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OCCASIONAL SERMONS

AND

A D D R E S S E S.

*Autographed Copy
See page 101*

OCCASIONAL SERMONS

AND

ADDRESSES.

BY

SAMUEL W. FISHER, D.D.,
PRESIDENT OF HAMILTON COLLEGE.

NEW YORK:
MASON BROTHERS,
5 AND 7 MERCER STREET.

1860.

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TO THE ALUMNI AND FRIENDS

OF

HAMILTON COLLEGE,

AS

PROMOTERS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOLARSHIP,

THIS VOLUME

OF

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES

IS

MOST CORDIALLY AND RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E .

A number of the discourses contained in this volume have been previously in print. In publishing them with others the author has yielded to the request of friends, in whose judgment he has entire confidence. In this more permanent form it is hoped they may subserve the interests of education and true religion. The titles and the occasions on which they were delivered will sufficiently indicate their character. The author regrets that the pressure of public duties has not permitted him to give to these pages that thorough revision which would render the volume more worthy the attention of those who take an interest in these discussions.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, Dec., 1859.

CONTENTS.

EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES.

. I.	
COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.....	PAGE 15
. II.	
THEOLOGICAL TRAINING.....	46
. III.	
FEMALE EDUCATION.....	82
. IV.	
THE THREE STAGES OF EDUCATION.....	117

LITERARY ADDRESSES.

. V.	
THE SUPREMACY OF MIND.....	145
. VI.	
SECULAR AND CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.....	171

	PAGE
VII.	
OBSTACLES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS TO MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN CHURCH.....	210

VIII.	
NATURAL SCIENCE IN ITS RELATIONS TO ART AND THEOLOGY.....	238

HISTORICAL DISCOURSES AND ESSAYS.

IX.	
JOHN CALVIN.....	273

X.	
WILLIAM PENN.....	311

XI.	
JOHN CALVIN AND JOHN WESLEY.....	376

XII.	
HISTORY, THE UNFOLDING OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE.....	413

OCCASIONAL SERMONS.

	PAGE
XIII.	
CONFLICT AND REST IN THE CHURCH.....	437
XIV.	
PRESBYTERY.....	487
XV.	
BACCALAUREATE DISCOURSE.....	525
XVI.	
THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.....	550

EDUCATIONAL DISCOURSES.

I.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES:

Your election to the high office into which you have this day inducted me, is a sufficient declaration of your confidence in the soundness of my views on the subject of Collegiate Education. Yet, called as I have been from another position in some respects unlike this, where, amidst the intense activities and earnest life of a great city, it has been my privilege to preach the gospel; it is fitting that on this occasion I should shadow forth those principles which seem to me to constitute a truly Christian education. I say *Christian* education; for, although the Presidency of this Institution differs in some things from the pastorate of a church, yet it is only as a Christian minister, carrying into this new position the same high aims which belong to such a ministry, and seeking, by all fit means to bring the gospel to bear in its purifying power upon the hearts of these young men, that I could consent to take it upon me. With that education which limits its aims to this world, which rejects the grand motive forces drawn from the life to come, I have no sympathy. It is as a Christian minister, regarding his office as the noblest and most effective for good, far above all mere presidencies and offices of secular trust, however exalted in the world's view, that I appear here to-day.

Viewing the post to which you have called me, as furnishing prospectively one of the finest fields for the exercise of

* Delivered at the inauguration of the author as the sixth President of Hamilton College, at Clinton, New York, Thursday, November 4, 1853.

the best talents of the minister of Jesus; where, in the training of those who are to be leaders in the State and the Church, all the resources of study and the results of a large experience in the busy scenes of life, might be made available, I have felt its responsibilities and yielded to its claims. Education loses its chief dignity, its noblest end and brightest light are neglected and quenched, when its relation to the grander future of the soul is either despised or subordinated to the interests of this life. And if on this occasion, while speaking on so trite, and yet so ever fresh a subject as education, I should dwell more fully than has been usual, on its relation to man's higher interests; you will find my apology, if any such be needed, in the importance of this relation to the whole sphere of College life.

Education, as to its subject, divides itself naturally into the *physical*, the *intellectual*, the *spiritual*. The body is in one aspect the temple, in another the agent, in another still an organic force of the soul. Its form so erect, its structure so exquisite, its adaptations so manifold, fit it for these purposes, and give it dignity and importance. So powerfully does its condition in consequence of its mysterious relation to the soul, modify the manifestations of the latter that it can not well be lost sight of in the training of the man. We may not fully understand the relation, but the results of it are broadly manifest. The finest intellectual culture is dearly bought at the cost of shattered nerves and a broken constitution. There is indeed a much more intimate connection between the highest efforts of mind and a sound constitution, than we are ordinarily ready to admit. We discourse of the superiority of the soul to the body, until we half persuade ourselves the one is almost complete without the other. We call up instances of men who, like Calvin, with a feeble frame have undergone prodigious intellectual labor; but we forget how these very men have generally died before their time: we forget how many minds have been crippled and rendered useless by ill health: we mark the exceptions and lose sight of the rule. The steam is useless unless your boiler be

stanch ; your mental culture will never qualify you for protracted and high-wrought thought, unless you have physical stamina to sustain you in the effort. There is nothing that so tasks the power of endurance as the incessant mental toil required of most of our professional and educated men ; and he who comes forth to his work with a hale constitution has an advantage inestimable above his feeble and broken compeer. It was due largely to his high health and strong constitution, established by early toil, that Washington bore up the burden of so immense a responsibility, for so many years of public life. It was his early drill in the army that imparted to him whose illustrious name this Institution bears, the vital force that sustained him in his gigantic labors, which while they won the gratitude of a nation, gave him the highest seat among the great intellects of the Revolution. And hence, too, it is, that the country-bred youth, accustomed to ride, and hunt, and swing the ax, do most generally carry the day, even in the strife of intellect, over the youth bred in cities and reared in the hot-house atmosphere of their superficial and ephemeral excitements. Now the college receives the youth just at the time when he is rising rapidly to the full stature of the man ; he attains the growth, he ripens into the maturity of manhood during these years ; and while in this process, it is of the last importance he should enjoy that physical training which shall knit his frame, expand his lungs, give erectness to his form, litheness to his limbs, toughness to his sinews, and solid fullness to his brain. It is not that he may run or wrestle, or row in Olympic games ; we care not for these crowns that perish ere the garments of the victor are laid aside ; it is that he who has gained this sinewy toughness may bear up like a man under the greater struggles of after life : that he may not be compelled to carry the burden of an enfeebled constitution, when he needs all his powers for the higher work before him : we would send him forth from these Halls a *man*, full of vital energy which braves danger, which laughs at difficulties, which rejoices in labor—a man with all the refinement

of an Attic culture crowning the vigor of a Spartan discipline.

To effect this object, various methods have been employed. It is now some years, since the plan of combining systematic manual labor with mental culture was attempted in this country on a large scale. The results of this experiment are not such as to commend it for general adoption. The working of it revealed two fatal defects. The system of labor, to be successful, demands so much time and interest and energy as practically to break in upon and injure the system of study it was designed to invigorate. The servant thus became the master: the inferior object thrust aside the superior—nor was this all: the student needed recreation; he was put to what shortly became drudgery: he wanted something that should have the interest and lightness of play; he was made to work. The brain demanded refreshment, the body exercise: there was in the system, exercises for the one, but nothing to give spring, elasticity, and life to the other. In some institutions, the daily military drill answers an important purpose. It gives erectness to the form, expansion to the chest, precision to the movements, and a manly bearing. But even this, when made prominent, becomes shortly mechanical, and loses its power to divert the mind.

At the present day, the gymnasium has risen into an almost necessary institution—combining in itself a great variety of exercise, it answers largely the purpose of developing all the forces of the body, and giving play and elasticity to the intellect. Doubtless a combination of this with the occasional military drill and the out-door sports of summer, would most effectually impart a fine muscular development, power of endurance, and an open, manly bearing. Situated as we are—the college crowning the hill, the village resting in this interval, amidst this bracing atmosphere—the students of this Institution find much of their recreation in the invigorating exercise which their position compels. In their efforts to ascend the hill of science, they are aided not a little by the health and vigor gained in the ascent of another hill less ideal,

from whose summit the eye looks out upon a landscape of rare beauty and wide extent.

In considering education *with respect to the culture of the mind*, I propose to unfold what constitutes the prominent character of our collegiate system. We have just as truly an American Collegiate system, as we have a peculiar system of law, of government, or a peculiar form of national life. Based originally upon that of the English University, it has grown up in harmony with our circumstances : it has been modified by the life of our people. It may be in some respects imperfect ; it is doubtless, even in our oldest colleges, behind the most celebrated universities of the old world ; yet such as it is, it is our own, conformed to the genius of our institutions, pervaded largely by their spirit and ministering most effectually to their support. It is not the academy ; it is not the university ; it is simply the college. It is neither originally popular, as are the common school and academy ; nor is it specific, as is the case with institutions limited to one or two departments of knowledge ; nor is it designed, as in the higher course of the university, to carry the education to the most elevated point in all the special divisions of science.

I can not well unfold the true genius of the American system of collegiate education, without describing the *objects* at which it aims. These are threefold. 1st. It seeks to exercise, to strengthen and harmoniously develop all the powers of the intellect. The mind has its capacities, which must be put forth into action before they ripen into strong forces. The same process of downright effort, which ministers growth and fullness to the other powers of manhood, is equally essential here. This intellect is capable of holding in its memory facts, laws, ideas, words, associations without limit ; but unless you put it to the task of doing this work, unless you select and direct the things which it shall treasure up, and teach it how to arrange them in such order as to be ready for after use, the memory remains either an undeveloped capacity, or a storehouse of what is insignificant and trivial, or a mere collection of loose and disjointed material. The youth has

the capacity of comparing, of contrasting, of judging between things similar, and opposite ; but if you give to that latent power no fit exercise, or no fit subjects on which to exercise itself, it remains feeble, or incapable of determining what is true on the most important themes. He has the ability dormant within him of abstracting his mind from outward things and fixing it steadily upon one subject ; of analysis ; of re-composition and deduction ; but this ability must be made available and real by long and steady exercise. Justly to analyze, or rightly to gather up conclusions from various particulars is the resultant of a thorough process of development. So the imagination must be chastened and enlarged in its range : the love of the beautiful cultivated and refined ; and the power of just criticism developed.

Now the college takes the youth after the school and the academy have trained him in the elementary studies : at a time when the reflective powers begin to open freely : when with coming manhood, childish things cease to interest, and the soul aspires to put forth its undeveloped powers in those directions which lead to high attainments. Just at this period, we seek to give this germinant intellect the exercise it needs to reveal all its secret energies. We aim not to stimulate and work it in one or two directions ; but to furnish that varied round of labor which will give to all its powers an harmonious and symmetrical unfolding. For, as in the finest gymnastics of the body, neither the hand alone, nor the eye, nor the chest, nor the limbs, but all together are disciplined and made effective ; so in the gymnastics of the mind, neither the power of language alone, nor the power of intuition, nor the power of mere reasoning, nor the imagination, but all of them find something to stimulate, to invigorate, to unfold. It usually happens that minds vary much in their aptitude for different studies. It is rare that the original forces are graduated so as to touch at once all parts of a circle. One masters easily the pure mathematics, while he remembers and analyzes with difficulty a sentence in Tacitus. One ascends spontaneously into the regions of imagination—a nature full

of poetry—to whom the resolution of his own mental and moral powers is a task and drudgery. Now instead of humoring these several aptitudes at the first, and so increasing the natural disproportion, and leaving the mind without a capacity developed in any other direction; we would have the youth wait until the time comes for the choice of a profession in which to indulge, if he should so choose, the natural bent of his intellect.

Meanwhile we will teach the mathematician how to master language: we will chasten the poetic imagination by the drill of abstract science: we will assist the man of verbal memory to go through difficult processes of reasoning: we will endeavor to cultivate in all the power of profound reflection and just discrimination, so that when they go forth into life, it will not be with a partial—a distorted—a one-sided intellect—a mind that has ability only in one line, and is prevented by its very training from advancing in any other. The system of collegiate discipline thus seeks to give breadth, solidity, proportion to all the powers. It seeks to prepare a man to enter upon the special training that belongs to each profession, with a mind so exercised and informed as to be effective, according to its original endowments, in that or any other direction. It does not contemplate making this man a Grecian, that one a Mathematician, another one a Rhetorician, a Surveyor, or Astronomer. It leaves these special attainments for after study—individual choice. It supposes that the Grecian, the Mathematician and the Rhetorician will be vastly more accomplished as scholars, and not at all less accomplished in the specialities they have chosen, by having thoroughly mastered the entire circle of college studies. And hence it obliges them all, during this stage of their training, to test their capacity and discipline their powers in all directions: confident that from so varied and thorough a course they will come forth stronger and better proportioned minds: better fitted for the general work of life, or to make large attainments and push themselves with greatest success in some one department. This thorough discipline of all the

mental powers, is fundamental to an American system of collegiate education. This is its first great idea. It builds a broad foundation, solid and true, on which the structure of a profession may be afterwards reared.

Let us now advance to a *second characteristic* of this system. It *aims to teach the true method of science, while it familiarizes the mind with the general principles that underlie it.* It is not enough merely to exercise the mental faculties. They should be developed along the line of truth: they should be taught how to master the problems that meet us: the mind should be inducted into the method of successful investigation. This mind may be endowed with splendid powers; and yet if it know not the way in which the highest results may be reached, the very greatness of these abilities will only facilitate its progress in error. "The lame," says Bacon, "*in the path* outstrip the swift who wander from it; and it is clear that the very skill and swiftness of him who runs not in the right direction, must increase his aberration." It is he who holds in his hand the clue who is able most successfully to explore the labyrinth. The grander the genius the greater his error, if he know not the path in which truth must be sought. He may have vast learning and spend years in elaborating a monument that shall stand, like Warburton's "Divine Legation," full of the riches of knowledge, yet utterly valueless with respect to the position sought to be established. Thomas Aquinas has written with astonishing acuteness what it would take almost a lifetime for an ordinary mind to compass; yet Thomas Aquinas is only a mighty shade, not a living, animating power to improve and guide the world. Had this stalwart mind adopted a method of study more just and true, what grand results might he not have reached? what light might he not have thrown forward upon the coming generations? It is thus a great point in education to teach not only the limitations of knowledge, but the methods by which the knowledge attainable must be sought. These methods vary as the knowledge itself varies. The method of the poet is not that of the logician: the method of the mathe-

matician is not that of the moral philosopher: the method of the naturalist is not that of the rhetorician. They may all have some points of agreement, but they have likewise important differences. In these the mind is to be fully instructed—instructed not merely in theory, but trained by individual exercise. The course of study must be such as will compel the working of the intellect in these different methods; that by a thorough mastery of each, their true nature may be seen and felt, and the mind, when it enters upon one or the other, will spontaneously and vigorously follow out its peculiar laws. When a man has thus grasped these methods of searching after the truth, when his intellect has been habituated to work easily in each according to its nature; then is he prepared to advance intelligently and successfully in any one he may choose. He will not confound them in practice: he will not demand in religion the demonstrations of mathematics, nor build his philosophy of the mind upon the creations of the imagination. Thus trained, he is not only able to think, but to think so as to make his every attainment a step from which to rise to other and higher attainments.

Now, by thus becoming thoroughly drilled in the method of science, there will follow another result that gives its character to the educated mind; and this is a familiarity with the general principles of science in its various departments. The student gradually advances from point to point, until he has before him the whole field of truth in its great outlines and relations. He gains a comprehensive survey of thought as a whole, in some one or two departments of which he is hereafter to labor. Now this position is of immense advantage; for all science is most intimately related. Its source is in one infinite Intellect from which came forth the grand idea. Creation and all its laws are a unit; diverse, multiform, often apparently contrasted, like the huge crests of the world which have broken up the once level strata; yet there is a real harmony between them. The music of the spheres is just as sweet, it is just as true in the matin of the lark and the hum

of the bee, as when it swells in the grander diapason of the universe. The pure abstractions of mathematics find a home in the skies ; and yet are linked to the forms which Nature assumes in the grass at your feet, in the tree that lifts its branches into the heavens, and in the colors that deck the world in beauty. The laws which control society in its growth and life, lie on one side in the soul of man ; on the other in the bosom of the earth, in the atmosphere around, and ascend to the orb which exerts so vast an influence on man and his abode. An elastic vapor which unconfined disappears, confined and guarded by science enters into and becomes one of the vital forces that shape the whole progress of society. Astronomy, which at one time is a fancy and an abstraction, at another gives laws to every ship that sails the ocean. So all science works together ; and just so far as men can enter into the mighty system of the original Planner, it reveals unthought of harmonies, it adjusts itself spontaneously in grand accord with the highest intelligence and finest development of human society.

Now it is a matter of large influence, it enters as an element of great force into the work the man of education is called to do ; when he can go forth to this work from the vantage of a position where he takes in these principles of science and sees their intimate relations. Cicero was the grandest mind of Rome, not only because of his "golden mouth," nor because of his comprehensive statesmanship ; but chiefly because he had mastered the general principles of all the science of his day. In this he rose superior to Hortensius, to Pompey, to Caesar. He had risen into the highest empyrean of science ; he had bathed his wings in the pure sunlight far above the vapors that enshrouded the multitude ; he had surveyed with a keen eye and masterly comprehension the whole field of pagan learning ; from his lofty cyrie he went forth at will to gather their treasures from the land and from the sea ; there he nourished his strength ; and woe to Catiline, to Verres, to Antony, when he swooped down upon them from his place of power ! joy to the Republic when the

grand old Roman poured the wisdom of his counse. upon the willing ears of her Senate yet unfallen, and grasping the *Fasces* of her dread sovereignty shook them proudly in the faces of her enemies ! And so when other things are equal, it will ever be that the man who has mastered the general elements of that system of truth which is built up as a grand temple around us will show himself the superior, the chief among his fellows. From this so wide a range of knowledge, he not only acquires the materials of illustration, which contribute so powerfully to the success of the orator ; but he finds these principles so allied to each other that in whatever direction he pushes his investigations, spontaneously they send in their contributions : lights flame out on every side : he stands in the center : he concentrates their blaze into an intenser light upon the subject he is seeking to penetrate. They guide, they illustrate the student's path. They facilitate the physician's diagnosis, by revealing the latent connection of spirit and body. They expand and ennoble the forensic efforts of the lawyer, by bringing the science which he wields for the cause of justice, into sympathy and union with the profounder principles of divine law. They give comprehension and elevation to the statesman, teaching him how human government hath its roots in a sublimer system of order, that hath its seat in the bosom of God, and its home in all the universe of animate existence. They give to the naturalist a larger vision, revealing to him the higher laws which bind together all things material and immaterial. They assist the minister of Jesus in his demonstrations of the truth of Scripture, enabling him to exhibit the verities of both revelations as all in harmony ; to show how the same mind ordained the law moral and the law natural, and made them meet in man ; how thus, from the consenting voices of nature and inspiration, there rises a blended harmony of praise, sweet choral music, univocal through all creation, grander than angelic symphonies, more wondrous than Orphean lyres, ascending ever to Him, who through Christ created, and in Him redeemed our race. It is thus we seek to train the minds of our American youth. We

climb the heights of knowledge : we teach them how to scale those summits which seemed at first inaccessible : we place them where they can nourish their strength and clear their vision, and elevate their minds to a comprehensive range of thought in the clearer atmosphere of abstract science : we take them to a point, where, spread out before them, they can see the realm of literature, with all its States and Kingdoms. Thus taught they will never mistake the little spot on which they may happen to dwell, as the world's center, nor for lack of compass and chart, fear to sail forth on the wide ocean in search of continents yet unvisited, of cities yet unseen. As men who *know* the outlines and boundaries of all things which science has yet reached, they can go forth to explore and perfect their knowledge in any direction, and so prepare themselves to contribute most largely to the elevation of their fellow-men.

But in addition to these objects, our system of mental education contemplates yet another. It seeks to give to our young men the power to make known most effectively the science they acquire. It teaches them how to wield that instrument of thought which, though dumb, hath a thousand voices ; which, inanimate and dark, in man's hand, informed with his intelligence, becomes articulate, all ablaze with light, speaks in the ear of nations, flames around the thrones of kings, delights the hearts of children, consoles sorrow in its despondency, peoples solitude with the presence of genius, counsels in perplexity, gives a living form to thought, an existence immortal to the highest efforts of the intellect, and announces in tones distinct, in words that never die, the wisdom of the Infinite breathed into the souls of his chosen prophets. Not only does it teach men how to wield the *pen* ; it cultivates the *gift of utterance*. It disciplines the tongue. It links together the emotion, the thought, the word, the articulate speech. It makes the hand, the eye, the lineaments of the countenance bring tribute to the voice. It habituates and enables the man to unfold clearly, forcibly, for the instruction of others, all the knowledge, all that resulting conviction and

thought which from a thousand sources, from years of study, he hath slowly attained. It develops and gives utterance to that secret inspiration, here and there found as a special gift, which, whether at the Bar, in the Senate chamber, at the Hustings, on the Rostrum or the Pulpit, as it trembles on the tongue, as it sparkles in the eye, as it animates the countenance, as it swells in the voice; like divine music entrances the listener and holds the hearts of men in glad thralldom. It seeks to send forth these minds prepared to impress, to move, to mold, to enlighten society. It cultivates these gifts of practical instruction and impression, as not only grand instruments of power and usefulness in themselves, but as of especial use in our country, and in harmony with our institutions. For we have no large, permanent class of gentlemen of leisure: our laws are hostile to that system, which, by entailing estates, stereotypes the material elevation of one set of men above their fellows. We have no hereditary Senate, no order of men who by virtue of birth occupy the seats of influence in church or state. Society is in a perpetual process of dissolution and reconstruction. The statesman of to-day sprang from nothing, and his son, so far as the constitution of the State avails, may descend to nothing to-morrow. It is vigor, intelligence, the power to speak, the power to write, that find open paths to high places. The pen, the tongue, have here the grandest field of effort. All men, either in virtue of their profession, or in virtue of their citizenship, may wield them, and either rise to power or to that influence which is higher than official station; that influence which fashions opinion and shapes character, and so gives fundamental laws to society. This makes *practical* men: the mind of large intelligence full of vigor and tact, through the pen and tongue works immortal results. Its products abide, when the crude theories and shallow conceits of the half-educated and narrow intellect, though for a time they may spread wide, have perished from the knowledge of mankind.

It is thus we aim to give in this our college course, at this stage of education, such an intellectual training as will

fit our young men to be leaders and guides. We teach them to think, by carrying them through those processes of thought which discipline all the various powers of the mind, and strengthen them for effective and independent action. We induct them into methods through which science is best attained, and give them that position in respect to the knowledge of its general principles which will qualify them to enter intelligently upon any of its departments. We teach them how to communicate what they know ; and prepare them to write and speak, as men who have a mission of instruction, of guidance, of influence for good among their fellow-men.

I have reserved the subject of *religious education* for this place, not because it is inferior in importance to that which is physical and intellectual ; but because, being truly of far higher interest, it may thus crown the ascending series of thought, and remain in its full force in your minds. The question whether religion shall enter as a vital element into collegiate education, is nothing less than the question whether during these four years of the most interesting period of his existence, the young man shall be educated at all for the highest end of his being ! Our relations to God are primary : they take precedence of all others : they carry with them all that is most profound in thought, rich in wisdom, grand or fearful in destiny.

These earthly relations pass away ; these apparent interests which now so clamorously beseech our attention, soon die ; but that which relates to God and another world, abides and grows mightier with the decay of things temporal. The greatest constitutional lawyer of modern times, has well said : " Political eminence and professional fame fade away and die with all things earthly : nothing of character is really permanent but virtue and personal worth. These remain. Whatever of excellence is inwrought into the soul itself, belongs to both worlds. Real goodness does not attach itself merely to this life ; it points to another world. Political or professional reputation can not last for ever ; but a conscience void of offense before God and man is an inheritance for eternity.

Religion is therefore a necessary and indispensable element in any human character. There is no living without it. Religion is the tie that connects man with his Creator, and holds him to his throne. If that tie be all sundered, all broken, he floats away a worthless atom in the universe ; its proper attractions all gone ; its destiny thwarted ; and its whole future nothing but darkness, desolation and death. A man with no sense of religious duty, is he whom the Scripture describes in such terse but terrific language, as living without God in the world : such a man is out of his proper being ; out of the circle of all his duties ; out of the circle of all his happiness ; and away, far, far away from the purposes of his creation !”*

These are eloquent words, and true as eloquent. They commend themselves to every right reason and pure conscience, as a just estimate of the value of religion. But if such be the relation of religion to our highest interests, then surely it is not a thing to be practically lost sight of in the training of youth. There is not in the whole period of our existence, a season in which right religious instruction and influence should be brought to bear upon the intellect and heart with greater intensity and fullness, than when these young minds are opening to take in the wide range of scientific truth ; when habits of reflection are forming, and the mind is impelled to question all that it can not see rests on a stable foundation. At all times, but more especially now, should religion influence and mold the whole being. It should be treated, not as an incident to education, or a mere formal, outward law ; but as that which should pervade and characterize it as the plastic power, the primary and motive energy of the whole, separated from which the intellect itself has lost its highest support, and the soul its noblest possession. How, then, shall we give to this department of education its true position in our collegiate system ? When we have given it this, what will be its probable influence ?

In meeting the obligation to make religion a vital element

* Webster.

in our course of study, is it enough for us to assemble the students for daily worship, or for one or two Sabbath services? No one shall surpass me in a just estimate of the high value of such services, when made what they should be in their adaptation to the minds for whom they are designed; but I ask, whether these are sufficient to give the youth a thorough mastery of the great facts of Christianity: whether these, in point of fact, compel him to work his mind at all along the line of these facts as he does on all the other subjects of the course. Is it then, in addition to this, sufficient to teach him natural theology, and make science in its material laws the basis on which you can proceed to give him a more enlarged knowledge of God and redemption? But in this there is a twofold fallacy. The first is in taking for granted the very thing to be taught: in supposing that the great system of Christianity has been so far mastered, that you can intelligently advance to show the accord of this system with the entire system of truth as it lies in creation. The second is in supposing that the Christian religion rests upon or grows out of mere material science. Christianity is not natural theology. It harmonizes indeed with reason, but it is not discoverable, nor in all its facts fully comprehensible by it. It is confessedly not a new edition of nature, but an original, independent publication of the divine will. Its necessity lies in the utter defectiveness of natural theology. Man by wisdom knows not God. Paley's great argument is of no more avail to teach Christian truth than that of Socrates: both, as natural theology, are far below the wants of the soul, and below that original revelation which was given to meet these wants. All science that is real and true may be brought to illustrate this revelation, and reveal the secret harmony which pervades the works and the Word of God: but the Word must be thoroughly mastered in its teachings before you can bring it into this great circle of science, and show, by comparison, its wisdom to be higher and more vital than all else.

Is it then sufficient to give brief lectures directly on the

evidences of Christianity? These must necessarily be limited, abstract, and confined to one part of the course. Important in their place, as satisfying some minds and meeting some objections; they are fit rather as a means of gathering together and systematizing facts already mastered in detail. Without such previously acquired familiarity with the elements of Christian truth, their effect is partial. They can never form the main element of a course of religious education.

In point of fact, how is it that *science* is most successfully taught in this stage of education? Is it not by a direct study of facts, of laws, of problems? Why is it not sufficient for the teacher to lecture on the beauties of Tacitus or Æschylus, on mental and moral philosophy, on mathematics and chemistry? Because these young minds must first be made intimately acquainted with the language of Tacitus and Æschylus, with the facts on which mental and moral science is based, and the nature of the truths that constitute mathematical science, before you can advance with them to a demonstration of that which is pure science. The lecturer on chemistry, and geology, and botany, takes the facts first, and familiarizes the mind with them by a series of actual experiments; and then there is a foundation on which to build up a regular system of organic law. Now this method of education, which must be pursued whenever thorough scientific education is effected, is just that which ought to be pursued in the department of Christian science. Instead of leaving the Bible, the grand embodiment of all the facts of the Christian system, on the shelf for four long years, during the most fruitful period of life, at the very time when the principles and facts that bear the finest fruit in our after career, take root, we must take it down: we must make it the book which our youth shall study: study from Genesis to Revelation: study in its history, its laws, its prophecy, its poetry, its philosophy, its theology, its Christology. We teach science by a thorough examination of those works which constitute its clearest exposition; we

take the finest classic writers to teach language, the ablest mathematical works to teach mathematics ; we gather up the most striking facts of natural science wherewith to experiment : we analyze the works of the ablest reasoners to obtain a mastery of logic, and of the most eloquent orators to enter into the science of rhetoric ; and when God has given us the finest product of his wisdom, pregnant with the grandest forms of thought, rich in the most remarkable history, full of those facts which running through more than 4,000 years, culminate at last in the most wonderful creation of humanity, in the most amazing exhibition of divinity, and the full development of a system of truth vital to the redemption of the soul ; shall we, having charge of youth in the very years when they are most impressible, shall we not induct them thoroughly into these thoughts, these facts, this grand system ? Shall we deem our duty done when we have read a daily chapter, and preached a weekly sermon, and lectured a few times on some of the evidences of its inspiration ? Shall we be wiser for time than we are for eternity, and train up youth richer in pagan than in Christian lore ? The Bible is the heart, the sun of a truly Christian education ; and how shall we educate men as Christians, how shall we ground them effectually in that which constitutes Christianity, unless we do for them what Cicero would have done for educated Roman youth, in respect to the twelve tables—make it the *carmen necessarium* of an educated American ? If he could say that the “twelve tables were worth more than all the libraries of the philosopher,” and therefore should be studied more constantly and profoundly ; may we not, with equal truth, affirm that the Bible is worth more than all philosophy, all natural science, all other forms of thought ; and therefore it should be of all books the most profoundly studied, the most constantly present through the whole process of education ? We would place the Bible in the hands of the youth, when first with a trembling heart and heightened expectation he enters these Halls. We would make it his study, his companion from week to week, as his mind opens and his

powers of reflection expand. We would have this light shed its steady, serene brightness all along his ascending way, until he went forth alone into the stern conflict of life. We would have no compromise with infidelity or skepticism on this subject; we are *Christian* educators: we prize God's word above all earthly science. There is our banner: we fling it to the breeze! If you send your son hither, we shall do all that in us lies to teach him what this book contains, and to make its truths effective in the control of his life. We shall not apologize for Christianity, nor treat it as a handmaid to natural science; but as the queen-regent over all our studies, our lives; our richest possession in time, our only hope for eternity.

On the method of teaching, and securing the thorough study of this book, permit me to add two remarks: first, the Bible is not to be taught from the stand point of mere literature. It is not as a human inspiration, but as a divine revelation, it occupies this chief seat in an institution of learning. I will not degrade it from this position, by studying it as if it were the songs of Homer, or the *De Corona* of Demosthenes, or the history of Thucydides. It is not because it has the oldest history, the sublimest poetry, the most touching stories, the most compact reasoning, the richest figures of rhetoric, that it is worthy to be the *vade-mecum* of our youth; it is *as a divine revelation*, thrilling through all its nervous words with the inspiration of Jehovah, opening to man the will of his Maker in its unmistakable purity, ministering to the wants of a soul diseased, and an intellect benighted, swelling in a broad tide with divine compassion, and designed to lift men from the troublous depths of earthly pollution, sorrow, and death-darkness, into the purity, the joy, and the light of a new life in Christ Jesus;—as a revelation it claims the student's daily attention and challenges his profoundest thought. From this stand point of an assured divine revelation respecting our duties and our hopes, I would teach the Bible. I will not leave out its grand distinction. We do not begin to study natural science from the stand

point of Atheism ; we do not ask the student to divest himself of all belief in the being of God, and go down into the blank, dark regions of chance, when he enters upon the investigation of the works of creation ; we assume that there is a God : that there is a Providence : that there is order and wisdom of divine origin all about us : that man has a true history, and that God is his Father. So in teaching Christianity, we mean to start with its truth as a fact ; and then as we study the revelation which contains it, we will show how, being true, it harmonizes with all we know or can know of nature, so far as it is not infinitely above it : we show in tracing out the facts of the record, its origin, its cause, the grand idea and method according to which its divine Author wrought it out. Thus we are prepared to vindicate in the fullest manner its inspiration, and illustrate and enforce its truth as the highest will of God, full of light, of love, of peace, of hope, of all the elements vital to form the noblest character and fit it for the skies. So much for our method.

Then I would secure the constant study of the Bible, by making proficiency in the knowledge of it enter into the final estimate of the character and standing of the scholar. In this respect, it should occupy the same position in the college curriculum as any other study. Instead of being left to the caprice of the student, to be engaged in or not as he may choose, it should be enforced precisely as is the study of the classics or mathematics. If each recitation enters into and constitutes the standing of the scholar ; so would I have the recitation on this book and the attainments made in this nobler study, go towards determining the sum total of his entire acquisitions. If to this it be objected that religion is an affair of the heart—a voluntary matter ; I answer, that if religion belongs to the heart, its great vital truths belong to the head, and are to be investigated by the same intellectual processes we employ in any other science. If attention to it is voluntary, so is all education voluntary ; you can not compel men, young or old, to think : but you can place the young in such circumstances, and surround them with such influences as

will contribute powerfully to awaken thought in any desirable direction. The very object of a college is to create those influences and combine them with the happiest effect ; and just as they are wielded to secure the education of the youth in other directions, so would I bring them all to bear with equal force and effect upon his education in the truths that relate to the highest interests of his soul.

The *influence* of this study will at once vindicate the position assigned to it in the system of collegiate education. Its direct effect upon the intellect, in invigorating all its powers, although in reality least ; yet is that which may commend it to some as of chief importance. The mind at once enters upon the discussion of truths, which to their intrinsic grandeur and vastness, add relations most vital to the destiny of the soul. "God alone is great." The questions which concern his being, character, and will, at once carry the thoughts beyond the visible and temporal. Here the greatest men have exercised themselves. Turning from the superficial that attaches to things limited and seen, they have sought to penetrate the invisible, to solve the problem connected with our relations to the infinite. Soon or late, all true thinkers pass from the transient scenes of our earthly life, and seek to explore that vast profound which lies around the soul, and pulsates with the presence of God. And in thus studying the great Revelation, the young mind enters into the fullest manifestation of divine wisdom : it grapples with those questions, it is penetrated with those thoughts which lift it into a purer atmosphere. Unlike the ancient wrestler, whose strength lay in his contact with the earth, he grows stronger, his intellect becomes more acute, his views more comprehensive and profound, as he is lifted above the earth, as he grapples with that which is divine. His imagination is elevated, refined, impressed by that amazing variety of imagery, now awful and sublime as when the prophet unveils the Infinite sitting on the circle of the heavens : now all sparkling with beauty and radiant with a divine effluence, as the things of earth are taken up and clothed in the language of heaven. His mem-

ory gathers into itself scenes, events and sentiments that serve hereafter to illustrate all forms of thought, and all degrees of science. His reason, while its powers of deduction and abstraction and logical thought, are strengthened by the effort to discover and put together in their harmony, the parts of the great system of Redemption, finds its capacity of intuitive apprehension quickened and expanded, in dwelling upon the profound attributes and sublime ideas evolved in his growing acquaintance with God in his word. And so the intellect feels in all its powers the vital touch of the divine mind. It quickens, it exalts, it gives strength to weakness, vigor to torpidity, profundity to shallowness, breadth to the narrow, refinement to the rude, and greatness to the entire outgoings of the mind. The most wonderful of histories, the grandest exhibitions of mental effort, the sublimest scenes of time, are all gathered together in this book ; and through them all runs the divine intelligence. What are the discoveries of invention, the evolutions and marchings of secular history, the triumphs of humanity in all its earthly greatness, compared with that *Word* which discloses the process of creation, the origin of language, the fall of man, the unfolding of the truths of religion advancing to their ripe fruit in the person of Jesus Christ ! Steam may develop a material civilization ; electricity may be subsidized as the minister of thought ; natural science may detect the laws which rule among the forms of matter ; but this book calls the student to study God and the soul in their grandest relations ; and elevates him to the contemplation of a wisdom that will live and give life, when the earth itself has passed away.

Nor is this its whole influence upon the intellect. It places the student in a position, where he is better prepared to see and fairly judge of the harmony of the entire circle of science. The Bible is the complement of natural and the heart of moral science. No man can approximate to the completeness of general scholarship, without having studied profoundly its great system of truth. This system stands intimately related to all science : it furnishes the key which

unlocks much of the mystery that belongs to nature. The mere natural explorer is baffled and confounded whenever he attempts to rise into the higher generalizations of known truth: the study of final causes is full of darkness, till the light from the throne is shed upon them. "In thy light shall we see light." We may invert and apply broadly to a just comprehension of the whole range of the teachings of nature, what Cicero says of his Orator: *Omnia profecto, cum se a cælestibus rebus referret ad humanas, excelsius, magnificentiusque et dicet et sentiet.* It is in the light of the celestial, we shall see more justly the terrestrial. The statesman will have a juster understanding of government, the historian a more comprehensive view of the progress of the world, the physician a more thorough insight into that physical form he seeks to heal, the naturalist a completer conception of those forces that pervade all being, and all educated minds a more satisfactory understanding of the relations of the whole system of truth; just so far as to their special attainments in other directions, they shall unite this profounder knowledge of Revealed Truth. The men who make our laws and interpret them, will rise to a conception of law broad as humanity. They will understand what was long since uttered: *Non erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia post hac, sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore, una lex, sempiterna, et immortalis continebit.* That one law, those all-embracing principles, that higher system into which all others ascend, and find their place, in connections subordinate and subsidiary, was revealed in Eden, repromulgated on Sinai, perfected on Calvary, illustrated, defined and enforced in that book which holy men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Here Bacon had revealed that pure light—the true *lumen siccum*, through which he saw the path of science ascending to the throne. Here Milton bathed his wings, and, though sightless, filled with a divine effluence, of all mortal singers, soared nearest the sun. Here Newton came: this Word Divine gave symmetry to his matchless intellect, a higher power of generalization to his matchless

reason, a wider, clearer vision of the whole great system of universal truth. And no man should call himself an American scholar, who like them has not obtained the key that opens the portal of this spiritual temple.

Another result of this method is the solid basis which it lays for an intelligent faith in the Bible as a divine revelation. Ignorance is the great enemy of the Christian faith. To send forth into the world a young man, thoroughly at home in material and secular knowledge, but imperfectly grounded in that which is of vaster importance and profounder influence upon himself and society, is frequently to do both him and Christianity an incalculable injury.

