reader's part. In this the author has done wisely, not so much for mere immediate success, as for permanent utility and reputation. This volume, like its predecessor, will be apt to alarm American readers by its bulk and show of erudition. Those who have been nourished on the modern diet of newspapers and cheap literature have little taste or stomach for more solid aliment. But even some who are at first repelled by the magnitude and copious contents of the volume, may hereafter resort to it as a guide to the original sources of information, and thus be led to read the whole. In this connexion, we must not omit to mention a valuable catalogue or index of the most important works upon the subject, which the author has prepared and appended to the volume. Most of these works are in his own possession, and have been employed in the construction of this treatise.

Another creditable feature of the work, considered as an original argument, is its freedom from extremes, and an enlarged view of the subject of church-government, which could never have resulted from mere solitary speculation, but which has obviously flowed, in this case, from an extensive comparison of opinions, with the grounds on which they rest. By such a process one becomes aware that what might otherwise have appeared to be a happy discovery is nothing more than an exploded error, and that much is to be said and has been said, in favour of opinions, which dogmatical ignorance would at once set down as obsolete absurdities. We think it the more necessary to make this general commendatory statement, because we differ from the author as to some points, both of his reasoning and interpretation, only one or two of which could be even hinted at, on this occasion.

The only other circumstance, which we should think it necessary to bring before our readers, as a characteristic of the book, is its completeness in all outward and mechanical advantages. The typography is elegant and in the main correct, and the volume is abundantly provided with the almost indispensable conveniences of copious indexes and tables of contents, which seem to be prepared with great

care and exactness. These are particulars in which our native publications are too commonly defective, and which we hope will contribute to the circulation of the one before us, abroad as well as at home. On the whole, we look upon the volume as another pleasing and creditable proof of what may be accomplished by untiring industry, not only in retirement or in academical stations, but amidst the labours of an important pastoral charge. That such a situation is no excuse for idleness, is clear from such examples as those of Mr. Smyth and Mr. Barnes.

Some of the remarks just made apply, with equal force, to the second work named at the beginning of this article, which is in fact an offshoot or excrescence from the first. Into any detailed examination of this volume we do not think it necessary to enter, partly because its size and subject will be apt to give it more immediate popularity than the parent work, and partly because we do not wholly agree with the author in his views as to the importance and expediency of holding up our system in what many will regard as an invidious contrast with other forms of ecclesiastical polity, and that too in reference to points which do not seem to be necessarily involved in our distinctive doctrines. This diversity of judgment, it will be observed, has respect merely to the general question, how far such considerations are conclusive, or may properly be urged in controversy, and not at all to the truth of the facts alleged, or the ability and fairness with which Mr. Smyth has stated them. Against neither of these have we any exceptions to make, and we have no doubt, that to many readers the disclosures of this volume, if not positively useful, will be eminently interesting. And even with respect to the previous question which we have suggested, those at least will have no right to find fault or complain, who have been wont to load the Presbyterian church with obloquy, while vociferously protesting against all imputations on their own opinions or practices as unfriendly to liberty or human happiness.

In concluding this notice, any exhortation to continued diligence would of course be superfluous. We shall merely repeat the suggestion made already, that a connected series of quotations from episcopal writers, old and new, designed expressly to exhibit their concessions, upon what are reckoned fundamental questions of church-government, is a work to which Mr. Smyth seems to be called, as well by

the preparation which he has already made for doing it, as by the prospect of material advantage to the cause of truth from such an exhibition.

ART. V.—1. *A History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; embracing an account of its principal transactions, and Biographical Sketches of its most conspicuous members.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. James Russell, Publishing Agent. 1841. 12mo. pp. 430.

2. *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.* By the Rev. W. M. Hetherington. New York: Mark H. Newman, 199 Broadway. 1843. 12mo. pp. 311.

IT is somewhat remarkable that two centuries should have elapsed before any separate history of the Westminster Assembly was given to the public. The importance of that body and of its influence during that period, it were in vain at this time to call in question. Neither the historian nor the theologian can be at all excused, who passes it by without the most careful consideration. To Presbyterians especially, it must be an object of no common interest, to have the best possible acquaintance with the persons, character, and doings of those by whom their symbolical books were prepared. For though the inherent value of those documents would be the same, had the names and personal history of the men by whom they were framed entirely perished; there is a natural and useful pleasure in associating them with the worth and piety of their distinguished authors. A knowledge of the circumstances under which they were composed, will also increase our confidence in them as the most accurate and complete exhibition of scripture truth, which has been penned by uninspired writers; and will attach the lovers of doctrinal purity to them as a *form of sound words* adapted, more than any other, to prevent error and maintain the truth.

The journal kept by the clerks of the Assembly appears to have been irrecoverably lost; and most probably other important documents, which would render our knowledge more minute and complete, have also been suffered to perish. Sufficient materials, however, are still preserved to

furnish a tolerably perfect and satisfactory account of the leading facts. The fullest account which has been heretofore accessible, is that given by Neal in his "History of the Puritans." He seems to have had in his possession important documents, which if they still exist are unknown. Copious notes were taken of the discussions and proceedings of the Assembly by many of its members. Of these, the journal of Dr. Lightfoot has been published, extending, however, only to a little more than one year. Robert Baillie, one of the Scottish commissioners, gave, in numerous letters, written by him during the progress of the Assembly, a succinct and very familiar account of its proceedings. These letters have also been published. There exist likewise in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, two manuscript volumes of notes by Gillespie, another of the Scottish commissioners. In Dr. Williams's library, London, there are also preserved three volumes of notes written by Dr. Thomas Goodwin, one of the leading Independent Divines in the Assembly. Occasional facts and notices are sometimes mentioned by other authors, which illustrate or confirm the statements of these authorities; and there are also extant many pamphlets and published sermons, besides larger works written by members, which throw light on the state of things at that deeply interesting period.

As it is impossible for ordinary readers to collect and peruse the authors described, we hail with sincere pleasure the appearance of the volumes mentioned at the head of this article. The first will probably be more attractive to the general reader not only as being less tedious in the historical part, but on account of the interesting Biographical Sketches which accompany the narrative, and which are so arranged that the reader may refer at will to any particular name. To those who are not acquainted with the history of the times, the introductory chapter of Mr. Hetherington will be very useful. The author has also given a more detailed account of the strenuous debates which arose in the Assembly, between the body of the members and the Independents and Erastians. To the student these will be deeply interesting, though we apprehend they will render the book somewhat forbidding to cursory readers. The extensive circulation of these volumes, at the present time, would have a salutary influence upon the cause of truth. The attention of the public mind has been recently drawn to this subject, and it is desirable that the

occasion should be embraced for awakening an interest as widely as possible, and making a deep and lasting impression. A condensed view of the occasion of its meeting, the character, and the labours of the Westminster Assembly, may not prove unacceptable to our readers.

The origin of the Westminster Assembly is to be sought in the state of the kingdom at that period. To understand this, it is necessary to advert briefly to the character of the Reformation in England. That country, like every other, had groaned under the papal yoke. The deadliest errors of that system had struck deep their roots and diffused their pestilent influence far and wide. Priestly insolence and profligacy had reached their height; and a corresponding depression of the people was the natural and necessary result. Avarice, imposture and shameless corruption on the one part, and ignorance, superstition, and abject degradation on the other; were the characteristics of a venal priesthood and a sunken laity. The preaching and writings of Wickliffe had kindled for a moment the lamp of truth; but it was speedily extinguished by relentless persecution, and the stagnant mass again enveloped in the shades of destroying error. But when the Reformers on the continent began to move society by the agency of truth, a powerful sensation was felt also in England. The public mind threw off its lethargy, the deadened sensibilities of the heart were quickened, and men were disposed to inquire for the truth, to examine and renounce their delusions, and to yield the convictions of an enlightened conscience to the testimony of God's word. The Reformed doctrines took fast hold of the minds and feelings of many, and spread with encouraging speed and success; and had the cause been entrusted to suitable hands, there might—humanly speaking—have been achieved one of the most complete and glorious conquests of the gospel over error which was witnessed in that illustrious age. But the results differed materially from those in other countries. The men who led the Reformation on the continent and in Scotland—the Luthers, and Calvins, and Knoxes—were men of incorruptible purity, great singleness of purpose, and undaunted resolution. Whatever were their faults, the great object of their wishes, the aim of all their efforts, and the reward of their fondest anticipations, was the complete emancipation of the gospel. In comparison of this, the distinctions and advantages of the world, were nothing.

In the prosecution of this they neither shunned toil nor feared danger; they were unmoved equally by the caresses and the frowns of princes. Disinterestedness, courage, and energy, combined with deep-toned fear of God, gave them prodigious influence; and the work went forward despite of all opposition and difficulty.

In England it was not so. The Reformation in that country embraced indeed many sincere and decided friends, who sought from conscientious motives the restoration of the church to primitive purity in faith and worship. But these were not the master spirits in the enterprise: they did not give tone to its movements, nor shape its results. The cause fell at once into the very worst hands, and was furthered by the most injudicious methods. Instead of aiming at the divine glory, it became subservient to earthly ambition; and was carried forward by legislative rather than by intellectual and moral force. Its most powerful patrons regarded it as a political manœuvre, and supported it from selfish policy.

That Henry the VIII., a king in whom despotism and vice were personified, espoused the Reformation, first to gratify his passions and then to strengthen his prerogative, is too notorious to require proof. His opposition to popery was the enmity of a personal quarrel, and his friendship to protestantism the favour of an interested patron. Associated with him were the minions of regal power—in many cases a worldly clergy and a servile parliament. The ecclesiastical supremacy which, in mean and obsequious devotion they ascribed to him, became the cardinal idea of English Protestantism, and the germ of lasting evils to the church and nation. The hopes which were founded on the piety of Edward VI. were blasted by his early and lamented death; and again the nation sunk under the dominion of popery. But the fires and tortures of the bloody Mary did less to extinguish the true spirit of the Reformation than the cold, worldly sympathy of her protestant sister. Elizabeth throughout her whole life manifested a leaning towards the doctrines and a sympathy with the rites of the Romish system. But that great queen saw clearly that she could not render popery subservient to her arbitrary but vigorous administration of power. She embraced the Reformed religion with a determination to make it available for her political interests. From this purpose she never swerved; and her success equalled her resolu-

tion. Under her reign the Reformation closed, and the church was definitely settled in its permanent character. That church was precisely such as might have been expected. It satisfied no class of persons except the sovereign and the worldly and ambitious clergy. Sincere papists mourned the mutilation of the ancient order, and genuine protestants turned away pained and disgusted with a church but half reformed.

It is difficult now to appreciate fully the feelings of either class. The popish system had in its favour every thing which could fix it deep and strong in the feelings of those who still remained its adherents. It was a vast, and in some respects a magnificent system, of which venerable cathedrals and time-hallowed institutions were the symbols. It was incorporated with national and family traditions, and invested with the soft and pleasing light of antiquity. It filled the earliest recollections of childhood, and was entrenched in all the strength of later associations. Until the spell was broken by the light of truth, the heart could not without violence be divorced from all it held sacred and dear. As if to mock its sensibilities, the monuments were still preserved of that which it regretted. Ancient and venerated churches, bearing upon them the vestiges of a ruined religion—sculptured decorations, crucifixes, painted windows and interiors, with every thing arranged for Catholic rites and Catholic devotions; a ritual closely resembling the old; a priesthood retaining the same titles; with innumerable traces in the rites and ceremonies, and vestments, to revive the impressions which still lingered in the memory and affections. No marvel that such wept over it as the desecration of all that was greatest and best.