He enters upon active life, often in circumstances unpropitious to the cultivation of faith in the divine word. Philosophies seemingly profound, specious and attractive, challenge his attention : that which seemed venerable and sacred in his eyes, is questioned, opposed, ridiculed : his half-formed arguments, his hereditary logic can not stand before the keen cimeters of these sons of the false prophet. If at length skepticism does not win the day, yet *doubt* enters : the solid earth becomes the unquiet sea : he clings to the truth rather as an alternative the most stable, where all is restless and shifting : the grand forms of truth hold him rather than the truth itself. Often these fail : his anchor is torn up : he floats away from all that is true, sacred and divine. But now let us take him while yet life is fresh within him ; while principles are rooting themselves in his convictions, there to spring up and become germinant powers in after life ; let us take him into and around this temple which is to serve for a refuge, a joy, a habitation to the soul for ever ; let us go with him quietly, slowly, frequently, so as to give time to his expanding intellect to question every part, and take in the full reality as it rises before him ; let us descend to the deep and broad foundations and explain to him how and why these massive stones were made thus to underlie the fabric ; let us measure them with line and plummet and test their soundness with the hardest logic ; let us ascend and examine these

vast pillars, and explain their stability, their proportion, their utility ; let us examine point by point each wall and arch, each pediment and capital ; let us finally scan with closest scrutiny the mighty dome upheaved on these strong pillars, through which the clear, calm, quickening light direct from the celestial throne pours in upon the soul its radiance ; let us do all this ; and then we shall have done something worthy of the name, to educate him in the faith of a Christian. With such a discipline, it will be almost as difficult to dislodge the conviction of the truth of Revelation from his intellect, as it would to persuade him, after he has stood beneath the shadow of St. Peter's, that this grandest monument of the genius of Angelo was a sham. Let him then, when his mind is all awake to the true, the just, the beautiful, study out this system of divine truth in its vast proportions, and you will have given him an inheritance richer than all the stores of human learning, more precious and abiding than all material benedictions.

But besides all this, we need this divine word as the most effective influence for direct moral and religious culture. Intellectual convictions are indeed of incalculable importance ; but unless these convictions have entered the heart, so as to become principles of action, education has not accomplished its greatest work. The higher nature of man lies deepest in the soul. From the secret depths where thought becomes emotion and conviction principle, the influences arise that constitute character. This is the richest field of culture : this demands the profoundest wisdom, the most patient effort, on the part of the instructor. It is with respect to this, more than all other departments of his work he feels his weakness. He may form the intellect, but how shall he reach, control, and give a noble character to the secret impulses and purposes ? How shall he get access to that heart, chasten its affections, discipline its eager desires, subdue its wild passions, waken it to high and holy aspirations ? It is here he feels the need of that which is divine : here he must call to his aid influences profound as the nature, and mightier than the passions of the soul.

There is a period in life when the youth comes forth from the control of the parent : when the power of his awakening manhood impels him to independent action ; when he questions the old authority and law becomes the synonym of tyranny. This is the period of danger ; it is also the period of hope. It is the period of danger ; for now passion is strong, while the sense of responsibility is weak. The youth is animate with the joy of independence : he feels the powers of life strong within : he is specially open to temptation. Losing the deep respect for human authority, which once possessed and controlled him, he has not yet attained that reverential regard for a higher authority which constitutes the moulding principle of a noble and pure character. He enters college. It may be that an earthly ambition seizing hold of him, checks and subdues the baser passions. He assembles around him in his study the shades of the mighty dead : their name, their fame, their glory dazzle and entrance. He looks out on human life. The prizes of this world attract his eye : the statesman, the orator, the man successful in winning station or wealth, power or fame, loom up aloft in light : he hears the voices of the multitude : their loud acclaim, their shouts of victory are borne to him on every breeze. His purpose is taken. His whole soul yields itself to the mighty impulse. He too will be great : he too will ascend these heights, and drink in the intoxicating breath of glory. Or it may be, these things seem distant, unapproachable. Then the baser passions rise to power : he yields himself to the joy of a present pleasure. Perchance, he takes the intoxicating cup ; perchance descends to brutal indulgence ; and in the early prime of life, he shatters immortal powers and darkens the bright promise of the future. This is the danger.

Yet this is also the period of hope ; for even now there may be inwrought into his heart the principle of a better life. Into this young soul there may be cast seed that shall spring up in beauty, and ripen into the fruit of a noble character, whose words and deeds shall be full of power, mighty to bless. On us, as instructors, rests the responsibility of guiding this

young life ; and just here it is we feel strong, only as we ally to ourselves a power divine. We seek to wield the influence of all others the most mighty. His mind, in this the awakening of its reflective powers and its sense of independence, must be brought face to face with the eternal God. Nothing but religion, first in its teachings, then in its attendant divine spirit, can give success. "There is," says Coleridge, "but one principle which alone reconciles the man with himself, with others and with the world ; which regulates all relations, tempers all passions, gives power to overcome or support all suffering, and which is not to be shaken by aught earthly, for it belongs not to the earth ; namely, the principle of religion, the living and substantial faith *which passeth all understanding*, as the cloud-piercing rock which overhangs the stronghold of which it had been the quarry, and remains the foundation. This elevation of the spirit above the semblances of custom and the senses, to a world of spirit, this life in the idea, even in the supreme and Godlike, which alone merits the name of life, and without which our organic life is but a state of somnambulism : this it is which affords the soul sure anchorage in the storm, and at the same time the substantiating principle of all true wisdom, the satisfactory solution of all the contradictions of human nature, of the whole riddle of the world." This is the principle we seek to implant : this is the feeling we aim to awaken. In doing this, we take this method of study, the constant use of God's word, as the most impressive power ordained of Him who gave it to us for this purpose. In thus seeking to bring it home to the mind and hearts of our youth as a means of moral and religious culture, we can seek intelligently and in faith for assistance from above, through which alone the heart can be renovated, and the whole soul consecrated to its highest end, and made meet for its noblest destiny.

An education like this, comprising in itself the broadest discipline of the intellect and the finest culture of the heart, must issue in the grandest results. It allies to it all powers of influence, divine and human, that are most pure and ele-

vating. It will quicken the conscience, purify the passions, implant right principles of action, if any course can do it. It will create a manly, earnest, and refined character. It will give to an educated mind an infallible test of truth, and clothe its demonstrations with an ennobling power.

Our public men will feel its elevating influence, aiding them to lead on in all things just and pure. It will impart to that mighty agency, the Press, and to our national literature, a higher power, a more earnest tone. It will constitute the strongest bulwark of liberty : the best safeguard of our free institutions. Giving to our colleges a heart that beats with an ennobling life ; it will consecrate their influence to religion and the finest culture of the intellect.

Such are the views of Collegiate Education which, on this occasion of deepest interest to the friends of this institution, I have felt it my duty to express. They are not the views of a sect ; they are broad as Christianity itself. I rejoice to know they are all in harmony with the sentiments of those of you who have the control and conduct of its affairs. You would not take from the young mind its only safe, its only infallible guide through this dark world ; you would give to it a higher position rather. You would make this institution not only the brightest light of the intellect, but of the heart. Nay ; turning from the living, from you,* sir, whose heart beats responsive to these sentiments, you who for more than a quarter of a century have given to this college the entire influence of an accurate, a refined, a Christian scholarship, and now have added the dignity of your presence on this festival occasion ; turning from these instructors whose thoughts on this great theme I know are all in accord with my own ;—from the living *here*, I look upward to the living *there* : to him, the Missionary of Jesus, who here, out in the wilderness, on the frontiers of civilization, laid the broad foundations of this institution, laid them on the rock of Calvary : to those who for so many years presided over it, and have now passed away. Could they speak, could spirits departed, with all the intelligence they

* Referring to Ex-President North.

have now attained, tell us what they think of Christian education ; can we doubt what would be their testimony ?

And now, my friends, let us not separate on this occasion without the resolution that we will seek to perpetuate these higher institutions of Christian education; to augment their resources and give them greater power to bless our country. Colleges, like many other things, have their laws of growth, their periods of expansion and progress. Intimately connected with the highest civilization of a people, they measure their progress in art, in science, in national wealth. Where the forests still hold their ancient reign almost unbroken, it is fit the school-house should rise beside the log cabin. As these forests disappear and cultivated farms delight the eye, the academy crowns the hill-top and speaks a fuller, broader education. As material wealth advances, at length the college with its solid structure opens its doors, and proclaims an advancing culture. This State has fully outgrown the limits of pioneer life. It has advanced from the state of dependence and weakness, to the seat of empire. On every side cities, towns, villages, all the signs of an advancing national civilization, of an industrious, a thriving, an enterprising population, crowd the landscape. The State wielding the scepter of empire should have institutions of learning corresponding with her greatness : these constitute the most unmistakable signs of the intelligence and foresight of her people " Literature becomes free institutions. It is the graceful ornament of civil liberty and a happy restraint on the asperities which political controversy sometimes occasions. Just taste is not only an embellishment of society, but it rises almost to the rank of the virtues, and diffuses positive good throughout the whole extent of its influence. There is a connection between right feeling and right principles ; and truth in taste is allied to truth in morality. With nothing in our past history to discourage us, and with something in our present condition and prospects to animate us ; let us hope that as it is our fortune to live in an age when we may behold a wonderful advancement of this country in all its other interests, we may

see also equal progress and success attend the cause of letters." Thus spake the statesman standing on Plymouth Rock. I echo these words in your hearing to-day: nay, I ascend to a still higher position. These Christian institutions are not only tributary to the diffusion of a correct literature; they are equally essential to the advance of religion and the highest civilization. They go down in their influence through all society. They build up the common school: they rear the academy: they aid the press: they cultivate art: they refine the rude: they multiply sources of wealth: they qualify men for positions of trust and influence: they stand among the foremost guardians of the liberties of the State, and impart to her the luster of high intelligence. They minister at the bedside of the sick; plead in the forum of justice; utter their judgments on the bench; frame law in the halls of State; proclaim the gospel in the pulpit; and send forth their words of light and truth to delight, ennoble, and mould the minds of the millions of our stirring population. They give us influence and renown abroad. They rule on the sea and on the land; and wherever the attribute of intelligence, joined with just principles is mighty, there their works are seen, their influence felt. Shall such institutions as these fail of the appreciation and support of a noble people? Shall a State like this be a pensioner on others for that higher education which she seeks for her children? Will not her men of wealth covet for themselves the honor of building higher the walls of these institutions? Will not her men of far-seeing intelligence lend them all the influence of their wisdom? Will not the sons of the State gather round their own homes the power and the glory of these nobler possessions? Will not the statesmen who understand the true foundations of government, the ministers who are awake to the spread of an intelligent religious faith, and all who love the best interests of man, come round these institutions of Christian education; resolved to advance them to that position of prosperity and influence, which corresponds with the greatness of our hopes for the onward progress of this people, in all that can adorn,

exalt, and bless? Then shall this institution, founded in prayer, enriched by the labors of men now ascended to their reward, already through its thousand Alumni, shedding benedictions on every part of our common country, attain a still higher position of influence, and send forth a wider stream of light. Let us, fellow-laborers in the cause of letters and Christian science, fellow-citizens of this great State and of this our glorious country, and you, young men, the whole-hearted and the true, who have gone forth from these Halls; let us retire hence, resolved by all just means to make the bright promise of the present a grand reality in the future, saying as we go: "Peace be within thy walls and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good."

II.

THEOLOGICAL TRAINING.*

YOUNG GENTLEMEN :

In addressing you this evening, it has been intimated to me, that I need not limit my remarks to the subject of rhetoric, the cultivation of which constitutes the chief object of this society. After an experience of twenty years in the ministry, I have felt desirous, on this occasion, of stating to you some of the general principles which should enter into and characterize the specific culture of a minister of Christ, in contradistinction to that which belongs to the other professions. In doing this I may aid you in your preparation for your work of preaching, just as much as if that work were alone before us. Cicero makes his orator a man of large knowledge. He extends his views to a wide range of subjects, in order to qualify him for the specific rank of a civil pleader. He makes a broad experience and extended culture in various directions, a discipline for the work of speaking with success. And thus in the ministry, I would lay the foundations for a successful presentation of the truth back in the thorough mastery of all the knowledge and experience which enter into the formation of an elevated ministerial character. The construction of sentences, the modulation of the voice, which constitute so large a portion of rhetoric as commonly received, important as they may be, yet hold a subordinate position among the varied qualifications of an able preacher. Sacred rhetoric, in its profoundest spirit and genius, rises far above the artificial form often given to it in popular

* Address before the Rhetorical Society of the Auburn Seminary, May 2d, 1859.

treatises. It is not a mask which a man puts on when he enters the pulpit, to hide his own poverty of thought. The minister is not a stage-actor, strutting in royal robes this hour, the next a coarse, vulgar, ignorant nature. In him rhetoric should be the expression of his own mental habitudes, the un veiling of his own richly stored intellect and heart, the resultant of all the protracted discipline of his life revealing itself in speech adapted to inform, arouse, and guide the minds of men. The knowledge gathered from a thousand sources ; the mental processes by which his intellect has been trained to discriminate, combine, create ; the experience through which divine truth has gone into, and become a vital element of his spiritual life ; the struggles, the defeats, the victories in which faith and sight, spirit and sense the supernatural and the natural have involved him, all these, converging together, should come forth harmoniously blended and interwoven in that grandest work, the preaching of the gospel. This priestly and regal robe he should wear as the expression of a regal and priestly character. It belongs not to the pulpit alone. It is the living, daily aspect and power of such a mind, informed with such intelligence, consecrated to such a work. The utterances of the pulpit should be the utterances of the fireside expanded and intensified to meet the same varied wants of the larger audience. A man's preaching in its thought, emotion, expression, should bear the stamp of his own nature, his own experience. It should be something which no other man could put on without doing violence to truth ; it should be something not borrowed, not assumed, but the outgrowth of his own spirit under all the various influences of education and divine discipline. Every man is necessarily one-sided, imperfect. All things that go from him are colored, just so far as they are his, by the peculiarity of his own nature and experience. Truth in its essence may be one ; but truth in experience and life, truth therefore as the expression of that experience and life is various as the forms of vegetable existence, various as the clouds and stars of the firmament. The gospel is one ; yet is it revealed to us not in

absolute formulas of faith, so much as in the parti-colored lines of the individual writers. Paul and John and Peter and James embraced it ; yet what a delightful variety, as of the same landscape seen from different positions and under different light and shade, does their expression of it, their rhetorical exhibition of it reveal ? They proclaimed it as they felt it ; as it had wrought itself into their life, through their separate, their peculiar experience, and in harmony with their own strongly-marked and contrasted natures. Thus should it be with our rhetoric. It should be the expression of our knowledge in the form given to it by our natural constitution, experience and discipline. Neither in this, nor in any thing else of this high import, should we call any man "master."

In asking your attention therefore to some remarks on the course of preparation specially adapted to the ministry, you will recognize, I trust, a purpose to contribute what is in my power to assist you in becoming successful PREACHERS of the word.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the character of that general discipline which should precede the special training of the professions. That mathematical and classical culture which belongs to the college, is presupposed. We take it for granted that, in entering upon the special studies connected with the ministry, the student has attained that mental power which a collegiate course is adapted to impart. In connection with this, however, you will permit me to make a single suggestion. Scarcely any thing is better fitted to give accuracy and finish to scholarship than the careful review of our early course of study. To secure this end it is not necessary we should go over all the parts of our academical curriculum. Take a single oration of Demosthenes, and another of Cicero ; take one or two of the dialogues of Plato and the treatise *De Officiis*, and spend a few hours each week on them in succession, so that they may occupy you for months and even years ; read in connection with them the history of the times in which they were written and the contemporary philosophy

out of which they grew ; let Newton's Principia and Bacon's Novum Organum lie on your table ; resort to the first for the purpose of cultivating concentration of thought, and to the second as an assistant in obtaining the natural method of philosophising ; and you will find that with little cost of time and labor, you will be able to keep your classical knowledge fresh, while your power of discrimination and vigor of thought will be maintained amidst the dissipating cares and miscellaneous work of a minister of Christ.

Now with all this understood, the question for us to settle is, What is that peculiar education which belongs to the ministry in distinction from the other professions ? And hence, I take it, the position which the minister is to occupy settles at once the character of his education. He is to be trained for this position, this sphere of life, and not for another, however noble and excellent that other may be. What, then, is the fundamental idea which underlies the whole of a minister's life ; which sets him off from all other men ; which gives him a peculiar character, a peculiar link, and a peculiar place in the whole economy of society ? Briefly this—the *spiritual in contrast with the natural ; the eternal in contrast with the temporal*. I do not mean that his position has no relations to the natural and the temporal. Far from it ; these relations are large and vastly influential. But these are not the things which constitute the essential elements of his position, or the grand forces with which he is to deal. The physician deals directly with natural laws ; the lawyer with temporal relations. These are the chief characteristics of their position ; these define their work in society. But the minister has to do directly with things spiritual, and his power comes mainly from ideas and influences that are connected with spiritual existence extending its reign into the eternal and the infinite. First of all he has to do with a *science* which relates primarily to the spiritual rather than the sensible. It is theology, not anthropology, nor geology. It is the science of that spiritual existence which man apprehends only by faith ; it is the knowledge of this infinite in his relations to the finite.

And so, on the other hand, it is the science of the immortal and the religious nature of man as related to this divine Creator, rather than the knowledge of that part of him which is perishable in his nature and temporary in his relations. This I say is the original, the characteristic feature of the minister of the gospel. Hence the *material* with which he has to work, the primary source of his intelligence, is spiritual. It is abstract truth; truth written, in contrast to truth in creation. It is truth *θεοπνευστ*—God-breathed—and therefore spiritual. It is not the book of nature, however full and glorious may be its impress. It is the book of pure thought, addressed to the eyes of the spirit, speaking to the conscience and the reason alone, uttering truths which nature never uttered, or man's reason from nature never attained. Its central sun, its grandest revelation—Jesus Christ and him crucified—is not an orb that flames in the natural creation, an orb that the telescope can reveal. The whole system which rests on him as its corner, which grows out of him as its root, which is crowned by him as its chief glory, which by figures various and multiplied is identified with him as its center and circumference, is wholly outside of creation, far, far above all merely human inventions and all earthly science. What medical diagnosis ever resolved man's real state in God's universe? or what natural science ever demonstrated the laws of the spirit? what code of jurisprudence ever recognized and unfolded the grand idea of divine mercy? what human philosophy ever advanced one step beyond the vestibule of man's relations to the infinite? This is the region of spiritual ideas, breathed into man by the infinite Spirit, recorded in words that address themselves directly and alone to the human spirit. And these constitute the chief elements of that science which the minister is to unfold.

Nay, more. The church which he is to cherish, to educate, and, as God's instrument, create and perpetuate, is not a creation of natural laws; its distinctive character is spiritual; it is a palingenesis, a new birth—a new creation, born from above, in its origin directly divine, in its continuance deriving

all its vitality from a force which is above nature, and in its end rising to a pure, spiritual existence. Conscience and the heart are made subject to an invisible rule; the reason is here illuminated by a divine, supernatural light; the life controlled and disciplined by a divine effluence, such as creation never knew, and eld never put forth—while the whole of this work of preparation in the Church itself takes hold of eternity, ascends to the throne of God, brings forth that living, holy creation which, as the bride, the Saviour's wife, is to shine for ever at the right hand, and on the bosom of Jesus Christ.

And finally, the effective power, the secret and life-giving energy which makes this man's ministry an eternal success, a glory above the stars and the angels, is wholly spiritual. It is not a nice adjustment of means to ends; it is not the force of natural eloquence, nor the power of direct impression springing from a cultivated intellect, well-modulated voice, nor the most skillful unfolding and reiteration of truth, however noble, that gives him success. His true children are born of the Spirit; his whole vitality and efficiency as the consecrated preacher of the gospel is the gift of the Holy Ghost. This presides over his studies, this flashes light along the heaven-sent message, this makes his words thrill through the conscience, and wakes up responsive affections in the dead heart. This, and this alone, clothes him with power, and, in connection with his labors, makes the Sahara of nature blossom like Sharon, and so prepares him to shine like the stars in the brighter firmament of the heavenly world for ever.

But while the position of the minister is thus chiefly characterized by its relation to the spiritual and eternal, yet is it not limited to these relations. It is central, at the heart of society, acting influentially upon all its vital powers. It touches thus two worlds. It underlies all other influences, controls or modifies them, reduces them into harmony. Just as conscience and the higher nature of man must be supreme over all human as well as divine relations, in order to bring the passions into subjection and liberate the will in its out-

goings from their despotic sway, so the position of Christ's minister will necessarily affect the earthy as well as the divine, the moral as well as the religious in all society. Just as conscience is related to man, so the work of the minister is related to all human interests. It touches directly or indirectly all parts of life, all enterprises of time. Thrift, business, health, peacefulness, intelligence, art, liberty, come within the circle of its beneficent influence. Its grand characteristic is indeed that it deals directly with our relations to God, and with those to man only as subordinate. But, in doing this, it brings the supernatural down to the natural; it lifts the material up to the spiritual, and so moves upon man in his whole being as on one side related to God and immortal, and on the other related to the earth and perishable. Such is the position of an ambassador of Christ. Now the knowledge of this position is the key that unlocks the whole system of training peculiar to the ministry. This training must bear directly upon those attainments which fit him to occupy so exalted a position. It is not the lawyer, the engineer, the physician, the merchant, the artist, the literary or moral reform lecturer, that is to stand on this eminence. It is a character of another stamp; a mind and heart educated by a process different from those which give them a special aptitude for their work. Here all the lines of education should converge to the point of augmenting his power as a spiritual agency designed to mold hearts and consciences for the life of God. Every thing should be made subordinate and subsidiary to this end. I say this preacher of the gospel must be *educated* to preach. The days of miracles are past. Divine influence consecrates and coöperates with human powers. It blesses the patient *laborer*; it exalts the processes of thought; it seconds mental discipline; it uses weapons shaped and sharpened in the forge of consecrated science. It has no sympathy with ignorance, stupidity, shallowness, and while it *can* give Samson strength to slay his thousands with the jaw-bone of an ass, as a special vindication of its sovereignty, yet he who should now go to war with such a weapon, would both betray his ignorance of

the usual method of the divine operation, and inevitably secure his own defeat.

In respect to this position, it is obvious that its first department of education is subjective culture, that mainly of the heart. This man who is to preach, must ground his preaching largely on his own knowledge of his own nature and wants. He is part and parcel of the race. He not only partakes of human nature, but of a fallen nature—the nature Christ came to purify and save. He who is to minister to others is himself compassed about with their infirmities. His preaching, so far as it is effective, will take its color and form from his knowledge of man's nature and the adaptation of the gospel to this nature. Without experience he will talk as blind men talk of colors, as deaf men talk of music. Now in this process of education there are three things to be secured. First, the knowledge of human nature—of that nature in all its actual weakness and capacity for greatness—in all its inconsistencies, excesses, disorders, depravity. He must know it in its sublime capacities made subject to and nullified by earthly tendencies. He must know it in its native, stubborn alienation from God, and in its conscience half blinded by sin. And to gain this knowledge of the disease to which he is to apply the remedy, he must study his own heart; introverting his thought, he must learn to see himself as heart, will, intellect, work themselves out, mutually influential on the various circumstances of life. Into this world so profound, so strange; into this sea so calm, so tempestuous, so turbid, so seemingly pure, so amazingly deceptive and deceitful, he must learn to cast his lead, and understand its currents, and analyze its nature, and trace out the influences which most affect it. Then going out from this study, which may long baffle and puzzle his intensest scrutiny, he must see the counterpart of himself in what man has been. He must read nature in the mildness of Chrysostom, in the ferocity of Caligula, in the libertinism of Augustine, in the scowling bitterness of Voltaire, in the philosophical skepticism of Hume, in the vulgar ambition of a Cæsar, the intense love of honorable fame of a Cicero.

He must study himself in the amiable, the refined, the vulgar, the lustful, the bloody, the ambitious examples of human nature that crowd the past. Nor is this the limit of his study in this direction. For men are all around ; human nature is revealing itself under all forms of life on every side of him. He must come in direct contact with men just as they are. He must learn their littlenesses, their meanness, their poverty of thought, their poverty of self-support, their powerlessness for self-elevation, their assumed morality, their gigantic pride, their intense selfishness, their nobler impulses crippled, defeated by the secret despotism of earthy passions. Understanding himself from his own conscious experience, and filling out what is imperfect in that experience by observation on man in the past and present, he will lay the foundation for progress in the practical knowledge of the science of Redemption, on the infallible conviction of the utter ruin in which the soul is involved. No man can begin to pull down the strongholds of sin until he has measured their strength ; he can not preach a Saviour until he knows from what men are to be saved ; he can not build a new temple in the human heart until the rubbish and rotten timbers of the old have been taken away.

But when he has gone thus far in this subjective process, he has only begun the work. He has made plain the ruin, but he has not repaired that ruin. Now commences another, a higher process. It is no longer the process of destruction, but of construction ; it is not the work of casting down, but of rearing the veritable temple of holiness in all its primal beauty. Now the words of divine truth become vital, life-giving ; promises rise to realities ; the will delivered from its bondage to the earthy, rejoices in the freedom of subjection to its heavenly sovereign ; new affections spring into existence ; Faith leads on the sublime procession, Love follows with her train of graces, and Hope begins to sing her epithalamiums over the union of the soul to Jesus and the blessedness of the glory that is to be revealed. This process of rearing the new man to a Christ-like stature is full of paradoxes

and wonders. Advancing, then seeming to retreat; exalted to-day, cast down to-morrow; hungering after God for a time, then feeling the returning desire of the world wax strong within him; buffeted by all winds, tempted by all forms of pleasure, beset by malignant foes on all sides; then riding calmly at anchor with Jesus in the vessel and the tempter gone; thus the soul ascends to victory. This is that subjective culture through which the young minister gains his highest fitness for his work. In this the Scriptures reveal their freshness, their vitality, their adaptation to all the aspects of his life. Here they become elements of that life, they are wrought into his deepest experiences, they carry with them a stronger evidence of their divine original than do the stars or the flowers. Gradually invigorating the will for the right, working themselves through and through the entire actings of the spirit, they become a life of thought, of feeling, of action. He turns to them as the babe goes to its mother's breast; in darkness they are his light; in sorrow his consolation; in defeat his triumphant recovery, through which his very sins become a ladder along which he rises nearer the throne.

And here I must insist upon a broad distinction between this subjective culture and that which is objective. It is one thing to classify and arrange and combine and even unfold eloquently the system of divine truth; it is another and a far higher attainment to enthrone this truth in all its quickening power within the soul itself. To preach learnedly, classically; to construct sermons according to the finest rules of composition, and deliver them with all the art of rhetoric, is one thing; but to preach Christ and him crucified out of a heart that has been crucified with him and knows how to lay our sins upon him and center all our hopes in him, is quite another thing. And as in the ministry there is a perpetual and a mighty tendency toward the first; as in us the most subtle of all temptations is that which addresses our ambition, which tends insensibly to make preaching an art, a trade, a business, so does it become you to guard against this with an undying vigilance. Preaching is not an art; no rules can

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compass it ; no forms can create it. It is a living product of a living soul ; it is an intelligence, revealing itself to others indeed, but then it is an intelligence compounded of light and heat, of thought warmed in the heart, vivified by experience. Of some truths there may be a clear statement, a splendid discussion, an eloquent unfolding, in which the intellect and the natural emotions alone have part. But when you come to connect these truths with the whole system ; when you are to make them take their place, not as cold dogmas, but as living parts of a living whole ; when they are to be made the wisdom of God and the *power* of God unto salvation, then they must come forth mingled with, intensified by the theology of a rare experience ; then, and only then, do they become the compound blow-pipe in whose flame the human heart so melts that it can readily take the impress of the divine image. And so it often happens that the minister who has advanced profoundly into this inward culture, doth usually surpass another vastly his superior in native gifts and intellectual attainments, in the vigor and success with which he prosecutes the great work of preaching the gospel. But when both are combined, there comes forth a Paul from his synagogue, a Chrysostom from his cathedral, a Luther from his convent, the grandest incarnation of human thought and action and influence.

In this department of ministerial culture there are two things so vital to success as to demand a distinct mention. The first is alliance with Christ as the effective power of the ministry ; the second is singleness of purpose with him as its object.

Self-reliance is cultivated as a great source of power. In actual education of men for their work in this world, a merely earthly policy, in its wisdom, insists upon this as the highest habit of manly energy. This springs necessarily from the limited nature of its aims and its resources. Man is the highest source of power, and the purposes he seeks to accomplish are only those which fall within the sphere of those natural influences he imagines himself able to command. Hence

the highest philosophy of the world is the cultivation of self in its form of personal intelligence, tact and energy. In the conscious possession of these men go forth confidently to their work. But in the case of the Christian minister this whole process, which may be called the natural process, is reversed—his strength springs from his conscious weakness; self-distrust is the condition precedent to a trust in Jesus Christ; the powerlessness of all instruments to effect the work before him forces him out of himself. The highest intelligence; eloquence the most moving; tact and energy the most consummate, are here no more effective in themselves to renovate a soul, than the chains and commands of Xerxes to calm the turbulence of the Ægean. Another power must be enlisted; the victory belongs to a conqueror supreme above all natural forces. Not a few men of earthly natures have accomplished mighty deeds under the impression that they were the chosen of God for a great purpose. Napoleon's "Fate" was his conviction that God wrought through him. But unlike these men, the minister must come into living sympathy with him who works in him and by him. Associated with the conviction that he is merely the instrument, there must be a living faith, which daily puts his hand into the hand of Jesus; which communes most intimately and sweetly with him as his all-sufficient Redeemer and Sovereign. The whole habit and method and power of prayer grows into being, rises to be a life, in consequence of this habitual distrusting of self, and this constant alliance of the soul to the Saviour. It is planted in the closet, watered in the study, ripened in the pulpit. Paradoxical as it may seem, this reliance on Jesus becomes on the one hand the best form of self-reliance and on the other the spring of vast energy for action. For as self is purified, all its powers develop themselves under this divine influence in harmony along the line of his labor. The soul swells with conscious power; with a life that is productive of life. It learns to stand independent of men; it feels itself in alliance with the arm that holds up creation; and feeling thus it puts forth energies that before were powerless, in the perfect assur-

ance that now a divine influence will flash along them ; that what once was weakness will now become strength ; that even the words which a material philosophy rejects and despises, will go forth freighted with and directed by the wisdom of God right into the secret places of the soul. Herein lies the true source of ministerial power ; herein lies the secret impulses that move him to constant labor ; this conviction that Christ is with him, with him in loving fellowship, with him in the exercise of all his proper work as a minister, holds him up when success delays to come, gives him patience in seeming defeat, courage to encounter all forms of opposition, joy even when the world looks down upon him as despised and neglected. If he is defeated, then Christ is defeated ; if he is despised, Christ is despised ; and he well knows that sooner or later the victory will be won by the arm that is mighty to save. Constantine rushed to victory with the cross blazoned on his banner ; the minister of Jesus rears the cross in his heart ; nails to it his pride and selfishness ; is daily crucified with his suffering Lord, and from the tomb where the earthly nature lies buried, daily ascends to the right hand of Majesty on high.

Allied to this and springing out of it, is the singleness of purpose with which the work of the ministry shall be prosecuted. This work is unique in its nature, in its object, and methods. It stands alone amidst the pursuits of men. Peculiar in its character, vast in its objects, opening before the intellect and the heart a sphere of labor broader than any other, it is utterly impossible to meet its demands without an enthusiastic devotion to it as the work of life. The preparation that it requires tasks the highest powers of the mind. No man knows too much to be a minister ; no man has a genius so rich and productive, an intellect so clear and comprehensive, as to need a finer field for their development than that which the humblest position of a pastor affords. The great enemy that meets us everywhere is our felt incompetency ; the great burden that presses upon us is this, that with all our study and devotion, the work outgrows our pow-

ers. And for any man to imagine that he can be all he ought to be and do all he ought to do, in the appropriate work of the ministry, and yet become eminent, or be largely engaged in things foreign to this work, is an idea ruinous to his practical efficiency. On one side or the other there must be neglect and failure. No man here can serve two masters. The attempt to do it issues in the secularization of the ministry, *i. e.*, robs it of its distinctive power and glory. In point of fact little is ever accomplished in any direction without the concentration of our powers upon the object before us. No matter what may be the actual capacity, unless that capacity is developed along the line of the work designed to be effected, it is rarely ever the case that a person succeeds in it. But when the whole intellect is put into it; when all the available energy is applied in the right direction, then even weakness becomes strength, and the unity and earnestness of the purpose enlisting the whole man, rarely ever fails to secure its accomplishment. But the ministry is just of that nature, as, above all other pursuits, to call for this entire consecration of the soul, and where this is really the case, when it becomes the all-absorbing possession of the life, then indeed will its results always justify the effort put forth.

Now this unity of purpose and this true enthusiasm must spring in part from a just conception of the dignity, the importance and eternal grandeur of the work to be done. We must educate ourselves to an habitual elevation of view, a wide comprehension of the unspeakable issues that depend on our ministry; we must learn how, from the scattering of seed in the human heart, there will grow up a life glorious in its beauty, transcendent in its excellence, God-like in its nature. Amidst the discouragements which meet us, we are to cherish these visions of the future glory of a soul redeemed; and having Christ as our co-laborer, go forth into the desert to make it bud as the rose. And if you need an illustration of this part of our subject to animate you, you have but to compare the early and the later periods of the ministry of that remarkable man, whose renown and glory are not limited to

Scotland, but belong to the whole church of God. When the young Chalmers, in the pride of his self-sufficiency, attempted to combine another work with that of his ministry in Kilmarnock, barrenness and darkness followed the exhibitions of his matchless intellect. But when, humbled at the foot of the cross, he had taken Jesus to his heart, when his views of the worth of the soul and the importance of the ministry had been purified and enlarged by a personal application to the Redeemer, then, shaking off his sluggishness, separating himself from all but his own appropriate work, he came forth like Samson with his locks grown ; he poured the light and heat of his burning intellect direct upon the hearts of men ; he accomplished those mighty works for the Church and his generation that have remolded the form of Scottish piety, and reared her church in all the liberty and light of the sons of God.

In the more direct culture of the intellect, the attainment of objective knowledge, we have three great divisions, the exegetical, the doctrinal, the historical. The first supplies the subject-matter in its elements ; the second combines them and gives unity ; the third illustrates and confirms, by revealing truth in life.

Exegesis furnishes the material out of which the minister is to construct. It is the base line from which all his departures are to be made, and to which they are to return. This is the department on which he is to bestow a greater amount of time and labor than on any other. No day should pass without some advance in the direct study of the Bible itself. The field is so immense, so varied, that with all his diligence, after years of intense study, he will find large portions of it not yet overtaken. In pursuing it there is a common defect in method, which has much to do with the failure of multitudes to appreciate its value. A man may study the Bible in a mere grammatical and servile spirit. His train of thought may be given almost wholly to the forms of words. He may become skillful in tracing out roots and paradigms, and yet after all miss the very life of the passage he seeks to under-

stand. Important as grammar is in its place, it is but a servant; it holds a subordinate position; it is nothing better than the scaffolding around the building. By it alone no man ever becomes a truly accomplished interpreter of the divine word. There is a vastly higher attainment in this department I would urge you to make. It is the cultivation of that discernment which looks readily into the very spirit of the language; which lays hold of the course of thought, of which words are only the formal indices. The difference between a mere word analyzer, and him who, penetrating the shell, reaches the profounder thought, is immense. The one thinks his work done when he has given you the word in its variations of form: the other deems his work then but just begun. He takes language in its connections, the thought as revealing itself along the line of words; and catching the spirit of the sacred writer, entering into his position, learns to look out of his eyes and enter fully into his conceptions. The difference is equally great in the freshness and fullness of the products of these minds. The first becomes dry, effete, very good on easy passages, but blind and stupid where it is the thought in its connections that constitutes the whole difficulty of interpretation. The other, sinking the forms, and especially passing lightly over those which are the mere accidents and incidents of the passage, takes the rich and glowing conceptions of the writer into his intellect, feels his own mind swell and glow with the high argument, the beautiful imagination, the grand description. The first unfits a man to preach; it disgusts by the dryness of the insignificant details; it limits its thought to particles and shades of forms so much as to be almost incapable of appreciating the adaptation of the truth itself to man, with his throbbing heart and earnest, practical life. The second fills the soul itself with the kernel of truth rather than with the husks, and thus inspires the man to come forth and pour the fullness of his fresh and vivid and homelike, heart-affecting conceptions upon the waiting hearts of others. Of the first, more than one of the German commentators, especially of the infidel school, are striking

examples ; of the second, I know of no one who constitutes a finer illustration than Calvin. With far less of mere philological learning than many of his successors, he yet displays a power of detecting the course of thought, of penetrating the spirit of the sacred writers, of bringing forth their ideas in all their vitality and freshness, surpassing all others.

And here too you trace out the reason why so few ministers succeed in exegetical preaching. The tendency of this method is to exalt the minute and the accidental to a level with that which is essential. All parts of a sentence are made to run on a plane—to go on all fours. Now when any man attempts this style of commentary, which befits a college drill, in the pulpit, he is sure to fail. Robert Hall, with all his powers of intellect, once tried it in vain. Most young ministers start with the idea of inducting their people into the mysteries of philology, and fail of course. This is not preaching any more than sawing wood is making a fire. The people have sense enough to know that analyzing language is not using language to express the thoughts which their spiritual life needs. And so the minister gives up the whole business of exegetical preaching as not within the range of his powers. Dr. John M. Mason could do it, but he is not Dr. Mason. Now, if instead of this he should take Calvin's method ; if he should study the language until the thought in all its connections stood before him as a vivid reality ; if then he should give a substantial expression to it in all the glow and fervor of his own intellect and in language his own, think you his hearers will sleep, or gaze in stupid wonder ? think you his whole method of sermonizing will not acquire a richness, a variety, an adaptation to all the parts of life and experience, which nothing else can give ?

If now, while thus prosecuting this general course of preparation for his work, he should select a few of the more difficult passages of the Bible, and giving to them a special attention, bring to bear upon them all his intellectual acumen, study them for weeks, nay for months if necessary : then when the subject-matter stands forth clearly in his own

mind, let him preach those thoughts, not in the form of a commentary, but of a sermon ; let him preach not more than half a dozen such discourses in a year, and you may rest assured, that from this vigorous grapple with difficulties, and this protracted study of individual passages, and this clear unfolding of them, his powers as a preacher will receive a greater enlargement, and his people a more thorough enlightenment than from all the more common and hasty efforts of the entire year.

Common and hasty efforts—common, because hasty—every minister in this land who preaches twice on the Sabbath and lectures once or twice a week, must make. The larger portion of the topics on which he must dwell do not demand a vast amount of study profitably to unfold them. But if the young minister limits himself to these, he will inevitably become shallow and superficial. The general tone of his preaching after years in the ministry will be lower in point of power than his first efforts. It is only by this occasional grapple with the more profound truths of Scripture, by this protracted course of study and elaboration of preparation, that his whole style and manner of sermonizing will attain a higher character, his intellect a richer furniture, and his ministry attributes of strength and life.

Exegesis thus furnishes us with the rich materials of thought. To this, however, its province is limited. These truths are given to us in parts, in the concrete relations of life. It is for us now to enter upon another process—a process of combination, of construction. The precious stones are here ; we have quarried them and seen their individual beauty. But what place do they occupy in the great temple ? What are their relations to each other ? What is the whole of which these are but parts ? Here then we enter upon another department of ministerial culture, that of dogmatic theology. The human mind instinctively seeks for law, order, system in all things. Wisdom lies not in the parts, but in the combination as a whole. In the mind of God all truth is related, jointed together, in one magnificent plan, through which his

creative intellect flames forth in infinite glory. And just as far as we approximate to him in understanding, we rise to an apprehension of this vast system which he has devised to show forth his wisdom. You may see a single tree, majestic, beautiful, and admire it. You set that tree in a landscape where vale and hill and lake and forest intermingle, and how the sense of the beautiful grows upon you. You add the waterfall, the majestic mountain, and you feel the impress of the sublime overshadowing the beautiful. So in all things science grows out of combination. You put together the isolated particulars; you harmonize the seeming chaos; you discern a law that reduces the mass of various particulars into relations fit and beautiful. Thus as you ascend from the particular to the universal, you see systems within systems; science grows into being; you sweep easily a wider horizon; you compass uses and objects unthought of before; you carry on your investigations into the earth beneath and the heavens above, and through them all and over them, embracing and holding them in its mighty arms, you see a transcendent system of law and order, wonderful in wisdom, profound, vast, infinite in its operation. And just as it is in natural science, so is it in this which is spiritual. Man's nature hath its lays; God in his relations to spiritual beings has established a system, in which this human nature has its appropriate position and sphere. Now it is the business of the theologian to trace out that position and these relations. And in doing this he takes the facts of revelation as the highest elements of truth here attainable, and combines them together according to his ability. Just so far as he is successful in this, he rises to an understanding of the harmony, the wisdom of the whole plan of God's working with his creatures; so far his own intellect becomes illuminated with broader and more comprehensive visions of the divine character and will; so far he gains strength, force, breadth, in the development of his reason. Redemption, what is it? Man's delivery from sin and its penalty. What necessitates it? The divine nature and the human in conflict; justice in the divine, unholiness

in the human. Whence comes it? By whom? In what manner? How doth it operate? Questions such as these, questions that burst forth spontaneously from the heart and intellect of man, carry you at once into the investigations of the whole system of redemption; oblige you to combine, arrange, classify, search out the law that gives harmony to this system, the relations of its parts one to another, the fitness of its instruments, the wisdom of its entire operation. The man who does not thus learn to combine and arrange the elements of truth as given in the Bible, is deficient, sadly deficient, in the highest ministerial powers.

There are two points here on which I wish to remark; the first has reference to the method of doctrinal investigation; the second, to the method of preaching the doctrines. If a man starts on these investigations with the idea that his finite reason is the source of knowledge, or even the ultimate judge of what is best in the divine system, then, I take it, he had better let reasoning alone. He is on the wrong tack. He can not help driving on to a reef or quicksand instead of sailing into the harbor and planting his feet on the continent of truth.

The first element of a wise minister's character, is child-like docility. He must accept Christ as his infallible teacher; the Bible as true in all its facts, whether he can comprehend them all in a consistent system or not. When starting from any other point, setting up a philosophy which his reason has somehow concocted, he attempts to make the divine revelation square with his hypothetical dogmatics, then I object. The Bible is full, is complete in itself. It is the highest philosophy; it is the highest reason; it is the revelation of the divine mind and as such I have nothing to do, but to put together, classify and arrange its great facts according to their perceived relations. If in doing this I can not always see through all the ground or reason of the facts themselves, it is not for me to deny the facts. It is mine humbly to accept them, confident that in the light of that sublime intellect into which I shall shortly enter, the reason of it will be fully un-

folded. I will not deny that Christ's sacrifice on the cross constituted a just basis on which God could sincerely offer salvation to all men, because I can not make that square with a philosophy of the atonement. This very fact, stated as clearly and as broadly as language can state, is found in the Bible; and, being there, it must constitute one of the parts of divine philosophy of the atonement. So, when a man forms a peculiar philosophy of the nature of Christ and his relation to the Father, and his sufferings, which virtually destroys the distinction of the Trinity—makes the atonement just like the scenic arrangements of a theater, through which you can thrust your foot and destroy the illusion—then it seems to me he has started wrong. The finite reason usurps the functions of the infinite; the conditioned thrusts itself into the sphere of the unconditioned. But when, taking the Bible as in itself the revelation of the higher facts of the divine system, philosophy simply attempts to arrange these facts in their appropriate relations, so that the whole system in its connections may stand forth visible to every eye, then and only then do we fulfill the part of humble students—then and only then are we educating ourselves to fulfill the ministry of Jesus.

Are we not then to prosecute the study of philosophy—the study of the soul and its powers, and the abstract nature of the divine? Certainly. The Bible gives us only general facts, not an arranged psychological system. Every man who thinks much, who studies his own nature and that of God, will have views and opinions which will constitute his philosophy. But then this philosophy should be rather the outgrowth of the Bible—bringing the presupposed facts of our nature into just arrangement and connection with those recognized in this divine book. Are there not then facts, data, outside the Bible on which we may reason independently? To a limited extent this is true. But the grand difficulty with the mere philosopher has ever been, either that he assumed that which was not fact, or that his reasoning was broader than his facts. The whole history of philosophy shows

this. Advancing and retreating; shifting its ground with every new speculator; agreed only on one thing, that all previous philosophers were wrong but the last. Instead, therefore, of testing Scripture by philosophy, we do just the contrary, we test philosophy by Scripture. If a man of science tells me that the negro's shin bone and woolly hair constitute him a really different species of the genus homo, and therefore there must have been more than one pair originally created; why, I accept his fact and deny his reasoning, just because his conclusion is not in harmony with Scripture. If another advances a philosophy of human nature based on only two principles, self-love and the freedom of the will, I accept the facts, but deny that he has embraced all those which are properly separate and fundamental; for the original law of God requires at least two others in addition to these—thou shalt love the Lord God; thy neighbor as well as thyself. If Volney ridicules Ezekiel for describing the winged monsters in Nineveh, and the soldiers of Tyre as hanging their shields on the wall, I deny his assumption of fact altogether, and wait until a Layard shall disentomb from Nineveh those very winged monsters and the pictures of those Tyrian soldiers hanging their shields on the wall. Thus I would make the Scriptures always the point of departure and return, the test of philosophy. At the same time it is of importance, in the study of systematic theology, to learn how to harmonize all the great facts of science with the truth as it is in Jesus, as far as this lies within the compass of our powers.

In reference to the preaching of the doctrines, I may be permitted to remark, that to preach the gospel is to preach the system of redemption. It is impossible to educate a people so as to give them a strong, intelligent, substantial religious character, without frequent discussions of doctrinal points in the pulpit and lecture room and Bible class. You can no more give solidity and intelligence to Christian character, without grappling the fundamental questions which constitute systematic theology, than you can make a child grow strong on sweetmeats and cake. The pastors who were

educated forty years ago, have sometimes been blamed for the prominence they gave to doctrinal discussion in the pulpit. This was the characteristic of their age. Philological studies in this country had made little progress. A little Latin and Greek, and scarcely any Hebrew, was the sum total of their attainments in philology. They studied with men famed rather as thinkers than scholars. The force of their intellects was developed almost exclusively along the line of dogmatic theology. The teachers formed schools of philosophy, following some renowned leader. The young ministers came forth imbued with the philosophy of their instructor and full of ardor in the work of proclaiming the system of theology as modified by that philosophy. The force, the genius, which is now scattered over a wide field, then concentrated itself on doctrinal investigation. Eminence here was super-emminence. And he was a grand power in the church, seen and heard afar, who discussed with the intelligence of a master the mooted doctrines of the day. It was natural, in this state of things, that the excess should be in this direction. But in our day the whole current is in the contrary direction, Doctrinal preaching must stand aside, not so much for exegetical preaching, as for easy topics of all kinds, from telegraphs and railroads, down to what, with the keenest satire, is called moral reform. I confess that as between these two extremes, the first is the best. There was, after all, a manliness, a strength of thought in it which gave birth to and molded manly, strong men. If made too much of the skeleton, our moderns seem intent on trying to make men without any bones at all—a mere mass of fat and muscle. Which is the better method, to teach the catechism to the young, discuss it in your Bible classes as they advance, and demonstrate its great points in your pulpits on the Sabbath, or teach your youth a few stories, a few general precepts of morality, and then amuse your grown-up children with elegant similes, startling gestures, clap-trap arguments, laughter-moving anecdotes, and eloquent demonstrations of things they all know as well as you do? Certainly it will be an im-

provement in our modern sermonizing, to have infused into it more of the strength of doctrinal discussion characteristic of our fathers. These young men, going forth from these halls of sacred science, will combine in their preaching the fuller and sounder interpretation which a thorough exegetical training has qualified them to make, with that definite and clear discussion of fundamental doctrines which enters so largely into the training of a manly Christian.

In reference to the historical department of Christian science, I have not time to say what its importance demands. Sacred history is the truth of God incarnate in the Church. It is this supernatural truth attended by supernatural influence making its way among men. It is to be likened not so much to a river, which remains much the same, as to seed that is planted in different soils and under varying climates, yet is nourished by the same quality of rain and sunshine. This plant, as it grows, is necessarily affected in its outward development and character by the influences about it. The same tree assumes different phases in different latitudes, and in the same latitude in different exposures. Now the Church, which is everywhere the product of the same substantial truth and divine Spirit conjointly operative, grows into life and spreads itself among peoples of different customs, differing governments, and diverse intellectual culture and character. These affect its external form; and these exert upon it a certain modifying influence. Or rather it grows up, pushing itself here and there through these, not always changing or destroying, but modifying and being itself modified. In addition to the tracing out of these changes and the influence of these external circumstances, history reveals the causes and the character of all those errors which, springing up sometimes in the bosom of the Church itself, sometimes imported into it from without, have exerted so vital and so disastrous an influence upon its progress. Now what experience is to the young Christian, Church history is to the minister of Christ. It puts him in a position to take in at a glance the influences that have promoted or have retarded the ad-

vance of true faith. It forewarns and forearms him against specious errors, whose latent poison may not be at first visible, against measures which do not immediately reveal their tendency to displace the Church from her position on the rock of simple truth. He gathers around him an experience it would be impossible for him in the longest life to attain. Moreover, it opens to him the richest arsenal for the defense of the truth ; shows him how the truth has lived and wrought and combated with error, and finally triumphed over it. Nor is this all ; it brings him into association with piety in all ages, under all forms of church polity, under all the modifications of intellectual culture. It liberalizes the mind, takes it out of and above the narrow range of his parish, his church, his country and his age. It sets him down in familiar converse with the saints of all ages, and roots out of him that stupid bigotry which narrows the life of true Christianity to one's own sect. In doing this, it furnishes him with a thousand confirmations of the divineness of the gospel and the devilish nature of error ; it fills his mind with legitimate and powerful illustrations of the truth which will be of incalculable value to him in the preaching of the gospel ; and enables him to be wise in government, sound in doctrine, judicious in counsel. No young minister should neglect to *master* this department of sacred knowledge. It will be worth to him more than all his merely secular reading put together. For here he will see the divine and human, the sacred and secular intermingling ; here he will learn to trace out the method in which the divine government is working out its great ends—the kind of experiments through which the Church is being conducted and the final purposes are to reach their full and triumphant conclusion. The whole philosophy of divine providence, at first seemingly objectless and chaotic, will gradually assume form and order. He will observe its laws ; he will rise to its objects ; he will catch its spirit. As from some lofty mountain, to which with infinite toil he has ascended, he will have before him the movements of the hosts of Israel and the hosts of the world ; and through the dust

and smoke of conflict, he will discern the plan of the great Captain, who presides over all in infinite wisdom.

I am aware that this department of science is lamentably deficient, not in materials, but in works embodying these materials in a form attractive, and in a spirit accordant with the gospel itself. Much of it has been written by men either wholly destitute of the evangelical spirit, and hence entirely strangers to the true philosophy of history, or by men whose method and style render their productions unattractive. It is a shame, a dishonor to the Church, that such glorious fields of thought should be so cultivated; while profane history has been invested by a Hume, a Niebuhr, a Gibbon, a Macaulay, a Prescott, an Irving, a Bancroft, with the charms of beauty, and sprightliness, and eloquence, sacred history hardly numbers one who has enshrined its immortal teachings in setting worthy of its nature and influence. Oh! that some mind may rise, uniting the German research, the English common sense, with American brilliancy and force, to give to the Church of God a history that shall charm while it shall instruct; that, penned and characterized by the philosophic spirit, shall yet set forth the great heroes of her past, and their heroic works, in words that will attract the attention, and enlist the sympathies of all who love truth and admire the great and good.

And now, without following out this general train of thought, let me ask your attention to one or two points which fitly follow this discussion. There are two practical questions which, before a minister has been long settled, he finds pressing upon him: how shall he give to his people instruction, variety and freshness? It is a case too common to be remarkable that a minister, after the first excitements of the ministry are over, settles down into a uniform habit of preaching. And this habit is productive of monotony, not only in manner, but in matter also. He chooses topics on which he can preach most readily, he treats them all in the same style; he repeats the figures, the very thoughts which are already familiar to his audience. A person who hears him but once

or twice will pronounce the sermon excellent ; but those who sit steadily under his ministry can tell, when he begins, when he is going to end. He obeys the Scripture in one respect, but woefully disobeys in another. He brings plenty of the old, but the new has long since become old.

Now, if this man will but take the Scriptures, just as they are written, and, without servilely attempting to explain the crossing of every *t*, and the dotting of every *i*, put himself to the work of bringing out in their fullness the successive topics of the sacred writers in their order ; if, instead of putting every discourse on the same block, and going through with all the parts of it according to his rhetorical models, he will let each sermon take its form from the text he is explaining ; if sometimes he will catch the very spirit of the sacred writer and let that give form and shape to his preaching ; if he will consent to forget himself, and suffer the word of life, in its affluence of thought, and grandeur of imagery, and variety of illustration, to fill his soul and stir his nature through all its sources of power ; if he will bring to each topic, as it presents itself, all the latent principles and knowledge related to it, which now like useless lumber is stored away in his mind—then you may rest assured this man can hardly fail of enjoying a perennial vivacity and variety of thought ; then will new trains of ideas spring up on all sides ; then will he begin to wield a two-edged sword, which, flaming in every direction, pierces on all sides the hearts of men. Of such a man it will never be said that he does not preach up to the times. That cant of modern freebooters in and out of the pulpit will have lost even the appearance of truth. For human nature and life were the same in the apostolic age as in this. Men had the same subjective nature, and they sought the same objects ; their vices, their temptations, their objections, their ignorance, their afflictions and their joys—the methods of holiness and sin, were pretty much the same. And it constitutes one of the most wonderful characteristics of the Bible, that not only does it establish the great principles of human reasoning, but that it has practically applied

those principles to almost every case that can possibly arise in the course of man's life. Let any man thus follow the sacred writers along the line of their writings, and he will find himself coming in contact with human nature in all its variety of experience ; he will learn how to reach all the intricacies of Christian experience and minister to all the wants of the imperfect Church. Along all the path in which God conducts his people from childhood to old age, around and over all the heights and depths of the Christian's life, he will see the light of heaven falling, and thus he will learn to preach to man as man, without taking one step outside the Bible to hunt up topics.

But, in addition to this method of sermonizing, let me suggest to you the importance of following up a course of reading such as will bear upon all these various topics. The Bible is connected on all sides with human life. It ramifies into secular history. Geography brings tribute to it ; travels, and works descriptive alike of the ancient and modern life of man, are full of suggestions that will aid the student pastor to illustrate and enforce the truths of the sacred word. Especially should the young minister give attention to æsthetic culture. He who neglects this, neglects one of the fullest sources of freshness and power. Beauty is God's own creation ; he lives and rejoices in it ; he has given it to us everywhere in the heavens and on the earth. He meant it not to take the place of strength, and he who substitutes the one for the other, is like the man who would create a world of color and form alone. It is the solid granite ribs the world ; it is the rock and the iron that form the basis of all productive life. But then God has covered the granite with forests and flowers ; he crystallizes the snow ; he resolves the sunbeam into the harmonious beauty of colors ; he rears man himself in beauty ; he crowns man with honor as the very consummate flower of all his earthly creation. Beauty is always fresh, joyous, delightful. In the sermon it is as attractive as in the landscape ; and when it comes in to adorn the strength of that, to gild the greatness and ruggedness of argument, then it is

like the sparkle of the coronet on the anointed king of Israel. All men feel its power and rejoice in its presence. The minister of Christ who, from a mistaken notion of the intrinsic dignity of the gospel, despises those forms of beauty in which that gospel finds a fitting robe in which to appear before the people, despises what David and Isaiah rejoiced—what Paul and John delighted in ; what Jesus, the incarnate One, deigned to use in the work of speaking as never man spake. Shall men of the world assume to themselves this rich heritage? Is this world clad in somber, quaker colors? Is heaven adumbrated to us in images, rude, homely, ugly? And will the minister of Jesus, who should study all modes legitimate of reaching the human heart, of attracting men to the Bible, neglect a culture which, in its effect upon himself, will give new impression to his preaching and consecrate to God the weapons which worldly men have debased to ignoble ends?

Depend upon it, that no man, who cultivates all the best parts of his nature, can fail to have regard to those sensibilities which bring him into sympathy with all that is beautiful in the creation of God and the artistic works of man.

Another source of monotony in preaching is the attempt to group all kinds of excellence in each sermon. The result is a failure ; simply because no one subject will admit of all excellence. Excellence is relative. What is good in an argument, may not be good in exegesis ; what is good in a sermon on some plain and practical question, may not be good in the development of an abstract principle. It is a principle of landscape gardening, to group together trees of the same kind, and thus, instead of mixing the varieties in each group and having all your groups alike, by planting each group of one kind, and the different groups of different kinds, you will secure the highest degree of variety, and, in a broad landscape, of beauty. This, in point of fact, is the way in which nature more commonly works ; the maples oftener grow together than otherwise, and the elms, and the oaks. So in preaching ; when you make an argument, let it be an argument, compact, clear, symmetrical, logical, simple in its terms, and reaching

a just conclusion. Let it *prove* something. When you attempt to unfold some principle of God's government that needs illustration more than any thing else, then select the best illustrations, and treat the whole subject according to its nature. When your sermon is largely exegetical, dealing in explanations of words and phrases and the connections of sentences, then avoid the attempt to be eloquent and moving, when your object should be mainly to enlighten. If occasionally you have a subject which admits of all kinds of preaching—of argument, exegesis, exhortation, description, then fill it full of all the excellence it will admit. In this way you will be sure to have your preaching fresh and varied.

If now, in addition to the faithful study of the Bible and the history of the Church, you should make your pastoral work give a special character to your pulpit services, you can not fail to have a constant variety and freshness of thought. It is here the pastor will find a constant illustration of the truths of the Bible. At every step of his pastoral work he will meet with minds that need to be enlightened ; doubts to be solved ; tendencies to be restrained ; efforts to be encouraged. As he returns to his study after thus mingling with men, topics, trains of thought, illustrations of truth, will crowd upon him. His sermons will partake of the character of the hour and the time. The scenes of prosperity, when all nature is a bridal, and epithalamiums are heard in every household ; the times when sickness and trouble and death, with raven wing, flit from family to family ; the occasions of out-breaking worldliness, when the spirit of earthliness becomes epidemic, invading even the sanctuary of the Lord ; and the hushed and solemn scene, where the fixed eye, the silent attention, give token of the presence of another Spirit in its renewing power ; the peculiarities of individual experience in God's children, and the varying aspects of the youthful portion of the congregation, will all combine to mold the Sabbath work and give a special freshness and life to the minister's teachings. These things, it is true, will not create the substantial body of his preaching. That must be gained by the

enlarged course of intellectual training and study on which I have already insisted. But when he has thus mastered the great principles, these furnish the occasions for their application, these show the use which all the attainments of the study may be made to subserve in the pulpit. The principle of gravitation once settled and its laws determined, its application reaches to all material objects on earth and in the heavens. The simple demonstrations of Euclid are steps along which the mathematician advances to the resolution of higher truths. The lines of thought, the connected reasonings, the profound views of the different parts of the system of redemption, brought out in the study, and for a time lying in the brain as almost useless lumber, in varying aspects of the pastor's life, are brought forth at length to settle practical questions and give force to the development of truth adapted to the wants of living hearts panting for divine knowledge. And thus all the parts of this ministerial education will work together. He who gives himself wholly to his work, will find light flashing all along his path, brightening even to its close.

In this land the position of the ministry is most favorable for the exertion of a far-reaching and ennobling influence. That position depends primarily on the character and qualifications of those who fill it. They may make it what they please; they may exalt it in the eyes of the people so that it shall fill up the full measure of the design of Jesus in its institution; they may drag it down until there are none to do it reverence. With none of Cæsar's robes to give it a formal dignity, it has none of Cæsar's gilded chains upon its limbs. If it is not respected; if it is otherwise than influential and mighty to bless the people; it can only be because it is untrue to itself and the Master. The fact is that it excels all other professions in its means of influence, as the sun does the stars. All the great interests of society feel necessarily the plastic power of a true, faithful, and able minister. His presence, his words, his life, his guiding intellect and executive hand, touch a thousand chords of feeling. His influence is like light and heat—whether

men will it or no, it ennobles, guides, educates. Under it industry awakes to new triumphs ; learning and education advance to more commanding positions ; even law and medicine assume a manlier tone. This minister of Christ has in himself the power of educated mind ; he has in himself the power of a high moral culture ; he has, from his very association with Jesus Christ, the power of the gospel ; and with all this power he stands where he can exert it most effectively for the good of men. He has an acknowledged position in society ; he occupies from Sabbath to Sabbath a position of direct influence unequalled in the community. He deals publicly and privately with the conscience and the heart. In time of trouble he comes as a son of consolation ; in the time of spiritual distress, he comes as the enlightened guide, pointing the convicted sinner to the great Deliverer ; he takes the young convert in the flush of his new-born hope, and molds him into activity and usefulness. He goes down to the young, and entering into their sympathies, attracts them to the path of the Good Shepherd. He works out and through the noblest principles, made germinant and mighty by the Holy Spirit to purify and exalt.

Now, if a man with all the authority of a solemn consecration to the ministry, with all these materials of influence and these opportunities for using them, fails to occupy a high position in society ; fails to win respect and confidence ; fails to do good largely and to reap the reward of a well-doer, though with here and there an exception, it must be that he alone is to blame. In vain does he utter his complaints and lamentations over the degeneracy of the *pews* ; it is the pulpit that is degenerate. What is a Christian ministry worth if it has not the power to lift the pews up from their degeneracy ; what is it good for if society must first be exalted and then come as a wet nurse to it, feed it with cake and sweetmeats ; take its hat off and do it obeisance as if it were a painted doll or a Catholic saint ? For one, I rejoice that the ministry is wholly dependent upon its own character for its influence ; and that it must work with all its might either to

be or to do what Christ designed. Such a ministry, able, faithful, earnest, will neither starve nor lack influence. They will necessarily occupy the positions of chief power in the land. They will be felt happily, savingly, all through society. They will influence all parts of education, all developments of social life.

If, however, with all the fearful responsibilities of this ministry upon his soul, he shall give way to sloth and a perfunctory performance of duty ; if he shall hesitate to enter a field of labor because it promises more of toil and care than of honor and gold ; if he shall give himself primarily to any other object than that of making full proof of his ministry, wherever the providence of God may have placed him, then he ought to fail ; then he will fail. Of all the causes which have operated to break up the pastoral relation (which have come under my observation) not one is so common and so influential as the neglect of preparation for the pulpit. This lies at the heart of a minister's power.

If a man is diligent in mastering the elements of instruction, if he gives himself to this, the most difficult and important part of his work, he can not fail to attain power as a preacher. If he is faithful in the study he will be more likely to be faithful in all the other points of ministerial labor. Three words describe the chief work of the Christian preacher : Conquest—Edification—Education. In the first, the gospel spreads its power over men's minds and converts sinners to the cross. In the second, the gospel is brought to bear upon the just development of the Church in intelligence, and grace, and active labor for Christ. In the third, this same truth is made steadily to operate upon the young until they too have been garnered as the jewels of Christ. And in all this work the preacher is to reveal his powers ; tact, patience, a facility of conforming to the circumstances in which he is placed, he should have. But high above all things he must shine as a preacher of the truth as it is in Jesus. Here in this pulpit, from this candlestick, he should give forth a clear, bright light ; a light flaming higher and purer, as study, ex-

perience, and grace divine, minister to his head and heart the generous oil of heavenly truth. With a position known and acknowledged to be at the head of all the moral and religious forces that mold society ; with a theme the grandest the mind of man can study ; with objects related immediately to all that is most precious in society and ultimately invested with the sacred, awful interest of eternity ; with materials all furnished to his hand, the fullest and richest, when only patient thought and study are needed to master them ; with a divine Saviour to encourage, and, as the Captain of salvation, to lead on ; with a Holy Spirit to inspire, succor and give the victory ; with a church on earth in sympathy, and many hearts to pray for him as he stands, Christ's ambassador, before hundreds of souls—and what more does the youthful minister need to make him a light in his generation ? With such objects before him and such inspiring forces with him, his pulpit should be a throne where Jesus shall be seen revealing his power from Sabbath to Sabbath ; where the scepter of Mercy above that of Justice should be held forth to the guilty ; where the songs that ascend from the sea of glass around the white throne on high shall be heard in their glorious harmony reëchoed on earth. To this place he should bring the hearts of all his parishioners ; praying for them in faith ; dealing with each in true love ; baptizing them with tears, and seeking for them the sprinkling of the blood that speaketh better things than that of Abel. A ministry filled with this spirit ; love of God ; inspired with the love of souls ; proficient in the mastery of the truth ; speaking that truth with all the authority and fervor of a messenger of the Most High ; with all the copiousness, force, and adaptation which study, experience, and prayer can supply ; with a consciousness of immediate alliance with Christ Jesus, and strength derived from him, will be a blessed, a successful, a glorious ministry. A divine life will flow forth from it upon all society. An influence quiet, deep, pure, resistless, almost unseen, will emanate from such pulpits filled by such a ministry, under whose plastic power the young shall grow up in

beauty and Christian strength ; the vicious shall be reformed, or driven to hide themselves and their vice ; while the mass of the community shall rise in intelligence, hundreds shall devote themselves to the Christian life. Multiply such a ministry until all over this earth they shall see eye to eye, covering the globe with their hallowed ministrations, and then shall come on that day, so long predicted, when one song shall employ all nations.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN OF THE RHETORICAL SOCIETY :

I have thus spoken to you on education for the ministry in the larger sense—a sense which, while it embraces that department to which your society is more immediately devoted, is not limited to it. My apology for this is found in what I have already stated, and in the fact that you have had this subject recently so fully and ably discussed. Some of you are immediately to enter the ministry, and all after a year or two will have completed your course. I come to you to-day with words of cheer. Looking back over the score of years just past, since by the hands of the presbytery I was set apart to this ministry, I see much to lament—defects, great and numerous—yet above them all the merciful goodness of God following every step, seconding every right effort and imparting a joy and peace in this work the world knows not of. The greatest trials of your life will not spring from without ; you are compassed about with infirmities, and within yourselves is the great troubler and deceiver of men. This is part of Christ's purpose, to use imperfect men in saving the imperfect, that the glory may all be his own. Outward trials you will meet. Hemmed in at times, you will be like Israel at the Red Sea. But these trials will become the ladder down which the angels of God will descend to minister to you ; faith in Christ will strike the waters and they will part asunder, leaving for you an open pathway along which with

songs of praise you will pass on to Canaan. You must be stricken with the rod of God that out of you may flow the water that is to heal others. You, in common with the Church, are to fill up the measure of Christ's sufferings, that together you may be crowned with joy in the day of his triumph. Yet with all this understood, I can testify to you this day, that the work on which you are entering, is, to him who pursues it with a single mind, the most blessed on earth. You are to be associated with Jesus and angels and the spirits of the just departed, all sympathizing with you in your holy work. You are to labor in fashioning that spiritual temple in whose construction is to be revealed the manifold wisdom of God. You are to labor not only for the interests that perish, but for souls that are to live when the stars cease to shine. Courage then, young brethren; go forward in the name of Israel's God and plant your banners on all the high places of Satan's empire; wave it wherever the hosts of the world muster in thickest array; fear not the face of man; lean wholly on the arm that is mighty to save, and ye shall win a good degree and shine for ever as stars in the firmament of God.

III.

FEMALE EDUCATION.*

It was my design, when the duty of addressing the friends of education on this occasion was first assigned to me, to erect before you a complete structure in itself, although without pretension to splendor or magnificence ; but like the plans of many other builders, mine has so outgrown the time fixed for the completion of my labor, as to permit the throwing up of only a portion of the main edifice. The wings, the pillars, the capitals, the cornices, the gateways, all the completeness of the design and the beauty of ornament, you will look for in vain. It is not in a single hour so vast, so interesting a subject as that of Female Education, can be thoroughly presented. Its nature, its influence, its field of action, comprehending a wide range of the noblest topics, render it utterly impossible to do justice to the entire theme in the brief limits ordinarily assigned to these discussions. Indeed, it seems almost a superfluous effort, were it not expected, nay, demanded, by the very circumstances which have called us together, to discuss the subject of education before such an audience as this. It is to discourse on Female Education in its presence ; it is like anatomizing a Venus to inspire the sentiment of admiration, or delivering an oration on the sublime in the valley of Chamouni. I do not say this in the spirit of flattery to those whose cause it is ever a privilege to plead. Man never flatters when he utters truth or justly appreciates the works of God, however exalted may be his sentiments, however comprehensive his language. I speak thus

* An address delivered at the dedication of Ohio Female College, September 4, 1849.

in the spirit of devout thanksgiving to our Father in heaven, who, in the crowning work of his creation, gave woman to man, made weakness her strength, modesty her citadel, grace and gentleness her attributes, affection her dower, and the heart of man her throne. With her, toil rises into pleasure, joy fills the breast with a larger benediction, and sorrow, losing half its bitterness, is transmuted into an element of power, a discipline of goodness. Even in the coarsest life, and the most depressing circumstances, woman hath this power of hallowing all things with the sunshine of her presence. But never does it unfold itself so finely as when Education, instinct with Religion, has accomplished its most successful work. It is only then that she reveals all her varied excellence and develops her high capacities. Education, indeed, *adds* nothing to her. It only unfolds powers that were latent, or develops those in harmony and beauty, which otherwise would push themselves forth in shapes grotesque, gnarled or distorted. God creates the material, and impresses upon it his own laws. Man, in education, simply seeks to give those laws scope for action. The uneducated person, by a favorite figure of the old classic writers, has often been compared to the rough marble in the quarry; the educated to that marble chiseled by the hand of a Phidias into forms of beauty and pillars of strength. But the analogy holds good in only a single point. As the chisel reveals the forms which the marble may be *made* to assume, so education unfolds the innate capacities of men. In all things else, how poor the comparison! how faint the analogy! In the one case, you have an aggregation of particles, crystallized into shape, without organism, life or motion. In the other, you have life, growth, expansion. In the first, you have a mass of limestone, neither more nor less than insensate matter, utterly incapable of any alteration from within itself. In the second, you have a living body, a mind, affections instinct with power, gifted with vitality, and forming the attributes of a being allied to and only a little lower than the angels. These constitute a life, which, by its inherent force, must grow and

unfold itself by a law of its own, whether you educate it or not. Some development it will make, some form it will assume by its own irrepressible and spontaneous action. The question, with us, is rather what that form shall be ; whether it shall wear the visible robes of an immortal, with a countenance glowing with the intelligence and pure affection of cherub and seraph, or through the rags and sensual impress of an earthly, send forth only occasional gleams of its higher nature. The great work of education is to stimulate and direct this native power of growth. God and the subject co-working, effect all the rest.

In the wide sense in which it is proposed to consider the subject of education, three things are presupposed—personal talents, personal application, and the Divine blessing. Without capacities to be developed, or with very inferior capacities, education is either wholly useless or only partially successful. As it has no absolute creative power, and is utterly unable to add a single faculty to the mind, so the first condition of its success is the capacity for improvement in the subject. An idiot may be slightly affected by it, but the feebleness of his original powers forbids the noblest results of education. It teaches men how most successfully to use their own native force, and by exercise to increase, it but in no case can it supply the absence of that force. It is not its province to *inspire* genius, since that is the breath of God in the soul, bestowed as seemeth to him good, and at the disposal of no finite power. It is enough if it unfold and discipline, and guide genius in its mission to the world. We are not to demand, that it shall make of every man a Newton, a Milton, a Hall, a Chalmers, a Mason, a Washington ; or of every woman a Sappho, a De Staël, a Roland, a Hemans. The supposition that all intellects are originally equal, however flattering to our pride, is no less prejudicial to the cause of education than false in fact. It throws upon teachers the responsibility of developing talents that have scarcely an existence, and securing attainments within the range of only the very finest powers, during the period usually assigned to

this work. To the ignorant, it misrepresents and dishonors education, when it presents for their judgment a very inferior intellect, which all the training of the schools has not inspired with power, as a specimen of the results of liberal pursuits. Such an intellect can never stand up beside an active though untutored mind—untutored in the schools, yet disciplined by the necessities around it. It is only in the comparison of minds of equal original power, but of different and unequal mental discipline, that the results of a thorough education reveal themselves most strikingly. The genius that, partially educated, makes a fine bar-room politician, a good county judge, a respectable member of the lower house in our State legislatures, or an expert mechanic and shrewd farmer, when developed by study and adorned with learning, rises to the foremost rank of men. Great original talents will usually give indications of their presence amidst the most depressing circumstances. But when a mind of this stamp has been allowed to unfold itself under the genial influence of large educational advantages, how will it grow in power, outstripping the multitude, as some majestic tree, rooted in a soil of peculiar richness, rises above and spreads itself abroad over the surrounding forest! Our inquiry, however, at present, is not exclusively respecting individuals thus highly gifted. Geniuses are rare in our world; sent occasionally to break up the monotony of life, impart new impulses to a generation, like comets blazing along the sky, startle the dozing mind, no longer on the stretch to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, and rouse men to gaze on visions of excellence yet unreachd. Happily, the mass of mankind are not of this style of mind. Uniting by the process of education the powers which God has conferred upon them, with those of a more brilliant order which are occasionally given to a few, the advancement of the world in all things essential to its refinement and purity and exaltation, is probably as rapid and sure as it would be under a different constitution of things. Were all equally elevated, it might still be necessary for some to tower above the rest, and by the sense of inequality move

the multitude to nobler aspirations. But while it is not permitted of God that all men should actually rise to thrones in the realms of mind, yet such is the native power of all sane minds, and such their great capacity of improvement, that, made subject to a healthful discipline, they may not only qualify us for all the high duties of life on earth, but go on advancing in an ever-perfecting preparation for the life above.

There has been a long-standing dispute respecting the intellectual powers of the two sexes, and the consequent style of education suitable to each. Happily, the truth on this subject may be fully spoken, without obliging me, in the presence of such an assemblage of grace, beauty and intelligence, to exalt the father at the expense of the mother, or ennoble man by denying the essential quality of woman. It is among the things settled by experience, that, equal or not equal in talents, woman, the moment she escapes from the despotism of brute force, and is suffered to unfold and exercise her powers in her own legitimate sphere, shares with man the scepter of influence; and, without presuming to wrest from him a visible authority, by the mere force of her gentle nature, silently directs that authority, and so rules the world. She may not debate in the Senate, or preside at the Bar—she may not read philosophy in the University or preach in the Sanctuary—she may not direct the national councils or lead armies to battle; but there is a style of influence resulting from her peculiar nature which constitutes her power and gives it greatness. As the sexes were designed to fill different positions in the economy of life, it would not be in harmony with the manifestations of divine wisdom in all things else, to suppose that the powers of each were not peculiarly fitted for their own appropriate sphere. Woman gains nothing—she always loses when she leaves her own sphere for that of man. When she forsakes the household and the gentler duties of domestic life for the labors of the field, the pulpit, the rostrum, the court-room, she always descends from her own bright station, and invariably fails to ascend that of man. She falls between the two; and the world gaze at her as not

exactly a woman, not quite a man, perplexed in what category of natural history to classify her. This remark holds specially true as you ascend from savage to refined society, where the rights and duties of woman have been most fully recognized and most accurately defined. Mind is not to be weighed in scales. It must be judged by its *uses* and its *influence*. And who that compasses the peculiar purpose of woman's life ; who that understands the meaning of those good old Saxon words, mother, sister, wife, daughter ; who that estimates aright the duties they involve, the influences they embody in giving character to all of human kind, will hesitate to place her intellect, with its quickness, delicacy and persuasiveness, as high in the scale of power as that of the father, husband, and son ? If we estimate her mind by its actual power of influence when she is permitted to fill to the best advantage her circle of action, we shall find a capacity for education equal to that of him, who, merely in reference to the temporary relations of society, has been constituted her lord. If you look up into yonder firmament with your naked eye, the astronomer will point you to a star which shines down upon you in single rays of pure liquid light. But if you will ascend yon eminence* and direct towards it that magnificent instrument which modern science has brought to such perfection of power, the same star will suddenly resolve itself into two beautiful luminaries, equal in brilliancy, equal in all stellar excellence, emitting rays of different and intensely vivid hues, yet so exactly correspondent to each other, and so embracing each other, and so mingling their various colors as to pour upon the unaided vision the pure sparkling light of a single orb. So is it with man and woman. Created twofold, equal in all human attributes, excellence and influence, different but correspondent, to the eye of Jehovah the harmony of their union in life is perfect, and as one complete being, that life streams forth in rays of light and influence upon society.