Conscientious protestants on the other hand, looked upon the same things as the remnants of idolatry. They contemplated them with the feelings of a liberated captive when he sees the manacles and fetters in which he once groaned. They knew moreover that the multitude are more impressed by what they see than by what they hear. If the garb of popery met the eye, they knew full well that its virus would infect the heart; and they despaired of a thorough moral renovation without a ceremonial cleansing. There were many things also which involved essential principles and which came in conflict with their consciences —matters neither of taste nor expediency, to which they could not yield without sacrifice of the fear of God.

The Church of England by retaining the oppressive and unscriptural hierarchy of Rome, had separated itself from all protestant Christendom. This drew after it all the corrupting dogmas associated with the notion of a prelatical succession. The assumption of sacramental power in the priesthood; the doctrines of inherent efficacy in the sacraments, baptismal regeneration, and subjective justification; the sickly devotion lavished on vestments and postures and forms, and the corresponding neglect of truth and holiness; were the natural and legitimate fruits of that great error. The worship of the church was disfigured with many of the palpable blemishes of popery; and human rites were placed on a level with divine ordinances and apostolic institutions.

By its unhallowed alliance with the crown, that church became the servile handmaid of tyranny, the enemy of liberty, and an engine of oppression. Every reader of English history knows with what obsequious subjection it continued under the Stuarts to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, and to draw the bonds of the subject to the utmost tension. Preferments were bestowed as the reward of servility; and the *king's creatures*, as bishop Gladstanes significantly termed the prelates, seemed to vie with each other in rendering the most abject and degrading homage. They were the advocates of passive obedience in the subject, and of unlimited authority in the prince. The outraged consciences of abler and better men were not allowed the least indulgence; faithful ministers were without mercy ejected from their churches for declining ceremonies which they believed unlawful, and which even their enemies acknowledged to be indifferent; and the least deviation from established forms was visited with the utmost rigour, while vice stalked forth unabashed and unrebuked. All could not, however, extinguish the thirst for the unadulterated doctrines and ordinances of the gospel. The pious sighed more and more for a pure religion, and conscientious ministers longed to be permitted to exercise their sacred functions without the interference of arbitrary power. But nothing could move a venal court and a worldly hierarchy. The rights of conscience were set at nought, the claims of justice and humanity were disregarded, the people were uninstructed, and religion, in its most important interests, suffered to languish. Not only so: but inasmuch as strict piety was found allied to independent thought and discriminating

conscience; godliness itself became an object of dislike. Those who kept holy the Lord's day, or who maintained becoming fidelity in the practice of religious duties, drew upon them the hatred, if not the vengeance of the prelates; while if they questioned the lawfulness of festivals, and deviated from matters of ceremony, they were summoned to the court of High Commission, deprived, imprisoned, or subjected to vexations delays and ruinous expenses.

These evils, burdensome under the treacherous and pusillanimous James, became altogether insupportable under his more resolute but equally faithless son. The inexorable Charles, aided by archbishop Laud, seemed resolved to goad the people to madness. Nothing could open the eyes of the demented king, no appeal could touch the heart of the infatuated prelate, until their reckless career terminated in ruin.

At length the period arrived when the fetters of religion and humanity should be sundered together. The public mind was stirred to its inmost depths. Every sensibility of the national heart was feelingly alive to the wrongs which had been suffered, and every fibre nerved to demand redress. The parliament of England assembled. Its meeting was the crisis of civil and religious oppression. Though disparaged and calumniated by a certain class of historians, abilities were there concentrated, and moral worth embodied, such as England had never witnessed in her legislative bodies: and whatever liberty is this day enjoyed by those who speak the English language, is owed, in no small measure, to the wisdom, energy, decision, and patriotism of that body.

On the first of December, 1641, the House of Commons presented to the king their grand remonstrance, in which they specified the grievances of the nation. Among other things they say, "We desire to unburden the consciences of men from needless and superstitious ceremonies, to suppress innovations, and to take away the monuments of idolatry. To effect this intended Reformation, we desire there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church."*

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii, ch. x.

After considerable delay, and an ineffectual attempt to procure the consent of the king to a bill for the purpose mentioned in the remonstrance, the two houses of parliament passed "an ordinance for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines and others to be consulted with by parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing the doctrine of said church from false aspersions and interpretations." This ordinance which bears date June 12, 1643, sets forth the reasons for the measure, names the persons who should convene, the time and place of meeting, and prescribes the duties of the body, with a restriction from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The number of persons named in the ordinance was one hundred and fifty-one; of whom ten were Lords and twenty Commoners, as lay assessors, and one hundred and twenty-one Divines.*

Pursuant to the ordinance, on Saturday, July 1, 1643, sixty-nine persons convened in the Abbey Church, Westminster, and the Assembly was opened with a sermon by Rev. William Twisse, D. D., from John xiv. 18. After sermon all the members present adjourned to Henry VII.'s chapel: but the parliament not having given specific instructions, and there not being any subject immediately before them, the Assembly adjourned till the following Thursday.

When the Assembly convened again on Thursday, the instructions of the parliament were laid before them, and they entered upon those deliberations which have had so important a bearing upon the interests of religion. The Assembly thus convened, sat five years, six months, and twenty-two days; during which time they held eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions. This body was altogether peculiar in its structure and powers. It was not an ecclesiastical court, nor did it possess either civil or spiritual jurisdiction. It was, according to the designation in the ordinance of parliament, "an assembly of learned and godly divines and others;" its powers were, "to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things, touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline and government of the church of England, as shall be proposed unto them by both houses of parliament and no other;" and the result of their deliberations was of no authority whatever, but simply "advice of, or touching matters aforesaid" to the parliament.

* Neal, vol. iii. ch. ii. Hetherington, p. 97. Hist. of W. Ass. p. 18.

The character of this Assembly is a point of much interest in the history of our standards; and happily it is a point which is neither obscure nor doubtful. It has indeed been attacked by virulent and bigoted prelatists with great violence; but their charges savour so strongly of prejudice and malevolence, as to convey in part their own refutation, and their allegations moreover relate to those points which admit of triumphant defence. Charles I. declared them to be "men of no learning or reputation;" the artful Clarendon asserts that all except about twenty "were but pretenders to divinity; some were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts, if not of scandalous ignorance;" and the notorious Laud affirmed that "the greatest part of them were *Brownists* or *Independents*, or New England ministers, if not worse." But a king whom neither promises, nor solemn treaties, nor oaths could bind, is not valid testimony against his enemies. The noble historian quoted was too much interested in disparaging the Assembly of Divines to be impartial, even if he meant to be so; and his assertions are not only directly contrary to those of much better witnesses, but also to the irrefragible proof furnished by the writings of the men themselves and the undeniable state of religion among the puritan class of divines.

The celebrated Richard Baxter, who knew many of the members personally, who had an excellent opportunity of observing all their proceedings, and who was also much better qualified to judge and withal a moderate candid and impartial man, affirms that "they were men of eminent learning, godliness, and ministerial abilities and fidelity." "And not being worthy to be one of them myself, I may more fully speak the truth which I know, even in the face of malice and envy. As far as I am able to judge, by the information of history and by any other evidences, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines, than this synod and the synod of Dort."

If we consider the purpose for which this assembly was convened; the authority by which it was summoned—the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain; and the great importance which that illustrious Parliament attached to the step; it will not only seem incongruous but utterly incredible that its members should have been otherwise than such as are specified in the ordinance—grave, learned, and godly divines and others. This presumption is abundantly

sustained by the evidence of witnesses of undoubted veracity, who bear the most decisive testimony to the general character of the body, and also of many of its members, individually. Some of the laymen who sat in the assembly were among the most eminent men of their day; and many of the divines were noted for their theological learning and great abilities. Besides they were men of piety, and faith, and prayer; who valued truth above every thing else. In the roll of this body are found such names as Lightfoot, Arrowsmith, Tuckney, Twisse, Gataker, Palmer, Herle, Greenhill, Reynolds, Wallis, Caryl, Calamy, Burgess, Cheynell, and a host of others; men as famous as any in the kingdom, who corresponded with the eminent men of the continent, and were known by their writings at home and abroad. A large number of the Westminster divines were authors; and their writings, still extant, show them to have been thorough scholars, profound theologians, able polemics, and judicious casuists. Many of them were appointed to literary posts, which they filled with unwonted vigour; and the race of scholars which they trained up, gave ample proof of their abilities and fidelity.

With all these facts before us, we are authorized to regard the spirit which would sneer at this assembly, as the very imbecility of bigotry. Notices of individuals would extend this article beyond due limits. Our readers will find these in the volume published by our Board; and an examination of those sketches will furnish the most satisfactory testimony to the character of those great and good men.

It ought to be here remarked, that six Scottish delegates, two laymen, and four ministers, were present in the Assembly as commissioners of the church of Scotland. These took an active part in all the deliberations of the body, but did not vote. Two ministers of the French churches, in London, are also mentioned in the list of members; but they appear not to have taken any prominent or active part in the business of the body.

It is worthy of notice, too, that all the members of the Westminster Assembly, except the six from Scotland and the two French ministers, had been brought up in the Church of England, and were most of them in its communion at the time of their convening; and all the English divines and two of those from Scotland had been Episcopally ordained. So far, therefore, as the influence of education, of early habits and associations, and of prejudice

operated on their minds; their prepossessions were *for* and not against prelacy. Many of them had indeed been long convinced of its unscriptural character; but there were still a number who arrived at the same conviction only upon thorough and mature examination. The great body of the synod met with a purpose to ascertain, define, and embrace truth, and not to defend a system. This did much to keep them from extreme views; and it may be regarded as one reason of the moderate tone of all their documents, that proceeding against time-honoured usage and errors consecrated by national pride, by ancestral renown, and by every hallowed association, they advanced only so far as they were carried by deliberate examination of God's word and deep, solemn conviction. At any rate, it is a fact which stands alone in the history of human opinion; that from the bosom of one communion, allied to wealth, and patronage, and power; so much learning and talent should be collected and employed with concentrated ability and effort in digesting articles of religion which should continue for centuries to be the unchanged standards of a denomination as numerous, intelligent, and independent as the Presbyterian church in different parts of the world.

The labours of the Westminster Assembly were prosecuted with great care, diligence, and fidelity. Mention has been made of the instructions laid before them by the Parliament. These were: 1. That two assessors be joined to the prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity. 2. That scribes be appointed to set down all proceedings, and those to be divines who are out of the Assembly and not to vote. 3. That every member should make solemn protestation not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be the truth in sincerity when discovered to him. 4. No resolution to be given upon any question the same day wherein it is first propounded. 5. What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of scripture. 6. No man to proceed in any dispute after the prolocutor has enjoined him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on. 7. No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly, and his reasons for it in any point. 8. All things agreed on and prepared for the Parliament, to be openly read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent: provided, that the opinions of any

persons dissenting, and the reasons urged for it, be annexed thereunto, if the dissenters require it, together with the solutions if any were given by the Assembly to those reasons.

The Assembly also adopted several additional regulations for their own guidance. 1. That every session should open and close with prayer. 2. That after the opening prayer the roll should be called and absentees noted. 3. That the appointed hour of meeting be ten in the morning: the afternoon to be reserved for committees. 4. That three of the members of the Assembly be appointed weekly as chaplains, one to the House of Lords, another to the House of Commons, and the third to the Committee of both kingdoms.

On Saturday, July 8th, the appointed declaration or vow was taken by all the members, lay as well as clerical, in the following words, viz:

"I, A. B., do seriously and solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly whereof I am a member, I will not maintain any thing in matters of doctrine, but what I think in my conscience to be truth; or, in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his church." A copy of this protestation was put into the hands of each member, and it was required to be read afresh every Monday morning, that its solemn influence might be habitually felt.

The prolocutor or moderator appointed by Parliament was Dr. William Twisse. Of this eminent man, Baillie gives the following quaint description: "The man, as all the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied, and very good, and beloved by all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer, and among the unfittest of all the company for any action." The labours of the Assembly proved too much for him, and at the end of the year he relinquished the chair, in which he was succeeded by Rev. Charles Herle, A. M.

As assessors to the prolocutor, the Parliament appointed Dr. Cornelius Burgess and Mr. John White; and as scribes or clerks, Rev. Henry Roborough and Rev. Adoniram Byfield.

Neal informs us that the members came to the Assembly, "not in their canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands in imitation of the foreign protestants." These,

together with the peaked beard and the broad double ruff worn in the Elizabethan style round the neck, must have given to the Assembly a peculiarly venerable and imposing appearance. The graphic pen of Baillie has furnished us with the following lively and familiar *tout ensemble* of the body. "The like of that Assembly I did never see, and as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor anywhere is shortly like to be. They did sit in Henry VII.'s chapel in the place of convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to the Jerusalem chamber, a fair room in the Abbey of Westminster, about the size of the College forehall (Glasgow), but wider. At the one end nearest the door, and along both sides, are stages of seats, as in the new Assembly House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there will be room but for five or six score. At the uppermost end there is a chair set on a frame, a foot from the earth, for the Mr. Prolocutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stand two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. White. Before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sit the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung (with tapestry,) and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Opposite the table, at the prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of benches. On the lowest, we five do sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of parliament deputed to the Assembly. On the benches opposite us, on the prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house and back of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of benches, upon which their divines sit as they please; albeit commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats, but a void space for passage. The Lords of the parliament use to sit on chairs in that void, about the fire. We meet every day of the week but Saturday. We sit commonly from nine till one or two afternoon. The prolocutor at the beginning and end has a short prayer. After the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny convoyance (ingenious arrangement) of those who guide most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chair. The one assessor, our good friend Mr. White, has keeped in of the gout since our coming: the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharp man, supplies, so far as is decent, the prolocutor's place.

Ordinarily there will be present above three score of their divines. These are divided into three committees, in one of which every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee as the parliament gives order in writing to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting, prepares matters for the Assembly, sets down their minds in distinct propositions, backing them with texts of scripture. After the prayer Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and scriptures, whereupon the Assembly debates in a most grave and orderly manner.

"No man is called up to speak; but whosoever stands up of his own accord, speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name whom they desire to hear first: on whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They study the questions well, beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal the men are exceedingly prompt and well spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on every text of scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, duplies and triplies are heard, then the most part call, 'To the question.' Byfield, the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the prolocutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, 'As many as are of opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say aye:' when aye is heard he says, 'As many as think otherwise, say no.' If the difference of 'Aye's' and 'No's' be clear, as usually it is, then the question is ordered by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first scripture alleged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of 'Aye' and 'No' be nearly equal, then the prolocutor says, 'As many as say Aye, stand up;' while they stand the scribe and others number them in their minds; when they sit down the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time which we (in Scotland) spend in reading our catalogue, (calling the roll.) When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will wander he is quickly taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, con-

fusedly crying, 'Speak to order, to order.' No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the prolocutor, or, at most, holds to general terms: 'The reverend brother who lately, or last, spoke, on this hand, on that side, above or below.' I thought meet, once for all, to give you a taste of the outward form of their Assembly. They follow the way of their parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthy of our imitation; only their longsomeness is woful at this time. when their church and kingdom lie under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion. They see the hurt of their length, but cannot get it helped; for being to establish a new platform of worship and discipline to their nation for all time to come, they think they cannot be answerable, if solidly, and at leisure, they do not examine every point thereof."

Nothing of all that has been recorded of this Assembly, conveys to our minds a deeper and more fixed impression of its competence for the great work to which it was called, than the last sentence of the above quotation; and we cannot express the gratitude we feel to divine providence that men were found at that momentous crisis, who so well comprehended, and so deeply felt the solemnity of all their acts. That consciousness of responsibility more than anything else commends them to our confidence. The circumstances under which they met, were most unfavorable to calm and thorough deliberation. They were on the eve of a great moral and political convulsion. The very bonds of society were loosed; the heavens were dark, and wild, and portentous; and every cloud seemed fraught with the elements of destruction. Events of the most startling character kept the public mind in continual agitation; everything was in commotion; and none could foresee whereunto all might grow. The moral, no less than the political horizon was troubled. Ignorance, error, profaneness, and licentiousness flooded the land with sin; while all the interests of religion were unsettled. Every enlightened man regarded religion as the anchor of hope; and therefore all looked with trembling earnestness, with mingled hope and fear to the measures which should be adopted on this subject, as the turning point of the nation's destiny. The occasion seemed to demand haste; the parliament was urgent; and gladly would they have applied, if possible, an immediate remedy to the moral and civil ills of the kingdom. But the work to which they were called could not

be done in haste. They were about to consult the most important interests of man for time and for eternity—religion, liberty and peace; and a random effort would accomplish nothing. Looking away from the excitement and giddy agitation of the scene around them, extending their views forward to "all time to come," and grasping posterity in embryo; they felt they could "not be answerable, if solidly, and at leisure, they did not examine every point."

But they felt more than a sense of responsibility: they were equally impressed with their dependence. Not for a moment did they imagine themselves able, by their unaided wisdom, to compass the weighty undertaking before them. The whole of their proceedings indicated a fixed and habitual conviction of their dependence on a divine influence to guide them to wise counsels and salutary decisions. Before entering upon their labours they observed a solemn fast; and the same thing was done at short intervals during the whole time of their sitting. The manner in which these seasons were kept, showed them to be men much in earnest, sensible of their own deficiencies, and deeply persuaded of the efficacy of prayer; and we doubt not that these occasions of humiliation and prayer did have an important influence upon their labours.

The introduction of the Scottish members into the Assembly, was a circumstance of too much importance to be omitted even in a cursory account of its proceedings. Immediately after the Assembly had convened, a letter was despatched from the English parliament soliciting the cooperation of the Scottish nation in promoting the reformation of the church. This letter was conveyed by a joint committee from the parliament and Assembly; Mr. Stephen Marshall and Mr. Philip Nye being the members on the part of the latter.

One object of their mission was to induce the General Assembly of Scotland to delegate a certain number of their most able divines to join the Assembly at Westminster, and to aid that body in bringing about a uniformity in doctrine, and church-government between the two kingdoms. This produced the document so well known, in the history of those times, as THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. It was drawn up by *Alexander Henderson*, approved by the General Assembly, and afterwards by the Convention of Estates. The very next morning it was despatched to the

English parliament, by a special messenger, as the instrument of a solemn compact between the two kingdoms. At the same time commissioners were appointed to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, of whom the following actually appeared in that body, viz., Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, George Gillespie, and Robert Baille, ministers; and Lord Maitland and Sir Archibald Johnson, elders.

These Commissioners were received with great cordiality and marked respect; and proved a most important accession to the strength and ability of the Assembly.

Two of these commissioners had already displayed abilities of a high order, combined with great wisdom, firmness and discretion in the public affairs of the Church of Scotland. No man, since the earlier reformers had possessed in a more eminent degree those qualifications, and that weight of personal character adapted to great emergencies, than Alexander Henderson. He had been the chief instrument in bringing about the second great reformation of the Scottish church, and had been the moderator of the memorable Assembly of 1638; and to his counsels, his undaunted courage, his deep penetration, and his inflexible decision, more than to any other human agency, the glorious results of that meeting were owed. Of the same Assembly, Sir Archibald Johnstone was the clerk; and contributed no little to the skill and success with which its important measures were conducted.*

Samuel Rutherford had also been a member of the Assembly of 1638, and was an able and skilful debater. His reputation as a scholar and divine was so well established, that he was not only appointed to important professorships at home, but also received several calls to foreign universities.

George Gillespie was a young man, but he displayed prodigious abilities in debate as well as an accurate and profound knowledge of church government. His influence in the Westminster Assembly was probably not inferior to that of the ablest of its divines.

Robert Baillie was probably a man of greater erudition than any other in Scotland. He was well versed in Oriental learning, was master of thirteen languages, and his latin style was said to be worthy of the Augustan age. He took

* Hetherington's History of the Church of Scotland, pp. 300-307.

no part in the public debates of the Assembly, but his advice had great weight in private conference. It is to his quick perceptions and graphic pen we are indebted for our most vivid impressions of that venerable body.

It may be supposed that such men would exert personally a great influence in the deliberations of the Assembly. That influence was much augmented by the relation in which they stood to the synod. They declined taking their seats as members; but chose to sit in the capacity in which they appeared there—as commissioners of the Church of Scotland. Simultaneously with their introduction, *The Solemn League and Covenant* was received by the parliament and transmitted to the Assembly. This pledge was shortly, thereafter, taken by the two houses of parliament, by the Assembly, and extensively throughout the kingdom. A distinctness was now given to the object of this great Synod, and the line of their future labours definitely marked. Before the arrival of the Scots, they had been occupied with a revision of the articles of the Church of England; but neither the parliament nor the Assembly seemed to have before them a very definite aim. The energies of the Synod were now concentrated on a distinct object. The grand purpose of the *Solemn League and Covenant* was "the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches," and to procure in the three kingdoms, the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, form of Church Government, Directory for worship and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us." This was a great work, and from that moment, the efforts, wishes and prayers of the Assembly were employed in a continuous and arduous endeavour to realize this conception. Although nearly every matter connected with the state of religion in the kingdom came more or less directly before the Assembly; the great points to which their attention was directed, and of which they never lost sight, were those indicated in the above statement—the order, doctrine and worship of the church.

It is difficult to trace the exact order in the deliberations of the Assembly, inasmuch as more than one subject was usually in progress at the same time; and the same topic

was not pursued singly to its issue, being sometimes laid aside during the discussion of a different subject and afterwards resumed. Nor is it necessary to ascertain this precisely. It is sufficient for our present purpose to notice briefly, the several documents completed and approved by that venerable body.

1. The most urgent work imposed by Parliament on the Assembly, and that which involved the greatest practical difficulty, was the business of settling the Constitution, Government and Discipline of the Church. It has been already stated, that prelacy was retained in the Church of England contrary to the example of all the Protestant Churches and against the wishes of the best friends of the Reformation in the kingdom. The system, however, had worked badly; and while many were dissatisfied with it because they believed it unscriptural, that dissatisfaction was greatly increased by its practical abuses. The prelates were the supporters of tyranny and the instigators of oppression; and the inferior clergy were, in many cases, either irregular in their lives, or entirely unqualified for the work of the ministry. This led the Parliament first to deprive the prelates of their seats in the House of Lords, and then to abolish the hierarchy altogether. Their views are expressed in the ordinance for the calling the Assembly, as follows:—"for that, as yet, many things remain in the liturgy, discipline, and government of the church, which do necessarily require a further, and more perfect reformation, than as yet hath been attained; and whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present church government by archbishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom—and therefore they are resolved, that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the church, as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad."