* Mount Adama.

The second thing presupposed in education, is personal application. There is no thorough education that is not *self-education*. Unlike the statue which can be wrought only from without, the great work of education is to unfold the life within. This life always involves self-action. The scholar is not merely a passive recipient. He grows into power by an active reception of truth. Even when he listens to another's utterance of knowledge, what vigor of attention and memory are necessary to enable him to make that knowledge his own? But when he attempts himself to master a subject of importance; when he would rise into the higher region of mathematics, philosophy, history, poetry, religion, art; or even when he would prepare himself for grappling with the great questions of life, what long processes of thought! what patient gathering together of materials; what judgment, memory, comparison and protracted meditation are essential to complete success? The man who would triumph over obstacles and ascend the heights of excellence in the realm of mind, must work with the continuous vigor of a steamship on an ocean voyage. Day by day the fires must burn, and the wheels revolve in the calm and in the gale—in the sunshine and the storm. The innate excellency of genius or talents can give no exemption to its possessor from this law of mental growth. An educated mind is neither an aggregation of particles accreted around a center, as the stones grow; nor a substance, which placed in the turner's lathe, comes forth an exquisitely wrought instrument. The mere passing through an academy or college, is not education. The enjoyment of the largest educational advantages, by no means infers the possession of a mind and heart thoroughly educated; since there is an inner work to be performed by the subject of those advantages, before he can lay claim to the possession of a well disciplined and richly stored intellect and affections. The phrase, "self-made men," is often so used as to convey the idea that the persons who have enjoyed the advantages of a liberal education, are rather made by their instructors. The supposition is, in part, unjust. The outward means of edu-

cation stimulate the mind, and thus assist the process of development ; but it is absolutely essential to all growth in mental or moral excellence, that the person himself should be enlisted vigorously in the work. He must work as earnestly as the man destitute of his facilities. The difference between the two consists, not in the fact that one walks and the other rides, but that the one is obliged to take a longer road to reach the same point. Teachers, books, recitations and lectures, facilitate our course, direct us how most advantageously to study, point out the shortest path to the end we seek, and tend to rouse the soul to the putting forth of its powers ; but neither of these can take the place of, or forestall intense personal application. The man without instructors, like a traveler without guide-boards, must take many a useless step, and often retrace his way. He may, after this experimental traveling, at length reach the same point with the person who has enjoyed superior literary aid, but it will cost the waste of many a precious hour, which might have been spent in enlarging the sphere of his vision and perfecting the symmetry of his intellectual powers. In all cases of large attainments and ripe character, in either sex, the process of growth is laborious. Thinking *is* hard work. All things most excellent, are the fruit of slow, patient working. The trees grow slowly, grain by grain—the planets creep round their orbits, inch by inch—the rivers hasten to the ocean by a gentle progress—the clouds gather the rain-drop from the invisible air, particle by particle ; and we are not to ask that this immortal mind, the grandest thing in the world, shall reach its perfection by a single stride, or independently of the most early, profound and protracted self-labor. It is enough for us that, thankfully accepting the assistance of those who have ascended above us, we give ourselves to assiduous toil, until our souls grow up to the stature of perfect men.

The third thing presupposed in education, is the divine benediction. In all spheres of action, we recognize the overruling providence of God working without us, and his Spirit commissioned to work within us. Nor is there any work of

mortal life in which we more need to ally unto ourselves the wisdom and energy of Jehovah, as an essential element of success, than in this long process where truth, affection, decision, judgment, and perseverance in the teacher, are to win into the paths of self-labor minds of every degree of ability, and dispositions of every variety. When God smiles upon us, then this grand work of molding hearts and intellects for their high destiny moves forward without friction, and the young heart silently and joyously comes forth into the light.

I have presupposed three things in reference to education. Permit me now to remark that the field which it covers is also threefold—the body, the intellect, and the heart.

The body is the living temple of the soul. It is more than a casket for the preservation of the jewel ; it is more than the setting of the diamond ; it is more even than an exquisitely constructed dwelling wherein the soul lives, and works, and worships. It is a living, sensitive agent, into which the spirit pours its own life, through which it communes with all external nature, and receives the effluxes of God streaming from a material creation. It is the admirable organ through which the man sends forth his influence either to bless and vivify, or to curse and wither. By it, the immortal mind converts deserts into gardens, creates the forms of art, sways senates, and sheds its plastic presence over social life. The senses are the finely wrought gates through which knowledge enters the sublime dome of thought ; while the eye, the tongue, the hand, are the instruments of the spirit's power over the outer world. The soul incarnate in such a body, enjoys a living medium of reciprocal communication between itself and all things without. Meanwhile, the body itself does not arrive here mature in its powers ; nor does it spring suddenly from the imbecility of the infant to the strength of the man. By slow development, by a gradual growth, in analogy with that of a tree whose life is protracted, it rises, after years of existence, to its appointed stature. Advancing thus slowly, it affords ample time for its full and free development.

In this physical training, there are two points of special

importance. The first is the removal of all unnatural restraints and the pressure of unhealthy customs ; the second is the opportunity, the motive and the habit of free exercise in the pure air of heaven. These, as causes of health and fine physical development, are interwoven as are their opposites. In the progress of society from barbarism to refinement, it has often been the case that men, in departing from what was savage, have lost that which was natural ; and in their ascent from the rude have left behind that which was essential to the highest civilization. In escaping from the nakedness of the barbarian, they have sometimes carried dress to an extreme of art which renders it untrue to nature and productive of manifold evils. In ascending from the simple and rude gastronomy of the savage, they have brought the art of cookery to such an excess of luxury as to enervate society by merely factitious appetites. In the formation of habits of life, social intercourse and amusements adapted to a refined state, they have introduced many things at war with the healthful development of both body and mind. The manly exercises of swimming, skating, riding, hunting, ball playing ; the bracing walk in storm and sunshine ; the free ramble over hill and dale, *all adapted to develop an independent, self-relying character*, with the occasional reunion where wit, science, healthful industry and serene piety shed their benedictions ; associating that which is free and bold with the refined and sacred ; all these are, in many cases, displaced by frivolous and less healthful excitements. Our girls and our boys, prematurely exalted into young gentlemen and ladies, are tutored by dancing-masters and fiddlers, taught postures and the right use of feet ; their manners disciplined into an artificial stiffness ; and the free developments of an open nature formed under the genial influence of truly polite parents—the finest discipline in the world—arrested by the strictures of a purely conventional regimen, in which the laws of health and the higher spiritual life seem never to have been consulted. With such a physical training, associated with a corresponding education of the mind and heart, they are ripe for the customs

and fashions of life in harmony therewith ; and totally averse to the purer, manlier, and nobler duties and pleasures of a better state of society. To dress and exhibit themselves ; to crowd the saloon of every foreign trifle, who, under the abused name of art and for the sake of gold, seeks to minister to us those meretricious excitements which associate themselves with declining states and artificial forms of life ; to waste the most precious hours of night, set apart by the God of nature for repose, in dancing, eating, drinking and revelry, follow naturally enough upon such training. Then in the rear, come disease of body and mind, broken constitutions and broken hearts ; and last of all, with grim majesty, death, prematurely summoned, avenges this violation of the laws of nature upon the miserable victims, and quenches the glare of this brilliant day in the darkness of the tomb. How utterly different is such training and such modes of life consequent upon it, from those which are dictated by a thorough understanding of our nature and the great purposes of our existence. For in all these things we shall find there exists a connection sufficiently obvious between the right education of the spirit and the body ; and that so strong is their mutual influence as to render it of great importance to care for them both in harmony with each other. Then shall we regard the perfection of the form and the vigor of our bodily powers. Casting away whatever did not consist with the health and finer developments of the physical system, we should pursue that course of education which best prepared the body for its grand work as the living agent of the spirit.

In considering physical training, it is allowable for us to look both at beauty and intellectual power. A noble form in man ; a fine, beautiful, healthful form in woman, are desirable for their outward influence. Created susceptible of deep impressions from external appearances, it is neither religion nor good sense to undervalue them. That men generally have over-estimated their worth, is a reason why we should reduce them to their true position, and not sink them below it. The palace of the soul should befit its possessor. And as God has

taken pleasure in scattering images of beauty all over the earth, and made us susceptible of pleasure therefrom, it is right that in the education of our children we should seek for the unfolding of the noblest and most beautiful forms. Shall we beautify our dwellings ; adorn our grounds with plants, flowers and trees of various excellence ; improve the breed of our cattle, and yet care not for the constitutions and forms of those who are on earth the master-pieces of divine wisdom and the possessors of all this goodly heritage ? Most of all, however, as the agent of the spirit, should we seek to rear our children in all healthful customs and invigorating pursuits. It is possible, indeed, that a mind of gigantic powers may sometimes dwell in a feeble frame, swayed to and fro by every breath of air. But we are sure that such a physical state is the source of manifold vexations, pains and loss of power. It is a state which the possessor never covets ; which oppresses him with the consciousness of an energy he is forbidden to put forth, and a force for moving the world crippled by the impediment of a frail body. For the full discharge of all the duties of life ; for the affording to our mental powers a fair field for their action ; and especially for the education and advancement of succeeding generations, it is indispensable the vigor of the body should correspond to the vigor of the intellect, so far as to constitute the one the most efficient agent of the other. It has rarely been taken into view, that, aside from the personal benefits of health in the greater power of present action, the intense intellects and feeble frames of one generation are a ruinous draft upon both the physical and mental powers of that which succeeds. A race of overwrought brains in enfeebled bodies, must be recruited from a more healthful stock, or their posterity will, in time, decline into idiocy or cease from the earth. The process of degeneracy, by an infallible law, will pass from the body to the intellect ; and the descendant of a Luther or a Bacon go down to the level of the most stupid boor that drives his oxen over the sands of southern Africa. It is with reference to this important part of education, that I congratulate you on the position

of this institution. On this elevated spot, in this pure air, with these virgin forests casting their shadows around you and inviting to meditation, there is open to the youth who may here assemble, the opportunity of engaging in healthful physical recreations. Here may the mothers of generations to come, gain a vigor of constitution and develop forms no less fitted for the endurance of the trials of life, than prepared to shed the attractions of grace and beauty over society.

Let us now enter upon the second part of the field of education, the training of the intellect. It is obvious that we have in this, a much higher subject to deal with than that on which we have just dwelt. The physical form in a few years develops itself, and soon reaches its utmost limit of growth. It is then an instrument whose powers we seek to maintain but cannot increase. As time advances, indeed, those powers gradually yield to the influence of disease or age, until the senses begin to neglect their office, the brain declines in vigor, while the tongue, the eye, the hand forget their accustomed work in the imbecility wrought by the approach of death. But no such limitation is manifest to us in the growth and future life of the intellect. Dependent upon the body for a healthful home in this world, and so far limited by the conditions of mortality, it yet seems to have in itself no absolute limitation bounding its prospective and possible attainments, save as the finite never can fully attain to the infinite. Granting it a congenial home, a fitting position, with full opportunity for progress, and there is scarcely a height this side infinity which in the ascent of ages it seems not capable of reaching. All creatures are finite, and as such, limited; but the horizon around the soul is so amazingly expansive, and the capacities of the mind for progress so immense, that to us, in our present state, it is almost as if there were no limitations at all.

The power of the intellect to acquire facts and relations, and from them to ascend to the laws which control them; its power to advance in a daily ascending path into the region of intuition, where masses of things, once isolated or chaotic,

range themselves into harmony, and move in numbers most musical ; its power thus to rise into an enlarging vision of truths now latent, and behold directly laws, relations, and facts which once evaded the sight, or were only seen dimly and after great toil, it is utterly beyond our sphere to limit. We know that what to us in childhood was a mystery, is now simple ; that some of the grandest laws of the material world which a few years back were reached only after stupendous labor, are now become intuitive truths ; and we can see no reason why the human mind is not capacitated for just such advances eternally ; at every ascent sweeping its vision over a broader range of truths, and rising ever nearer that Omniscient Intellect to which all things are open. The instinct and imperfect reason of the noblest brutes, are here in marked contrast to the mind of man. They reach the limit of knowledge with the ripening of their physical frame ; a limit which no training, however protracted and ingenious, can over pass ; which never varies, except as a cord drawn around a center may vary, by being enlarged on the one side and contracted on the other ; and which prepares them without the acquisition of a particle of superfluous intelligence for their brute life as the servitors of man. While his mind, never wholly stationary for a long period, has capacities for development that seem to spurn a merely sensual life, and lift the spirit to a companionship with angels ; which, instead of resting satisfied with the mere demands of the body, seeks to penetrate the deep springs of life, discern the exquisite organism of an insect's wing, measure the stars, and analyze the light that reveals them.

Possessing an intellect of so fine a nature, it is not to be questioned that, according to our opportunities, it is incumbent on us to carry forward its improvement from childhood to hoary age. A power like this, of indefinite expansion, in directions surpassingly noble, among subjects infinitely grand, has been conferred that it might be expanded, and go on expanding, in an eternal progression ; that it might sweep far beyond its present horizon and firmament, where the stars

now shining above us, shall become the jeweled pavement beneath us, while above still roll other spheres of knowledge, destined in like manner to descend below us as the trophies of our victorious progress.

To bury such an intellect as this in the common places of a life of mere sense; to confine it to the narrow circle of a brute instinct and reason; to live in such a world, with the infinite mind of Jehovah looking at us from all natural forms, breathing around us in all tones of music, shining upon us from all the host of heaven, and soliciting us to launch away into an atmosphere of knowledge and ascend to an acquaintance with the great First Cause, even as the bird challenges the fledgeling to leave its nest, and be at home on the wing; to live amid such incitements to thought yet never to lift the eyes from the dull round of physical necessities, is treason toward our higher nature, the voluntary defacement of the grandest characteristic of our being. The education of the intellect is not a question to be debated with men who have the slightest appreciation of their noble capacities. The obligation to improve it is commensurate with its susceptibility of advancement and our opportunities. It is not limited to a few years in early life, it presses on us still in manhood and declining age. Such is a general statement of the duty of intellectual improvement.

In the actual education of the mind, our course will necessarily be modified by the ultimate objects at which we aim. Properly, these are twofold—the first general, the second specific. The first embraces the general training of all our intellectual powers, with direct reference to the highest spiritual life here and hereafter. We place before us that state of immortality to which the present stands in the relation of a portico to a vast temple. The intellect is itself destined to survive the body, and as the instrument through which the heart is to be disciplined and fitted for this condition of exalted humanity, is to be informed with all that truth most essential for this purpose. Whatever there be in the heavens or the earth—in books or works of men, to discipline, enlarge,

and exalt the mind, to that we shall be attracted. A right heart breathes in an atmosphere of truth ; it grows and rejoices in communion with all the light that shines upon it from the works or word of God. All truth, indeed, is not of the same importance. There is that which is primary and essential ; there is that which adds to the completeness, without going to the foundation, of character. The truths that enter a well cultivated mind, animated by right sentiments, will arrange themselves by a natural law in the relative positions they hold as the exponents of the character of God, and the means more or less adapted to promote the purity and elevation of man. All truth is of God ; yet it is not all of equal value as an educational influence. There are different circles—some central, some remote. The crystals of the rock, the stratification of the globe, and the facts of a like character, will fill an outer circle, as beautiful, or skillful, or wonderful, in the demonstration of divine power, but not as in themselves unfolding the highest attributes of God. The architecture of animate nature, the processes of vegetable life, the composition of the atmosphere, the clouds and the water will range themselves in another circle, within the former, and gradually blending with it, as the manifestations of the wisdom and beneficence of God. Then the unfoldings of his moral character in the government of nations, in the facts of history, and in the general revelation of himself in the Scriptures, will constitute another band of truth concentric with the others, yet brighter and nearer the center. While at length in the cross and person of Christ—in the system of redemption, and all the great facts which it embodies, we behold the innermost circle that, sweeping round Jehovah as its center, reflects the light of his being, most luminously upon the universe. Such is obviously the relative order of the truth we seek to know. It is the different manifestation of God, ascending from the lowest attributes of divinity, to those which constitute a character worthy the homage and love of all beings. Now as it is the great object of life to know God and enjoy him, so in education we are to keep this steadily in

view, and follow the order of procedure for the attainment of it which God has himself established. To spend the life or the years of youth on the study of rocks and crystals, to the neglect of the higher moral truths which lie within this circle, is unpardonable folly—a folly not to be redeemed by the fact that such knowledge is a partial unfolding of God to man. It is little better than studying the costume to the neglect of the person—than the examination of the frame to the neglect of the masterpiece of a Raphael enclosed within it—than the criticism of a single window to the neglect of the glorious dome of St. Peter's—than the view of the rapids to the neglect of the mighty fall of Niagara. In education, the observance of this natural order of truth, will bring us, at length, to that which fills the outer circle, and thus *all* the kinds of knowledge will receive a just attention. Indeed, the study of the one naturally lead us to the other. We shall pass from the inner to the outer lines of truth, and back again, learning all the while, this important lesson, that the study of the more remote class of truths is designed to conduct us to a more perfect appreciation of that which is moral, religious, central, and saving; while the study of the higher parts of revelation will show us that the former come in to finish and perfect the latter. We do not despise the frieze—the architrave—the cornice—the spires and the various ornaments of the temple, because we regard as most essential, the foundation, the corner-stone, the walls, and the roofing; but in due time we seek to impart to our edifice, not only strength and security, but the beauty of the noblest and richest adornment. According to our means, and as the necessities of life will permit, we shall seek for knowledge from all its various spheres, and despise nothing that God has thought worthy of his creative power or supporting energy.

Now this large course of education in obedience to its first great object, is not limited by any thing in itself or in us, to a particular class of individuals. It is the common path along which all intelligent beings are to pass. The object to which it conducts is before us all, and common to all. It is

not divided into departments for separate classes. Woman, as well as man, has an interest in it, and an obligation to seek for it, just as binding as that which rests on him. All souls are equal, and though intellects may vary, yet the pursuit of truth for the exaltation of the soul, is common to them all. As this obligation to unfold the powers of the intellect, that we may grasp the truth, is primary, taking precedence of other objects—since all duty is based on knowledge, and all love and worship, and right action on the intelligence and apprehension of God—so education, which in this department is but the development of our capacity, preparing us to pursue the truth, and master the difficulties which frown us away from its attainment, rises into a duty the most imperative upon all rational beings. The same path here stretches onward before both sexes, the same motives impel them, the same objects are presented to them, the same obligations rest upon them. Neither youth nor age—neither man nor woman, can here make a limitation that shall confine one sex to a narrow corner—an acre of this broad world of intelligence—and leave the other free to roam at large among all sciences. Whatever it is truly healthful for the heart of man to know; whatever befits *his* spiritual nature and immortal destiny, that is just as open to the mind of woman, and just as consistent with her nature. To deny this abstract truth, we must either affirm the sentiment falsely ascribed to Mahomet, although harmonizing well enough with his faith in general, that women have no souls; or take the ground that truth in this, its widest extent, is not as essential to their highest welfare as it is to ours; or assert that possessing inferior intellects, they are incapable of deriving advantage from the general pursuit of knowledge, and therefore must be confined to a few primary truths, of which man is to be the judge. The first supposition we leave with the fanaticism that may have given it birth, and with which it so well harmonizes; the second we surrender to those atheistic fools and swindling politicians who can see no excellence in knowledge, save as it may minister to their sensual natures, or assist them to cajole

the people ; while the man who maintains the third, we would remit to a court of Ladies, with Queen Elizabeth as judge, Madame De Stael as prosecuting attorney, and Hannah More, Mrs. Hemans, and other bright spirits of the same sex, as the jury.

I have dwelt thus at length on the first and most general object before us in the pursuit of knowledge, because it is really of the highest and noblest education, common to both sexes, and unlimited by any thing in their character or different spheres of life.

The second and special object of education, is the preparation of youth for the particular sphere of action to which he designs to devote his life. It may seem at first that this general education of which I have just spoken, as it is most comprehensive and reaches to the widest range of subjects, so it should be the only style of training for an immortal mind. If we regarded man simply as spiritual and immortal, this might be true ; but when we descend to the practical realities of life ; when we behold in him a mixed nature, on one side touching the earth, on the other surveying the heavens, his bodily nature having its necessities as well as his spiritual, we find ourselves limited in the manner of education and the pursuit of knowledge. The division of labor and of objects of pursuit, is the natural result of these physical necessities in connection with the imperfection of the human mind and the constitution of civilized society. It is a part of our mental discipline, that, instead of ascending at once to the region of intuition—instead of grasping rapidly the truths essential to our greatest success here, the mind can only master them by a series of laborious efforts, mounting up, step by step, until it has attained a vigor of judgment and an amount of knowledge sufficient to qualify it to act for itself. The child has grown upon the infant ; the youth upon the child ; and the man upon the youth. Slowly has the intellect revealed its power ; by mastering only here and there a single subject, and that gradually, has it come into a clear light. From its inability to grasp things in masses, and to ascend at once to

an intuitive view of any one branch of knowledge, springs the necessity of limiting it down to a few specific departments of science, to the mastery of which it must devote much of early life and opening manhood, before it can gain an acquaintance with it sufficient to give success.

It is the result also of the natural growth of families into large societies, that the various pursuits of life should be divided off among classes and individuals. The savage is the most perfect illustration of the individual pursuit of all the various objects which, in his view, belong to this earthly state. Each man is but the likeness of his fellow ; and all participate equally in the business of their wild life. Trades, professions, the division of employments, are unknown. Their life is all the same, one trade, profession, employment, from youth to age. But no sooner does civilization enter, and the earth become thickly settled, than men appropriate to themselves some specific form of labor. Art is the child of divided toil ; of trades, professions, of different and limited fields of thought. All the magnificence of cities, the luxuries and comforts of refined society, the abundance of physical wealth, the great works in science, the exalted products of liberal pursuits, spring from that division of labor which has made carpenters, merchants, physicians, lawyers. The style of refinement, intelligence and art to which this division gives rise, is far higher than can possibly exist where all the mental faculties are in every man spread over all the various pursuits necessary to comfort and progress. With a given quantity, diffusion is gained only at the cost of depth. They who seek at once to master all things, become superficial in all. From such minds, no great products of skill or science can ever proceed. It is the attribute of Divinity to diffuse itself at once over all things, and create without exhaustion an unlimited number of forms. It is imperative on man, from the very imperfection of his powers, to work slowly ; to act efficiently only on individual things ; to build up a branch of art ; to carry forward a science to a high degree of perfection by long protracted devotion to it as the one leading subject of atten-

tion. In this way society gains vastly more than the individual loses. As we surrender some rights of liberty thereby to enjoy a more perfect liberty, so we limit ourselves to separate pursuits, thereby to secure a grander ultimate result. What each man accomplishes is not only greater in quantity, but better in quality, than he could reach by the diffusion of his labor. The needle has a finer point, the knife a sharper edge, the dwelling a nobler architecture, the table a richer feast, the mind itself a more splendid array of thoughts and science of the wise; while on the part of individuals there is more ample time and greatly increased facilities for the attainment of general intelligence, than could be produced on any other system.

The bearing of these thoughts on the subject before us is manifest. This division of labor constitutes the starting-point for the diverse training of men, and modifies in part all systems of instruction that cover childhood and youth. There is, at first, an education common to all. The general invigoration of the intellect, and the preparation of the mind for the grand, the highest objects of life on which I first dwelt, embrace all the earliest years of youth. There are elements of power common to all men, and instruments of knowledge effective for both the general pursuits of a liberal education, and the limited pursuits of physical toil. The education of the nursery and the school are equally useful to all. But when you advance much beyond this, far enough to enable the youth to fix upon his probable line of life, then the necessity of an early application to that pursuit at once modifies his course of education. For there are some things which are peculiarly desirable to some professions, that are only matters of general interest to others, and not at all necessary to complete success. The mathematical education of West Point, with the practical application of the principles of that science to fortification, gunnery, surveying, and astronomical calculations, is admirably adapted to fit men for the work of national defense; but it is not so necessary to enable a man to be an efficient farmer or an able lawyer. A thorough knowledge of

vegetable chemistry by the former ; a careful training in the classics, in the abstract principles of mathematics and the history and the law of the past, on the part of the latter, will much better prepare them for their peculiar duties than the science of strategy and the art of flinging cannon balls. To the physician, an acquaintance with natural science, the anatomy and pathology of the human frame ; to the clergyman, a mastery of the ancient languages, as those in which the word of God was originally written, or the grandest productions of the past embodied ; to the merchant, a profound acquaintance with the laws of trade, the commerce of the world, and the laws which control it, the products of different climes and the modes of intercommunication, are most appropriate and necessary to the perfection of their professions. It is in this way that education, after it has proceeded to some extent on the general idea first advanced of preparation for all of life both here and hereafter, begins to diverge sooner or later in each case, to meet the various pursuits of a civilized society.

When then we pass from these diverse professions, into which the growth of civilized society has divided men, to the distinctions which exist between man and woman, we enter upon a still clearer department of our subject. The differences which are here to give character to education, are not incidental and temporary, but inherent and commensurate with life itself. The physical constitution of woman gives rise to her peculiar life. It determines alike her position in society and her sphere of labor. In her form, grace and beauty predominate over strength. The most unpracticed eye would never confound the elements of beauty in the Venus with the signs of strength in the Hercules. *Her* form addresses what may be called a higher principle than *his*. The one speaks to our unsophisticated sense of physical loveliness and shadows forth that which is spiritual ; the other appeals to that sense of fear by which we appreciate great power. As in her form she declares that which is most lovely, so in her passionate nature she is peculiarly rich in sympathy

and tender emotion. Affection, compassion, sweetness, prevail in her composition. Her heart, in its best state, is the wind lyre from which both the breeze and the tempest extract strains of ravishing melody. In all ages and climes—celebrated by travelers, historians, poets—she stands forth as a being of better impulses and nobler affections than him of whom she is the complement. That which is rugged in him, is tempered by softness in her; that which is strong in him, is weak in her; that which is fierce in him, is mild in her. Designed of God to complete the cycle of human life, and through a twofold being present a perfect *Adam, she is thus no less different from man than essential to his perfection.* Her nature at once introduces her into a peculiar sphere of action. Soon maternal cares rest upon her; her throne is above the family circle; her scepter of love and authority holds together the earliest and happiest elements of social life. To her come young minds for sympathy, for care, for instruction. Over that most wonderful process of development, when a young immortal is growing every day into new thoughts, emotions and habits which are to abide with it for ever, she presides. By night she watches, by day she instructs. Her smile and her frown are the two strongest powers on earth, influencing human minds in the hour when influence stamps itself upon the heart in eternal characters. It is from this point of view, you behold the glorious purpose of that attractive form embosoming a heart enriched with so copious a treasure of all the sweetest elements of life. She is destined to fill a sphere of the noblest kind. In the course of her life, in the training of a household, her nature reveals an excellence in its adaptation to the purpose for which she is set apart, that signally illustrates the wisdom of God, while it attracts the homage of man. Scarcely a nobler position exists in this world, than that of a truly Christian mother, surrounded by children grown up to maturity; molded by her long discipline of instruction and affectionate authority into true-hearted, intelligent men and women; the ornaments of society, the pillars of religion; looking up to her with a reverent affection

that grows deeper with the passage of time, while she quietly waits the advent of death, in the assurance that, in these living representatives, her work will shine on for ages on earth, and her influence spread itself beyond the broadest calculation of human reason, when she has been gathered to the just.

How then are we to educate this being a little lower than the angels; this being thus separated from the rest of the world, and divided off, by the finger of God writing it upon her nature, to a peculiar and a most noble office-work in society? It is not as a lawyer, to wrangle in courts; it is not as a clergyman, to preach in our pulpits; it is not as a physician, to live day and night in the saddle and sick room; it is not as a soldier to go forth to battle; it is not as a mechanic, to lift the ponderous sledge and sweat at the burning furnace; it is not as a farmer, to drive the team afield and upturn the rich bosom of the earth. These arts and toils of manhood, are foreign to her gentle nature, alien to her feebler constitution, and inconsistent with her own high office as the mother and primary educator of the race. If their pursuits are permitted to modify their education, so as to prepare them for a particular field of labor, proceeding upon the same supposition, it is equally just and appropriate, that her training should take its complexion from the sphere of life she is destined to fill. So far as it is best education should be specific, it should have reference to her perfect qualification for her appropriate work. This work has two departments. The first, which is most limited, embraces the routine of housewifery and the management of the ordinary concerns of domestic life. This office-work, important indeed in itself, and essential to a well-educated woman, will, nevertheless, be better learned under the practical guidance of an accomplished mother within the precincts of home, than in public institutions devoted to literature. I need not speak of it here as an element entering into the educational process of this institution, or modifying at all the course of study appropriate for the female mind. But the second department of her duties, as it is the most important, so it must be regarded

and exalted in any enlightened system of female education. It is as the center of social influence ; the genial power of domestic life ; the soul of refinement ; the clear, shining orb, beneath whose beams the germs of thought, feeling and habit in young immortals are to vegetate and grow to maturity ; the ennobling companion of man, his light in darkness, his joy in sorrow, uniting her practical judgment with his speculative wisdom, her enthusiastic affection with his colder nature, her delicacy of taste and sentiment with his boldness, and so producing a happy mean, a whole character natural, beautiful and strong ; it is as filling these high offices that woman is to be regarded and treated in the attempt to educate her.

The description of her sphere of life at once suggests the character of her training. Whatever in science, literature and art is best adapted to prepare her to fill this high position with greatest credit, and spread farthest around it her appropriate influence, belongs of right to her education. Her intellect is to be thoroughly disciplined, her judgment matured, her taste refined, her power of connected and just thought developed, and a love for knowledge imparted, so that she may possess the ability and the desire for future progress. To effect this admirable discipline of mind, it is necessary her understanding should be exercised in the analysis and mastery of various branches of science ; or at least to some extent brought into communion with a selection of choice studies from the vast store-house of materials which the patient toil of the past has gathered. To the finest development of the intellect, a close attention to several branches of learning, necessitating the vigorous exercise of all the powers of the mind in different directions, is indispensable. Copiousness, accuracy and power are gained at the cost of protracted study extended over various subjects. For woman, therefore, it is allowable to exercise a generous eclecticism in the selection of the subjects for her study ; and from all the branches of knowledge choose those which, not being exclusively technical and professional in their nature,

are such as will most admirably strengthen and unfold her intellect, without cramping it down to any single division of science. Rising above the ordinary pursuits of men, she should be permitted to select her discipline from the entire range of human knowledge, in accordance with the general idea of education which I first advanced. Her work is general, covering not a particular trade or profession, but the whole of our earlier existence in its preparation for the business of time and the upholding and preparation of men in all stages of life for their chosen pursuit. As her work is to accomplish a common good for all, so her discipline may be general, preparing her most easily to effect this happy result. If then, in addition to the elementary branches of a good English education, some attention to mathematics will increase the power of abstraction and continuous thought ; if astronomy, chemistry, and geology, unfolding the nature of the universe, will exalt her conceptions of her Creator and give her enlarged views of the world she inhabits as his creature ; if mental and moral philosophy will assist her to a juster appreciation of her own powers, and a more logical analysis of her obligations to God and man ; if botany will reveal more perfectly the structure of those beautiful forms painted by the divine pencil and rich in suggestions of divine skill ; if music and painting will furnish her a fine recreation, a power of influence over others at once refining and delightful ; if the languages which contain the varied literature of France and Germany, will augment her knowledge of the world, and prepare her for intercourse with a larger circle of mind in this heterogeneous nation of ours ; if the ancient classics, in which dwell as grand and beautiful forms of thought as mind uninspired has ever wrought out, will increase her power of analysis, correct a false taste, impart copiousness, strength and purity to her compositions, and lead her into a fuller knowledge of the past worlds of civilization ; if history will acquaint her with her race and the providence of God toward it, poetry discipline her imagination, and composition concentrate her thoughts and give

ability freely to communicate them ; if to exercise her mind in some one or all of these modes of intellectual discipline, will better fit her for future life, why shall it not be permitted her to the full extent of her pecuniary ability, or within the limitations which the rapidly passing years of youth prescribe ? Who will say that this Refiner of the world, this Minister of the holiest and happiest influences to man, shall be condemned to the scantiest store of intellectual preparation for an entertainment so large and noble ? Is it true that a happy ignorance is the best qualification for a woman's life ; that in seeking to exalt the fathers and sons, we are to begin by the degradation of the mothers and daughters ? Is there any thing in that life incompatible with the noblest education, or which such an education will not enoble and adorn ? We are not seeking in all this to make of our daughters profound historians, poets, philosophers, linguists, authors. Success of this high character in these pursuits, is usually the result of an ardent devotion for years to some one of them, for which it is rarely a female has the requisite opportunities. But should they choose occasionally some particular walk of literature, and by the power of genius vivify and adorn it ; should there be found here and there one with an intense enthusiasm for some high pursuit, combined with that patient toil which, associated with a vigorous intellect, is the well-spring of so many glorious streams of science, should not such a result of this enlarged education be hailed as the sign of its excellence, and rejoiced in as the proof of its power ? The Mores, the Hemanses, the De Staels, and others among the immortal dead and the living who compose that bright galaxy of female wit shining ever refulgent, have they added nothing to human life, and given no quick upward impulse to the world ? Besides, that system of education which, in occasional instances, uniting with a material of peculiar excellence, is sufficient to enkindle an orb whose light passing far beyond the circle of home, shall shine upon a great assembly of minds, will only be powerful, in the multitude of cases, to impart that intellectual disci-

pline, that refinement of thought, that power of expression, that sympathy with and taste for knowledge, which will best prepare her for her position, and enable her in after life to carry forward her own improvement and that of her associated household.

The finest influence of such an education is in the development of a character at once symmetrical, refined, vigorous, confident in its own resources, yet penetrated with a consciousness of its distance from the loftiest heights of power ; a character which will be an ennobling life in a household, gently influencing others into quiet paths of excellence ; to be felt rather than seen, to be understood rather in its results than admired for any manifest attainments in science ; an intellect informed, active, in sympathy with what is known and read among men ; able to bear its part in healthful discussions, yet not presuming to dictate its opinions ; in the presence of which ignorance becomes enlightened and weakness strong ; creating around its home an atmosphere of taste and intelligence, in which the rudest life loses some of its asperity, and the roughest toils much of their severity. Such is the form of female character we seek to create by so enlarged an education.

To some, it may seem incongruous to impart so elevated an education to those whose domestic duties, as the wives of farmers and mechanics, will forestall the prosecution of their studies in after life. The time was, indeed, when the clerk and the baron were the readers and writers, while the peasant must abide in his ignorance. That day is past. Labor is rising to its true nobility ; or rather, I should say, since labor in itself hath neither meanness nor glory, that the immortal mind of man is vindicating its right to intelligence ; and so, whenever it struggles up into knowledge, or great mental power, it crowns even physical toil with a portion of its own dignity. The way to elevate the world, is to give the *young* mind a fair opportunity for development. Start it right, discipline it well, before it has to grapple with the personal cares of a family, and its future will be easily read. No style of

business, no rudeness of toil, no pressure of domestic responsibilities, can fling the soul back into its original ignorance, or take from it a certain nobility and strength imparted to it by such early discipline. Yea, more than this; the female mind, thus educated, will most probably ever after live in sympathy with all that is most ennobling in thought and beautiful in nature; gathering around her as ever present friends, some genial minds embalmed in history, poetry and philosophy, with whom the log cabin shall possess as true a refinement as the noblest palace; while over her sons and daughters she will not fail to shed an influence elevating and pure. To suppose that a just education, well arranged in all its parts, will in any way unfit her for the homely duties, which in many cases may belong to her future life, is to libel the influence of intelligence upon the human mind. The association of meanness with toil, of degradation with physical labor, is not the growth of an enlightened education, but of a barbarous age and slavish institutions. Whenever the leading idea of this discourse—the duty of every human being to be as thoroughly educated as his opportunities will permit—penetrates the community, then dignity and honor are transferred from superficial and transient qualities to the mind and heart. Let these be cultivated, and their possessor rises to the dignity of a prince, whatever may be his occupation. It is not the trade or work that gives or takes away honor, but the character of the man himself that consecrates or defiles whatever he touches. What were Franklin, Sherman, Whitney? Printers! shoemakers! machinists! A host of such minds at this hour have risen over the world, and are pouring their light into the dark corners thereof. The man who has wrought his eight hours a day at the anvil, will work eight more at the burning forge of thought, and fling his masses of truth red hot upon the mind of his countrymen. Has learning taught him to despise his vocation; or has it not ennobled it? An ignorant and an evil-hearted man has all the elements of meanness, place him where you will. Station can neither exalt or degrade him. But an intelligent, right-

hearted man has all the elements of a dignity that will adorn a lofty station and elevate that which is low. No *well* educated woman will ever think it beneath her to perform all those domestic offices which are essential to the comfort, the health and the prosperity of her family. She will glory in doing all things well, and shed around the most homely toils the elevation and charm of a polished, thoughtful intellect and pure heart. Such is the training we seek for the female mind.

The closing topic of this address will vindicate its own preëminent importance. The education of the *heart* reaches deeper, and spreads its influence farther, than all things else. The intellect is only a beautiful piece of mechanism, until the affections pour into it their tremendous vitality, and send it forth in all directions instinct with power. When the "dry-light" of the understanding is penetrated by the liquid light of the emotions, it becomes both light and heat, powerful to vivify, quicken, and move all things. In woman, the scepter of her chief power springs from the affections. Endowed most richly with sensibility—with all the life of varied and vigorous impulse and deep affection, she needs to have early inwrought, through a powerful self-discipline, an entire command of her mobile nature. There are few more incongruous and sadly affecting things than a woman of fine intellect and strong passions, without self-control or true religious feeling. She is like a ship whose rudder is unhung; she is like a horse, rapid, high-spirited, untamed to the bridle; or higher still, she is like a cherub fallen from its sphere of glory, with no attending seraph, without law, without the control of love, whose course no intelligence can anticipate and no wisdom guide. Religion seems to have in woman its most appropriate home. To her are appointed many hours of pain, of trial, of silent communion with her own thoughts. Separated, if she act the true woman, from many of the stirring scenes in which man mingles, she is admirably situated to nourish a life of love and faith within the circle of her own home. Debarred from the pursuits which furnish so quick-

ening an excitement to the other sex, she either is confined to the routine of domestic life and the quiet society of a social circle, or devotes herself to those frivolous pleasures which enervate while they excite, which, like the inspiration of the wine-cup, are transient in their joy, but deep and lasting in their evil. But when Religion enters her heart it opens a new and that the grandest array of objects. It imparts a new element of thought, a wonderful depth and earnestness of character. It elevates before her an ennobling object, and enlists her fine sensibilities, emotions and affections in its pursuit. Coming thus through religion into harmony with God, she ascends to the highest position a woman can occupy in this world.