The religious state of the country was now deplorable. Prelacy had been abolished and nothing substituted in its

place. An uninstructed and misgoverned people, infuriated by a sense of their wrongs, but ignorant of the proper remedy; gave vent to their rage in the most wild and extravagant manner. They were freed from the bonds of spiritual despotism; but untaught to yield a reasonable subjection to wholesome and necessary discipline, they rushed headlong into delusion and excess of every kind, from the irregular excitement of true religious feeling, to the maddening fervour of fanaticism. Something was required to calm the turbulent elements, to restore peace, and to establish on a safe and scriptural basis the order and discipline of the church. In accordance with the ordinance of Parliament, which by the mouths of so many distinguished lords and gentlemen uttered the deep conviction of the kingdom, the Assembly took in hand the preparation of a form of government and discipline. They soon found that it was easier to abolish that which was evil, than to establish something good. On the points connected with this subject there occurred long, able, and strenuous debates. The Assembly was divided into three distinct but unequal parties; which, though united in discarding prelacy, differed materially among themselves respecting the proper constitution of the church.

The first of these was Erastian. The theory of this party was—that the pastoral office is simply persuasive; that the church possesses in itself no power of discipline; and that the punishment of all offences, whether of a civil or religious nature, belongs exclusively to the civil magistrate. The prominent advocates of this scheme in the Assembly were, Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Coleman, and the learned Selden; all eminently distinguished for extensive oriental and rabbinical learning. This small party was not only formidable from the prodigious talent and learning of those who composed it, but likewise for the powerful support given by the Parliament, in which Erastian sentiments extensively prevailed.

Another party, also comparatively small, consisted of the Independents. At first they numbered only five—Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and Sidrach Simpson. They were men of considerable talent and learning, of undoubted piety, but distinguished more for successful intrigue and skilful artifice than for the open, frank and candid spirit manifested by the great body of the Assembly. Their fundamental

principle was—that each particular congregation of Christians is independent of every other, and competent to all the acts of discipline authorized by the word of God. But in the debates which arose in the Assembly, these brethren seemed rather to oppose and obstruct what others attempted, than to propose and defend definite views of their own.

From the beginning there was in the Assembly a body of strict Presbyterians, very able and decided. There was also a large number who were Presbyterians as to the fundamental principles of the system, though perhaps undecided as to many of the details. Besides, few of the English divines were acquainted with the practical operation of presbyterianism as fully constituted. But as their investigations went forward, the views of all these attained greater clearness, became more harmonious, definite and decided; and were finally digested into that admirable completeness and order exhibited in the Form of Government drawn up by the Assembly.

The fundamental elements of this system were embodied by those divines in one simple but comprehensive proposition:—*The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government, in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the Civil Magistrate.* A divinely appointed ministry, with authority both to teach and to rule—an eldership with ruling functions only—and the junction of particular congregations in one body by a bond not only of union but of discipline; these are the few simple and scriptural principles of the system, which is drawn out with surprizing exactness and fulness in the formularies of the Westminster Assembly. It was doubtless well ordered by Divine Providence, that every particular item of these underwent an examination so thorough, and that every principle was subjected to a scrutiny so rigid: and that by the keen debates through which they passed every objection was considered and every defect obviated as nearly as human wisdom and ability could do.

A careful and impartial examination of the rules of discipline will also leave the mind impressed with the great wisdom, justice, and Christian spirit which characterizes the whole administration. We are bold to say, that no community on earth so effectually provides for its own purity, and, at the same time, so amply secures the personal rights of its members, as the Presbyterian church.

2. The doctrinal standards of the Westminster Assembly,

consist of the *Confession of Faith* and the *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms.* In the preparation and thorough revision of these, the Assembly expended much time and assiduous labour. Not only every proposition and every proof-text underwent repeated and careful examinations, both in the several committees and in the body at large; but almost every phrase and term received particular attention. The labours of the body on these important documents, were not interrupted by debates, properly so called. All those eminent men agreed substantially in their views of divine truth and of Christian duty; and their deliberations were directed almost alone to the object of rendering their articles lucid and correct. For this they were eminently qualified. They were men well versed in logic, familiar with the great masters of Reformed Theology, and thoroughly practiced in the business of analyzing and expressing truth in perspicuous propositions. We cannot go into any particular examination of these documents separately. Suffice it to say, that they contain the doctrines of the Reformation as deduced from sacred scriptures alone; and are deformed neither by superstition, fanaticism, nor scholastic puerilities. The great truths of the gospel are delineated in the simple, grand, and solemn features of revelation; and with a clearness, simplicity, and brevity not elsewhere found. They consist, not of arguments, but of lucid statements and comprehensive definitions of truth; and no one who has not minutely analyzed and expounded them, can be at all aware of the logical precision, the fullness, the symmetry, and withal the seriousness and unction of those statements. The Shorter Catechism in particular, may be considered as one of the most complete and accurate summaries of divine truth ever couched in uninspired language. Never were so much time, and learning, and labour bestowed on documents of the same compass: and never were care and ability expended on a more deserving object, or with greater success.

3. The Westminster Assembly also composed a *Directory for public Worship.* Indeed this was completed earliest of all their formularies, as it was urgently demanded by the state of the kingdom. The liturgy in use in the Church of England, had never from the first given satisfaction to true protestants. At the commencement of the Reformation there were in use several different forms of service, each diocese having its own particular one. In the second

year of Edward VI. a committee appointed to prepare a form of public service for general use, collected and compared the *missals* which had been in use in the five popish bishoprics of Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, Lincoln and York, and from them digested a Book of Common Prayer to be used throughout the kingdom. Copies of this book were sent to Calvin and other distinguished protestant divines on the continent, for their examination. It was found to contain many things so grossly popish, that, at the suggestion of those eminent men, it underwent another revision and considerable alteration. Still a number of articles remained which deeply grieved the more pious and evangelical; and attempts were subsequently made at various times to have them removed, but either by the arbitrary interposition of the sovereign or through the influence of the ecclesiastics of the court they were always unsuccessful. The matters which occasioned greatest dissatisfaction were such as the following:—The reading of the Apocrypha in public worship—private and lay baptism—the use of godfathers and godmothers, and the sign of the cross—private administration of the communion to the sick—the altar instead of the table at the Lord's Supper—the observation of festivals and saints' days, &c.

When the Assembly came to examine the book carefully, it was found to contain so many things which were objectionable, that upon mature deliberation it was wholly rejected; and they determined to prepare an entirely new and independent manual which might serve as a guide to a simple and scriptural worship. The reasons for this step are assigned in the preface to that document. "Long and sad experience," say the Assembly, "hath made it manifest that the Liturgy used in the Church of England—notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers—hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it,—the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies, contained in it, have occasioned much mischief as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming to these ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been by means thereof kept from the Lord's table,

and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry. Prelates and their factions have endeavoured to raise the estimation of it to such an height, as if there were no other worship of God amongst us but only the service book, to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and in some places of late to the jostling of it out as unnecessary or at best inferior to the reading of common prayer.

"In the meantime, papists boasted that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service; and so were not a little confirmed in their superstition and idolatry.

"Add hereunto, that the Liturgy hath been a great means of making and increasing an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants whom he calls to that office.

"Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations, in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it, not from any love to novelty, but that we may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God, and satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectations of other Reformed Churches, and give public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worship; we have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation with his holy word, resolved to lay aside the former Liturgy with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God."

The mode of public worship is of great practical importance. Whether we consider the character of God to whom it is offered, or the condition of man who presents devotional homage; whether we regard the fitness of public worship to the relations of both or its effects on the worshippers; it cannot be a matter of indifference in what manner God is worshipped. It is only a becoming service which is acceptable to God, and adapted to chasten, purify, and elevate the worshipper. All low, crude, and mean expressions of devotion are unsuited to the majesty of God who is *glorious in holiness* and *fearful in praises;* and such expressions tend to debase the mind and affections of those who are habituated to them. On the other hand the

most decorous formality is not less hurtful to the spirit of devotion than degrading improprieties; and the most scrupulous care should be employed to secure the worshipper against the influence of either defect.

The Directory for public worship prepared by the Westminster Assembly, is a remarkably judicious prescription for a simple, chaste, and scriptural celebration of divine service and dispensation of the word and sacraments. It is well adapted to secure, on the one hand, a decorous and edifying order and uniformity; and on the other, to preserve the unction and devout affections of the pious worshipper. Wherever its directions are strictly followed, public worship and ordinances will be refreshing to the fervent Christian, and at the same time the most fastidious mind will be shocked neither by unscriptural innovations nor revolting improprieties.

In digesting the Directory, the Assembly proceeded on the same fundamental principle which guided them in the preparation of their other formularies. They held that no rite, or ceremony, or usage, ought to have a place in the the public worship of God, which is not warranted by scripture. Accordingly the services of the sanctuary are conformed in every essential feature to the precept and example of the apostles; and everything is studiously excluded which is not thus sanctioned or enjoined. Reading and expounding the scriptures, singing the praises of God, solemn prayer, the faithful preaching of the word, and administration of the gospel ordinances; constitute the stated services of the sanctuary. In no one of these parts is the worshipper left to the mercy of the officiating minister's caprice or unaided discretion; and yet in no one is the servant of Christ shut up to a mere mechanical function or the worshipper doomed to the uniformity of an unvarying liturgical office. Scope is given for the exercise of ministerial gifts and graces; and yet latitude is not permitted to a vagrant fancy: the great cardinal elements which must enter into the devotions of a redeemed sinner are embodied, while space is left for all the fullness and vicissitude of Christian experience to be regarded.

Such are the standards of faith and worship prepared by that illustrious body. The principles neither of doctrine nor of policy indeed originated with them. They are essentially Christian and apostolic; and were held as fully before as they have been since they were digested into their present form. They were found in the primitive church,

among the witnesses of the truth, and were brought forth anew by the Reformers. But never had they been embodied in a form so exact, comprehensive, and symmetrical. It should be matter of thankfulness that divine Providence caused the talent and piety of so many eminent divines aided by so many able statesmen to be employed on this great work. We should prize a work upon which such an assembly expended so much time, and pains, and prayer. And now when a frivolous spirit pervades the public mind; when error is putting on a bold front and vice is taking gigantic strides; when some are pointing to an external priesthood and ritual saying, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these;* and when others are collecting the shreds and cast off patches of popery and calling upon us to fall down and worship them; it becomes us to embrace with a more heart-felt devotion and to hold with a more vigorous grasp the standards of gospel truth and order—to *hold fast the form of sound words.*

We venerate these standards, partly because they embody the wisdom of an august Synod; because they come down to us associated with the memory and faith of saints and martyrs and embalmed with their blood; but we love them most of all because they contain the truth of God—that truth which forms the foundation of our hopes. As our fathers prized them, and we prize them, so may our children and our children's children love and preserve them.

Though disappointed in their hope of seeing the faith and order expressed in these formularies established as the uniform religion of the three kingdoms; those eminent men by no means bestowed their labours in vain. They were immediately adopted by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and continue to this day to be the standards of that church, and of various bodies of Presbyterians throughout the world. With some modifications, they are the symbolical books of our own church; and we trust will long continue to be held in veneration by all our members. We scarcely know whether the failure of the precise scheme of the Assembly is to be regretted. We do not wish to conceal the faults of those great and good men. It is not necessary to publish them. The world knows them by heart. They have been held up to the mockery and merriment of the profane; and monstrous exaggerations of them have constituted the embellishments of novels and reviews, till thousands who know nothing of their worth, can ridi-

cule their frailties. We do not dissemble our apprehension, that if these excellent standards had been enforced by the civil power on the three kingdoms; we might have had less decisive proofs than we now possess of their value. As it is, they have continued by the simple force of inherent truth, the weight of moral excellence, to exert a wide and mighty influence. They have left a deep impress on the moral character, they have moulded the sentiments, and established the principles of many generations. They have accomplished good which neither an Erastian parliament nor an army of sectaries could preclude. No documents—neither Magna Charta, nor legislative acts, nor bills of right, have done so much to promote the interests of those who speak the English tongue as have these brief formularies. The principles which they embody have not only sunk down into the hearts of those who embraced them; but they have silently worked their way through the prejudices, and greatly affected the modes of thinking of those who disdain them.

Art. VI.—*Annual Report of the Board of Education, of the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America. Presented May*, 1843. Philadelphia. Published by the Board.

In connexion with this admirable document, it is our purpose to offer some reflections on the duty of the church, to pray and labour for the increase of a pious and learned ministry of the gospel.

The great, appointed, tried and permanent means of giving men the gospel, is the ordinance of preaching. Other agencies have done their part, as invaluable aids, but this it is, which has been essential and universal, and which, as divinely ordained, will so continue to the end of time. The pious admonition, the tract, and even the written word, are not so generally the instrument of great increase. It was the institution of preaching, which, under God, wrought the astonishing changes in the first age, in the spread of religion through all the countries which became truly Christian, in the Reformation from popery, and in the diffusion of our own church in the British isles and in America.

Our fathers of the Reformed communions, from the beginning, and in a way the most significant and unanimous, bore their testimony to the importance of a learned and pious ministry. Both the learning and the piety are indispensable; and we cannot have too much of either; but they must unite in the same persons. Both one and the other of these pre-requisites have been excluded by turns, and under different forms of error. Where the church and the state have been united, a condition from which God has mercifully delivered our country, or where prelatical false apostles, arrayed in secular dignity, have lorded it over God's heritage, rich benefices became the lure for ambition and cupidity; it was necessary to fill every living with an incumbent, even though the spirit of piety were fled; and as learning may be more easily found than piety, the consequence was that thousands of graceless ministers became the professed leaders of the flock. Of this evil, we have known nothing in America, since the downfall of establishments. And there is perhaps no point on which we are more agreed, than that the first, grand, indispensable qualification for the ministry, is genuine and eminent personal religion. But, on the other hand, and by a reaction against the former evil, there has occasionally been, both in our own communion and out of it, a disposition to undervalue learning, to sacrifice quality to quantity of ministration, to act as if we expected inspiration to supply the lack of wisdom, to send forth novices and fanatical exhorters, and madly to presume on forcing success, by rapid labour with unfit instruments. The experiment has always been unfortunate in the end; and even those societies, which for a time seemed to be trying it, have in a number of instances retraced their steps, and either avowedly or in silence have founded colleges and raised their demand of qualification.

On this topic, our church is theoretically undivided. Indeed, to this very unity of principle does it owe much of its eminence and increase. And never, never may the day arrive, when either an ignorant or an unconverted man shall be knowingly invested with the sacred office!

The injunctions of our Constitution are explicit. "Because it is highly reproachful to religion and dangerous to the church, to entrust the holy ministry to weak and ignorant men, the presbytery shall try each candidate, as to his knowledge of the Latin language; and the original languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written.

They shall also examine him on the arts and sciences; on theology, natural and revealed, and on ecclesiastical history." Such has been the judgment of the leading minds in all protestant churches from the beginning. As early as 1524, in a treatise now extant, Luther sounded the trumpet of alarm through Germany, against the fanatics of that day, and predicted that evangelical religion would die, if ever it should fall into the sole guardianship of unlearned men. Hence the zeal of the reformers, in founding universities and schools; hence the origin of some of the first colleges in Europe and America; and hence the establishment of our theological seminaries. If learning is needful to any one, it is so to the minister of religion. He has the most arduous intellectual work to perform; for which no talents and discipline can be too great. He has to deal with the sublimest truths to which the human mind can open, to urge the most heart-stirring realities, and to cope with the greatest adversaries. It is his proper work, to expound, defend, and press on the conscience, the doctrines of the scripture. And while inferior minds may do some good, the most powerful intellects are not out of place, nor is the deepest learning superfluous: and although divine grace must ensure the result, this is secured in correspondence with the laws of humanity, and feeble reason and shallow declamation have not proved more potent in the church, than in the senate or at the bar.

Consider the influence of the pulpit. It may be said with scarce a figure, to occupy popular attention one day in every seven; in other words, four or five whole years in a generation of men. The faithful hearer listens to a hundred discourses every year. The faithful pastor is therefore more engaged than all other men, in moulding the common mind. Among an inquiring people such as ours, even in the rudest districts, plain and solid instruction keeps its pre-eminence; and nothing but study, such as only sound education can ensure, will arrest attention and maintain respect. The unpremeditated harangue, however affecting for a single time, from the lips of a pious itinerant, loses its charm, and drives away the auditory, when it is found to be the preacher's only stock. We preach to a thoughtful and argumentative race, accustomed every day to hear cogent reasoning and valuable facts on other subjects; and the clergyman slides from his influence over such, unless he brings from this record, things new and old, and

goes before the flock in laying open the treasures of divine knowledge.

There never was a time, when large gifts and high education were more loudly demanded than at present. The greatest talent and the most finished discipline are claimed for the service which is before us. Not to say, that our clergy have to go forth side by side with brethren of other denominations, who are every year adding something to their culture, they have to contend with infidel, anti-christian and heretical teachers, of learning and subtlety. The popish controversy alone, resting as it does so much on the records of past ages, and waged, on their part, by men disciplined in scholastic preparation, requires a depth of research and a readiness of attack and defence, such as nothing but the very best education can secure. Equal accomplishment, of a different kind, is needed in order to meet the various heretics, who deny the divinity of Christ, or the doctrines of grace, or the doom of the wicked; and who found themselves on the interpretation of the original scriptures. While the still increasing, ever-shifting opposition of science, falsely so called, in the hosts of deism, pantheism, and atheism, render necessary a grounded acquaintance with science, in all its substantial parts. Against such foes, inspiration might indeed make ignorance available; but the days of inspiration are no more.

An intellectual and able ministry is demanded by the condition of American society. We are every day more and more a reading people, being already more so than any nation upon earth. By the issues of a prolific press, by thousands of periodical sheets and pamphlets, vying with each other in novelty and cheapness, and suing for admission to every house; by schools, lyceums and colleges, knowledge is more popularized than in former days. Time was, when stated public addresses for popular instruction were confined to the church. For large classes, the pulpit was then the great means of mental culture, the great point of attraction for all who loved knowledge. But the method which took its rise in the church has been borrowed by the world, and public discourses on science and letters are in populous places becoming almost as common and as stated as the ministrations of the word. Excellent as these are, they are secular imitations, and occasionally rivals, of God's great means of illuminating mankind. We would not repine at their noble work; but, as ministers of

Christ we must burnish our armour, and see to it, that a generation formed under such influences and sharpened by such exercises, shall not have cause to complain that the words of everlasting life are less warmly or less mightily presented than the words which man's wisdom teacheth. And for this we require a learned ministry.

But the day has happily come, when by great numbers among us, the stated parochial preaching of the gospel is no longer regarded as the only work of the minister; when foreign missions are taken into one regular system, and foreign presbyteries registered in our books. It is a noble work, which ought to engage our warmest affections. But it is a work which requires the choicest talent of the church; and no common powers or attainments will thoroughly furnish the young disciple to perform it; to translate and expound the scriptures, to compose and preach in foreign tongues, sometimes in several of them; to contend for the faith with the Bramin, the Soofie, the Moolah and the Jesuit; or on the other side of the globe, far from counsel and aid, like Swartz or Bingham, to administer the affairs of rising churches, and manage an enterprise as onerous and momentous as the conduct of an army. While, therefore, our pious youth are looking toward the foreign field, let us give the means of acquiring the necessary preparation.

But education is not the fruit of a day; and however ready we may be to admit its importance, there is another topic, indeed the principal one at this time, namely the means to be used for securing an able ministry.

Faithful and competent ministers are God's own gift, and from first to last we are to acknowledge our dependence on him for every qualification, whether of heart or understanding. It is to be the subject of our prayers, that he would touch with his renewing grace the hearts of our children, that they may be suitable for his work, and that he would shed on all who are expecting the work new and unexampled measures of piety. But from the number whom his Spirit has renewed, it will still be our part, to select those who may be fitted to receive the necessary training, and to confer upon them all the preparatory accomplishment that is possible. Thorough education is a plant of slow growth. Year after year, the laborious student must bear the yoke. It is time to forsake all pretence and subterfuge on this important point. Let it be known, there is, even now, no royal road to science. And hasty as indiscreet

and heady youth are constantly found to be, in rushing into the work, unprepared, against the judgment of their authorized advisers and of the church, the history of such cases shows how ill suited are slender powers to contend with the difficulties of the station. Instead of shortening the term of preparation, we should rather lengthen it, and give the church a race of ministers whom she may hear with reverence and delight. The studious meditative seclusion of years is as valuable for the growth of piety as for that of knowledge. And in no way could the laity more grievously mistake their own interests, than by a false economy or a false zeal to encourage a low standard of ministerial qualification; a course which must entail on them feeble preachers, on whose performances many in every enlightened assembly must attend from a mere sense of duty, without respect and without profit. Especially in a day, when the public affairs of the church, connected with the spread of the gospel, take up so many hours of every minister's time, particularly in great cities, and when cares, unknown even to their flocks, weigh them down, and make the average life of pastors considerably shorter than once it was, the necessity of a deep foundation is greater than ever. For, whatever hard and censorious judges may love to say, there are still faithful men in the service, and in no age have gospel labours been more injurious to the health and strength of clergymen in our cities, than in our own, in none have they been performed with more self-denial. So that when the wearied servant of Christ, at the midnight hour, after a thousand cares for interests not his own, and not even official, turns his sleepless head on the pillow, there are not wanting those who in selfish ease are lamenting over his sloth, and wondering that the overtasked machine should need repose. To prepare for such services, it is indispensable that the candidate should learn the use of his weapons; and it will be too late to look for armour in the heat of the conflict.

Now the question is, how shall we best provide ministers suited to the exigency of the times? We are all agreed, we trust, as to the value of an able ministry, and in some degree, though by no means as we ought, as to the necessity of settling in churches and sending abroad such men as answer this description. But in regard to the providing of them, there is a general apathy, founded, we cannot but believe, on inconsideration.

The great truth to be pondered, is, that of those who ought to be educated, a large proportion are unable to educate themselves. By divine grace, operating through the word, especially in blessed revivals of religion, thousands of youth have within a few years been converted to God; and we trust this agency is to be vouchsafed to us in still larger measures. Of these, a great number manifest such gifts, that it is desirable to train them up for the sacred office. But the gospel still has its principal trophies among the poor, and in every part of our country there are young men, anxious to enjoy this training, who are absolutely without the means; for, after the utmost devices of frugality, a course of sound education is an expensive thing. And yet this is not so much their loss, as ours. We cannot do without them. The call is for a vastly greater number than can be supplied from the ranks of those who can educate themselves. How then shall this supply be obtained? Plainly in no way, but by the gratuitous education of such as are indigent. By what means shall they be educated? This is the grave question, which we propose to such as find fault with all Education-societies, and to the larger class of such as are merely lukewarm. There are but two conceivable methods: they must be sustained by the beneficence of individuals, or by that of associated Christians.