As religion itself should be limited to no one period, so the discipline of the heart should be commensurate with life itself. Beginning with the opening affections of childhood, it should kindly press upon the soul all through its earthly career. No system of education begins to approach completeness, or is even tolerable, that excludes religious influences and educates the individual for this world alone. Neglecting the grandest part of man, on which the image of his Creator is most visibly impressed, and by which his destiny for eternity is to be affected, it resembles a system of astronomy with the sun, moon and planets omitted ; a system of geography without the continents, and of anatomy deprived of the skull and vertebræ. In this country, one of our dangers lies in this direction. Our liberality in the indulgence of all religious opinions sometimes degenerates into the practical neglect of all religious influences in the education of youth. To purge off the taint of sectarianism and hush the anathema of infidelity, the Bible, prayer, and the holiest influence of divine religion, are not unfrequently surrendered. A mistake more fatal to all true elevation of character, a practical error more pernicious to the highest interests of the State, it were difficult to conceive. The ultimate basis of all things most stable and excellent in society is religious principle and the habits to which it gives rise. Take these away,

and the foundation for the abutments on which rests the great arch of the finest civil and social state is removed. But to secure this deep and broad foundation for the future, it is indispensable that religion should enter the heart and truth enthrone itself in the intellect, when in childhood and youth those habits of thought and feeling are formed which are to remain for ever. At this period, a happy religious discipline, instruction in the word of God and the great duties of life, are the *right* of every child, which neither parents nor teachers can fail to impart without a grievous, because an immortal wrong. Above all, in such an institution as this, should religion, free from the narrowness of sect, proceeding on those grand truths which form the basis of our responsibility for this world and the next, shed a genial influence over those who here pursue the path of science.

To woman should Christianity be especially dear. It has led her out of the house of bondage ; it has lifted her from the stool of the servant to an equality with the master ; it has exalted her from the position of a mere minister of sensual pleasure, the toy of a civilized paganism, to a full companionship with man ; it has given her soul—once spurned, degraded, its immortality doubted, its glory eclipsed—a priceless value ; and shed around her whole character the radiance of heaven. Let pure religion create the atmosphere around a woman's spirit, and breathe its life into her heart ; let it refine her affections, sanctify her intellect, elevate her aims, and hallow her physical beauty ; let it mold her early character by its rich influences, and cause the love of Jehovah to consecrate all earthly love, and she is indeed to our race, of all the gifts of time, the last and best, the crown of our glory, the perfection of our life.

It is with such objects in view, this institution has been established. Its great design is to impart to all who may attend upon its exercises, according to the time they shall devote to it, a thorough, elevated, Christian education ; a discipline for the body, mind and heart, most appropriate to that high position which woman is to occupy and adorn. To

effect this purpose, while the advantages of this institution are open to all who may choose to avail themselves of them for even a brief period, yet it is especially designed to afford those who are willing to spend the time requisite for the attainment of the object, a course of study as full and complete, an education as thorough, comprehensive, liberal and elevated, as the best institutions at the East can bestow. It is not to be questioned that we need and that we are ripe for institutions of this character. It is high time that the West should not only train its own daughters, but enjoy educational advantages large enough to place us on a level with any other section of our country. We wish to rear up institutions of such an elevated character as will make a western in all respects equal to an eastern education. We wish to build up an institution here, and to see others rising in other parts of this country, which, while they will abundantly impart all those outward accomplishments in which the seminaries of Papists have been supposed to excel, will also afford an education such as, in its discipline, elevation and results, their narrow system of instruction can not at all reach. We wish, in short, to make this seminary a model institution of female education, to which our daughters from all parts of this land shall resort, as the chosen home of all that is best adapted to enlarge the mind, purify the heart, polish the manners, and prepare them for the large sphere of their duties. At great expense these buildings have been reared; a large and competent band of instructors are engaged to carry out the great purposes of such an institution. At their head is a gentleman who for many years has devoted himself with signal success to the work of instruction. In addition to these advantages, the location of this institution is preëminently adapted to make it most useful. In near proximity to the largest city of the West, yet so secluded from its noise, dust, smoke and artificial excitements as to furnish that solitude which is most necessary to the formation of profound habits of reflection; in the midst of one of the wealthiest, healthiest and most populous regions of the State; crowning the summit of these

pleasant hills, from which you look down upon a busy world wholly separated from you ; on a spot set apart by the presence of a kindred institution to study, to reflection, to improvement, it would seem as if here were collected all the materials necessary to constitute the finest position for the healthful development of the female mind. The single circumstance of its situation in the country is not of small moment. The country ! What associations of peace and quietude, of communion with nature in her most innocent and ennobling forms, cluster about that word ! The country ! the nurse of great men and noble women ; the mother of the mass of those who in church and state, by the fireside and in the counting-room, have been most distinguished for independence, for acuteness and true nobility of life. The city abounds with so many objects of attraction and distraction ; with so many frivolous and superficial excitements, that it is the most unsuitable place in the world for the formation of an independent, vigorous, profound and lofty character. The mind of childhood becomes developed into a premature smartness ; in attaining a superficial activity, it seems to lose the power of reaching deep, accurate and original thought. Far better is it to nurse the intellect and the heart where the trees lift their enormous tops heavenward, and the wind makes its own free music among their branches ; where the fields spread out their verdant bosoms, and hill and vale proclaim the handiwork of the Lord most high. Here, when spring has carpeted the earth and clothed the trees, and flowers grow spontaneously under the care of the great gardener of the universe, will our youth go forth to enjoy the presence of God in his most glorious works. Here, when autumn's leaves strew the earth and winter winds wail through these forests, will they learn to turn their thoughts within, and cherish those habits of thought and reflection in sympathy with a life so full of mutations and limited to our eyes by the grave. Here, for many years to come, may the mothers and the educators of generations of noble American youth, listen to lessons of wisdom and prepare for their high

destiny. Here, may there be set forth a system of education befitting the free, bold, manly intellect of this new world; by which the daughters of Christian freemen may form their hearts and minds to a style of character as noble, elevated and original as the circumstances of their country are exalted and unique in the world's history. When those who to-day set apart this structure to these high purposes shall have been gathered to the just; when the city, whose busy hum now rises on the still morning air, shall have swollen to its million of inhabitants; and the State to half as many as this entire Union now contains; and the multitudes that now move upon its surface are all sleeping in the tomb, then may this institution still flourish, enlarged, advancing to meet and lead on advancing humanity, educating future generations for the noble sphere of woman's life here, and the sublime destiny of the kingdom of God hereafter.

IV.

THE THREE STAGES OF EDUCATION.*

It was the request of the Board of Trustees of this Seminary, that I should address you on this occasion, last year. For that engagement preparation had been made, when the providence of God prevented its fulfillment. A disease whose advent and departure were alike robed in mystery, in its second journey around the globe, had reached our shores. Unheralded, it entered our towns and cities; its invisible breath prostrated thousands; its awful presence, felt rather than seen, or seen only in the terrible *results* of its power, spread the gloom of the grave-yard and the stillness of the Sabbath through our streets. The thronged marts of trade were solitary, the arm of industry was paralyzed, the hammer rang faintly on the anvil, the hum of untiring labor died away, the streams of life that rushed through our avenues gave place to the solitary tread of the physician, the rattling of the hearse, and the slow-moving procession of mourners. The teacher dismissed his scholars to their homes; the father gathered his family about him to wait together the issue; the pastor knew no rest while he ministered to the dying—performed the rites of sepulcher for the dead, and sought to comfort the living. In the midst of such a calamity, it neither became me to forsake my post for a day to fulfill my engagement in this city, nor was it possible for you to engage in the usual celebration of this anniversary. The address originally prepared for you, was subsequently delivered in another place and committed to the press. It would not be proper for me

* An address delivered at the anniversary of the Cooper Female Academy, July 17, 1850.

now to repeat that discussion or follow out substantially the same train of thought. But there was a division of the general subject on which I then was unable to dwell, that it is proposed to discuss on this occasion. In doing this, I may have occasion to speak more of the *subjects* of Education than of the *theory*. In this there is one advantage. The theory of Education is old ; it has often been developed by minds of the largest power in every age. But the *subjects* of Education are always new, fresh, rosy, joyous. *They* are always young. Generation succeeds generation, or rather, the wave of life behind melts into that before so imperceptibly that you can not mark the point of passage ; the new wave follows on, until ere it has dashed upon the shore, a hundred others have lifted their crests in pursuit. So childhood, ere it has grown to manhood or old age, beholds other childhoods, fresh and bright, chasing it onward. There is no stay, no growing old here. The laughing girl and careless boy are always in the foreground of life. Their merry voices, their light footsteps, their sunny brows are always new. Manhood looks back upon them with pride ; old age grows young in their presence. They melt the frost from the heart ; they unbind the cords of etiquette ; they ungird the robe of artificial life ; they bring us back to our original simplicity. Nature asserts through them her right in us. We wish we were boys and girls again ; we would play ball in the same green ; skate on the same pond ; gather nuts in the same woods ; rush from the old school house with the same wild, uproarious merriment ; we would believe in quaint old Santa Claus again, and dream of his treasures, and hang our stockings before the wide-mouthed kitchen fire place in kindness to his yellow Christmas coat ; we would put our faith in Jack the giant killer, with his wondrous bean-pole, and seven-leagued boots and all the exhaustless treasures which our imaginations once discovered in the golden castles of our boyhood, if it were but for an hour. Refreshing it is to our hearts, disgusted with the artificial forms, and cold selfishness of society, to meet the blessed credulity of the child, and the vigorous hope of

youth ; to watch the young blood quicken in their veins and see the overflow of life, too soon to be confined within narrow conventionalities, and finally sink away into nerveless and trembling age.

Shakespeare divides life into seven ages. Of these, three belong to Education, considered with respect to this life. These ages in which the young life prepares for its work, are designated by the nursery, the school, and society. Allowing from twenty-four to thirty years as the period within which most persons attain a fully developed character, from eight to ten years may be assigned to each one of these ages. The first has its chief influence from the nursery ; the second from the school ; the third from society. Let us first visit the nursery.

Babyhood and childhood, what are they but instinct and animal propensity ? What have they to do with *intelligent* Education ? Much every way. They are wonderful *absorbents* of knowledge ; they gain more intelligence than the other ages can bestow, and hold it much longer than that acquired subsequently. That infant, outwardly all animal, is a most diligent student. Smile upon it, and see its soul smiling in return ; frown, and lo ! the eyes redden with tears. The babe is a student of physiognomy, and through that of the human spirit. Its mother's countenance is its first sun of science. Here all knowledge is centered. It entertains the profound idea of another spirit responsive to its own, months and even years before it can express such an idea in fitting language. Witness now its growth ! It studies language. It masters the elements of articulate sound ; it lisps the two simplest, dearest of words ; instinctively it imitates human speech ; the tongue grows lithe, the organs of voice are gradually trained to their work, till at length it has acquired the wonderful faculty of speech. In less than two years it has made larger advances in the acquisition of intelligent power, than the noblest brute ever did in all its life. It has begun, also, the study of physics, gymnastics, philosophy and morals. It begins to calculate distances ; for the appreciation of distance is a matter of judgment. To the eye opened to sight

from a congenital blindness, all things seem alike near. The child studies the qualities of things. The difference between a fall on a carpet or a stone reveals the soft and the hard. By sundry infallible experiments, it solves that great problem in philosophy, viz: that fire will burn; understands its qualities after the first burned finger, as well as Liebig himself, and never forgets them. It investigates the operation of the gases, particularly hydrogen and oxygen when combined as water, and is as fully convinced of their power to produce suffocation, the first time the head is fairly dipped under, as Sir Humphrey Davy could be. Gravitation it investigates in various ways; but the great experiment which most effectually determines the question, is a tumble down stairs. Gymnastics very early claim attention. Legs and arms let off the superfluous activity months before the infant stands upright. What a proud day was that, parent, when your first-born began to walk? to tread the earth no longer a feeble infant, but a self-sustaining, well-balanced little humanity! How many trials in balancing! how many experiments preceded this feat, more magnificent than the most skillful exercises of the rope dancer!

At length this young walker and talker becomes a thinker. He questions every one; he pries into every thing. His "why?" "why?" shows that he is as intent upon studying causation as were ever Hume or Brown. He hears every thing uttered; he ponders many a mystery that manhood can not unfold. The whole of nature solicits his attention; his young intellect labors to get beneath the surface. Soon he experiments in various directions. He digs and plants, and then pulls up the germs to see *how* they grow. He turns mechanic, constructs, demolishes and rebuilds at pleasure. Again he studies engineering, momentum, and curves; and the best way to drive his arrow at the mark or his ball at his brother's back. He fashions his kite, sends it afloat, gaining a practical acquaintance with the resolution of forces, accomplishing a feat for him as great as that of Franklin, when by a similar contrivance, he brought the lightning from the

clouds. Thus day by day, this restless spirit pushes itself out into the world of nature, gaining for the mind knowledge, for the hand skill, for the body vigor.

Meanwhile in the house another and higher style of Education is going on. He is beginning to understand the ideas of authority, of right, of truth, of generosity, of benevolence, of self-restraint, of manliness, of purity, of holiness, of God. For the outward and physical is only secondary ; that which is moral and religious is primary. The first constitutes the form, the dress of life, mere external civilization ; the second, the inward accomplishments of a soul with reference to eternity. Here then in these first ten years of his existence, a great part of the work in both departments must be effected. Moral influences mold the child day by day. As thought awakens, the passions kindle and the will grows strong, the parent watches, controls, indulges, limits, directs. Habit begins its lifelong reign. Impressions grave themselves upon the heart ; prejudices possess the intellect ; disposition unfolds, and the child takes the direction which manhood is to pursue. Between the child on the one hand, his parents, the family and the natural world on the other, there is at work, a silent, steady, unintermitted process of action and reaction. The inherent activity of the child, his exuberant energy, pushes him forward against everybody and every thing. Mind, affections, body, are all intensely vigorous. You wonder how such unceasing activity can be found in so small a compass. You have heard of experiments in perpetual motion, but now you see it without an experiment, to your perfect satisfaction. You are astonished at the style in which the youngster will labor to effect a cherished purpose ; the arguments, the promises, the tears brought to bear upon your opposite determination. The perverse activities of his growing spirit keep you ever on the look out. You seize hold of one and rein it in, when lo ! another has pushed forth in a different direction. The guide of a child in this nursery age must be all eye, all ear, all hand, all thought, all love, all devotion and all patience. This is peculiarly the season of spontaneous activity.

It is the luxury of new life and vigorous health. It is the age of knowledge acquired without application; of acquisition without conscious effort; when the external world is a novelty; when moral ideas are novel; when, like the forms in a kaleidoscope, the earth daily assumes some new shape of beauty to attract the young soul to itself. At this period the foundations are laid. In this spontaneous action, while as yet all is unformed in the expanding soul, the outlines of character are traced; the direction and general form is given, which can never be *wholly* changed; which can be partially modified only with great difficulty. It is within this period, the parent's *chief* work in Education should be performed.

Into this work two things enter. The one is direct guidance, instruction and restraint; the other the silent influences and attractions of personal character. The grape vine in spring pushes forth its branches with great vigor in all directions. These for a time must receive support, direction and occasional pruning. Left to swing in the wind or twine themselves round whatever they may be near, is to expose them to ruin or greatly injure their productiveness. The place of every branch should be fixed long before it has grown into it. So the young spirit in the wild exuberance of its growth, demands the sustaining judgment and correcting hand of a parent. Its place should be fixed; whatever is evil controlled or removed, and right habits formed long before it attains maturity. For after it leaves the parent, it must pass into the hands of another husbandman, whose restraints and corrections may be severe and terrible. The young vine, however, must have more than guidance, support and restraint. The *sun* must shine upon it. In the shade, in darkness, it grows rapidly but feebly. Its joints are long; its body thin; its fruitbearing powers are almost wholly destroyed. The warm sun totally changes its character; condenses its juices, retards its outward growth; enlarges its fruitbuds, and invigorates it for the work of presenting to the vine-dresser a luscious and abundant crop. Now the *silent* influences of pa-

rental character in the nursery are to young souls what the rays of the sun are to the young vine. They rest upon them quietly ; they act steadily and without interruption ; they excite no opposition and can receive none ; they insinuate themselves so like the light, into the heart of the young, that without understanding it the children are gradually molded and affected thereby. Good principles, the seed of future power ; good habits, the form of future developments ; good dispositions, the elements of after fruitfulness ; a secret force of self-command and moral heroism, a strength of will for the right and powerlessness for the wrong ; a love of truth and integrity of spirit ; the recognition of authority and the habit of obedience to the infinite ; all these, which in their ripeness constitute the noblest character, are formed and strengthened in the heart and mind mainly by the influences of parental teaching and *example*. The parents are the sun to the young heart. For a time they stand to it in the place of God. Through them heaven pours its earliest and selectest influences upon the spirit. The beaming countenance, the tone of voice, the manner, the whole of a parent's life then affects it deeply. The mother is transparent to the child, long before the latter is to the former. The one is a great recipient ; the other a great communicant. The one is to be fashioned and is therefore sensible to the least breath of influence ; the other already fashioned is giving forth the plastic power. Thus if the parent be a true sun of pure and living light, the child will generally develop a character which, so far as human culture can effect it, will be prepared for the further work of education and of life. Such is the first age. The work of the nursery is the foundation of all the future, the most difficult and important, demanding the finest powers and issuing in the noblest results. No after training can fully correct a vicious nursery education. The form is given, that in the main is to last for ever. A noble work this ; worthy the noblest beings and the noblest powers, to preside over the formation of the character of a soul and make impressions that are not only to abide themselves, but which in long un-

folding series are to produce fruits in others—fruits equally excellent and abiding.

Let us advance now to the second age of education—the *School*. The chief work of childhood has been accomplished ; but however essential it is yet imperfect, however lasting it is only the foundation for the superstructure. As yet all the knowledge is elementary. The mind in its excursions has taken note only of external things ; it has mastered that which is most necessary to its physical and moral well-being, but it is far from that complete preparation which the business of life demands. It has gained a superficial acquaintance with external nature ; but so has the savage. It has gained the elements of religious knowledge ; but were it to remain in that condition, limited to those elements, it would remain a child for ever. It has now to go beyond the surface and learn the secret composition and relations of natural objects. The idea of authority, obligation, obedience, has been wrought into the soul ; it has now to learn what constitutes the true foundation of authority, what is the extent of obligation and the bounds of obedience due different authorities. Ignorant on these subjects, the individual becomes the slave of prejudice ; obeying where there is no just authority to command, disobeying where all the elements of authority exist. Ignorant of the physical world in its secret powers, he is unprepared to take advantage of and combine them so as to produce the highest form of civilization and enrich his outward condition. He has begun to look at the earth on which he dwells ; he is now to study its extent, its structure, its divisions, its laws. He sees above him planets and stars moving in silent majesty ; he is now to investigate their laws of motion and light, and ascertain the position which the earth occupies among these countless worlds. He has begun to know himself, his family ; he must now enlarge his view, spread his mind over states and nations, over the history of the past and the multiform aspects of the present. He has learnt the first principles of law, justice, integrity, benevolence ; he must now proceed to ascertain their foundations

and relations ; to behold their operation in society ; to discover the source of the evils that afflict the world, the experiments that have failed, and the fountains from whence the bloody streams of war have ever flowed ; to understand the various institutions of civil society, the rise of nations in power, and religion, the causes which, working secretly for long ages, have most corrupted or most blessed mankind. He has begun to compass the elements of religious science, but now he is to enter upon the study of the higher truths of a spiritual world as they are found in the wide field of natural Theology—the all-embracing providence of Jehovah—and the revelation made in his Word. To these truths, and others of a similar nature, he is soon to address himself—these he must in part master or be prepared to master before he can take his place as an educated man.

In order to make these attainments, certain things are essential—1. The youth must gather together and pass in review the *facts*, in the just combination of which all advanced science consists. These are to science as stones, brick and timber to a building. They are not science, any more than these, before being fitly put together, are an edifice, but they are the essential materials out of which it is constructed. Without facts there is no knowledge, only fancies, theories, speculations, variable and fleeting as the clouds. The child who mistakes the forms in the sky for palaces and angels, is as just in his opinions as the man who takes the forms of his imagination for substantial realities. The neglect of facts, the disposition to create their appearances, and weave theories out of the brain alone, kept the world in darkness and held science back for centuries. The simple law of induction—letting facts reveal the law and not the law mold the facts—has given an amazing impulse to discovery, created new sciences, overturned fanciful pursuits, and spread abroad among men the blessings of many admirable inventions. The disposition to theorize without facts—to generalize from a single fact or two ; the indisposition to wait for the patient survey and analysis of a large number of particulars ; the

facility with which men can speculate, dream and build air castles, exists still. All around us are those who live in a region of theories unestablished ; who dream in a world of realities, and at length die martyrs to their zeal in the cause of ignorance. Let the youth then learn patiently to gather up the sound materials of science ; let his mind be ever awake to the forms and realities around him ; let him search into the secret chambers of nature ; let not appearances deceive him, but let him learn to wait until that which is substantial unfolds itself, and he will be preparing himself for those rich possessions in science, which will alike ennoble the intellect, and fit it for usefulness.

2. In immediate connection with this gathering of the materials follows the training of the mind to use them for some good purpose. The intellect must be accustomed to grasp, to combine, to separate, to classify. It must learn to reason on facts, to reach correct inferences, to make one result a firm foundation on which to proceed to a higher result. This power of arresting the processes of thought, of keeping the imagination in check, of discriminating between the false and the true, of holding the mind long intent upon a subject, and then having carefully examined its different aspects, arriving at just conclusions, is that which distinguishes the man of judgment and true science from the child and the charlatan. This power constitutes a possession most precious in all circumstances. It is an endowment that shines as lustreously in private life as it does in the marts of business, and adorns as truly the domestic circle as the forum and the pulpit. Destitute of this neither man nor woman is fully *Educated*.

3. In addition to these attainments, it is essential that the youth should master the language in which he is to communicate with his fellow-men. He should investigate its copious vocabulary, its terms of science, its capacity for subtle thought—for deep impression—for the clear unfolding of his ideas on all subjects. This he should do in order to the acquirement on the one hand of a pure diction and on the other

of a correct style of composition. The power of expressing himself in language clear, simple, correct and impressive, is of great importance. A lame, slovenly, ungrammatical style of speech, indicates the neglect of the noble instrument of thought and intercommunication between mind and mind ; a failure to train aright that fine faculty of language by which society is so much distinguished and blest. On the other hand the ability to write correctly, to commit readily and clearly his thoughts to paper, is of no secondary consequence. Essential in some pursuits, it is useful in all ; nor can the youth justly regard himself as fully prepared for life, who has failed to attain the power of composition. These are three things which enter into the second style of education. It is in making these attainments that the mind becomes disciplined for the after pursuits of time.

It is obvious that such acquisitions are not made either naturally, nor easily, nor in a brief period. They are the product of close application, continued for years and directed to subjects remote from popular view. They are such things as the young do not acquire spontaneously ; such as most parents have neither the time nor the ability to impart. The youth has to go beyond things sensible ; he must leave the outer for the inner world. This is always difficult. It requires application, direct effort, fixed times, abstraction from other objects, the instrumentality of books. Left to himself, after he has mastered that elementary knowledge which pours itself upon him at every step, he devotes himself to pleasure, to sensual gratification, to sports which however well they may be as recreation are ruinous when they constitute employment. Hence arises the *school* to meet this new stage of progress. Teachers, text books, and all the machinery of instruction come to the aid of the parent. The youth is isolated from the world, disciplined in classes, stimulated by a generous emulation, roused to put forth his latent powers by the foreseen position of influence and usefulness he can attain. Thus *habits* of study are formed ; thus, one after another, difficulties vanish ; the mind grows in science and power

gradually but surely. The experienced teacher, the admirable text book, the daily recitation, the private application, the freedom from other cares, the genial warmth of learning quickening the spirit, all combine to urge the youth forward in the training of his intellect. Thus the school fills up this second stage of education. Taking the child from the nursery, it forms his youth ; it follows out the work of childhood and exalts him to a higher position in life, preparing him at length to test his principles and apply his intellect to practical affairs, when he goes forth into society. The school ! Let me pause a moment over the sweet and bitter memories which cluster around that word. What visions of pothooks and trammels ! of refractory, knotty, mispronounced and misspelled words ! of verbs and nouns, and tenses and cases, the mysteries of grammar, rise before me ! What a profound geographer was the lad who could repeat without failure the capital of every State in the Union ! What an object of admiration the boy who could cipher in fractions and the rule of three ! What a cyclopedia of knowledge was he who could tell the very day of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and could prove to our satisfaction that the sun did not rise in the east ! How blessed was that season when Webster's spelling-book was a work of vast research, Dobell's arithmetic the sum of mathematical science, and our worshipful schoolmaster, next to George Washington, the greatest man in the Union ! The joyous holidays—the trainings—the anniversaries—the vacations, how did the very thoughts of them once thrill the heart with pleasure ; while alas ! as if to vindicate the truthfulness of that old apothegm, "there is no flower without its thorn," memory still retains the impression of sundry ferrulings and whippings administered, in the very spirit of Solomon's philosophy, upon our youthful persons, innocent of all evil but the eating of apples and trying the temper of our pen-knives upon desks and benches !

Such was the school ! Yet there the spirit of many a strong man was disciplined for a noble future. Little by little we

rose ; gradually the prescribed course of instruction was gone over ; one left for his farm, another for his trade, another for merchandise ; the girls now ripened into young ladies passing off to keep them company—while here and there a solitary soul, destined by our fathers to other fields of labor departed for the sterner struggle of college life. The school ! how vast its influence ! how grand the results it has wrought out ! how indispensable to the full education of the young. The college may form the few, but the school is the mother of the many ; the college may perfect the teacher, but the millions of the taught, who in time, as fathers and mothers are to teach the young in their first stage of education, who are to move the vast operations of human society, build cities and towns, reclaim the earth from its curse and bid it bring forth food and flowers, spread commerce from continent to continent, and make the desert bloom with all the life of civilization—these reverence the school as their “Alma Mater.” From her walls they go forth possessed of the elements of intelligence and prepared to cultivate the bounteous heritage given to them of their heavenly Father. They ascend the mountains, they fill the valleys, they cover the plains, they compass the sea, they sustain all noble institutions ; and amidst all their wanderings they look back with thanksgiving to this their noble mother.

Let us pass now to the third stage of education—Society. To some I may seem about to broach a novelty—a new term in Education. Imagining that the school or academy finishes *that* business, as full-grown men and women they are abundantly qualified by previous discipline to play their part successfully. It is true, indeed, that the foundation of character has by this time been laid and the edifice reared upon it. Yet it is equally true, that the structure has not attained all that completeness which fits it for the finest use. The walls have been reared and the roof thrown over, but the windows may be unhung, the doors without fastenings, the walls without plaster, the whole building without paint or ornament. In point of fact, it is impossible in the second stage of Education,

without prolonging it, to effect all these things. If we seek to erect only a log-cabin, with its appropriate furniture—a tolerable dwelling place—short time is necessary for the work ; but if we wish to rear a structure that will combine stability, convenience, spaciousness and elegance, we shall be obliged to go through a far more elaborate process. In the school the intellect has been disciplined so as to enable it to advance ; it learns *how* to think, without as yet having attained the chief results of thought ; it is prepared to gain knowledge, it can not go forth instinct with it. In this process of mental and moral discipline, some great principles are settled and a certain amount of knowledge material to success in life attained. Yet in comparison to the whole field open to us, these results are very inconsiderable. The work of the school has been chiefly to discipline the intellect, strengthen it to grapple with questions presented in after life, and afford it a sufficient acquaintance with general literature to enable it afterwards to prosecute the acquisition of it in any desired direction with ease and pleasure. When the girl leaves school, she has yet to go through another process of Education, before she can be fully prepared for the work of her life. As a young lady she enters her father's house and goes forth into society. What has she yet to acquire ? She occupies, and is destined to occupy a twofold relation—one to the *household*, the other to *society*. These relations are in reality closely connected, however much they may be generally separated. Her relation to the household is first in importance, and if rightly filled, she can, with a true independence, take her appropriate position in society. I am not derogating from the dignity of my theme, therefore, in maintaining, as one thing indispensable to the well-educated woman, the art of managing successfully the affairs of a household. By the ordinance of providence, in all civilized communities, this department of life falls to the female. It is not one to be slighted or despised, nor can it be mastered in a few days. It stands connected far more intimately than at first sight appears with the prosperity of the family, the hap-

piness of individuals and the elevation of society. Many a man has been harassed and broken for life—lost to society and the world by a union with one who, either through contempt of the attainment, or with the best dispositions, through early neglect, was unable wisely to conduct the affairs of a family. She who thinks the fingers that have touched the strings of the harp and the keys of the piano too delicate for housewifery ; she who supposes that the genius instinct with poetry—the mind capable of dissecting Butler, and demonstrating Euclid, is of too refined a nature to descend to the study of the “Receipt” book and the management of a kitchen, had better renounce matrimony and betake herself to that fairy land where life is nourished without eating, and a genial climate permits nature to be satisfied with the slightest covering.

The first years of my life were passed in a large manufacturing town. Gentlemen from abroad occasionally sent their sons thither to undergo the training necessary to make them accomplished managers of similar establishments in other places. The young gentlemen, not unfrequently fresh from college, were obliged to commence their apprenticeship by engaging in almost the lowest department of labor. From this they ascended through the different kinds of work until they had mastered the whole. In this way they became accomplished critics, understood precisely the character of the work produced, and knew how to direct others to do it. If there is any better way than this for you to gain a practical acquaintance with your appropriate duties as the guiding minds of a household, qualifying you either to direct others, or, if need be, perform the work yourselves, I leave for others wiser on this subject to determine. But be assured, whatever different opinions there may be about the best way of fitting yourselves for these duties, the subject is one that demands the most serious consideration—a part of your education in Society which you may not neglect, without exposure to personal mortification, even should you be so happy as to avoid involving others in the consequences of your inexperience.

Could we trace out the causes which have given success in life to one, and withheld it from another of equal ability, I doubt not that the presence or absence of a faithful, wise, and diligent mind *at home* would often be found among the most powerful. The world, in some of its features, may have changed since the time of Solomon ; society may wear a different dress and custom put on new forms ; but the radical elements of private prosperity and happiness are unchangeable. The secret fountains are the same in every age. The streams may run in new channels, through new regions, amid new scenery ; the plains and the mountains may spread and rise in new aspects, while the springs that feed the streams and fertilize the plains and gush from the mountain side, remain the same as the sources of blessing. So the costume of the virtuous woman, whose price is above rubies in the description of Solomon, may partake of the time and manners and customs among which she lived, but the ideas that are thus clothed in garments to us somewhat strange, express the essential qualities of a noble and useful woman in every age—of one who from the retiracy of her own home, sends forth an influence that crowns her children, her husband and her friends with honor. Happy will you be, if the world shall honor you through those whom your domestic virtues and home life have quickened and blest.

As you leave this place, however, there are still other relations you are to sustain, involving duties, imposing responsibilities, and drawing after them results of no small importance. You now enter upon life in its more mature and earnest form. Parents, brothers and sisters, friends, claim you as co-workers in performing the duties devolving upon adult age. You take your position as young ladies in association with general society. The days of childhood and girlhood are past. As educated women, of disciplined minds, and formed judgments, you are called upon to bear your part in real life ; to minister to the advancement of society, and share in all those practical efforts essential to its refinement and elevation. Immediately on your entrance into these scenes, there com-

mences a process of action and reaction between you and the new elements around you. Hitherto you have been the gay, careless spirit, a singing bird joyous in the mere consciousness of a vigorous existence, or you have been theorizing, speculating, looking at things in the abstract, disciplining the mind for future action. Now you enter upon the *practical* relations of life. Your opinions, if formed, are to be tested; if not fully formed, they are to be matured and settled amidst the conflicts of society. Principles are now to be applied to practice; the discipline of the mind made available in meeting questions which constantly arise. You are to converse so as to give and receive profit and pleasure. You are to shed around you a quiet, luminous, refreshing influence; not as noisy debaters, not as vociferous and random talkers, not as vain presumers on the license granted to youth and beauty, but as educated young ladies, whose studies have invigorated their understandings and qualified them to act a sensible part in society. You will be obliged, in your intercourse with others, to hear opinions that are crude and often false, sentiments not only untrue but of a most destructive tendency. Life and society are composed of heterogeneous elements. Various opinions and characters enter into their composition. It is in the friendly collision and intercourse of these, that God has ordained our faith, our general principles and courses of action, shall be firmly settled. Youth not unfrequently runs a most perilous course; the glory and the pleasure that lift themselves in the future, often blind it to the course of the current on which it floats, until the roar of the rapids suddenly falls upon the ear. Error is often urged by persuasive lips; mellifluous words, like honey gathered from certain flowers, may convey the deadliest poison, while truth may find utterance in plain, rude speech. Error may appear in all the fascinations of a winning sophistry, the principles of evil, robed as angels of light, may beckon us on into flowery paths, while truth and holiness may wear a homely garb and seem opposite to the joyous state of youth. There are two of Cole's pictures which at this time of your life would form a

most instructive study. I allude to "Youth" and "Manhood" in his Voyage of Life. The first, with its glory lifting itself so grandly in the future, while the current of life's river suddenly sweeps the voyager away from even the prospect of it; the second with its cataract and rapids below, and its scowling fiends and angel of mercy above, convey to the heart a lesson of actual life which, if you will but learn, will prepare you to meet many a temptation that, coming suddenly upon you, might prove too strong for the principles of good you now cherish. In this state of things, it belongs to your discipline for eternity, to learn how to discriminate the evil amidst its shows of beauty, the good amidst its seeming evil. This is a high attainment in Education. It is one for which the nursery and the school may have prepared you, but which they can not fully bestow. It is, in part, the work of society; it is to rise out of the intercourse with various and independent minds. Here, in the collisions of sentiment and amidst the diversities of opinion, you are to justify this delightful description :

"How charming is divine philosophy,
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

The influence of society in molding us, is more powerful from being imperceptible. The young go forth into it, as if prepared to mold and fashion it after their own pattern. In the end it not unfrequently happens that they are changed and greatly changed without being fully aware of the transformation. So a person in a skiff attempts to draw a frigate to himself; they approach rapidly, but it is soon manifest that while the latter may have moved an inch, the former has moved a mile. Society is already a formed, solid body, not easily affected by extraneous influences, but rapidly influencing all who enter the circle of its power. While you give and receive influence, you will perceive the necessity of be-

ing on your guard against that overwhelming force which steals around and gradually molds the young according to its own image.

There are three attainments, among others, which a young lady in this last stage of education should make. (1.) A mature judgment. Of this you have laid the foundation in the school. But in society you have a wide field for its exercise, and numerous exigencies to develop it more perfectly. There are some theories to discard, some imaginations to reduce, some day dreams to dissipate. The application of just principles to practice is a high attainment; it constitutes ripe judgment, it distinguishes one man above another for practical wisdom. The possession of such principles is a good thing, but it is a much better thing to be able to apply them just when and where they are most needed. There are some in whom correct principles are like loose jewels hidden and useless; there are others in whom they are like those jewels set by the hand of a master, and flashing forth their beauty before the eyes of men. There are some, who, with all their learning never learn how to act in society, so as to attain the confidence of others, and prosecute a successful plan of life; there are often others of far less intelligence who readily seize upon the true principles of action and early learn how best to apply them, whose practical judgment and tact is worth far more, as an element of success and happiness, than the mere knowledge of books. Nothing tends so much to bring literature and science, in respect to female education, into disrepute, as the possession of these without the knowledge of life as it is, or the ability wisely to take advantage of circumstances and meet the oft-recurring demands of society. It is one of the most important parts of education to attain the power of judging as by instinct of the true, the right, the pure, the appropriate, the profitable. The mind should possess a judgment like a flaming two-edged sword, turning every way to prevent the entrance of evil into your own soul and oblige others to recognize its power. This,

nowever, is no gift of the schools. It must be gained fully in actual life, amidst the conflicting elements of society.

(2.) This judgment thus matured should then be sustained by firmness of purpose. Decision of character is not an appropriate attribute of a genuine *man* alone—it gives consistency and strength to the true woman. Guided by strong sense and intelligence, pervaded by gentleness and expressing itself in that refinement of manners which adorns her life, elevated far above obstinacy, it imparts stability to all that is lovely and precious, and furnishes a firm ground of confidence in respect to usefulness. A poet of the last generation writes,

"Oh! woman in our hours of ease,
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and anguish wring the brow
A ministering angel thou."

Admirable as is the compliment in the closing lines, yet you will not regard it as redeeming the severe judgment of that which precedes. From that judgment you should seek to vindicate yourselves. No woman whose mind has been matured amidst the practical relations of society, and who has formed herself to decision in action, can properly be compared to "the shade by the light quivering aspen made."

(3.) Refinement of manners. True refinement has its source in the heart, and its deepest fountain is genuine religious faith. This you have been taught to seek as above all things most valuable. But the manifestation of those feelings, in an easy address that proclaims the desire to communicate happiness, is usually an acquisition of society itself. With manners refined and gentle, breathing the nobility of kindness to all within your influence, without assumption or fear, without the boldness of the virago or the timidity of a bashful child; with this happy mean of gentleness, modesty and self-assurance; ready to bear your part in the intercourse of life, and contribute your quota to promote the interests of society, you will have profited by the educational influence

around you, and reached a position from which you may accomplish great good.

Thus these three things, mature judgment, decision and refinement in manners, are usually attained in their fullness only under the educational influence of society. In this connection, there are various and important topics on which the time allotted to this service will not allow us to dwell. One suggestion permit me to make, ere I close. If you would make these exercises of the school bring forth the richest fruits in society you must maintain the habit of study. It will be impossible for most of you to devote your chief attention to intellectual pursuits, as you have done here. Other, and, for the time, higher objects will claim your attention and exhaust most of your time and energy. But amid the most pressing domestic cares, there still remains in the lives of most women, ample room for a gradual but steady progress in the cultivation of the mind and the further acquisition of knowledge. The elevation you have here gained can be maintained only by the devotion of some portion of your time to the same studies which belong to the school. The mind, although it can never wholly lose the quickening and elevating influence of your past course, may yet, through inaction or neglect, let slip many of its precious treasures, while its force of thought becomes weakened, and its intellectual resources, receiving no enlargement, actually decrease as life advances. If you would fit yourselves to be indeed the noblest ornament and blessing of society, you must continue to commune with those intellects of the living and the dead, whose thoughts will enlarge the range of your vision, inform the understanding and purify the affections. Poetry, history, philosophy, theology and general literature, furnish some authors whose works in part, at least, you can master, and find yourselves greatly gainers. Especially during the period that intervenes between the school and settlement in life, that halcyon period, when neither the strict regimen of the first, nor the oppressive cares of the second are upon you, when uncertain respecting the future, yet full of hope, buoyant

with high animal spirits, and bright anticipations of a world you are just entering, you have leisure to accomplish much in this direction, with all the advantage of the freshness and impulse given to the pursuit, by the scenes from which you now pass. Then it is easy for you to confirm the habits here formed, and in doing that send your mind forward into higher regions of thought. An hour each day redeemed from sleep or pleasure, will in a few years accomplish wonderful results. It will not only make you respect yourself, but render you independent of those transient excitements so necessary to the enjoyment of others, by opening up to you sources of happiness far deeper, purer, and more abiding. If now you carry forward your education vigorously, for a few years in this direction, the acquisition of knowledge will be a habit and a joy, with which, should you be so circumstanced, the cares of a family will not greatly interfere. But if you wholly intermit these studies now, you will find it difficult to resume them in after life.

There are three courses which may be pursued on leaving the school. The young lady deeming herself fully educated according to the standard of those around her, delivered from the surveillance of teachers and ripe for scenes of pleasure, flings aside her books and devotes herself to present enjoyment. If she reads, it is only a work of fiction, or that which constitutes the froth of literature, something to minister a transient excitement, rather than nourish deep thought. If she plays, it is only to practice her old pieces for the evening's amusement. Dress, society, pleasure, form the cycle of her new life. There is no advance contemplated; neither life nor society is studied, nor the higher duties they impose understood and fulfilled. The judgment matures only by stern experiences. The immortal mind that might have gone on rising in knowledge and strengthening for life's great work, is satisfied with the pursuits of a butterfly, and content with the same kind of admiration elicited by that gay insect. Need I paint her future?

There is a second class, few in number, but rich in talents,

in whom the love of literature and science has grown into the most absorbing passion ; whose lives are consequently devoted almost exclusively to the interests of education, or the pursuit of knowledge. Here and there minds like those of Hannah More and Mary Lyon, appear in the past and present, so constituted originally and so improved by assiduous cultivation, and so animated by enthusiasm, as to be qualified to spread abroad a wide and deep influence, as among the best writers and educators of their age. Such minds now rare, as education shall more thoroughly discipline the females of the generations to come, will doubtless be multiplied ; the fragrance and bloom of woman's spirit will enrich our literature, as well as bless the more limited circle of domestic life.

There is still another class. It embraces those who, with a just sense of the high position of woman in society, seek to fill up the wide circle of her duties ; who while they mingle in society, neglect not the fireside, while they minister to the enjoyments of home and the healthful intercourse of friends, yet seek the fountains of thought, which the wise and good of the past have opened ; who, conscious of their imperfection, labor to extend the horizon of their experience and knowledge, while they bring the results of that labor to adorn the home they love, and ennoble their association with the world.

Such are the paths which open before you as you enter society. It will be for you now to choose whether the pathway of life shall conduct you through scenes of merely transient pleasure profitless for good, which will quell the ardent desire for advancement in the excitements of a present joy, and leave you at length, when the spirits of youth have departed and the bloom of beauty has vanished and the storms of life arise, like the inexperienced mariner, who, launched upon a sunny sea, neglects the favoring gales that would soon have wafted him beyond the reach of danger, and ere long beholds with terror, a darkened sky, the sea uplifting its angry surges and the port of hope yet far distant ; or whether you will pursue that better path, in which, conscious of your nobility and the vantage ground for continued improvement,

on which you now stand, you will nerve yourselves for a far greater work than you have here performed, you will resolve to make society itself impart to your spirit a richer grace and a higher degree of intelligence, you will form your minds to undertake the most difficult achievements, you will seek to gain by all the round of social duties and intellectual pursuits either incumbent upon or open to you, that more perfect, refined, and noble life of the soul, in virtue of which you will shine with increasing brilliancy, and shed around you a quickening power for good, even when age advances upon you ; so that the charms of beauty, and the physical vigor of youth, as they depart will only reveal the concealed fruit now blushing into ripeness. Especially will this be the case, if what I have presupposed in all this discussion is true, and you have chosen that better part which can not be taken from you. If to the accomplishments of literature and the graces and refinements of social life, you add that pure spirit of religion, which exalts whatever it penetrates, enriches poverty and pours the light of knowledge into the untutored mind of ignorance, assimilates man to God, and holds in blest harmony all the powers of the soul ; which consecrates all our attainments to the noblest uses, opens ever fresh fields of action and usefulness, softens the ruggedness and relieves the painfulness of the darker hours of life, sheds a benison around affliction, and ministers a blessing through the sorrow of time ; which will make you angels of mercy to our fallen race, then, when you die, while the tears of loving and grateful multitudes, your influence has made to feel the quickening power of a truly Christian woman, shall be your noblest eulogy, the crown of life gemmed with stars shall be your unfading reward.*

* "What highest prize hath woman won
In science or in art?
What mightiest work, by woman done,
Boasts city, field or mart?
'She hath no Raphael!' Painting saith,
'No Newton!' Learning cries;
Show us her steamships! her Macbeth!
Her thought-won victories!"

Ladies and Gentlemen—There are no objects on which the eye of the stranger, as he enters our towns and villages, rests more gratefully, than on these public institutions. The private dwelling may speak of general prosperity, but it may be a purely physical prosperity, consistent, to some extent, with ignorance and vice. There may be, here and there, the evidences of an indomitable energy, and large individual accumulations of wealth, while the signs of the truest form of public prosperity may be absent. But when he sees broad avenues planned by no contracted mind, when he beholds numerous churches lifting their spires heavenward; when the temple of Nemesis rises before him in solid and majestic proportions, as if even the stern brow of Justice should be wreathed in classic beauty; when institutions of learning, where the young are informed with intelligence, and their hearts molded by wisdom, meet him at every turn, then a deep, calm joy enters his soul. He feels that religion, and law, and intelligence have here their home; that in these spacious mansions, and those more humble dwellings, taste and elegance and purity dwell with enterprise and skill; that here must be the elements of a noble and an advancing society; that here are

“Wait, boastful man! though worthy are
 Thy deeds, when thou art true,
 Things worthier still and holier far,
 Our sister yet will do:
 For this the worth of woman shows
 On every peopled shore,
 That still as man in wisdom grows
 He honors her the more.

“Oh, not for wealth, or fame, or power
 Hath man's weak angel striven,
 But silent as the growing flower,
 To make of earth a heaven—
 And in her garden of the sun,
 Heaven's brightest rose shall bloom;
 For woman's best is unbegun!
 Her advent yet to come!”—ELLIOTT.

minds with whom his heart can sympathize and his spirit hold pleasant converse. Thus have I felt, as from yonder hill my eye first rested upon this beautiful city ; thus have I felt still more deeply, as my intercourse has been increased with many of the intelligent, enterprising and the good among you ; thus do I feel to-day, on this most interesting occasion, on the anniversary of this cherished institution—an institution devoted to the enlarged education of your daughters, where, under the most admirable influences, they may pass through the training of the school, and come forth prepared to take advantage of the perfecting discipline of society, and become, at length, not merely its ornaments, but plastic powers for the molding aright of those who are to enter after them upon this moving scene of life. Happy is that people, whom religion, law, and intelligence ennoble. This trinity of influence will elevate them high in character, enrich them with the materials of power over men, and spread abroad the fame of their doings to distant lands. Under such influences, the spot where forty years ago the trees of the forest lifted their gigantic tops into the sky, now bears the beautiful city, rivaling those eastern Arcadias, which, for centuries, the hand of taste and wealth has been adorning. Let such influences mold our western world, and while Italy boasts of her artists, and her deep blue skies, and Greece rejoices in her Acropolis, and her land—one wide mausoleum of the immortal dead, and England exults in that learning, skill, and enterprise which have given her dominion over the nations, *we* will rejoice in a nobler scene, in richer fruits, in a higher civilization, in a people pervaded with intelligence, exalted above poverty, obedient to law, yet bearing the impress of freedom, and living daily, not for the limited and selfish object of a merely personal prosperity, or a national aggrandizement, but in the spirit of the Immanuel to impart the light and hope of a better world unto all the benighted dwellers on the earth, and raise the down-trodden to a position in which they may possess the richest blessings of time and the fairest prospects for eternity.

LITERARY ADDRESSES.



V.

THE SUPREMACY OF MIND.*

AMONG the leading distinctions which exalt us above the mere brute, the attribute of mind is not the least. It is not indeed the only, nor in all respects the chief. If we are not simply animal, neither are we purely intellectual. For there is a moral in our nature that soars above even the intellectual, and creates between man and the mere world of animal instinct the bridgeless gulf of separation. Yet while we give the crown to the heart, we claim for the intellect the seals of office, as the chief executive standing next to the throne.

In every part of human life, mind in its action creates distinctions and displays the impressive results of its invisible power. The very *form* of our animal nature has stamped upon it peculiar dignity, as a temple reared expressly for the abode, not of the most noble of brutes, but of one born in the divine image—of a participant in that sublime nature, that unfathomable intelligence which pervades and compasses all being. Erect while all else is prone, his lofty bearing is the superscription of his Maker to the nobility of the nature within. Every part of this wondrous frame bears in its construction the marks of its designed adaptation to the wants, not of a purely instinctive, but of a *rational* inhabitant. Physical superiority was obviously not in the eye of the architect? certainly it is not attained. The deer can outstrip us; the eagle outsoar us; yet so admirably is this material structure adapted to act the executive of the intelligence within, that we can speed on its deadly mission a physical

* A lecture introductory to the eleventh annual course of lectures before the Young Men's Association of the city of Albany. Delivered December 3, 1844.

agent that will overtake and bring them both to the dust. Compared with the powerful horse and patient ox, the strength of the human frame is weakness itself ; yet as the agent of the indwelling mind, this puny arm can tame the fiery courser and harness these brute forces to his chariot and his plow. There is a passionate energy that flashes from the lion's eye ; but there is a singular intelligence speaking in the countenance—gleaming from the eye of man, before which the forest-king has been known to quail. Look also at that splendid dome of thought, that crowns our physical frame, with its orbs of intellectual light sparkling beneath, and its organ of speech, through which mind communes with mind, and you can not fail to perceive how every part of this exquisite organism proclaims the existence and force of an intelligent spirit. And if you would see in all its vividness, this stamp of mind upon our very framework, go to the halls of legislation, when on some occasion like that which gave birth to our "Declaration," the deep spirits of a nation's wisdom are roused and the waters of a nation's eloquence are stirred to their profoundest depths. Then the intellect, energized by emotion, sparkles in the eye—glows in the countenance—plays around the uncovered brow—kindles on the lip—streams from the fingers—wakes into action each muscle of the body—and speaks in one harmonious and deep-toned voice through all the harp-strings of this physical frame.

If you take still another view of this point, and compare the modes in which man and brute respectively meet opposing forces, you will see in effect the wonderful adaptation of this body to carry into execution the purposes of the mind. The brute, in his efforts to overcome a physical power, is dependent solely upon his own individual physical resources. The affrighted deer tries his speed with the swift-footed hound ; the tiger joins in the death-struggle with the lion ; the bird overcomes the force that draws him earthward by the instinctive use of his own strength, and they all employ only the natural instruments peculiar to each, without the smallest power of varying, combining, or extending them. But man,

feeble in body and vastly inferior in purely physical attributes to the instinctive creation, has a mind, which by a dexterous combination of his limited personal resources, subjects to his control the force not only of the animate but of the inanimate world. He employs nature to overcome nature; arrays foreign forces the one against the other, and by a skillful disposition of those agencies, of which *mind* has given him the mastery, he accomplishes results surpassing the combined exertions of all the brute power on the globe. By various instruments and forces other than his own, he rears his mill-dam—constructs his water-wheel, and then compels the force of gravitation acting through the yielding fluid, to grind, and saw, and spin, and carry forward the various processes by which the materials of his food and clothing are prepared for use. He employs an elastic vapor to aid him in constructing and then in propelling huge vessels, by land and water, laden with riches from all quarters of the earth. The wind—the water—the tide, in its flux and reflux—the fire—the impalpable gases—the very fluid whose explosion shakes the firm earth and flashes its fearful thunder in the sky, all of them in some degree yield to his will and play the part of his instruments. There is scarcely a material agent or a known power of the physical world that he does not, at least in part, master and compel to minister to his necessities, his comfort or his luxury. Even the orb of day, whose delicate and imponderable rays are the pencil with which the Infinite colors so exquisitely the forms of vegetable beauty that adorn our earth, even he, God's great painter, must employ his matchless skill as a limner for man. While a subtile and ordinarily invisible fluid is first discovered—its hidden existence and powers developed by the experimenting hand of genius, and then subsidized for our use, it becomes the fleet post-horse of the mind, by which with a rapidity as unmeasurable as that of Heaven's bolt, thought, argument, fact, all the vast coinage of the ever-active brain, career from intellect to intellect, over states—over rivers—over continents, so that ere the voice has died away in which it was uttered, the word spoken

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is whispered on the other side of the globe. All this, and vastly more than this, man has effected through the wisdom of his intellect, united to the agency of this weak frame. And thus through the very imbecility of his body, does his mind shine forth with resplendent luster, and exhibits to us the physical man as bearing in his construction a peculiar adaptation to be the successful agent of the intelligent soul.

In order to establish the peculiar dignity of mind, and thus lay a foundation on which we may stand in urging upon you its cultivation, I propose to trace it out as it is seen, forming an element of all the noblest aristocracies of life. It is an undoubted fact, that life has its aristocracies, and such, too, as are inseparable from the operation of civilized society,—arrange, and modify, and mold it as you may. They are not indeed always either governmental or hereditary aristocracies, which belong rather to the past and the other side of the globe, and which to our republican vision are instinct with evil, but such as embrace that which is most highly esteemed and influential in society. Commencing our survey of these with the *aristocracy of fashion*, let us see if we can not trace in it an evidence of the dignity and force of our intellectual nature. Do not understand me here as designing to discuss the qualities of the race of dandies—a class who approximate more nearly than any other to Plato's men, "unfeathered bipeds." I do not speak so much of persons as things. The term fashion is used legitimately as indicative of external forms, and the term aristocracy as denoting that class of outward forms consisting of dress, furniture, architecture, etc., which are held in the highest estimation. It is obvious that there is everywhere a gradation in the character of these outward forms, ascending from the coarse attire of the ditcher to those fine and delicate robes which command admiration and impart delight. In respect to the furniture and architecture of your dwellings and halls, there is the same gradation from the rude to the exquisitely wrought, from the unfinished settee to the splendid couch—from the mud hut and log cabin to the lofty palace and magnificent temple. Now it is a

known fact that precisely the same distinction in regard to outward forms runs entirely through human society. Even the savage has his gradations in this respect, and the more elevated cabin of his king, and his more costly robes, evince that he too is affected by this universal aristocracy of fashion. As we proceed upward, however, from this lowest state of existence, we find this appreciation of outward forms constantly developing itself, until, as in the highest state of Grecian, Egyptian, Roman and modern civilization, the actual structure of society is to a great extent molded by it. Now we contend that this fact is of itself illustrative of the mental dignity and intellectual force of man. This distinction of forms, this appreciation of the more beautiful and grand, exists nowhere but among the higher orders of being. The most intelligent of brutes have never risen to the possession of this power. It is peculiar to the rational, and never descends to the instinctive. In itself, it is the same appreciation of the beautiful and the grand—of order and sublimity, more or less refined, indeed, according to the intellectual cultivation of individuals, but yet virtually the same with that which, existing in the mind of the architect of creation, has cast the material world into such countless forms of beauty and grandeur. It is the same principle existing in us, and which, modified by our peculiar circumstances, inspires admiration for rich robes and exquisitely wrought furniture, and well proportioned architecture, that, operating upon the divine mind, has curved the ocean and painted the flowers, and hung over and around the setting sun his gorgeous canopy of clouds. Our standards of taste may in some respects vary, while the love of the beautiful and the sensibility to all that is magnificent may remain in full force. One may prefer to encase his limbs in the dress of the orient, and another in that of the occident; one has an imagination most deeply affected by the gloomy architecture of the Egyptian, another loves most to contemplate the fine proportion and majestic harmony of the Grecian temple, while still another is awed by the solemn and irregular grandeur of the ever branching Gothic: one may

bow down to the genius of Raphael as the type of the noblest and most exquisite school of painters, while another enrolls himself a disciple of Rubens, and yet, after all, there exists in each one the same genuine love for beauty and order and grandeur, which we see revealed in the spire of grass, the majestic oak, the sparkling star, the blue canopy over our heads, and the verdant carpet beneath our feet ; and thus, in our love for these most exquisitely wrought and beautiful forms, do we reflect one of the most delightful of those high attributes which exalt the infinite Jehovah.

But in addition to the mere love of the more excellent of natural forms, there is joined with it an appreciation of the mental power that has produced them. When you contemplate an exquisite or a magnificent work of art, you not only admire its beauty and yield to the force of its grandeur, but if you will suffer your mind to pass beyond the work itself, you will instinctively do homage to the intellect that gave it perfection. In this appreciation of the mental power put forth in works of art, consists the true immortality of the artist. St. Peter's and St. Paul's are not merely the proud mausoleums where the genius of Angelo and Wren lie buried in state ; the intellect of these men lives in them, and breathes through them, and lifts itself up in their domes and spires, immortal in dignity, before the eyes of passing generations. The works of art are the human intellect embodied in voiceless yet speaking forms. The aristocracy of fashion is the assemblage of the master productions of master artists. It is one mode in which mind makes itself known for the appreciation of mind. It is man working on a similar field and in the exercise of similar intellectual power with his Maker, creating that which may meet the same impulse toward the beautiful and grand, which exists in the higher nature of the Creator.

Now in proportion as men rise in their appreciation of that which is most admirable in works of art, do they usually become more truly refined and intelligent. As society advances upward, the dark cabin gives place to the commodious

and finely proportioned palace ; the person is arrayed in garments of a finer texture and more tasteful form ; while the style of the inclosures and the arrangement of the surrounding grounds display the advancing refinement of their possessor. Thus, when I enter a dwelling, no matter if it be far removed from the bustle and the external polish of the city, yet if I see a garden well arranged, and flowers with their perennial beauty smiling upon me from the window, I feel sure that there is within a refined intellect, that can appreciate at once the forms of natural loveliness and the mind of their great Architect. So let a person of cultivated mental powers, who never may have heard of Egypt or Greece, wake up amidst the solemn temples of Thebes or upon the Acropolis, and he will stand awe-struck at those monuments of gigantic *mind*. And precisely the same principle which in these cases evinces that here mind shines forth in its dignity and glory, runs through all the forms of art which everywhere compose the true aristocracy of fashion. Its luster and its dignity is the stamp of intelligence impressed upon it. As mind disappears, the aristocracy of fashion vanishes. The temples and the palaces crumble, while the tent and the hut of the kraal are planted amidst their ruins. The comforts and elegances of life give place to the rude existence of a savage, fattening on worms and lashed to labor by the gaunt hand of famine, while in his gross person and clouded eye, the glories of our intellectual nature are almost totally eclipsed.

Next in order to the aristocracy of fashion, is that of wealth.

It is a fact open to the notice of all, that the possession of large means ordinarily confers consideration. Wealth is not only power in the merely physical resources it supplies, and the direct influence it enables its possessor to exert upon the dependent, but in the popular elevation it usually brings with it. Now some of this influence of property seems to us to be due to its presumed connection with a refined or a vigorous mind. The mere fact of the possession of a hoard for

the future, is certainly not adapted in itself to elevate the man above the squirrel or the bee, who in summer prepare the stores of winter. And surely it would be a libel upon our common nature to suppose that all the power of property is due to a selfish expectation of personal benefit. To some extent and in some cases this feeling may form an element of the influence of wealth ; but he must be blind indeed, who would make it the sole element. From the nature of the case, it must be confined to individuals, and can not account for the general influence of property beyond the circle of dependence. Nor can we account for it wholly on the ground of the display of beautiful forms, which it enables its possessor to make, in his costly furniture and equipages, and dwellings. For even in this case, the person would only seem to borrow somewhat of the mental glory of his artists, and thus flutter in their plumage. But this influence of property is often equally great, independent of these things and in their absence. It seems impossible to account *for all* this influence, without proceeding upon the supposition that there is usually a *presumed* connection between the possession of property and a vigorous or a refined mind. I speak here only of a *presumptive*, and not a real connection. The existence of such a presumption is all-sufficient to make up the complement of influence emanating from wealth. The fact of its existence is one thing ; whether it has any just foundation is quite another. The proof of the existence of this fact, is rather a matter of personal consciousness, than of visible demonstration. If, for instance, a person, by his own efforts, in the present state of society, has raised himself from poverty to affluence, it is a natural presumption that he has effected so great a change by the vigor of his intellect, the wisdom of his plans, the energy of his character, and by that which enters into all true genius, the power of mental application. It may be indeed that his success is due rather to circumstances than to his individual power, to the steady application of the lowest qualities of mind, or to a system of dishonorable traffic. Yet with this fact the presumption has

nothing to do, and in the absence of direct knowledge on the subject, it is perfectly natural to suppose, that the acquisition of his influence is due to the steady exertion of mind in that one direction, similar to that which has carved out the fame and the power of the statesman, the orator, and the great captain.

In the case of one who has inherited property the presumption is virtually the same. It is perfectly natural to presume that such high advantages for mental improvement have not been enjoyed without corresponding results. Whatever the facts may be in any given case, we *expect* in general that a man who from his youth has enjoyed the instructions of the best masters and had scattered around him from the cradle the materials of knowledge and intellectual refinement, will have attained something noble and large—a degree of information and refinement superior to that possessed by those destitute of his advantages. If, owing to parental indulgence or his own perversity, he should grow up, unlettered and uneducated, a rational expectation is disappointed—a natural presumption is broken. A wealthy ignoramus in such a case destroys the illusive spell and reverses the enchanter's wand. The very fact that he is *presumed* to have attained to the heights of intelligence because he has possessed every facility for the lofty ascent, lends tenfold vividness to the contrast and power to the reproach.

Leaving, however, particular cases and returning to the general statement, with which we set out, it seems clear to us that when we enter a village, our impressions always are, at first, in favor of the presumed intelligence of the wealthy proprietor. If, on entering his mansion, I meet with mental imbecility, rudeness and ignorance, the quick revulsion of feeling—the blank disappointment, is the most unerring testimony to the force of that presumption of intelligence in which we naturally indulge until facts destroy its power. And thus it appears that even the aristocracy of wealth leans for a portion of its dignity upon its presumed connection with cultivated mind—even large possessions without it can not

dignify its possessor, nor exalt ignorance and imbecility to a station of respect.*

Let us turn now to the aristocracy of official station, as a brilliant illustration of the influence of mind. There are in society some offices of special trust and responsibility, which attract to themselves, in a peculiar manner, the respect of the community. It needs but a glance at these official stations, to perceive that along with uprightness of character, vigorous mind enters as an important element into the honor with which they are crowned. To be an efficient judge—a successful governor, there should be in the man himself a mental power of no common kind, rendering him equal to his station. Such stations involve the decision of questions complicated and profound, which demand a clear mental vision in conjunction with a right and vigorous will. The men who are to preside over courts civil or ecclesiastical; who as senators are to give character to the legislation which is to determine the prosperity of a nation; who are to represent us at foreign courts and canvass the wide field of international law; who are to preside over our colleges, educate our rulers, marshal our armies, and guide our navy; are called by the very nature of the stations they fill, to exercise talents

* To prevent the possibility of misconstruction, it may be well to remark that it is foreign to the argument, as it is to my belief, that the possession of wealth infers of course superior intelligence. Such a theory would not stand an hour amidst the too numerous opposing facts. It is a matter of curious speculation, however, in what way the presumptive connection between vigor of mind and wealth, referred to above, arose. It would be unjust to a large class of men to assert that it had no sort of foundation in fact. We think it can not be denied, that as a body, the men who make their own fortunes are characterized by shrewdness, tact, and energy. Where there is one "Lord Dexter," with his successful follies and fortunate, but mad ventures, there are a dozen acute and intelligent Lawrences. It is too often the case, however, with such men, that their mental power all *lies in one direction*, and that they fail in attaining comprehensive views and large mental acquisitions. The same remark is true in reference to the majority of the most able men of all professions. Few seem to possess the taste or the time for those more general studies which give to the intellect a wide range of action—a point of survey lofty as the mountain crag on which the eagle builds his eyrie, and exalt the man above the low and narrow walk of a single profession.

the most commanding and wisdom the most profound. To place imbecility on the pinnacle of such exalted station, is to make sport of the dearest interests of society. Mind, vigorous mind, educated for its work, claims these positions as its own. Seated there it works with its own mighty lever, for the accomplishment of vast and glorious results. The intellect of a Napoleon, a Newton, a Washington, a Franklin, and a Dwight, was all in harmony with the lofty stations they occupied, and from them shone forth luminously upon the world. Station—office, to them was only a higher point from which each star might shoot its intellectual fire over a larger sphere, within a wider horizon of intelligence. They befitted their high positions, and to the world illustrated the fact that these elevated offices gathered no small measure of their luster from the intellectual glory of their incumbents.

Society may presume that a man is mentally competent to the discharge of the duties they impose, and under that presumption place him on these heights, but should it be revealed that they had enthroned imbecility, disgust and shame would go down through all ranks to the very child upon his mother's knee. The very title of these offices creates the expectation that vigorous mind is in possession of them ; and surely it would be impossible long to preserve them in honor, were their incumbents usually characterized by the want of mental power. Thus in the aristocracy of official station, you can see how great is the influence of mind in creating for them a dignity and glory essential to their permanence and success. Here on the high places of society, a clear, a profound, a ready intellect, is the orb which circles in its own proper sphere. They are only lofty eminences from which, not ignorance and imbecility may display themselves, but knowledge and vast mental power irradiate the world.

In leaving the aristocracy of station, the aristocracy of profession will afford us a closing illustration of the train of thought we are endeavoring to unfold. In the outset it may be well to remark, that in our land at least, all honest occupations are truly honorable, and entitled to the respect of

society. But it is nevertheless a fact that all are not equally *influential*. While as genuine republicans we regard every station and every virtuous profession as deserving our respect, yet we can not avoid recognizing the fact which reveals itself as the inevitable operation of causes beyond our control, that there are some professions which gather to themselves in the eye of society a peculiar dignity and a special influence. I speak of facts as they are—not as in our speculations we may imagine they ought to be. A bricklayer and a lawyer, equal in other respects in character, are not equally invested with influence from their respective occupations. There is in all society, with scarcely an exception, to some extent a gradation of profession. Some are invested with a higher influence and deeper hold upon the minds of men than others. And perhaps it is impossible wholly to change this order, which society has itself created, by its own spontaneous operation. It is not my design, however, to justify the fact, but in part to account for it, and trace out one of the leading influences, in accordance with which this gradation has been constructed.

In the main then, and after admitting the existence of exceptions, it will be found that those professions which are usually held in the highest estimation among the most civilized nations, are those which are more purely mental in their character. In the ruder states of society, physical attributes and those pursuits which nerved the arm and disciplined the eye and invigorated the body, held the foremost rank. The Achilleses, and Hector, and Milos, and Goliaths, and Samsons, were *the* great men of their age and clime. Although even then the inspiration of the poet and the wisdom of the prophet were not without their influence. But as society advances from the rude to the refined, and civilization enlarges its boundaries, mere brute force loses its dignity, and mind usurps its place and bears off its crown. Our modern *athletæ*—the pugilists of the nineteenth century, hold a very different rank from that of their famed predecessors, who displayed their muscular energy in the amphitheatres of Athens and Rome. The ancients crowned the victors with the ama-

ranth and seated them beside their kings ; we dress them in fustian and send them to the penitentiary.

With the advance of the world in science and the invention of new modes of warfare, a new order of occupation has been wrought out, and been followed by a readjustment of the prizes of honor. The pursuits and tastes of men become more refined and intellectual ; science and art rise into general estimation. Military tactics, the art of rapid and skillful combination of force in war, take the place of mere physical strength. War itself becomes a science, in which the master intellect, though with unequal forces, usually remains the victor. While what are termed the liberal professions, the pursuits of educated mind, rise to the possession of commanding influence over the body of society.

Extreme cases will most forcibly illustrate our position. Take then a hod carrier and a member of the bar or the medical board. Indisputably there is a vast difference between the spheres of influence in which those persons move—a difference arising from the fact that the point on which one revolves is low in public estimation, while that of the other is elevated. Both may be honest and even good men. The hod carrier may be equal to the professional man in native intellect, and he may, by the exercise of a vigorous mind, sometimes sway the greatest influence of the two. But if so, he can only do it in spite of his position, and ordinarily without any aid from it. So that in such a case it would after all be the outbreaking of great mental power, which, like that of Burns and Hogg, imparted to its possessor large influence far beyond his own circle. Such men sometimes burst upon society like meteors from the bosom of darkness ; the more startling as they are unusual and unexpected. While their brilliancy and their power is wholly intellectual, and which, were it placed in a higher position, would usually fill a vastly enlarged sphere. But in ordinary cases, the influence of the one is limited, compared with that of the other, and limited by the position he occupies. One is engaged in a kind of labor that demands the smallest exercise of mind ; while the other

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is called to the investigation of questions that require the most patient and vigorous efforts of the human intellect. The miner may delve in the earth and put forth little more mind than a burrowing mole, similarly employed ; while the student tasks his understanding to its utmost capacity in evolving the great principles of jurisprudence or the pathology of disease incident to our corporeal frame. Hence, in part at least, for there are other collateral causes combining with this to produce the result, the latter stands before the community in a high and influential position, while the former occupies the other extreme.

Now as in these cases intellect vindicates its dignity and asserts its appropriate position in the estimation of cultivated society, so to a greater or less extent, its influence can be seen in deciding upon the order of estimation in which the various occupations of men are actually arranged. The posts that demand little skill and intelligence, usually range lowest ; while as greater power of mind is requisite to fill them properly, they ascend in influence. If here and there a profession that demands great abilities is undervalued, it is so ordinarily either from ignorance of the fact or from some counteracting moral cause. But in the main, if a profession requiring great intellectual power be honest and essential to the comfort and refinement of society, it will in time take and maintain its true and that a lofty position in the estimation of men. Thus cultivated intellect arranges the gradation of human pursuits, and in the order of the professions displays its dignity and commanding power. As the water crystallizes according to a certain law, upon the withdrawal of a degree of heat, so society, upon the withdrawal of ignorance and brutishness, spontaneously classifies itself according to a law of intellectual power. And in so doing there is evinced alike the force and native dignity of the human mind.

But besides the aristocracy of profession, in this general sense, it is equally true and equally pertinent to our subject, that each profession and trade has usually its own aristocracy, formed mainly according to the intellectual power of its mem-

bers. In the law, and medicine, and the ministry, there are heights of professional attainment—distinguished minds among a multitude of laborious minds ; stars of greater magnitude and brilliancy. The Blackstones and Burlamaquis and Marshalls—the Harveys and Coopers and Rushes—the Whitefields and Edwardses and Halls and Griffins, indicate a higher order of intellect in their several professions than the mass exhibit. So it is with your merchant princes—your Hancocks and Morrisses and Bartletts and Jameses. Each profession has a wheel within a wheel. The master mechanic has reached a post which demands of him a more vigorous intellect than is necessary to drive the plane or the needle. And as his sphere of intellectual power enlarges, he ascends in his own profession to a point of increased influence. Thus Whitney and Arkwright and Fulton and Watt, placed themselves as artizans upon the very topmost heights of their professions, and graved their names so deep and legible that the world may read them for centuries. Thus Reynolds and Chantrey painted and chiseled their way up to the loftiest positions open to them—the one ennobled as the prince of painters, the other as the chief of stone-cutters. It was the outflashing intellect, working in the hand of the mechanic, scheming in the brain of the merchant, pleading with the tongue and pen of the jurist and divine, that lit up, in the living firmament, this galaxy of lustrous stars. There they shine, the calm, clear radiance of mind, shedding its glory over the face of human society and lighting it up with a portion of the splendor of a higher sphere. In all these illustrious names—names written out

“ On the living sky
To be for ever read by every eye,”

there is a testimony to the dignity and force of mind, which time will only brighten, never obscure. In this aspect then of the aristocracy of the professions, as well as from all the other points which have passed under our view, we see portrayed most vividly the elevating power of *mind*.

I have developed this train of thought thus at length, for the purpose of evincing to you, that in the attainment of many of the highest prizes of honorable earthly distinction, a vigorous and cultivated mind is not an unimportant element of success. It is time, however, that I proceed to point out to you some of the various applications which you may make of the knowledge and mental discipline, acquired in your attendance upon the library and debates and lectures of this Association.

The most prominent object to which a cultivated mind may apply its powers, is *that profession* which you have chosen as a means of honorable subsistence. There is a difference, as I have already remarked, in the degree to which different occupations task the intellect. There are some which necessitate the incessant exercise of the highest powers of the mind. There are others which allow, without requiring, intellectual effort in a high degree. To plead well—to preach well—to understand the pathology of disease, a man *must think* ; but he may sell a yard of tape or a piece of goods, and do it well, without much mental effort. Admitting then this difference in the absolute requirements of different professions, yet it should be remembered that most of these *allow* the exercise of large abilities and a well-stored mind. Let us take the case of the merchant already referred to. It may demand no great amount of knowledge to be an expert salesman and go through with the more ordinary parts of his business, but if he would thoroughly understand his profession and carry his intellect into it, he will find a thousand things connected with it that may give scope and employment for his most vigorous powers. Let him study the character of the articles that he sells ; the growth of their materials and the method of their construction. He may investigate the origin, and form and development of the cotton plant—the countries that produce it—the processes by which the staple is prepared for the factory—the mode in which it is spun and woven and dyed, until it comes forth the beautiful and delicate fabric fit for queenly robes ; and in the course of his re-

search he will have traversed a wide field of knowledge, and examined some of the most interesting inventions of the age. And in this way let him push his examinations into the shawls of Cashmere—the teas and silks of China—the gossamer fabrics of the land of the gay troubadour—the woolens and cutlery of England—the beautiful products of the looms of Turkey and Persia, and the spices of Arabia, and he will soon find himself at home in all parts of the world. Inventions and arts and sciences will enlarge his mind, and crowd it with the material of a new life of thought. The fabrics that once he handled, as the savage the telescope, whose construction was to him a perfect mystery, now have a new and singular power to interest and quicken his intellect. They are speaking volumes of rich lore ; foreigners from a thousand climes, bringing with them a thousand new and wonderful ideas. His store is an assemblage of the mind and art of all nations—a specimen gallery of the productive handiwork of the world. From its shelves the Turk and the Persian—the Hindoo and the Chinaman—the Gaul and the Briton—the Puritan and the Cavalier look down peacefully upon him and offer their contributions to his intellectual feast. Gifted with the knowledge of which we have spoken, he can see and hear and hold communion with these personages, invisible though they be to the leaden vision of ignorance and sloth.

And besides this direction of study and thought, if he aims to become an accomplished merchant, he must investigate the character and capacity of the great markets of the world—search out the nature and the extent of their productions ; understand the physical positions and commercial relations of various nations, their exchanges, tastes, social character and wants, and accustom himself to survey intelligently the varying aspects of commerce, with the causes at work to destroy or promote its prosperity. The young merchant who early commences, and with the power of true genius perseveres in such a course of investigation and such an application of mental power to his own profession, without question will in time rise to a high rank in the scale of intelligence, and build

for himself a character more truly desirable than the proudest fortune ever gathered by human hands.

Take also the pursuits of the farmer. A person may cultivate the soil, like the horse in a cider-mill, treading the same unvarying circle of the habits and maxims of his fathers, with scarcely any exercise of the higher powers of mind. But he may also apply to such a pursuit, the most profound researches into the nature of soils, and the chemical agents which most affect the growth of vegetable life. Since the era of your Buels and Wadsworths, and the treatises of Liebig, book-farming is daily growing into repute, and our most successful cultivators of the soil, other things being equal, are the most intelligent.

In respect to the mechanic, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that there is open before him the same wide field for the employment of mind. If he would be among the most skillful of his profession, he will find a thousand objects to which his intelligence may be applied with the happiest effect. If, for instance, he would rise to the character of a perfect architect, then in the beautiful language of another, he "must be practically acquainted with all the materials of building—wood, brick, mortar and stone; he must have the courage and skill to plant his moles against the heaving ocean, and to hang his ponderous domes and gigantic arches in the air; while he must have taste to combine the rough and scattered blocks of the quarry into beautiful and majestic structures; and discern clearly in his mind's eye, before a sledge hammer has been lifted, the elevation of the temple."

In the various branches of mechanics, also, there is room for almost boundless improvement. In all probability we have not yet reached the heights of excellence in some of those branches which have been attained in the past; which now look out upon us from the vast and mysterious pyramids of the Nile, and of which they alone remain the silent memorials without imparting to us a single hint that would enable us to discover the great mechanical agencies by which they were piled up to heaven. Nor can we contemplate the triumphs

of a Watt and a Fulton, without feeling that the mechanic is upon a wide and unexplored territory, where genius, properly trained and rightly directed, can not fail of discovering either new forces or new methods of applying those already known, which may effect great changes in the aspect of the world. Surely the power of combining afresh the various forces of nature is not yet exhausted. Inventions in the arts, advances in the sciences, improvements in machinery that are to greatly reduce the present necessity for toil and produce, of all that is rich and beautiful and needful for human luxury or support, a much larger amount in proportion to the means employed, seem to lie just ahead. Perhaps there may be among you some mind equally capable, with that of Whitney, of bringing to perfection a machine, which, in its ultimate influence upon commerce, may far surpass his world-famed cotton gin ; or a mechanical genius, which, like that of Cartwright and Fulton, will revolutionize the weaving and the transportation of the world. Surrounded by such a creation, with the myriad forces of nature that are known at his feet, and, it may be, many yet to be detected by the prying eye of genius on every side of him ; with the materials for working up to perfection in any line of labor he may choose, let no young man despair of a successful application of intelligence to his own profession. It may be you are destitute of what is called genius. But what is genius ? Why, to some minds the embodiment of it is a learned blacksmith, forging metals in his smithy eight hours a day, mastering scores of languages, from the mellifluous Italian to the jagged Sanscrit, in an equal portion of time, and then electrifying large audiences by his burning words and gorgeous imaginations. To others, a misanthropic poet, with bare neck and bushy hair, is the very type of genius ; while to still another class it is a pregnant creative brain, from which, like that of Napoleon, or Scott, or Chatham, the mighty scheme or the beautiful image comes forth as instantaneously and as perfect as the creation sprang into being and order from the great First Cause.