In regard to the former method, much has been done in every age, and much will yet be done. But it can never meet our wants, or be our sole reliance; and this for several obvious reasons. And first, the individuals are few, who are able and willing, severally, to bear the whole expense of a beneficiary for a course of years. Then the relation between a pious youth and an individual patron is not without something repulsive to the more delicate and ingenuous minds. Again the whole affair will be left to random efforts, devoid of the heathful glow of associate action, aside from the indispensable care in selecting and governing the candidate, and subject to the private caprice and the ordinary changes of fortune in the benefactor. By the multitudes who could give something, but who cannot give every thing, nothing will be given, and the fragments, the widow's mites, and even the large sums which fall short of an annual charge, will be lost, or diverted to other objects.

The other method is that this work of education should be undertaken in concert. And surely, it will not be demanded of us, to re-argue the settled question as to the

value of associated exertion. Every charity of the age is a great example: every rail-road and canal may evince how much combination can effect, where individual labour would have been fruitless. The associate action may proceed from a voluntary society, or from the church. The former has been adopted, and with good success; it is not our intention to find fault with it. But the latter is that which prevails with us, and of which the advantages may be made apparent. And let it not escape us, that if we reject this method, the alternative in point of fact will be, not that the former method of individual charity will take its place, but that the youth of our church will be taken up by other societies.

It is in the highest degree natural and proper, that every branch of Christ's church should provide for the supply of its own wants, and especially of this, its most important want. It is just that the selection of candidates, the direction of their studies, the guardianship of their piety, and the judgment of their capacity, should be left in the hands of the church, which is to employ them. It is due to our Presbyteries, that they should summon and present the beneficiary, and order how and where his studies shall be conducted, and should withdraw such as are unworthy. All this is secured by the method now in practice. And for some years, by means of the Board of Education the Presbyterian Church has been training young men, from church contributions, having aided 1,330.

To do this great work thoroughly, the whole church should be engaged in it, and in due proportion over all the country. This is better than the highest efforts of individuals; more cheap, more safe, and more rapid. Thus every fragment of our bounty is secured. Thus the dollar bestowed on the lakes may reach the pious youth in Florida. For the money and the talent do not always lie together, any more than the iron and the coal in the mineral kingdom. This universal co-operation can be obtained in no way, but by a uniform system, drawing means from our whole ecclesiastical field, and returning them again by a just allotment. Thus the weakest congregation, and the poorest member in it, may render aid, at the same time that we avoid the risks of mistaken judgment, and neighbourhood predilection or prejudice.

But it is, we believe, unnecessary, to vindicate the peculiar constitution of our Education-board. A more easy, safe

and effective method could scarcely be devised, and its fruits are every year coming before the public, to its honour. The objections we have to combat are in the main such as concern, not this particular mode of education, but all education whatever at the expense of the church. And the effect which it would be our humble but earnest endeavour to produce, is simply the persuasion, that we owe it to the cause of Christ, to keep the line filled by a levy of young soldiers, who shall take the place of departing veterans, as well as to form a new host, suited to the emergencies of a more perilous and eventful age.

To some, it seems enough to say, drawing a false analogy from the world of trade, that the thing will adjust itself, because supply will always equal demand. No maxim can be more false or dangerous when applied to intellectual and moral wants. These are demands which do not supply themselves. Witness the whole history of unconverted nations, degenerating from age to age. It is the property of ignorance and irreligion to propagate themselves. The hideous void of knowledge and piety, instead of inviting and securing a supply, like a vacuum in the market, becomes greater and more hopeless the longer it is left to itself: and all the aggressive movements of Christianity, from the sending of an apostle to the sending of a tract, are founded on the denial of this very maxim.

Equally fallacious is the language of those who cite the times when there were no Education-societies, and say, that, as able ministers were not wanting then, so they will not be wanting now, even without systematic beneficence. Far be it from us to derogate from the Christian eminence of our predecessors! Would to God, we had such scholars, such theologians, such preachers and such saints, as Dickinson and Burr and Edwards and Finley and Davies, and Blair and Witherspoon and the Tennents and Finley and Rodgers and the Smiths and McWhorter! Nevertheless the argument is unsound. For first, there was always something analogous to our present charity, in every church in Christendom, though the efforts were less organized, and more was left to individual bounty. Secondly, the field was less open, and fewer labourers were demanded for the same territory. Thirdly, the church of that day, being engrossed in the work of plantation rather than that of increase, left immense tracts of population unsupplied; and every one of those holy men would have welcomed such

an arrangement as ours, had it been practicable. Fourthly, the amazing increase of gospel-labour, directed towards the unconverted of all nations, lays us under new obligations and creates new necessities; and, finally, the argument proves too much, being equally valid against every organization for sending tracts, books, bibles or missionaries.

It is to be feared that many excuse themselves in their neglect, by dwelling upon cases of failure. Here and there a beneficiary has proved unworthy, or has offended by lavish expense or idle display; or, when ordained, he has manifested no competency; or he has left our communion, lifted up his heel against his supporters, and failed to repay the honourable debt. We admit it. But is there an enterprise on earth, which is not open to the same objection? Not every apprentice becomes a master workman. Not every recruit plays the soldier's part. No army was ever composed of heroes. No ministry, of the purest church, even though filled without a cent of gratuity, was ever free from drones and Demases. It is believed that the cases of such disappointment are as few in proportion as in any similiar undertaking, as few as in any previous condition of the church. For three years past, not one beneficiary has been found morally unworthy of support. And it has been most justly observed, that if God should own but one in ten, as a useful minister, it would indemnify us for the whole expenditure; which after all is at present less than nineteen cents a year for every communicant! It is with great satisfaction that we can point to some of the ablest, most learned, most acceptable, and most accomplished young ministers, who, but for the hand thus extended to them, might now have been at their traffic or their handicraft, or sighing in hopeless wishes for the holy service. Half our present ministry, and more than half our foreign missionaries have been more or less the beneficiaries of the church.

Nor is it more fair to say, that we hold out secular inducements, to make men ministers without a genuine call. In every age some have entered on the work uncalled. God only can read the motives. There were false teachers, seeking filthy lucre, even in the apostolic period; it were too much to say, there are none such in our own. But the attractions are not so great as a casual observer might suppose. In the first place, the young candidate is chosen, after the unbiassed examination and judgment of his pastor,

session and presbytery, as well as the officers of the Board. In the next place the pittance afforded to him can be called a golden bait, only in contemptuous irony. In the third place, his ardent zeal is subjected to the cooling process of most laborious study, for a term of years. And when, in fine, he enters the ministry, he finds it in a vast majority of instances, a post of labour, and solicitude, if not of disappointment and penury. For while the infidel press reiterates the cry of a fat priesthood and a hireling ministry, it is believed, that the average salary of our ministers, taking the country at large, is not more than five hundred dollars.

No human plan can provide against occasional failure; and we wait for impossibilities, if we withdraw our hand from the work, in expectation of any such scheme. As in war, when an invading host is on our borders, every lawful means is used to raise an army of defence; so now, on the eve of great events, in a land increasing in population by eighty thousand souls from one Sabbath to another; on a territory, which, before some of us die, will number one hundred millions; and in sight of an unnumbered heathen population, of whom two hundred millions are as open to the gospel as it is possible to be; we are plainly summoned to cease our cavils about straws across our path, and by every Christian expedient to multiply the number of faithful ministers.

And yet through some years the cause languished; not for any want of zeal or ability in those who manage, but from the supineness of the church. This is true of the American Education Society, one of whose most distinguished friends has recently said: "Its annual resources since 1835 have been diminished more than one half. The number admitted to its patronage, during the last year, was but little more than one fourth of the number admitted in 1838. Such a falling off in the means and consequent usefulness of this institution is not accounted for by the commercial relations of the country. None of its sister charities have been so crippled." We cite this testimony with unfeigned sorrow for the fact. For a time we suffered in like manner. So that when the report of 1841 was made, it declared that the number of candidates was becoming less and less. On a day devoted to such considerations the churches were invited by the General Assembly, to wait on God in prayer. They did so, and such was the remarkable and unexampled answer that we were

called, a second time, on the first Sabbath of November, 1842, to enter the sanctuary with thanksgiving. We can say nothing so effective as the words of our highest judicatory: "Whereas the General Assembly, at its last meeting, seeing that the number of their candidates for the ministry was from year to year diminishing, felt constrained to recognise their entire dependence on God for their increase, and the impotence of all human organizations without the divine blessing. And whereas, under this sense of dependence, the last General Assembly earnestly recommended to all the churches to betake themselves to the Lord of the harvest, in fervent and importunate prayer, on a day fixed upon for that purpose: and as we find from the Report of the Board of Education, that God has, in a very remarkable manner, answered those prayers in a speedy and large increase of candidates for the ministry, therefore, *Resolved*, 1. That this Assembly do not ascribe this success to the wisdom or efficiency of their plans of association, but entirely to the blessing of Almighty God, and do therefore call upon the Churches, to give him all the glory. *Resolved*, 2. That the Assembly regard this as but the first fruits of a great and glorious harvest, which they may reap if they faint not, and that while they should render thanks for mercies received, *they should pray without ceasing*, till the number of labourers is sufficient to gather the great harvest. They would therefore earnestly recommend to all their ministers and churches, that on the first Sabbath in November, the same day of the year in which our God has heard our prayers, united thanksgiving and praise be rendered to his adorable name for his condescension and grace; and that at the same time fervent and importunate prayer be offered that he would continue to pour out his Spirit, and even more abundantly, and incline the hearts of many more to preach the gospel to a perishing world. *Resolved.* 3. That inasmuch as God has heard our prayers, and increased the number of candidates under the care of the Board of Education, and we trust will grant us a still larger increase; it is the *indispensable duty* of the churches to provide for them the necessary aid in the prosecution of their studies. This can probably be better accomplished by bringing the churches more universally to co-operate in this work, than to strive for larger contributions from those churches which now give liberally."

To this we have now to add some cheering particulars

from the report before us. The supply of candidates has not only been kept up, but is greater than that of last year, by more than sixteen per cent.: and the treasury of the Board has enabled them promptly to meet every demand upon their funds. The number of new candidates within the year has been one hundred and one, making the whole number aided by the Board, one thousand three hundred and thirty. Notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties of the times, the receipts during the year have been more than thirty thousand dollars. There is no true Presbyterian who will not acknowledge the favour of God, in this seasonable interposition. But gratitude will not have its perfect work, unless two considerations employ our minds, in connexion with our praise.

The first is, that it is in the way of renewed, untiring effort, that we must expect God to come to our aid. He has smiled on our labours: let us continue and multiply them. The truth cannot be withheld: this is not a temporary work, nor is ours an occasional demand. A fitful zeal and spasmodic effort, once in a few years, will not suffice. The reservoir must be full and the conduits unobstructed. We shall never cease to need ministers; from the increasing spirit of Missions we hope to need them more and more. We hope that when trade revives and returning prosperity fills our havens with ships and our marts with gain, the generous thankfulness of a relieved people will stretch out the hand of gospel mercy to every nation under heaven. But this will require unabated attention to the support of our youth. We should make up our minds never to cease giving. Our plan is made for endurance: it is built into the very walls of our polity. Our congregations, when fully apprized of their privilege, will give, not by starts, but in a continual stream; comprising even the smallest contributions: and let it be remembered, that if every communicant gave but two cents a week, it would support one thousand four hundred young men in their studies.