Now, I do not deny that there are intellects by nature in-

vested with greater powers of invention and profound thought than others. It is not according to the ordinary rule of divine operations to create a dead level in the world of mind. It is an opinion in strict accordance with the intellectual phenomena of the race, and with the analogy of a world, on every part of which is impressed the most astonishing diversity of form, weight, and color, that the human intellect, like the human countenance, has always its own native characters in some of its lineaments diverse from all others—that there are men who, with the same training as others, will yet overtop the multitude, and stride with amazing rapidity up the dazzling heights of science. But while it seems thus clear and natural that the same law of original formation should prevail in a degree in the world of mind that has reigned in the material creation, we yet hold that the great mass of men may possess to some extent that power which constitutes the chief force of genius—the *power of mental application*. The ability to hold the mind steadily and long to any given subject until you have viewed it in all its parts and in every light, is the highest attribute—the prime element of genius. This power is one susceptible of vast increase by cultivation. And the man who has the ability to fix his attention deeply upon any branch or topic of scientific pursuit, has the great element of that splendid success which crowns the name of Newton with imperishable luster. Let every young man seek to bring into his own profession all the intelligence within his reach, and though he may not win a place in the constellation of the immortals, he will nevertheless elevate that profession and command the respect of all within the circle of his acquaintance.

I have a friend, who, though he has numbered little more than thirty summers, has contrived in the midst of a laborious life, to make great progress in science. Having received a good academical education, he early entered a bookstore. Here, in the midst of ceaseless toil, and effecting far more than most men in their own line of business, he has mastered several foreign languages—maintained an active correspond-

ence with some of the most distinguished literati of Europe—investigated thoroughly most of the natural sciences—gone up into the heights of astronomy, and down into the depths of moral philosophy, and made himself familiar with books of all kinds, from the last number of the “Journal of Science” to the deep solutions of the “Principia,” and the sublime speculations of the “De Natura Deorum.” His life is one incessant development of the idea of *Industry*. No hour—no moment, but has its employment; and no day passes without some new line traced out on the canvas of his life. Such devotion, wherever it is found, must as surely work out a glorious issue—a fine and noble development of the intellectual man, as the revolution of the earth brings forth the changing seasons. Such mental application would encircle all your professions with intellectual light, and open in the book of civilization a new leaf of glory. Remember that science and art, far from being in the decrepitude of age, we have reason to believe, are yet in their vigorous youth; and there are yet to be ascended eminences of intellectual achievement towering into the everlasting sunshine, as far above the past, as the massive pyramids of Pharaoh, and the sublime dome of St. Peter’s, exceed in vastness and beauty the log cabins of our western wilderness. Let each one, by the force of his intellect, strive to enlarge the intelligence and elevate the mind of his own profession, and society will feel the upward impulse thrilling to her lowest extremities.

Another large subject for the application of your intelligence, is spread out before you in the relations you sustain to our civil government. There is a proper sense in which you are young sovereigns. You, in connection with your fellow-citizens, are the ultimate source of political authority. Between you and the actual legislation, indeed, there intervenes an intelligent instrumentality; yet it is equally true, that the ballot-box must ultimately sanction their acts, or hurl them from their seats. In your citizen character, you are to pass upon the great questions of state. And here there is open for you a subject to which you may apply the

profoundest reason—the maturest judgment—the largest intelligence. Your problems of commercial restriction and national enlargement in the acquisition of new territory, and a currency co-extensive with the country, and others like them, which our state and national progress are constantly presenting to us, are not to be solved by a mere knowledge of the rule of three, and Webster's spelling-book. Profound questions, demanding clear heads, vigorous powers of reasoning, large mental acquisitions, and great patience in the collection of facts, for their settlement, are every day opening upon us. Where in ancient or modern times was there ever a finer field for the application of the general intelligence of the people? Sciolists are not the men for these times. We are settling precedents that are to reach forward for ages. In law and legislation—on the bench and in the senate chamber, we are yet busy in rearing and giving perfection to the structure within which hundreds of millions are to repose or perish. You may not only be called upon to work upon this grander edifice than the nations have yet seen, at the ballot-box, but at the very seat of legislation itself. The intelligence of our mechanics and merchants, and lawyers and physicians, goes up into the capitol; and there you may be called to the discharge of duties which will tax all the might of the mightiest mind. In view of these high duties, history with all its thrilling pictures of thrones and aristocracies, and curule chairs crumbled by the hand of time, stands ready to teach you wisdom; Grotius and Bacon, Newton and Herschel, flaming beacon lights of law and science, ever shine to instruct you; while the genius of the past and the present, smiling down upon you from the shelves of your libraries, pleads with you by all the desolation of the past and all the opening glory of the future, to get yourselves in readiness for the work, which your position inevitably imposes upon you, as the young sovereigns of the model nation of the world.

Nor are these the only ways in which your intelligence may advantageously display its power for good. There is a social life in which we all mingle and which we must sustain.

Each of you creates for himself, or enters into it already created, a little world, where the mind unrobes—where wit and sentiment, and discussion exhibit their sweetest attractions—where love and friendship soften the sternness engendered by the selfish conflicts of life—where intelligence and refinement shed around the charm of a perennial verdure. There is one little world where the tool and the pen—the bond and mortgage—the day-book and ledger may not enter; but where social nature should be free to expand itself joyously over the interesting circle. Here the really intelligent man may contribute vitally to the elevation of society. It is not by playing the pedant and ostentatiously displaying his mental acquisitions, but by an influence emanating from an enlightened mind, as the heat from the fire, diffusing itself unseen, while it warms and blesses. Society would be a far more elevating school, and conversation a richer feast—a fuller flow of soul, if they, who gave them character, knew and acted on the principle, that whatever may be the outward fashion, “the mind’s the gold for a’ that.”

There is still another subject for the application of your intelligence which can not be passed by. There is an aristocracy of virtue, as well as of mind. Without it, intelligence is itself only a blind force, such as Milton has embodied in his gigantic creation of the prince of fallen angels. Without it no man is perfect. Reason is God-like, but true religion in the heart is more truly Deity itself. The intellect is a prince, wisdom is noble—

“ Yet this great empress of the human soul,
Does only with imagined power control,
If restless passion, by rebellion’s sway,
Compels the weak usurper to obey.”

If you would be a *man* in all his nobler characteristics, then the heart must beat true to every right affection. Intellectually no person is perfect, who is the slave of vice. There is a cog broken out of the wheel; there is a mental weakness which reveals itself in the loftiest intellects of this class, the world has ever seen.

Here, too, in religion are found the deepest questions—vital to our highest interests, and profound beyond the longest line of mortals. Here Socrates reasoned, and Plato speculated, and Cicero put forth the powers of his philosophic mind. Here Bacon toiled, and Newton studied, and Locke sank his shaft of thought deep into this mine of truth. It is the grandest subject for the application of the most consummate intelligence. It involves the past, the present, the future. It carries us back to the birth of creation; it conducts us onward over all the intervening centuries, through all that is most deeply interesting in the changing history of the world; it pierces the future and opens into the distant depths of eternity vistas of immortality. No man is *educated* who is either ignorant or unsettled here. Some of the otherwise finest intellects our country, or the world can boast, have left behind them an imperfect fame—a character distorted—a genius sullied by vice, or darkened by skepticism. The memory of such men has no fragrance. Their intellectual might awakens our astonishment at its greatness, and our regret at its abuse. We may admire the force of their genius, but we can never render them the tribute of affectionate respect. No man can neglect so sublime a subject of thought, or one which involves such tremendous issues as religion, without so far forfeiting his claim to the character of an intelligent and thoroughly educated member of society. And every *young man* especially, should bring to it all the force of the profoundest intelligence within his reach, lest the skeptic fling him into a morass where he will struggle only to sink, or the fanatic kindle in his bosom the meteor blaze that heralds the blackest night of darkness. In the attainment of well-settled, robust, and profound views on these high themes, you need to invigorate your intellect and lay its proudest offerings on this altar of noblest truth.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN—

This institution was originated, these doors were opened, and your library was gathered to develop and enrich *mind*

—the young mind of this city. Thus far it has nobly fulfilled this design. From the past action of this and kindred associations, their utility is no longer a matter of experiment. Long ago they have fully established their claims to the good wishes of the old and the energetic support of the young. They have called into action some of the best minds of the nation. They have formed new points and orbits, upon and within which the educated mind of the country might revolve. They have signally promoted the healthful interchange of literary men ; spreading their influence, and giving scope to their talents in fields far removed from their own firesides. They have provided for our citizens occasions on which they might listen without trouble, and at the most trifling expense, to lessons of wisdom from the most brilliant and gifted intellects in the range of our common country. They have given to society discussions of deep interest on a vast variety of subjects. They have organized into healthful and united action much of the young mind of the nation. They have done more than amuse it. They have come in to the aid of other conservative influences, in rousing it to right action, in cultivating scientific tendencies, in substituting for the vulgar wit of the bar room and the indecency and dissipation of the theater, the miscellaneous intelligence of the reading room, the learning of the library, and the calm and pure excitement of the lecture. They have both stimulated mind and opened the field on which it might expatiate. They have nourished genius ; thrown open to the youth panting for knowledge, the embalmed mental treasures of every age ; and made the world's jewels common to all. In themselves they are not a substitute for the school or the academy. But their influence is all in harmony with the noblest institutions of our country, conservative of law, morality and religion, lending a brighter tint to society, and imparting new dignity to the various professions of life. The lecture room may not be the place for the acquisition of the profoundest views of science ; but surely it stimulates the mind to work out in its own silent laboratory the largest intelligence. It can not

take the place of self-action, but it has a powerful influence to rouse us to such action. It can not make a man, but it can encourage the young by their own patient toil to reach up to the stature of men. Society needs a thousand influences to develop and train up its hidden mind. In all ages of the world it has sought for either animal or intellectual excitement. Its thirst for amusement of some kind, is seen in the festive days and games of the Greek—the *saturnalia* and the gladiatorial exhibitions of the Roman—the theater, and bull fights, and races of the Moderns. And it has been for ages a problem for the wise to solve, so to control and guide this feverish love of excitement, as to redeem it from its brutalizing, its enervating influence, and enlist it as an efficient aid in the moral and intellectual renovation of society. To some extent your associations solve that problem. They minister to this love of excitement a healthful food. They attempt not to repress, but to guide it to noble and elevating ends. They have thus established for themselves a position of power from which they could not be shaken, without casting down a bright orb from our winter skies. While they remain as they are now, religion and morality lend them their hallowed sanction; while every well wisher to the youth of our cities, rejoices in their success. Could there be found one with views so low and soul so contracted, as to refuse his aid to sustain you, or carp at your noble mission to the young mind of our land, to such might we address with all propriety, the scathing rebuke of the poet—

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead?—
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell,
Proud though his title, high his fame,
Boundless his wealth, as wish could claim
In spite of title, power and pelf
The wretch, concentered all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And doubly dying shall go down
To the vile earth from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonored and unsung.”

VI.

SECULAR AND CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.*

It is among the advantages of these anniversary gatherings, that while they bring together men of thought and action—men who are laboring with energy and far-reaching purpose to create the most elevated form of civilization—they also afford the occasion for discussions of a wider range than those which belong to the ordinary routine of professional employment. Education herself is the beneficent mother of all true and noble thought. Allying herself exclusively to no one profession or department of life, she ministers of her fullness to all the liberal and the useful. She prepares the foundations on which they are to build ; embraces their future work in the scope of her early labor ; and seeks to fashion men who in different spheres will apply to noble ends the powers she has disciplined. Her sympathies are with all laborers in the field of science, whether they toil as obscure miners in the hidden veins of thought, after long years astonishing the world with the rich ore they have discovered ; or in the mint and the bank they coin and circulate the sterling products of the mind. Her sons, as they meet within her temple on these festive occasions, do her most fitting homage, when, rising above the distinctions wrought out by the division of labor, they stand as brethren on the common platform of that science which belongs alike to all ; when, forgetful of minor differences, they recognize only this center of union and sympathy, and, ungirding themselves from the stern conflicts of life, indulge those kindly feelings which the associa-

* An address delivered before the Calliopean Society of Wabash College, July 23, 1850.

tions of the past, the sight of the present, and the anticipations of the future are adapted to inspire.

They, too, who on these occasions are called to address their fellow-laborers in the field of knowledge, can scarcely present a fitter offering than those discussions for which their particular pursuits may have qualified them—discussions of topics not commonly dwelt upon in the ordinary course of professional labor, yet often of deep interest and wide influence. Of Education itself, at such a seat of science, where the living minds it hath trained stand before you, and the voices of the young champions of truth it hath prepared for the work of life ring in yours ears, discussion would be superfluous. This very institution is its own eulogium; and these its sons, full of devotion to science, will abundantly vindicate its excellence and extend its fame.

Called to address you from the midst of onerous professional labors, you will permit me to select a topic related more particularly to my own department of science—which, while it is comprehensive of all literature, art, and knowledge, yet belongs emphatically to that truth which, as a trunk, bears the branches and connects them with the Author of all things. I propose for your consideration a few observations on the various experiments in civilization, the forces essential to the highest style of civilization, and the purpose of God in the permission of so many seemingly abortive trials.

To one who looks out upon the world as it is, and back upon it as it has been, the scene presented is the most involved and contradictory imaginable. Instead of flattering the pride of man, or inferring for him a glorious destiny, it is full of pictures the most humiliating, of facts the most mournful. Amidst the rise and fall of nations, the spread and decay of art and science, he seeks for some clue to thread the labyrinth, and discover the divine purpose around which these opposite results may harmonize. The Deluge is there, engulfing a quarter of the life of the race; the ocean rolls over all the earliest civilization of the world. Then follow the Dispersion, the creation of new forms of speech, the forma-

tion and development of many and various nations, their ascent to power and civilization, and their mysterious return to the oblivion from which they sprung. These form a problem, the solution of which he seeks in vain. To effect what great purpose have Asia, Europe, and Africa been the seats, now of barbarism, then of civilization, interchanging from century to century? For what purpose these forms of government, ranging from absolute monarchy down to simple democracy; forms of religion descending from the pure theism of Noah to the reptile worship of Egypt, and then ascending to Christianity? Forms of government, too, in religion, from the pontifex maximus of Rome through hierarchies and synods to the anti-formism of George Fox? Here are vast moral forces at work for long ages, in ways innumerable, resulting in developments the most diverse and varied; experiments conducted on a scale of surprising grandeur, both in respect to the long periods occupied, the numbers engaged in working them out, and the magnitude of the interests concerned. What, then, is the final purpose of all this life so industriously at work for six thousand years? The question is not, what results does a single one of these forces effect, but what is the *grand resultant* into which all those trials are to be resolved? What lesson is the universe to be taught? What preparation is here made for a nobler civilization than the world has ever seen?

There are those who regard all these as fortuitous occurrences. As the seed borne by the wind now falls in the cleft of the rock, and now in the rich valley, germinating in the one case a tree stunted and deformed, in the other a noble specimen of vegetable life, so has the race of man colonized, formed governments, built cities, warred, conquered, decayed. The laws which control the movements of nations are isolated, individual. History has no central chain along which all its facts crystallize; the parts are connected together, if at all, by loose contact, as stones in a vessel, not as the corn in the ear, with the germ in the earth from whence it came. To this unscientific and atheistic hypothesis we make no specific

reply. Its defenders can not consistently hold to the providential government of One infinitely wise ; and denying that, conviction is to reach them by other means than discussions of this character.

Others, reflecting more deeply on these subjects, have adopted a very different theory—a theory of progress, according to which the world, by these successive stages of discipline, has been advancing from infancy to manhood, and is destined to reach, at length, the full stature of a perfect society. The past contributes to the present ; thought, knowledge, never die ; nations may decay, may cease to exist, but that which is of value to man, gained by their experience, survives ; it passes over to their successors ; it becomes an element of improvement ; it grows itself in power, and then is delivered over to succeeding generations. The life of the race is thus a stream, widening and deepening as it flows, gathering upon its bosom all manner of rich craft, and laving the shores of Time with fertility and blessing. Man is on the whole rising ; the world is gaining in knowledge—in religion—in all the elements of a complete civilization. If his life is not cut short too soon, if the conflagration can only be deferred to some far distant future, we may anticipate his elevation to a more than paradisiacal perfection. This is a most beautiful theory. It is full of hope, sanguine of good, replete with glorious visions. Over that grand future which it declares is coming on, imagination, restrained no longer by the stern facts of the past, is free to spread her wings, and poetry here can create a world of beauty, in the full assurance that it will yet become a substantial reality.

This theory we accept so far as to adopt two of its leading ideas ; we reject it so far as it pretends to give the philosophy of these changes in history, the purpose of God in their permission, and the precise mode in which the elevation of man is to be accomplished. Unquestionably the *end* contemplated by this theory—a far higher and nobler style of civilization than any yet attained—is in perfect harmony with the annunciations of prophecy—with those brilliant pictures of

times yet to come drawn by inspired pencils, and distancing in their grandeur the sublimest conceptions of mere worldly philosophy or poetry. Nor is it to be denied that the past is made to contribute to the progress and perfection of the present, as it will to that of the future. But with this admitted, it is equally certain that the elevation of men is not to be secured chiefly by the increase of knowledge flowing from the various experiments of history, and so creating a new and pure atmosphere around society. Neither in the past, nor in any of the laws that connect us with it, is there power sufficient to warrant the supposition that, through the gradual advance of century after century, the race, becoming generally and thoroughly enlightened, would, in time, work itself clear of all its social evils, and attain an elevation of perpetual purity and peace. Whatever homœopathy may accomplish in medicine, we are sure that in respect to human progress it is of little avail—that it needs mightier forces than these minute contributions, saved from the wreck of nations, to preserve others from a similar fate, and lift them to a nobler destiny. Surely it is not alone for these slight advantages that mighty kingdoms have flourished and decayed ; that the world presents to us such magnificent experiments ending in failures so disastrous. If the life of the race may be likened to a river, it is a river now deep, then shallow ; now broad, then narrow ; now dashing in cataracts, then creeping sluggishly ; now swelling over its banks, then almost losing itself in wide-spreading saharas.

In this discussion it will aid us to have present a definite idea of that highest style of civilization toward which the world is advancing. This involves five things.

1. Bread. Food and raiment in abundance, with only an amount of physical labor consistent with advancement in other respects, is a radical idea of all true civilization. A state in which multitudes are compelled to live at the lowest point of physical endurance, where the brawniest arms and the most skillful hands alone earn a fair livelihood, while the weak and the less ingenious stand ever on the threshold of

starvation—such a state, no matter what other advantage it may possess, or how many may roll in luxury, or what argosies it may send forth on the broad ocean, is yet deficient in the first elements of a true civilization. *That* is elevation above the savage; *this* is depression in one point below him.

2. Freedom. The liberty of self-government and self-advancement, with only such restraints as are indispensable to the secure enjoyment of that which we attain, and which, therefore, really quicken men to action by the stimulus of a sure reward, belong to the condition we are now contemplating. A civilization in strata—a sort of geological civilization, with all the soil and the verdure, and the fruits and the beauty above, and all the sand and stones below, is far removed from our ideal of a perfect state. Despotism can never consist with this condition, unless the despot be himself the noblest being in the universe. Without the ability to rise through all gradations of society; without an open pathway to the highest positions from the very lowest, in a world like ours there never can be realized the purest form of national life.

3. Knowledge. Into this civilization there enter science and art, the study of all that is beautiful and excellent in nature, the production of forms of beauty and grandeur, of those innumerable instruments by which the taste is gratified, labor diminished, the comforts of life increased, and distant regions approximated. These advantages of knowledge, no longer confined to a limited circle, are diffused through the whole of society, dignifying the lowly and enriching the poor.

4. Social peace and harmony. War, which a philosopher of note affirms is the natural state of man, is wholly foreign to this noble condition of society. With the exclusion of all social institutions that exalt one at the expense of another, the leading external causes of strife are banished. With equal privileges, the motives to discord are greatly reduced. That civilization is confessedly most imperfect, in which the most attractive music is the clash of swords and the roar of artillery; where the camp and the court-room, the arsenal and the jail, stand in the front rank of society.

That state has risen to a most noble position, in which the prevalence of peaceful arts, humane dispositions, and enlarged views have banished the drum and the war-horse, and turned the court-room into a stage for the quiet arbitration of difficulties.

5. Pure religious faith. This quality of civilization, although not visible, is yet the secret spring of all its goodness. Without elevated affections, healthfully developed toward God, and spreading themselves benevolently among men, society can never attain completeness. The education of the heart in all excellence; the communication of those principles of faith by which a soul is anchored, so that no storm of passion, no currents of selfishness can bear it off into licentious indulgence; the indwelling of divine influences, of God himself as a sovereign and father in the heart, ever saying to its native turbulence, "peace, be still;"—these constitute an element of popular prosperity, often overlooked, but nevertheless the most essential power in the whole social system. These five things—bread, freedom, knowledge, social harmony, and a pure faith—are the leading elements of that complete destiny to which the race is advancing.

Now, when it is affirmed that man hitherto has lived as the infant, the child, the youth; that this being the case, the past experiments and attainments of the world are furnishing the secret power by which he will be enabled to ascend to his true position, and attain his perfect manhood, and rise to the highest civilization, we think too much plastic power is attributed to the past, and that the theory fails to assign a sufficient reason for the remarkable changes to which the race has been subject. It is indeed surprising how comparatively trifling, so far as we can see, are the contributions of the first half of the life of man to his growth at this day. The history of the first three thousand years is written somewhere, and will doubtless yet be read by us; but for man, while here on the earth, there remain only a few hieroglyphics to indicate the scenes, the institutions, the changes, the attainments of ages in time and innumerable millions of people. So far

is it from being true, as a universal statement, that no good thought or art has perished—that all useful knowledge remains when the nation decays, and passes over to some other heritor—that the very opposite assertion is most probably correct. Certainly the advocates of this opinion can never prove it, while there are strong probabilities, rising even to certainties, that there have been periods in the world when the most profound national ignorance succeeded the most brilliant attainments; that it seems to have been a part of the divine plan that many nations should work out for themselves their own elevation or degradation, with little assistance from the past or their cotemporaries; and that there are now hidden from our eyes histories, and achievements, and sciences belonging to the past, that, once unfolded, would thrill through the heart of universal man. Authentic history, if we except the sacred Scriptures, hardly reaches back twenty-five centuries. Yet how immensely valuable, how intensely interesting, in all probability, would be the records of the preceding period! What remains to the world of antediluvian civilization? What record declares the form and results of that postdiluvian empire in central Asia, to which so many otherwise unaccountable facts seem to point? What knowledge of Egypt? We have her Zodiacal circle, her solemn and gloomy temples, her pyramids standing sentinel over buried empires, her mummies and hieroglyphics. But in what manner, in what state of society, were those pyramids reared? Who understands the mysteries of Isis—mysteries which, like those of Eleusis, sent forth a mighty influence upon both prince and people? It is even yet in dispute what elements of knowledge and religion Egypt gave to Greece, or whether that queen of the nations is indebted for a single pearl in her coronal to this ancient monarch of the Nile. What knowledge of Assyria and Babylon? A torn leaf of a splendid romance; a few admirable sculptures, exhumed by the patient enthusiasm of Layard; a few brief sketches in the sacred volume; two or three half fabulous chapters of profane history, are all that remain of those once the most magnifi-

cent and powerful kingdoms on the globe, confessedly far advanced in civilization, and inferior to no other nations of their time in art and science. There is in the quarry at Baalbec, a stone seventy feet in length, fourteen high, and fourteen broad, hewn ready for removal. By what means they transported such immense masses, antiquity informs us not. Etruria, Phœnicia, and her fair daughter Carthage, what have they given to the world in comparison with their age, their grandeur, and their attainments, as an element of power to assist in working out its final elevation? Their temples and palaces—the productions of their poets, orators, philosophers, and statesmen—their mechanic arts and practical sciences, have all gone down into oblivion. What art can now dye the Tyrian purple? Nay, who can discover that modern secret—the mode in which the artist of the middle ages stained in such exquisite tints the windows of cathedrals and abbeys in Europe? Who can restore the four hundred thousand volumes destroyed by the soldiers of Omar in the capture of Alexandria? Where are the lost books of Solomon, of Livy, of innumerable authors, the naturalists, historians, philosophers, theologians of their day? Where are now the treasures of Arabian literature—of that Augustan age when, at Bagdad and Cordova, learning flourished green and rich in fruits most precious, at the very time its stock laid withered to the root in Rome and Athens? The Almansars and Abd-Alrachmans of the East and the West have left no successors; while their splendid libraries, scattered to the winds or hidden within the palaces of ignorant pachas, are lost to the world.

As we approach our own times, it is easy to trace the influence of two nations upon the literature of our day. Grecian taste and Roman law reveal themselves clearly enough in modern society. Yet on this subject we venture two assertions. The first, that the chief element of the more advanced civilization of this day is Christianity; the second, that whatever advantage we have derived from the nations just mentioned, there is to be set off against it their influence in corrupting Christianity, and so enfeebling the very power which was

working out the regeneration of the world. It is not from them influences are to proceed greatly influential in human elevation. Their chief power is past—its results are known, and known to be insignificant compared with the wants of man. Not solely for these ends were they raised to such a height of dominion and refinement.

Must we then look upon the life of the world hitherto as an ocean, now washing away one side of a continent, then casting up its sands on another, gaining here what it loses there, tossed with winds, driven in secret currents, ebbing and flowing, yet much the same after six thousand years as at the close of one? Is there no real advance; no influence from the past tending to the exaltation of the future; no forces potent enough to elevate the world to that state for which all this creation groans; no higher ends to be accomplished than such as are now visible? In the heavens each satellite has its proper motion round its primary, and each planet a motion round the sun; while we have reason to believe that this whole system has still another motion, an orbit immense and grand, around another center. Thus, while in their courses there are relatively backward movements, yet absolutely there is a steady progress. There is a secret force lodged somewhere, not now fully known to us, in obedience to whose attraction they are all pressing round the vast circle that encompasses the central power. It is thus with our world. These nations, rising and falling, returning upon themselves, and inverting the order of ascent at the very time when all things promise fairest for progress, are parts of the life of the race, satellites and planets, in the vast system of providential government. Neither their advancement nor their retrogression is without connection with the steady progress of the whole round the grand center.

The great problem in this world—excluding the world of spirits and eternity—is by what means to impart the noblest civilization to fallen minds—to minds *naturally* prone to barbarism. Were it not so; were there no strong tendencies downward adverse to his elevation; were, indeed, the chief

forces strongly set toward whatever is pure, and noble, and excellent, then, unquestionably, the solution of the problem would be the easiest in the world. Left to himself he would soon throw off his weights, and soar into his native heavens. There might be obstacles in his way ; but we are well assured that they must yield to the constant effort of such powers steadily directed against them. Long ago, had this been the case, the world would have reached its meridian of glory and blessedness. It is the fact that man's nature is earthly, that constitutes the difficulty of a full solution of this question.

The answer to it is purely theological, yet is it none the less vitally associated with literature, science and art—all that is beautiful in form or noble in thought. The power to reach man, to give him the grandest civilization, is from *without*—from God. The *Word* that inspiration has written, and the *Spirit* that divine wisdom bestows, are the powers which are to effect this result. Here it is well to speak more fully. There are those abroad, in common with us, seeking for the solution of the same great problem, who dignify their schemes of reform as the developments of true Christianity, and the realization, in the fullest degree, of the Christian dispensation. Regarding Christianity as mainly a scheme for the bettering of man's condition here, they necessarily lose sight of some of its most essential truths. Appending to their scheme of social organization that portion of it which is more or less common to all systems of morals, and which they might just as well have taken from Socrates or Cicero, they baptize the whole compound Christianity. They girdle that glorious system, and then take the deadened, leafless trunk, as the living tree that is to be for the healing of the nations. In opposition to all such theories, we regard in this experiment Christianity as a whole—a complete system—adapted to the largest wants of man. We include all its doctrines, its depravity, its cross and atonement—its divine sovereignty and the efficacious working of the Holy Ghost—its precepts and sanctions, promises and revelations of the future world. It is the entire sys-

tem which is yet to be made available in securing the perfect civilization of the world.

In addition to this, we regard Christianity as aiming primarily at our preparation for heaven ; secondly, only at our elevation on earth. Her chief ends are future. Its foliage and its blossoms are for time ; its fruit for eternity. Thus its vivifying power is drawn from the other world. Its grand agent is invisible. It is the descent of divine wisdom and strength into man, to recover him from that pestilent fall which has overspread this life and that to come with darkness. Its power as a civilizer of the race is derived almost wholly from its connection with the forces of eternity. To elevate us for this life is a secondary object, a means to a far nobler and more enduring end. The kingdom of Christ is not properly of this world. But its spread and establishment here will create the finest condition possible for humanity on earth, at the same time that it is preparing spirits for a brighter sphere. It is by the union of the two that power is gained for temporal purposes. He who views the Christian scheme as having respect chiefly to time, strips it of the force essential to its success in time. Its success for this world will be measured in the longest period by its success for the other. It can only effect fully the civilization of the race here, by preparing it most perfectly for a life most sublime and most holy beyond the grave. It is this linking of time to eternity, this bringing the forces of *that* to work upon the heart and mind of man in *this*, by which the grandest results are to be secured.

Such is the theory, but at first it is only a theory—a purely theological dogma, proved by no experience, demonstrated by no facts. As mind is the subject of its operations—the most subtle, variable, independent agent in the universe—so it never can be inferred absolutely before actual trial, that this is the solution of the problem, or if, for convincing reasons of another nature *we* attain this conviction, yet the immense multitudes who are to be affected by it, can never be so grandly impressed with the perfection of this

scheme, and the wisdom of its Author, as by the demonstration of an actual experiment. To the completeness of this impression, it must be illustrated both positively and negatively. It must be shown by the failure of all other forces that this *alone* can secure the perfect civilization of the world. The experiments must be so varied, and so protracted, as to include a fair trial of all the chief kinds of influence that can be brought to bear upon the human mind. They must *all* be tried, or the illustration is not complete; the one omitted may be that which is able to effect the elevation of man. They must have a fair, and therefore a *protracted* trial, because these causes act slowly, spreading themselves down the slope of centuries, and gathering about them the spirit and power of antiquity.

It might seem, at first, an easy matter to determine this problem: it might seem as if a century or two at most would be all-sufficient for this purpose. But that complex being, man, is not thus easily compassed. The mind and heart are, of all things, the most capacious recipients of influence; they are moved and molded by an infinite variety of objects. The causes which move them are not only varied, but often slow in their operation. It is possible to quicken physical causes; it is possible that certain forces concerned in the stratification of the globe, and the settlement of its chaotic masses, did as much work then in a year as in other circumstances they could do in a thousand. But it is not possible thus to hasten the operation of moral causes. Mind itself matures slowly; feeling unfolds gradually. The man is to grow up not simply as one, but in generations and nations, that similar influences may mold him in the cradle, in the social circle, in the world without; that the power of each class of motives may receive all the strength which time, which antiquity, which system, and other leading influences interlocking with it, and increasing its plastic energy, can bestow. Even in material science there are some questions which centuries alone can solve. There are disturbing forces in the sky, whose results the astronomer observes, but their nature and origin he is unable

to determine till after the recorded observations of many centuries afford the data for his calculations. There is a star whose revolution round its center is supposed to be one hundred and sixty thousand years. If, then, in the world of matter there are cycles so immense, and problems solvable only after the passage of slow moving ages, how much more reasonable is it, that in order to the settlement of this stupendous moral question, age should follow age, century succeed century, decades of centuries rise and set ere the grand experiment shall be fully tried, and the result announced to the far-off and eagerly attentive worlds.

Let us here note some of the elements of this experiment, and then select two or three as illustrations of the whole. In determining the only means by which man can be exalted to the highest civilization, there must come into trial, the influence of life long continued, and life brief and uncertain ; of differences of language ; of social institutions ; of forms of government and national distinctions ; of climate and physical position ; of the country and the city ; of war and peace ; of luxury and poverty ; of commerce, agriculture and manufactures ; of law in all its forms ; of art and science ; of the press, the pulpit and the school ; of religion, both in doctrine and government ; of theism and Christianity in connection on one side with the simple and complex rites, with corruptions and talmuds, rabbinical sayings and priestly additions ; on the other with monarchy, hierarchy, republicanism and democracy. These constitute a part of that great assemblage of influences by which it has been tried to elevate man to the highest earthly felicity. It is obvious that these experiments are necessarily more or less intermingled and combined, rendering the process of solution slower and more difficult. For the influences at work must be combined in all the different modes of which they are susceptible, in order to furnish a triumphant conclusion. It may be that sufficiency of food and healthful labor are all that is essential ; or that these must be combined with some one form of religion ; or these with art and science ; or these with some peculiar government ; or

all these with an age of centuries to perfect their operation. Where the elements are so numerous, the combinations on which the final result is to depend may be greatly increased. The Socialist tells you, "Grant me, 1st, land ; 2d, a certain organization of social life, and I will build you up a perfect state, a pattern community ; I will set up my bee-hive, remove the drones, set the queen adrift, elaborate the richest honey, expel the worms, bar out the chill blasts of winter, and exalt my little industrial community to the loftiest point of civilization." Now, that which this man affirms of his plan, millions have affirmed of theirs. "Let me select, let me combine, let me watch and guard against adverse influences, and I will rear a grander Utopia than Plato, or More, or Swedenborg, or Fourier ever imagined." Well, this process of selection and combination, on the largest and most protracted scale, has been going on for six thousand years, and is still in progress. Let us look at some of these experiments.

First in time, if not of importance, is the Methuselah period—the age of physical and mental vigor, maintained through long centuries. The experiments of those sixteen hundred years must have been numerous and deeply interesting. What an opportunity to determine the capacity of individual improvement in science and morals ! Think of an investigation conducted by a ripe intellect in any direction for six, seven, or eight centuries ; think of the steady advance of a single mind through almost the entire period of the existence of the Roman empire. What decisive results it could attain during so immense a progress ! The mere decay wrought by time within that period, would give the most magnificent cities to ruin. The adding of a stone each day would rear a palace of enormous dimensions, or a tower rivaling that of Babel. What progress in art could not the skill of ages effect ! What architecture ! What statuary ! What painting ! What music could not the artists, whose experience extended through eight hundred years, have achieved ! In general science, how profound, how large, how admirable

the results would be! •*Now*, the strongest intellect has only become well educated for its work, and fairly commenced its investigations, when disease enfeebles its power of application, or death totally terminates its relations to this world. How often the chariot is arrested midway in its burning progress to the goal, and the ardent spirit, animated by the anticipation of victory, suddenly tumbled from his seat! What vast projects, spreading far into the future, and destined, could they be accomplished, to open new worlds of thought, are left for ever unfinished by the rude interference of time! Could Copernicus have lived to follow out the magnificent system of the universe he had barely time to trace and commit to the immortality of the press;—could Bacon have not only theorized, but demonstrated, not only composed a new method of science, but prosecuted that method with the matchless vigor of his intellect in a body yet undecayed, for half a dozen centuries!—could Burke have advanced in political philosophy, and Edwards in theology, for many ages, what rich and wonderful products would they have given to the world! Time corrects errors, changes points of view, gives opportunity for experiment, for the comparison of opinions, for the abatement of prejudice, the protracted culture of the power of discovering truth. But now men barely get seated at their work before the pale messenger beckons them away. The broken clue another may tie, but that other may not rise for long ages. The openings of grand thoughts, the vision of new mysteries, without a question, are often closed for ever by the advent of death. No other being in the whole history of the race may arise, who shall occupy the same stand-point, and behold truth in the same combination. But that past period gave full scope for the experiment of time. Whatever man *could* do, they enjoyed the opportunity of doing. To what heights of civilization they rose; what magnificent cities they built; what smiling arcadias greeted the morning sun; what provisions for luxury, what experiments in government and religion, they made, we do not fully know. But one thing we do

know,—the experiment of *Time* was a failure. The mere possession of age—of long ages of existence, in which human nature might correct the evil, and work out the good in all imaginable forms of beauty and utility—in which all the influences that meet us here might have room to show their power in elevating this race to its high destiny ;—all this was not sufficient. Whatever progress it secured in some directions, it failed in laying the broad foundation on which alone true civilization could be permanently reared. It not only failed—it *signally* failed ; it was a failure worthy of the frightful catastrophe which buried the unsightly fabric of antediluvian toil from the sight of future generations, lest its presence should aid improperly in vitiating all other experiments. The records of that mighty age, when men of gigantic form, who could look back over many centuries, thought, planned, and wrought, are yet to be unrolled. When the eye shall rest upon them, who will be able to doubt either the magnificence of the experiment in human legislation, or the utter powerlessness of earthly forces, separate or combined, in the case of such a temporary immortality, to work out the grandest destiny of man ? The surgings of that angry flood roar unceasingly, in the ears of heaven and earth, angels and men, and on through the yet unborn future proclaim the sad conclusion of the first great act of *Time*.

Let us enter now upon another period—that which furnishes the broadest field for the recorded experiments of history ; that in which life declines nominally to three quarters of a century, but actually in the great majority of cases falls much lower. The conditions of the experiment are now wholly changed. The alteration in the age of man introduces a revolutionary element into all the previous combinations, and necessitates a repetition of them. From the Flood onward, the experiments in reference to civilization fill up each age of history. But of these it will be necessary for our purpose to select only two or three as illustrations of the failure of the whole. We will select first an example of popular

freedom combined with popular intelligence and polytheistic worship.