The second consideration, which deserves place in our minds, in connexion with our thanks, is this: that all our expectation in this work is from God. Not to say that the silver and the gold are his, and the hearts of those who can give them are his, it is a momentous truth, that the silver and the gold are worse than useless, if he give no more. Money may educate men, money may sustain a learned clergy; but if this were all, we could keep our ranks full

by a mere increase of emolument. But we leave this method for corrupt establishments, and betake ourselves to God, for a richer boon. We ask not only for men, but for good men, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. We ask, not only for more men, but for better men, better than we are, and better suited to the work, sufferings and successes of the ministry in an age of great events. If the converting influences of the Holy Spirit be withheld, we shall be ruined, even though we have a myriad of endowed scholarships. If men of low piety or defective zeal fill our pulpits, we shall lapse into error, or angry contention about a lifeless creed, and a selfish confinement of effort to our own bounds. The blessing of God, on one faithful minister, can make his labours do as much as those of a hundred others. Who then can measure the importance of united, importunate unceasing prayer: that God would give us such ministers; that he would send awakening influences on all our seminaries of learning, and all our Sabbath-schools; that he would exclude infidel counsels from our common education; that he would establish his blessed word in every academy; that he would sanctify the daily labour of teachers and scholars by the word of God and prayer; and that he would cause every college in the land to hold forth the science of salvation, as the paramount subject of instruction; without which other attainments are as perishable as the earth which is to be consumed. Who can estimate the worth of prayer from all our churches in behalf of the young men now under the care of the Board, that they may be a wiser, holier, more heroic race of ministers than we who lead them on? If such a thing were not unseemly and impossible, we could wish they were known to every reader. Our cause labours under this peculiar disadvantage, that our friends and patrons cannot behold the immediate fruit of their benefactions. The harvest is long in coming into the garner, and is then scattered beyond their vision. We cannot show them speedy results, as our sister charities may do. We cannot point to numerous converts or appeal to their sensibility in behalf of beloved missionaries, whose names they know, whose epistles they read, and who have gone out from themselves. Yet our labour, if slow, and in the shade is equally important, and is indispensable to the progress of all the other enterprises. A goodly company, scattered in various places of education, are enjoying by this means

means of preaching Christ and him crucified. In poverty and anguish of heart, they sometimes confide their trials to their instructers. We could wish they could be placed before every reader, that in the very faces of these three hundred Christian youth, he might read the claim they make upon his justice. If we have called it charity, we revoke the word—it is not charity—it is policy—it is justice. It is such charity as we bestow on the beloved son whom we endow with that best inheritance, a good education; such charity as a suffering country expends on the soldier whom she prepares for the field. It is our own cause which we are pleading, and the church will not hear the plea in vain.

Among the large and respectable class of Sabbath-school-teachers, including the elder scholars and the members of Bible-classes, there is a nursery of young men for the gospel service. This institution offers a happy auxiliary to the work of education. Nowhere else can we find collected more specimens of the self-denial, the zeal and the talent of the church. Nowhere else do we see more persons instructed from childhood in the scriptures, apt to teach, and trained to love and to benefit the souls of men. Nowhere else can the benevolent members of any congregation go with more hope of finding pious youth, on whom they may confer the invaluable gift of ministerial training. Here is a fit subject for the earnest prayers of God's people, that the Lord would be pleased, early and perpetually, to summon from these preparatory schools those who may carry his name far hence among the Gentiles. Here the Christian parent will bring the infant son, with new hopes that the anointing oil of separation may fall upon his head. And is there a believing mother, who does not sympathize in this glow of parental hope, or who has not sometimes, as she prompted the prayer of childhood to the kneeling boy, lifted her tearful eyes to heaven, and like that ancient woman of a sorrowful spirit, lent him to the Lord, saying of her Samuel, "so long as he liveth, he shall be lent to the Lord!" It is from such mothers and such prayers, that the church expects her ministry to be reinforced. Time was, when parents went to the extreme of designating this or that son to the ministry, without respect to grace in his heart. But we are in danger of the other extreme; and it may be that the recent dearth of candidates for the service, and the fewness of converted young men in our colleges, and the in-

disposition of many educated youth to take the yoke of gospel-labour, have been owing to a temporary decay of affectionate earnestness on the part of Christian parents. It is time that we, whose little ones are still around our knees, should hasten to give them away to Christ. As we have already offered them to him at their baptism, let us daily offer them anew. If he remove them, he will but remove what is doubly his own: if he spare them, though thay may not be rich, or great, or honoured, they may, when we are departed, be turning many to righteousness, to meet us and them in heaven. Such answers to prayer already exist in great numbers among the sons of the church whom we are engaged in training.

The conclusion forces itself upon our minds, as one pressed by the very necessity of the case. We cannot do without more ministers. We cannot sit still within our present limits. The cry of a perishing world has been coming into the ears of the church for eighteen hundred years, ever since our Master said, Go ye into all the world! The resources of the church, the wealth of its members, are resources held in trust, under stewardship, to be laid out for Christ, in the way best suited for the accomplishment of his command. It is our unspeakable privilege, to be co-workers with God, who might have saved his elect by angels, or by miracle. And when piety rises to its genuine growth, the happiness of Christians will be found in doing this work, with all their might and with all their means. They will have as great a zest in doing this service with self-sacrificing zeal, as the men of this world feel in the greatest enterprises of trade. And the church will have unexampled happiness and increase, when every power of every member shall be concentrated on giving the gospel to mankind.

A church of more than 150,000 communicating members, in a nation of more growing numbers and influence than any other, is not to lie still. We must be up and doing. So much salt, so much leaven, so much light cannot remain inoperative. Such is the spread of population, such are the zeal and greatness and success of error, from popery to atheism, that ten years cannot pass without mighty changes. If we be not active, we shall be left behind, and not only our own denomination but evangelical protestantism itself must be outrun by the strides of falsehood. It is the ministry which, under God, is to carry forward the standards. Every thing in the aspect of the world shows to-

kens of great and rapid mutation. Science and the arts cannot stand still. Commerce and national intercourse cannot cease. Political slavery cannot endure. Inquiry after truth cannot rest unsatisfied. The press and the public teacher cannot but awaken the masses. All this tells of progress, of a progress which becomes every year more gigantic; but a progress which whether for good or evil, is under Providence to depend solely on the halting or the advance of the evangelical army.

And here it is our delightful privilege to throw the flame of prophecy over the dark expanse before us, and to exult in hope. So far from despairing, because power is sometimes lawless, or error triumphant, we believe these agencies will all be seized by the Almighty, in his own time, and forced to the setting up of his own kingdom. He hath promised the earth to his saints, and what he hath promised he will perform. It is our part to be awake and active. Our missions, domestic and foreign, let us confidently think, will soon draw forth the aid of every member of our communion. Let us not doubt, that the day is near, when it will be impossible to find a minister who refuses to plead their cause, or a church which denies its quota. The West, which Satan and the pope have marked as their chosen ground, and which having hitherto taken its tone from us, is soon to have the preponderance of power, and to send back shocks of influence to the Atlantic, cries to us for a ministry, both fixed and itinerant. The thickening Indian tribes, whom we have consolidated on our frontier, rebuke that we have withheld the Saviour. Two millions and a half of slaves, within reach of the gospel, condemn a church spread over their land of bondage, and not yet statedly engaged in emancipating their souls. Our army and navy, and our mariners who traverse every sea, ask for the word of this life. And the vast nations of papists, Mohammedans and pagans, as well as the seed of Abraham, appeal to us by virtue of our Redeemer's last command. No one of these objects can be reached, but by faithful and able men. Nor can such men be sent, unless the church will educate them. Such is the bearing of this enterprise on all the great charities of the Christian world. In furthering it, we are aiding them: in letting it languish we are crippling them.

Let the men of the world scoff at our attempts as a waste of what they worship; let them count it the chief end of

man, to buy and sell and get gain, and eat and drink, and die; let them vent their enthusiasm in speculation, in politics, and in pleasure; it will be our glory, as believing time to be short, and eternity tremendous, and the soul beyond price, and the riches of Christ unsearchable, to task our highest powers, to invest our chief gains, to expend our utmost excitement, in making the world a Christian world. And when the church in every part shall be so inspired with this holy animation, that every man and woman and child shall burn with desire to make a dying Redeemer known, we shall from that eminence look back on our present efforts and contributions, as we now look back from the agriculture and commerce of the nineteenth century, on the scanty fields and puny shipping of the earliest colony on our coast. The work is vast; the souls to be reached are as the sands upon the seashore for multitude; but Christ has set at work forces which are to be effective, and he will be inquired of to do it. For it was when he sent out a little missionary band, without purse or scrip or sword, that he said, "The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest."

Art. VII.—*The History of the Christian Religion and Church, during the First Three Centuries.* By Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by Henry John Rose, B. D., Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 98 Chestnut st. New York: Saxton & Miles, 206 Broadway. 1843. pp. 466.

Neander is not only the first ecclesiastical historian, but one of the most interesting men of the age. A Hebrew by descent, a Christian by profession and in his convictions, a profound scholar, a philosopher as well as a theologian, a man of a devout spirit, and comprehensive charity. All his historical writings are considered of authority, and are secure of permanent influence. Though the reader may, in the first instance, be somewhat disappointed, in finding instead of the ordinary narrative of events, a philosophical and religious survey of the successive centuries since the coming of Christ,

in which their characteristic features are brought strongly into view, yet the better he becomes acquainted with the facts of Christian history, the more will he be impressed with the discrimination and compass of the views presented by Neander. In some points of doctrine the author differs from the prevalent opinions among us: and the habit which he has cultivated of seeing as far as possible something good in every class of men, and something true in every form of doctrine, renders him in some instances more favourable in his judgments of errorists, than may comport with our ideas of fidelity to the truth. Still no one can read his writings without receiving a strong impression of the compass of his knowledge, and the strength of his powers, or without conceiving a warm attachment to him as a man. The form in which his history of the first three centuries has been published by Mr. Campbell, is in a high degree creditable; it is neat and compact, including in a single volume what we believe extends through three volumes of the original German.

The Anabasis of Xenophon, chiefly according to the text of L. Dindorf, with Notes, for the use of Schools and Colleges. By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. New York: Leavitt & Trow. 1843. pp. 366. 12mo.

The teachers and learners of Greek will always have a vast advantage in the writings of Xenophon, combining as they do the utmost purity of Attic style with a simplicity suited to elementary instruction, and an interest half romantic, half historical, which seldom fails to engage attention and excite curiosity. In all these qualities the Anabasis is pre-eminent, and the demand for it will probably exist as long as Greek is studied and much longer than the vicious taste for scrap-books, collectanea, &c—which has done so much to lower the standard of classical instruction in this country. Mr. Owen is therefore entitled to the thanks of all true scholars for this beautiful edition, which is far from being a mere servile reprint. It has evidently cost much labour, and evinces a familiar knowledge of the best critical works, English and German. Besides Dindorf's edition of 1825, the editor has made use of Hutchinson's, Schneider's Bornemann's, Poppo's, Krüger's, Balfour's, and Long's. He has also enjoyed the advice of some of the first scholars in the country. Nearly one half of the volume is occupied

with notes collected from the best authorities. The typography does credit to the press of Mr. Trow, and will no doubt give general satisfaction in this country, where the Greek type of Germany has long been familiar, though to our eye less beautiful and less Greek than the English. As the work is intended to be used as a school-book, we suggest that in reference to that extensive market, good binding is a strong recommendation. In America this has been too much neglected. It has even been customary to send out school-books clothed in muslin or in paper. A distinguished exception to this general censure is afforded by many of Professor Anthon's school-books published by the Harpers, in which the binding is at once as handsome and as strong as could be wished for such a purpose.

The Episcopal Doctrine of Apostolical Succession Examined, being a Reply to "an Episcopalian's" Review of a Sermon, &c. By William S. Potts, D.D. St. Louis; 8vo. pp. 41.

Dr. Potts having preached a sermon on church-government, before his Presbytery, and by its appointment, the discourse was published by the same authority, and afterwards made the subject of a review by an Episcopalian. This review appears to have been temperate and courteous in tone, but extravagant in its pretensions, especially with respect to Apostolical Succession. This quality, as well as the weakness of its arguments, the pamphlet before us ably exposes. It is well written and evinces an accurate knowledge of the controversy in its present aspect. The least successful parts, we think, are the few in which the author deals in pleasantry or sarcasm. It is cheering to find the cause of truth, on this engrossing subject, so successfully maintained in all parts of the country.

Servitude, and the Duty of Masters to their Servants. A Sermon, preached in the Presbyterian Church, Norfolk, Va. By the Pastor, June, 1843. Published by request. Norfolk: 8vo. pp. 15.

This discourse, while it takes very high ground in favour of the lawfulness of slavery, and maintains it boldly, is no less explicit and decided in asserting the duty of masters to instruct their servants and afford them all religious privileges. We trust it will be useful to some who would

be wholly inaccessible to exhortations founded on a different hypothesis.

A Discourse in Commemoration of the Bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly. Preached to the Congregation of the Presbyterian Church, Petersburg, Va., on Sabbath morning, July 2, 1843, *together with a Discourse on Predestination, preached to the same congregation, Sabbath morning, June* 18, 1843. By Rev. John Leyburn, Pastor of the Church. 8vo. pp. 40.

These sermons, published at the request of the hearers for gratuitous circulation, are instructive, correctly written, and marked by good sense and sobriety of mind. The design of their publication will, we doubt not, be, in some good degree, accomplished.

The Duty of Praying for our Rulers. A Discourse delivered in the Presbyterian Church in the City of New Orleans, on the 21st of May, 1843. By Rev. W. A. Scott, A. M., Pastor of said Church. New Orleans: 1843. pp. 38.

The duty so forcibly urged by Mr. Scott in this discourse is one of great importance, and one we fear greatly neglected. Considering the explicitness with which it is enjoined in the word of God; the efficacy of prayer; the difficulty of the duties which rulers have to discharge; their need of divine guidance, and the importance of their measures and conduct, it is surprising that Christians generally are so little alive to the importance of this duty. They do not thus neglect the church or their families. Daily are supplications presented by every believer for his own household and the household of faith, but how rare is it to hear any fervent prayer offered for our country and her rulers, and yet in the good government of the country and in the good conduct of our rulers the welfare of our families and of the church are deeply interested. We hope the circulation of this sermon by Mr. Scott may have the effect of calling the attention of our brethren to this subject; and we rejoice in this and other evidences of the zeal and ability with which he has entered upon the discharge of his ministerial duties in the important sphere in which Providence has placed him.

The Fight of Afflictions of our Fathers. A sermon on the Bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly. Preached

in the First Presbyterian Church, Elizabethtown, July 9th, 1843. By Nicholas Murray, D. D. Elizabethtown: 1843. pp. 40.

The recent celebration of the bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly, has given occasion to many interesting and instructive discourses, both in Scotland and America, several of which have already been published, and more we hope may yet see the light. It is of importance that the facts connected with the calling and labours of that venerable Assembly should be familiarly known, as a warning to one class of men, and an encouragement to another. The sermon by Dr. Murray is, as far as we remember, one of the first of these discourses we have seen in a pamphlet form. It reviews the events which led to the calling of the Westminster Assembly; details its labours and their results, and deduces from this history several practical lessons. This scheme is filled up in an instructive and impressive manner. The sermon has increased the strength of our conviction that much useful information may in this way be communicated to the public.

The History of the Inquisition of Spain, composed from the original documents of the Archives of the Supreme Council, and from those of subordinate tribunals of the Holy Office. Abridged and translated from the original works of D. Juan Antonio Llorente, formerly Secretary of the Inquisition, Chancellor of the University of Toledo, Knight of the Order of Charles III. &c. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. New York: Saxton & Miles. 1843. pp. 208.

This is another of the neat, condensed and remarkably cheap publications for which theological readers, and the public generally are indebted to Mr. Campbell; and which entitle him to expect a generous patronage. The history of the Inquisition by Llorente is a standard work, with whose character our readers may be presumed to be acquainted. It furnishes one of the best refutations of high-church principles by showing the results to which they legitimately lead, and to which they have a constant tendency. If we deny the scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and assert the right of the church guided by tradition and the assumed teaching of the Spirit, to assert with authority what men are to believe and do, then of course we deny the right of private judgment in

matters of religion. And if men have no right to judge for themselves they ought not to be permitted to judge for themselves. This seems a fair conclusion, and it is the conclusion to which almost all traditionists do in fact come. Mr. Palmer, a distinguished modern writer of the Oxford school, in his Treatise on the Church, a work republished in this country under the auspices of Bishop Whittingham, expressly denies the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and as the natural consequence of that denial, asserts that the civil magistrate is bound "to repress all attempts to introduce hercsies and errors," and that he may enforce his decrees "by civil penalties," vol. ii. p. 304, and elsewhere. He also teaches that he is bound to prevent schism or separation from the church. Bishop Whittingham while admitting the principles of his author, enters an extremely feeble interrogative protest against the duty of persecution, as a sequence from those principles. But the leaven is there and it will work; when he that letteth is taken out of the way, then shall that wicked thing again be revealed. The Romanists are right and Mr. Palmer is right. If the church is infallible, and men have not the right of private judgment, then it is of two evils unspeakably the less that error should be prevented by the strong hand of civil power, than that the souls of men should be made a prey to the teachers of heresy. All opposition from mere expcdiency or feeling to the working of these principles, reason and history show to be powerless. Persecution is a duty, if men have not in religion the right of private judgment.

An Essay concerning the Unlawfulness of a Man's Marriage with his Sister by Affinity; with a Review of the various acts of the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, touching this and similar connexions. By Colin McIver, V. D. M. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, 178 Chestnut st. 1842. pp. 162.

We regret that we were prevented noticing this work at the time of its publication, which an accidental circumstance prevented our doing. The interest attached to the subject which it discusses, and the prominent part taken by Mr. McIver in the discussions to which it has recently given rise, as well as the value of the book itself entitle it to a most respectful notice. We doubt whether there is any minister

in our church who has had so effective an agency in bringing the public mind to bear upon the question of the lawfulness of a man's marriage with his sister by affinity, as the author of this volume; and whatever may be the result of these discussions, he certainly will have deserved well of the church. He has here presented within a short compass a great amount of valuable information, and brought under review almost all the passages of the scriptures which bear upon the question.

Lectures on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. L.L.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh. Second Edition. New York: Robert Carter. Pittsburgh: Thomas Carter. 1843. pp. 521.

THE reader may expect to find these lectures distinguished by the eloquence and imbued with the devout spirit of their celebrated author. While other commentaries are devoted to minute elucidation of the text, Dr. Chalmers's aim seems to have been to seize upon the great principles of doctrine and duty presented by the apostle, and to unfold them before his readers. This he does with all his characteristic copiousness and power. This large and closely printed volume is sold at the remarkably cheap price of one dollar and fifty cents.

Remains of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M. A. to which is prefixed a view of his character, By Josiah Pratt, B. D. F. A. S. From the eleventh London edition. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal street: Pittsburg, Thomas Carter.

IT is safe to presume that all our readers are, of course, acquainted, at least by reputation, with this admirable volume. Mr. Carter could not well have given to American Christians a more valuable present of its kind, than this neat and convenient edition of a book, which will enrich the mind and heart of its readers in any walk in life.

Chemistry in its application to Agriculture and Physiology. By Justus Liebig, M. D. Ph. D. F. R. S. M. R. I. A., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen, &c. &c. &c. Edited from the Manuscript of the autohr by Lyon Playfair, Ph. D. From the last London

Edition, much improved. Philadelphia: Jas. M. Campbell & Co. 98 Chesnut Street. New York: Saxton & Miles, 205 Broadway. 1843.

If it be true that "he who causes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, is a benefactor of his race," Prof. Liebig has richly earned an honourable mention in our pages. The work before us, is the Report of the "Chemical Section," to "The British Association for the advancement of Science," on the subject of which it treats. It is a profoundly scientific investigation, of most important practical principles. It strikes us as remarkable, that a work conducted strictly on the principles of vigourous and even technical science, should have attracted so extensively the attention of practical men. We have not before seen a more striking case of the benefits of our modern system of cheap literature, than in the furnishing of such a work, in a clear and readable type, at twenty-five cents:—a price which we should think would of itself induce thousands to buy and profit by it.

Animal Chemistry, or Organic Chemistry in its applications to Physiology and Pathology. By Justus Liebig, M. D. Prof. of Chemistry in the University of Giessen, Edited from the author's Manuscript by William Gregory, M. D. Prof. of Medicine and Chemistry in the University and King's College, Aberdeen. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co. 98 Chesnut Street. New York: Saxton & Miles, 205 Broadway. 1843.

This volume is the successor, and exact counterpart, of the one we have just noticed. It bears the same marks of the finished scientific scholar; and in its department, we should think, cannot be otherwise than highly valuable. Any one, however, who has attempted to refer even the simplest phenomena of the vital forces, to their chemical relations, will not need to be told, that a certain degree of uncertainty, attaches to most of the conclusions on such a subject. It hardly falls within our province, to say more of this work at present. It may be considered as the pioneer in a path of investigation, to which intense scientific interest belongs, and which cannot fail to be followed out to valuable results, by enthusiastic students of the mysterious workings of the vital powers.

A Brief Outline of the History of the Reformation. An Address delivered by Rev. D. Mardill, in the Methodist Church, Hamilton, on the evening of the Fourth of July, 1843. pp. 24.

IT would be well if our national anniversary should give rise to more discourses like the above. If instead of calling the people together to listen to political harangues, or frothy declamations on liberty, they were assembled to thank God for our national blessings, and to listen to instructions derived from the history of the past, it would promise better for the perpetuity of civil institutions, and the permanent enjoyment of our religious liberties. The discourse of Mr. Mardill seems designed to show the value of the Reformation as a deliverance from spiritual bondage, and to inculcate on his readers the important lesson that religious truth is, under God, our only security from civil and religious servitude.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams, Missionary to Polynesia. By Ebenezer Prout, of Halstead. First American Edition. New York. M. W. Dodd. 1843. pp. 416. 8vo.

THIS work gives an interesting account of an extraordinary man. Devoting himself in early life to the missionary cause, he laboured among different groups of the Polynesian islands with a zeal that pressed continually upon the safe limits of discretion, with a buoyancy of faith that was seldom depressed even by the greatest difficulties, and with a copiousness of resources that is not often exhibited. We know not how any can read such a work without being driven to the conclusion that the man whose life is here recorded was the subject of a most unaccountable delusion, or that he must have been actuated by motives and sustained by an agency to which the men of the world are strangers. Independent of the religious interest of this work, there are some parts of it, especially that which gives an account of Mr. Williams's successful attempt to construct a ship, while upon the island of Rarotonga, that have all the charm of the adventures of Robinson Crusoe. The life of this devoted man furnishes a striking illustration of the amount of good that may be achieved without any extraordinary talent, by what is termed practical ability, when directed and sustained by Christian principle.