In the south-eastern peninsula of Europe dwelt a people, free even to the extreme of democracy, intelligent to a degree rarely equaled. Girt in by the waters, a nation, circumscribed within the circuit of a few leagues, rose to an eminence in history to which the world has ever since looked back with admiration, and from which, as a queen, she sent forth her commands for centuries to the worshipers that kneeled around her throne. Worthy was she of that queenly crown. Never before had another such risen on the earth ; and few since have appeared who dare pretend equality with her. The stars that illuminated her firmament still shine serenely. She gave to the world such forms of beauty as ever since have ravished the senses of mankind. She sang ; the nations listened enchanted. She speculated ; and men learnt to reason. She wrote ; her narrations thrilled the soul ; the scenes of history, instinct with life, moved before the eye a present reality. She spake ; the tones of her eloquence swayed the heart ; the earth gave audience ; her whispers penetrated far continents and distant ages. She acted ; it was nature revealing nature to the soul, passion sublimely impassioned, virtue avenged, vice punished, law triumphant. She wrought ; the Parthenon arose. She fought ; Marathon, Salamis, Platea became the watchword of freedom in all time. What nation is ignorant of her history ? What academy, college, university worthy of the name, studies not her works ? What land of modern civilization seeks not to realize her beautiful forms ?

This wonderful perfection was national, universal. It was not an exotic, reared in a royal conservatory to adorn a monarch's court. There, statesmen, orators, poets, philosophers, warriors, sprang spontaneously from the people. The roots of their greatness derived vitality from the masses among whom they grew. If they had genius, it was but a fuller development of the genius of the multitude. If they possessed intelligence, it was an intelligence not greatly in advance of the mass for whom they wrought. They were the loftier oaks

of a noble forest. Their native genius, combining with a most perfect system of popular education, gave birth to a remarkable diffusion of general intelligence. Rarely in the world's history can we find a nation more thoroughly penetrated with the spirit of learning. Without a press, they yet studied, questioned, listened to the most cultivated minds, judged, passed laws, criticised works of arts. They seemed to live mainly for the curious, the beautiful, the new. Their national enthusiasm inspired devotion to art, to science to letters. An entablature, a statue by Phidias, an oration by Demosthenes, a play by Euripides, moved the heart of the nation. Their everlasting "*τι καινον*," and "*τι καινοτερον*," about which both the Apostle Paul, and their own chief orator, declared they mainly busied themselves; their perfect freedom, their self-government, their daily exercise in all those great questions which have always tested the powers of the human intellect; the direct intercourse between them and their great men, combined to lead them in this path of self-instruction, and diffuse abroad a vast amount of general intelligence. "Let us"—says one of the most brilliant critics and historians of the age—"let us for a moment transport ourselves in thought to that glorious city. Let us imagine that we are entering its gates, in the time of its power and glory. A crowd is assembled round a portico. All are gazing with delight at the entablature, for Phidias is putting up the frieze. We turn into another street; a rhapsodist is reciting there; men, women, and children are thronging around him; the tears are running down their cheeks; their eyes are fixed; their very breath is still; for he is telling how Priam fell at the feet of Achilles, and kissed those hands—the terrible—the murderous—which had slain so many of his sons. We enter the public place; there is a ring of youths, all leaning forward, with sparkling eyes, and gestures of expectation. Socrates is pitted against the famous atheist from Ionia, and has just brought him to a contradiction in terms. But we are interrupted. The herald is crying, 'Room for the Prytanes.' The general assembly is to meet. The people are

swarming in on every side. Proclamation is made—‘who wishes to speak?’ There is a shout and a clapping of hands; Pericles is mounting the stand. Then for a play of Sophocles; and away to sup with Aspasia.”

Under such a discipline, Greece must have enjoyed influences, the most effective of their kind, for ennobling the character, exalting her to the highest point of civilization. Whatever the most unlimited freedom of thought, speech, and action could effect; whatever art and popular intelligence could do; whatever dignity the responsibility of public measures, a personal interest in the minutest affairs of state, the opportunity of daily witnessing the finest displays of genius, could impart to the character—all this she possessed in the highest degree. Whatever purity and elevation the soul could derive from the most artistic and beautiful forms of polytheistic worship, the grand and lovely images of gods and goddesses, the splendor of their public celebrations, the awful communion of their mysteries, this was within her reach. If art, if taste, if sentiment, if general intelligence, combined with a genius for action the most enthusiastic, and a field for its display the most unbounded, in connection with the finest style of polytheism, could secure the noblest state of man, then would this people have attained that state, and left the world the legacy of a model civilization. Yet who of her most enthusiastic admirers; who of those that have examined her history with sufficient attention to discern the foul currents of passion that beneath all this exterior of beauty were ever in motion; the pride, the sensuality, the levity, the ingratitude, the malevolence, the ambition, the indifference to the noblest feelings of religion; who, understanding her whole character and history, is willing to accept her as an illustration of the highest style of civilization—of that destiny to which he hopes the race is yet to be exalted? Who, on the other hand, knowing her well, will not pronounce this experiment one of the most decisive, though splendid, *failures* in the whole series of experiments! Possessing a part of the elements of true civilization in great richness, she yet lacked the noblest, most effective of

them all. Her civilization was *natural, instinctive*. It was neither created by the highest form of religion, nor pervaded by the pure spirit of divine love, nor irradiated by supernatural intelligence, nor guided to the most useful ends by the precepts of a noble humanity. The mighty stream of evil passion flowed on unchecked, unpurified; and though it meandered through meadows enameled with flowers of every hue, amidst parks of most majestic trees, and by temples and palaces of noble architecture, yet it was the same foul and destroying current still. No prophet had sprinkled salt upon its bitterness; no intellectual cultivation had sufficed to cleanse away its putridity. In due time the beauty that adorned its banks faded; its marble glories crumbled; its majestic oaks lost their foliage, and death and solitude reigned with an unbroken sovereignty. Greece! what is she now but a sad and splendid illustration of the imbecility of these outward and earthly influences to secure man's noblest elevation. For this she rose; for this she attracted by her meteor brilliancy the notice of all time; for this she set for ever in a night of gloom and death. Her genius, still breathing around us, and destined to live wherever the feet of civilized man shall tread, now looks sadly down, and declares the necessity of other and higher forces than mere freedom and intelligence, to create and preserve the purest, richest, and happiest earthly state.

Turn now to her colossal neighbor. Rome, from her protracted existence, her wide-spread dominion, and the changes which the world underwent during her ascent to power and subsequent decline, furnishes a variety of negative illustrations of our subject. *First*, She illustrates the inability of mere *law*, however wise and just, however established in constitutions and vigorously executed, to elevate a nation to the highest point of civilization. If Greece was distinguished for art and general science and popular freedom, Rome was, for ages, equally distinguished for constitutional law. Her Senate was a far more august tribunal than that of the Areopagi. Her forum gave birth to those statutes of justice which have

been wrought into the code of the civilized world. Around her sons she threw a shield of brass, and the talismanic words, "I am a *Roman* citizen," forced prætor and consul to respect the rights of the State, though maintained by the meanest of the populace. Even the conquered nations, though sometimes wasted with exactions, were yet in the main treated with the justice that befitted the sovereignty of Rome. We can not account for the steady maintenance of her power, and the firm incorporation of so many diverse nations into one empire, except on the supposition that she carried her principles of civil equity abroad, and sought to ally the subject people by lifting them to a comparative equality of privilege. Such at least was the *theory*. It was law—known law—ruling, rather than a king or an emperor. The death of Remus, for his contempt of law and right, was a fit type of the spirit of that stern dominion. Its history illustrated the power of law in the exaltation of a people. Yet this experiment failed. Excellent in theory, there was a secret force of evil that vitiated its practice. The masses were ever unhappy, restless—a dark sea, tossing its unquiet waves and dashing things most precious to destruction.

Then the emperor—the Caesar rose. Another experiment is tried. Vast power is centralized in a single hand. The mightiest empire the sun ever shone upon, knew but one master. He spake; they trembled or rejoiced. He commanded; swift-winged couriers bore the edict to the Highlands of Scotland, the pillars of Hercules, the mountains of Armenia. Yet this, too, was a failure. Stagnation followed action; the freeman, turned into the slave, lived to riot or suffer. Man rose not so high under the emperor as under the consul.

Again the experiment is changed. In the preceding cases, the combination is with Polytheism. But now a purer religion began to spread itself abroad—to force even emperors and pagans to recognize its divinity. The Immanuel had died; and Christianity, sealed by his resurrection, had begun her world-wide mission of mercy. This mighty State allies

the ministers of this pure faith to itself; they, in turn, corrupted by prosperity, and grown into an hierarchy, soon blend the rites of paganism with the simple worship of the religion of the cross. Then began the experiment of Church and State on the one hand; of Christianity wedded to heathenism on the other, as forces powerful to work out the elevation of men. They were both gigantic failures. The pure spirit of religion shrunk from the profanation; with the form of paganism came its power; the baptism of its temples neither overturned its altars nor demolished its idols. The name was changed, but, save in pomp and splendor, the old worship differed little from the new. The State itself declined in power as the priest grew, until the experiment reached its full demonstration, when the tiara towered above the crown, the mitre overshadowed the helmet, and princes with devout humility held the stirrups for the apostate successor of Peter. Behold here the result of spiritual authority, centralized in a fallible mortal, spreading over a wide field, and operating with a more fearful energy than did that of the empire! Man debased to the most degrading superstitions, yet bearing the sacred name of Christ; mind active only in rearing cathedrals, in foolish disputations, in feudal combats; ignorance settling thicker and darker upon the face of the earth; discussion on all the high themes of religion restrained by a law inconceivably horrible; while even physical science must ask on bended knee a priestly benediction, ere it dare publish to the world its brilliant discoveries. Then were all souls captive, in dungeons dark, and strong, and terrible. At such an hour, the clarion of the Monk of Wittemberg rang through Europe; it reverberated in the dome of St. Peter's; its echoes lingered in the Alps, and were repeated in the Highlands of the North.

Another experiment began. Christianity was divorced from paganism, but yet it was cumbered on the one hand with artificial forms of worship, and on the other by state alliances. Since then, these and various other combinations have been tried. The church has been allied in turn to mon-

archy and democracy. It has been arrayed in all manner of ritualism, and made to play a part subordinate to earthly interests. These experiments have all been failures. Not that *Christianity* has in any true sense failed. Wherever it has been permitted to come in contact with men, it has wrought with vast energy. It has upheaved continents of superstition, abuse and ignorance. It has done all for man that was most vital to his elevation. But in all these cases the experiment of the power of Christianity, has been partially vitiated by that which men have associated with it. They have mingled, without a just appreciation of their relations, the human with the divine; used physical energy to assist moral influence; built towers of stone to strengthen the pillars of heaven. Truth has often been like a thread of gold in a cloth woven for the most part of perishable materials. When at length the garment lost its strength and brilliancy, men blamed the thread of gold, and not the miserable elements around it. Yet did that thread remain unfaded, unimpaired, as bright and strong as when first woven. Oh! had the world possessed the wisdom to have used this material alone, this work would have stood for ever.

Did our limits permit us to gather up the results of experiments in human elevation thus far, it would be easy to show that no mere earthly force has been sufficient to secure, for even a brief period, that style of civilization which we now anticipate. It would be seen that no form of government and no merely social organizations have power to effect this end. It would be demonstrated that no form of government, combined with greater or less degrees of popular intelligence, could secure the result. It would be manifested that none of these, combined with any form of false religion, or any corruption of true religion, or even with *Christianity* itself, when the alliance subjects the latter to the former, can succeed. It would be seen that even the art of printing, the boasted liberty of the press, and the diffusion of intelligence in itself, has no power to exalt or civilize the race. A vast variety of forms, alone and in combination, have thus been

tried. There is in every experiment something wrong ; some unguarded point ; some secret evil, which works the failure of arrangements seemingly most wise. No matter what the constitution of society may have been, the historian can always see something which, if it had or had not been associated with all the other elements, might have saved the State. There is always something wanting to the perfect working or the perfect results of the best plan. All reflecting minds tacitly or openly admit the failure of the combination as it was. Now, if they could only find some other organization which had succeeded—some one that, surviving the ruin of the rest, grew brighter and stronger with the passage of time, elevating man to the highest heaven of terrestrial blessing—then might we exclaim with the ecstatic mathematician, “Eureka, Eureka !” then we might believe that if Egypt, or Greece, or Rome had only possessed this or that earthly element, they would have given an abiding illustration of just the combination of forms necessary to lift the race to its just position. But in the absence of such positive examples, amidst the overwhelming testimony of so many dead and dying nations, amidst the wailing of millions in their debasement and sorrow, we are forced to the conclusion that all efforts to effect the largest civilization of man by earthly influences have been, in the main, failures. Some things they have effected ; but they have not effected the elevation of the race, or any large portion of it, to that position for which it is qualified by its original endowments.

Thus far, it is true, these experiments have been chiefly negative and secular. Christianity or pure Deism has run along through these earthly forces, and wherever their operation has been most free, the results have far transcended those of any combination of other powers. Whatever is most bright, whatever the *heart* loves to dwell upon with most delight, has been associated with the truth of God. It has been well remarked by F. Schlegel, that “the majesty of antiquity is felt to be indissolubly linked with images of decline and ruin, for both arise from the same source—the dominion of

instinct, and the spontaneous development of nature." The civilization of the past has been chiefly the development of nature, and that the lower nature of man. The instruments for effecting it have been drawn from reason and instinct. The forces have been almost wholly secular and earthly, or if other powers have been brought in, if religion has been introduced, it has been rather as an assistant than as a sovereign. The nature of man has been permitted to work its way and reveal its richest fruit. But that nature, being itself in ruins, without a total transformation, can never rise to a perfect civilization. Aided by all the powers of reason, yet destitute of strength from above, it can only attain an imperfect condition—a perilous elevation in one or two directions—an elevation unsustained and unguarded by the higher powers of the soul, and from which it is certain to be precipitated by the evil that is unsubdued in the heart. Here is the grand difficulty with all past experiments in civilization. The instinctive love of the beautiful and the orderly combined with the most vigorous powers of the reason, may form art, and law, and science—may thus construct the body of a civilized society most symmetrical and majestic; but in vain do they strive to create a soul that in purity and love shall animate that body, and guide its limbs, and use its senses for noble purposes. All these trials show conclusively that man, left to the workings of his own nature and reason, can never deliver himself from the evil that hitherto hath undermined his noblest structures. But the experiment of religion—of pure Christianity—the positive experiment, has yet to be fully tried. Hitherto it has wrought in subordination to inferior powers. Now it is to assume the first place. Men are to be intent not so much on that which is outward as on that which is inward, vital, saving; not so much on mere forms of government as on *self*-government; not so much on the dress of life, as upon its spirit, its ultimate character. Christianity is to create governments, and not governments to create Christianity. The order pursued in secular civilization is to be reversed. For without such a reversal, the positive example

can not be fully exhibited. Its operation will oblige men to give *it* the first place in their thoughts, and listen reverently to its teachings, and yield implicit obedience to its laws. It is impossible Christianity should have a fair trial, unless it is permitted to assume the relative position which the other elevating influences of the past have occupied. As men have listened to the voice of learning and eloquence, so must they listen to these sublime teachings; as they have bowed to earthly rulers, so must they submit to God; as they have sought by mere organizations to cover the defects of their nature, so must they seek from their heavenly Father the cure of their distempered spirits. Such will be that positive experiment by which the divine Wisdom revealed in the system of the gospel, and the divine Spirit giving it life and power, will first reform the impure nature of man, and thus enable him to develop all his powers in their appropriate work. It will reach out and remove the cause of national mortality. It will make science and art consistent with purity and law. It will spread abroad a civilization of the million rather than the few, and make princes common, by elevating all men to princely character.

What further examples of self-ruin, of blind effort ending in disaster, of man struggling to raise himself from the morass, and sinking deeper, we are yet to witness before the trial of this great experiment, does not yet appear. One thing is most manifest—whatever particular or general experiments are yet to be made, will be far more intimately connected with the *world as a whole*, than heretofore. In time past, nations rose and decayed, with only occasional connections with other nations. Their isolation gave a peculiar impress to their character, and enabled them to illustrate more perfectly the operation of local influences in molding states. But the tendency of this day is to universality. The earth, long possessed by conflicting nations—nations so separated by rivers, mountains, oceans, and their own intense selfish patriotism, as to forbid the entrance of universal knowledge—is now passing under the reign of influences that in time will level the

dividing walls, and net-work its entire surface with the means of rapid and constant intercommunication. Rome had a vast empire, traversed by solid roads in various directions. But Rome was only a single nation, confined to the land, or creeping fearfully along the shore in her clumsy triremes. How absurd her ideas of nations no farther distant than Britain ! What school-boy has not laughed at the description given by Tacitus of the ocean that washes those northern isles, and the ridiculous philosophy by which he accounts for the viscosity of its waters ? Now the ocean is as truly the home of millions as the land. Compare an ancient war galley with an American frigate. What want of adaptation and power in the one ; what life, force, majesty, in the other ! That was bounded by the Mediterranean ; this presses the everlasting ice chains of the poles. The earth has no nook so secluded, no retreat so hidden, as to escape the Humboldts and the Lyells of this age. Steam—the chief agent as yet in the approximation of the distant—has but begun its reign. Half a century has not elapsed since it was successfully applied to locomotion. Five miles an hour satisfied Fulton ; twenty miles an hour on railroads, a few years ago, was declared to be highly dangerous ; while more recently still, a celebrated lecturer on natural science demonstrated, before an intelligent audience, the impossibility of ocean steam navigation. With what rapidity has experiment outrun theory and overturned hypothesis ! Thirty miles an hour is ordinary speed ; the steamship circumnavigates the globe. Locomotion is reduced to a very simple problem : so much water and so much coal, and then let the tempest rave ; against wind and tide the staunch boat presses gallantly onward. The expansion in this mode of travel within ten years is prodigious. What, then, shall another half century witness, when perchance other and even more efficient agencies may be harnessed to this work ?

The almost accidental discovery, that a stream of electricity passing over a soft iron converts it into a temporary magnet, is the fundamental idea of a new instrument for the

transmission of intelligence, whose results are just beginning to unfold themselves. That thought should travel around the globe, record its progress, reveal its character, distancing time itself in its flight, is a fancy of yesterday, a fact of to-day. The distinguished conductor of the Cincinnati Observatory—a gentleman whose fertile genius, power of application, capacity for the most subtile analysis, admirable mechanical ingenuity and exhaustless invention, combined with a profound knowledge of his science, have introduced a new era in the history of astronomy; who has made of the lightning a printer, and compelled him to stereotype the positions of the stars with an accuracy and a rapidity that multiplies a hundred fold the ability of the astronomer to advance in the solution of that amazing problem, the motions of the stellar world—this gentleman has actually measured the progress of the electric fluid. By positive and negative experiments, he has determined the speed to be about a mile in $\frac{1}{350000}$ of a second;* so that a word, a thought, committed to this Mercury, would travel round the globe, were the wire circuit complete, in a single second! The idea of such an encircling of the world is abroad. We may yet live to see the Emperor of China, the Czar of all the Russias, the Queen of England and the President of the United States, engaged in a friendly conversation on the same evening.

Commerce, keeping pace with these increased facilities, is spreading itself everywhere. The knowledge of the world as it is is penetrating all nations. Even the Celestial Empire—hitherto the center of the world, while all beyond was a rim of barbarism—even this empire, heretofore of all others most impenetrable to foreign ideas, has recently witnessed the publication of an historical geography, written by one of her most eminent scholars and civilians, graphically and truly describing the earth itself, and the nations that dwell upon it.

* We do not mean to engage in the controversy respecting the nature of this motion, or the manner in which it is propagated. Whether it is a current, or an atmospheric fluid, or what it may be, we leave to others to determine. The simple result of these observations in respect to time, is all we design to state.

Meanwhile, the two great maritime nations are putting forth their joint energies in the same direction, and seeking to annihilate the obstacles that have kept men asunder. The treaty between Great Britain and the United States, by which the neutrality of any pathways of commerce hereafter to be constructed across the isthmus that divides the two Americas is secured, is a sign of the approaching brotherhood of nations. With such elements at work ; with such means of exploration, of commerce, of the transmission of intelligence, of the more perfect acquaintance, and more frequent intermingling of nations, it is obvious that the era of a new series of experiments or of some one grand experiment has arrived. Never before have the chains of sympathy stretched from continent to continent as they do now ; never before has mere physical power so felt its weakness in the presence of the moral sentiment of far-off millions. What force has of late years wrought most effectually at Constantinople ? The press of London and Paris. How long will it be before the Emperor of China will find the Times a necessary appendage to his breakfast, and Pekin shall have its reading rooms, vying in extent with those of New York and Boston ? It is out of the question, in these circumstances, for the old processes of thought and action to continue and repeat themselves. It is impossible for any one nation to isolate itself from these silent and omnipresent influences. The world is usurping the nation ; the invisible force of intelligence and moral sentiment is slowly but surely undermining the ramparts of sectional bigotry and ignorance. The steamship that penetrates the waters of the great eastern Archipelago, is the sure sign of an approaching revolution in manners, knowledge, morals, modes of thought, and even mechanic arts, among the innumerable multitudes of that unknown world. The Chinese are digging for gold in California ; but they are *Chinese* no longer. There is in our own country a similar process going forward. In the intermixture and friendly collision of millions born in different lands, the *national* is gradually lost. National churches can not long exist without a radical assimilation to the new order of

things around them; while national modes of thought, customs, and language, soon give place to something very different—a combination of Americanism with the sturdier qualities of national character—the old framework penetrated by a new spirit, and manifesting a new life. This process is to go forward all over the world. Nothing can long retard it. The result will be something new—something perhaps grand—something far more remarkable in the way of experiment toward the full civilization of man than history has yet recorded.

What effect this intermingling of nations, this casting down of the separating walls, this mutual action and reaction, is to have in settling the question respecting the only true means of human elevation, we can not foresee. That no such world-wide brotherhood, no such rapid intercourse, is sufficient to satisfy the conditions of the noblest civilization, we are well assured. There are other considerations that seem to indicate that this new aspect of the world is to be associated with the full trial of the positive and grandest experiment of civilization. It is to be supposed, indeed, that the closing up of the experiment of the earthly forces will be gradual. It is not according to the analogy of the divine government in time past, that these vast processes should suddenly cease. The winding up will probably be slow; coterminously with the opening of the final illustration, trains of powers reaching back through centuries will spread themselves; subordinate, and even some of the grandest forces, to which humanity has clung with despairing tenacity as the chief anchor of hope, amidst the heavings of this troubled sea, will reveal their weakness. Side by side with these vanishing powers, the Christian experiment will push itself forth, growing like a tree which, long roofed over and pent in by walls, at length enjoying the sun, the rain, and the breeze, rapidly spreads its life far up into the sky. There are two circumstances, among others, which specially indicate the rapid approach of the time for the full illustration of Christian civilization. *First.* The tendency to religious

freedom is increasing on every side. Freedom is one of the leading conditions of the great experiment. This mighty scheme can not be tried, or the fullness of its power be manifest, while men and States are ever rearing their perishable buttresses around it, stretching out their arm and their sword to shield it from peril, and enforce its authority. Truth asks no such defense; David can not fight in Saul's armor; neither will Christianity ally to itself such elements of corruption with which to divide the glory of victory. Its triumphs are in the soul, where no external power can reach—where human authority and brute force are powerless. It goes forth alone in its own spiritual might, to do battle with the forces of depravity. It will stand alone upon the morass in which corruption is sinking the race; alone it will despoil their foe, lift them on their feet, and make the earth solid beneath them. Too long its victories have been retarded and its glories eclipsed by the secularizing policy of States, and the unbelief of its own supporters in its intrinsic power. Misunderstanding the nature of man, the plans of God, and the vitality of the gospel, they have coupled the eagle and the owl, as if the lazy bird of night could assist the monarch in his soaring to the sun. On this most important point the world is getting wisdom. Ever since the opening of the fifth act of time, when the curtain was lifted up from this vast country, as the broad stage for the noblest scenes of time, causes have been in operation which have at length wrought out the freedom of truth here, and are slowly sending their influence over the entire world.

In yonder isle of the deep—our fatherland,—where power and wealth, genius and learning have reared their throne, behold! the earth trembles beneath their lofty cathedrals, while their time-honored union of Church and State bleeds freely from the vigorous thrusts of a true-hearted chivalry. From the hills and glens of Scotland, the noble army of confessors send forth around the earth the voice of liberty achieved, of truth casting off her unnatural ally and rushing on to combat in the strength of God alone. In that land

which infidelity, wedded to papacy, has filled with monsters,—the land of the Huguenot,—in those forests and fields where of yore the trumpets of Luther and Zwingli spake the first sounds of deliverance to the spiritual bondmen,—even there also, where the tiara still gleams luridly in the light of yon blazing mountain, are hearts by millions panting for this rich boon—freedom of thought, of utterance, of worship; hands innumerable ready to grasp the sword to achieve it; and purposes deep, settled, immovable, yet to effect it. Even the Crescent grows pale before the gray dawn of this coming day, which is to scatter the darkness of Moslem bigotry, and herald the triumphs of a nobler civilization than even Athens, or Bagdad, or Constantinople ever saw. This onward progress toward religious liberty is no dream; no midnight vision; no paroxysm of a crippled giant, to pass away in a deeper bondage and a more hopeless night. Backwards and forwards, now eddying this way, now rushing that; seething and foaming against opposing rocks; pausing at times as if about to settle away in the earth and be lost for ever, still the stream rises and swells, and will rise and swell, till at length Christian truth shall spread over every land, in the glorious freedom, the uncontaminated purity and living force of the wisdom of God. This condition of the great experiment is gradually forming itself in one and another land; especially in those lands whose power over the world is most quickening, and whose sons seem destined to revolutionize the forms of social life, the governments, the commerce, and the religion of half the globe. Such is the first clear sign of the trial of the chief experiment.

The second condition of its operation and sign of its coming is similar in its character. It is the preparation of a great multitude of hearts for actively engaging in this experiment. The spirit and the truth work in human hearts, through human minds and tongues. These noble instruments will be found polished and prepared in great numbers, increasing as the great work of Christian civilization is fully open to their efforts. The silent preparation of large masses

of men for some such labor, is obvious to any careful observer of the church of Christ. At this hour, and increasing all over the earth, are armies of souls who despair of human elevation by human inventions; who feel not only that their higher life for the better world must be inspired from above, but that the noblest form of this *earthly* life must be cast into the same mold, and bear the same impress. Confidence in human governments, in forms, in rites, in merely external influences, as complete means of civilization, is dying—in a multitude of souls is already dead. They are looking away to a higher power; they are going forth in the simple panoply of truth, to revolutionize nations, upheave their hoary superstitions, abolish their hereditary and interlocked abuses, set up a new form of civilization, and make Christianity the lever with which a world is to be moved from its place of evil, and elevated to a position of light and love, of purity and peace. It is not usual for Infinite Wisdom thus to prepare his instruments when their work is yet far distant. These convictions, these efforts, this faith in a better scheme of civilization, are his own product. They are the marshaling of an army for near conflict; the mighty preparation for the noblest victory. Hitherto the good have been overborne; defeat has depressed the spirits of those who sought for man's elevation. But now a new era will open—an era of faith and victory. The king will himself ascend the throne, direct the forces, infuse energy into his subjects, baffle his enemies, and at last spread over the earth the light, and joy, and peace of man's golden age.

Such are the indications of the near approach of the positive experiment. The old must die. The mighty whom the earth has worshipped, must fall. One after another, the schemes and appliances for human civilization must spend themselves. Yet not in vain have they lived and wrought. Those forests that stretch across our western world must die. Those grand old trees, amid whose majestic tops the winds have moaned the requiem of centuries; that exuberant life which age after age has renewed itself, and spread the shade of its foliage over

the swarthy Indian and his wild prey, even they must fall. But though they fall, yet not without a purpose of good have they so long existed. That life above has created the mold of a nobler life than its own : that deposit of ages past, hurled downward by autumn winds and rotted by winter rains, is the soil, deep, rich, exhaustless, which, uncovered to the sun, is yet to nourish countless myriads. The genius of a nobler civilization cries to us : " Girdle those wide-spreading giants ; heed not the tossing of their brawny arms against the wintry sky ; heed not the grandeur and the loveliness, the pride and majesty, the wealth of life and grace and motion, with which they rise between you and the burning sun of summer ! Below their shade, brutes, reptiles, beasts of prey nestle on the very soil that would minister wealth to starving myriads. Down then with the majesty of rank ! let in the sun ! let in the plow ! bring forth the cradle and hoe ! " Behold ! a new scene opens. The wild winds sing their requiem no more ; the war-whoop startles us no more ; the catamount and the deer have hied them to other lands. But around us smiles a noble civilization. The tasteful farm-house, the clustering village, fields waving with grain, meet the eye ; the lowing of cattle, the hum of commerce, the snort of the steam-horse, the merry voices of children, fall upon the ear. The school-house, the academy, the college, rise before us in all the beauty of art ; while conspicuous among them, the crown of earth's richest possession, the truest source of abiding prosperity, the church of the Redeemer, sits queenly.

Thus will it be when this protracted drama shall approach its close. Those wondrous forms and institutions of the past, through which man has in vain sought to liken himself to God, must crumble. Egypt, with her solemn temples and rock-built pyramids ; Greece, with her beauteous diadem of illustrious minds, her bright and joyous Acropolis ; Jerusalem, with her awful tabernacle, her priestly train, her splendid ritual ; Rome, with all the magnificence of her forum, her vast Coliseum, her monumental arches, her noble Basilicas, and her stern, unflinching justice ; Rome spiritual, with all

that art which she has made religion, her Vatican palaces and libraries and paintings, the robes of her harlotry, with that world-renowned trophy of *his* skill, Great Angelo!—these, and a hundred others less grand and mighty, must all pass away. Upon your decaying majesty, your marble mausoleums, your crumbling castles, your works of mightiest genius, we gaze with wonder, spell-bound with that fascination which so long made you the mistresses of the world. Yet when we look beneath, look at the populace, at the publicans and sinners, at the foul reptiles that found a covert under your shade, the unclean birds that reveled in your dim, religious light, and amid your grand leafy aisles, we waken from that dream of joy, and welcome your conquerors, and light the torch that shall send the flame crackling and roaring through all your pride. Another world is opened as ye fall; another civilization begins its course as ye decay, as far above yours as yours was above that of the savage in his wild home.

As one after another these earthly schemes reveal their powerlessness, the system of redemption by Christ will attract to itself the hearts of the world. Entering the mind and forming it first for the life to come, it will in its progress fashion the noblest sons of earth, develop their finest attributes in harmony, link religion to genius, and cause genius to bring forth finer products than history has ever recorded. From that state of elevated humanity, idleness, enervating luxury, pinching poverty, blood-thirsty war, bloated drunkenness, licentiousness with its lustful eye and insatiate appetite, court-room wrangles, ignorance with its idiot merriment and its unskillful hands, passion in its rudderless vessel, with its unsheathed dagger—all these and whatsoever else doth wound and corrupt society, shall be banished. Then shall that divine wisdom, instinct with divine power working in the heart, and out in the life, give health, vigor and beauty to man; harmonize conflicting interests; purify all social intercourse; guide all energies to noble ends; and elevate the intellect into a clear atmosphere, where the glorious forms of science shall appear in harmony and light. Then knowledge

shall daily grow in accuracy and extent, unfolding the mysterious forms of nature, and their application to now unknown ends of practical utility. Then mechanism, associated with the finest powers of genius and invention, shall push aside the common mode of labor, alleviate the condition of toil, and lift poverty to competence. The sweat of man's brow will not stream so copiously ; the earth will bring forth her weeds less luxuriantly ; and the face of nature will be as the garden of the Lord. Then *Art* shall have its resurrection, its true inspiration. No longer substituted for religion, and worshiped as God, it shall come forth to minister to spiritual religion, and assist in guiding man back to the Infinite. It shall rear our temples and dwellings in forms that will awe and tranquillize and gladden the heart, speaking to it as doth nature in the roar of the ocean or the wailing of the forest. Then grace and motion, then all sounds of harmony and melody, all forms of beauty, shall harmonize with the works of wisdom and power around us ; and the outer life of man possess a loveliness, a bright and joyous character, indicative of the purity, the peace, the science and the faith of his spirit. Such, in faint outline, will be that better state to which the race is advancing, and to which it will attain when the experiment of Christianity shall be fully tried.

At length, even this positive experiment shall have wrought its results. Then will come the final gathering up, and comparison of both the negative and positive trials. What a scene will that be, when the life, the deeds, the whole panorama of antediluvian existence shall be displayed. A manuscript history, begun by Adam, continued by Methuselah, and completed by Noah, would set the world on fire with eager desire to behold and read. But this scene, transcending all such imperfect testimonies, will place that ancient life in all its minutest operations before our eyes and those of the universe. Thus, too, will Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, all be raised to life, and seem to move before us. Each experiment, however small or great, will take its just position in that vast exhibition, like the separate features of

a luminous painting ; while in contrast with them all, shines forth this last and grandest scene of Christian civilization ; a race fallen, in ruins, whom no plenteousness of food, no freedom of government, no influence of art, no teachings of science, no sanctions of law could refine, elevated to the highest point of earthly aggrandizement, by the inworking force of that truth, THE LAMB OF GOD SLAIN FOR THE SINS OF MEN, AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD BESTOWED FOR THE PURIFICATION OF POLLUTED SINNERS.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN OF THE CALLIOPEAN SOCIETY :

The theme which to-day I commend to your consideration is profound as the providence and vast as the plans of the Infinite. Its stage is the world ; its season, the whole progress of time ; its subject, man in his flow of life from the creation to the conflagration. You are about to go forth into the world as men of power to mold the elements of society into form. To which of these experiments will you stand committed ? Will you be of those whom the past can not instruct ; who are ever repeating the same trials to issue in the same defeats ; who know not how to bless the world save by patching anew exploded systems, imagining them all-powerful to secure the noblest civilization of the race ? Or will it not be your lofty aim, reviewing to some purpose the failures which are strewn along the course of human empire, distrusting the guides that hitherto have always led astray, the forces that have failed in the hour of need, to identify yourselves as hearty co-workers in this positive experiment of Christian civilization ! Come, let us go forth into these forests ; let the trees fall and the plow enter. A new age is opening—the last. For this the walls of this institution were reared ; for this its friends have struggled. They have labored at these foundations, not that science might hold up hereditary evils or assume lordship over nobler influences ; but that as a gentle handmaid, whose life is richest in association with religion, she might go forth in you to spread abroad the truth of Christianity. I rejoice to-day, in the heart of this young

but great State, to witness such scenes as these, to behold such institutions rise, and such men of solid worth laboring at the foundations of a rising empire. From this point, I anticipate your history. I place myself in imagination at the opening of another century ; I behold a State of vast capacity, studded with cities, towns, villages, farm-houses. I see millions rejoicing in abundance, of pure morals, ennobled by science, adorned by art. I see this institution grown into a university, with its schools of theology, of law, of medicine, and of useful arts, frequented by hundreds of ingenuous youth, and sending a quickening influence beyond the limits of the State, abroad over our country and the world. I behold a people rich in all the elements of Christian civilization, of vast enterprise, of sterling piety, sending forth their sons to assist in the full redemption of the world. The field is large, the prospect grand, the toil great. Enter it manfully, in the strength of another and higher power, and you shall be enrolled as those who set in motion the trains of influence that are to issue in these noble results, and assist in giving form to the future grandeur of your noble State.

VII.

OBSTACLES AND ENCOURAGEMENTS TO MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN CHURCH*

AT the first promulgation of a system of opinions that is designed vitally to affect the character and happiness of vast multitudes, there is usually room for much uncertainty, doubt, and unbelief. Its power to effect the objects for which it is promulged, is yet to be tested. However fair in theory, it may yet be found, like thousands of other systems of faith, utterly defective in its practical working. But where time has evinced its capacity to accomplish results of the noblest character ; when success has given to that which was once a theory, all the certainty of a law of nature ; then the season for doubt is past ; then, when the capacity to overcome obstacles has been fairly developed, faith, unappalled by the presence of stupendous difficulties, rises into the calm confidence of perfect assurance. To this stage in her progress has Christianity attained. The conversion of the world, the grand object which it proposes, is not a problem to be solved by future success. Religion has already evinced its capacity to effect so vast a work ; it is not a novelty, thrown as a meteor upon the world. We are not launching, Columbus-like, on an unknown sea, in search of an unknown land. Our faith is one of centuries. It has passed through trials of the severest character, and come out of them unscathed. It has effected great things. Its triumphs stand out on the records of the world, like a succession of splendid miracles. The early history of Christianity, anterior to the

* A lecture delivered before the Boston Young Men's Society for Diffusing Missionary Knowledge.

full development of the papacy, rouses the soul like a clarion.

In judging, however, of the Church, as it existed at that day, we are frequently subject to an illusion of the most discouraging character. Distance contracts ages to a point. The bold and splendid *results* are seen, while the *means* by which they were attained, are either wholly overlooked or regarded as supernatural, and beyond the reach of the present age. We see the disciples battling with Judaism, and hear the cries of dying martyrs ; we see in motion the machinery of gifts miraculous and wonderful ; presently the shoutings of victory swell upon the ear, and the empire is the home of our faith. But we forget the ages of toil that elapsed ere that grand event was reached ; we overlook the ten thousand humble instrumentalities—such as the meanest Christian may wield at this day—through which the victory was mainly achieved. The splendor of apostolic gifts, which, in fact, continued only for a brief period, seems to rest upon the Church during the time of her travail ; while the faith, the patience, the simple preaching of the gospel, the toil that knew no weariness, and the love that never faltered, through which the work was actually consummated, are either not regarded at all, or considered to be light-armed auxiliaries to the solid phalanx of apostolic powers. As the natural result of such impressions, there exists an opinion that the first three centuries of Christianity constituted its golden age ; that the Church was then in possession of resources vastly more effective than those now in her hands ; and that the obstacles which then opposed her progress were neither so great in themselves nor so numerous as those which exist at the present day. That such an opinion is not, in every respect, warranted by the facts, we think can easily be shown. This will be manifest from an *attentive comparison of the obstacles to the success of the gospel in these different periods, and the means possessed by the Church for overcoming them.*

In prosecuting this comparison, it will only be necessary to allude to that deep-seated depravity which constitutes in

itself the greatest obstacle to the advance of the gospel. This force of evil has lived and worked in every period of man's history. Time, that changes and modifies all else, has wrought no change here. It pervades all human society; it tenants the rude hut of the savage; it dwells amid the groves of science and the palaces of art; nor is it wholly absent from the temples and the altars of a Christian people. It gives to error its force, to superstition its perpetuity, to all the influences hostile to Christianity, their living vigor. It is peculiar to no age, to no people, to no clime. In its religion expects ever to find a foe unconquerable as death, and immortal as time.

It is equally unnecessary for me to dwell on that spiritual organization—mysterious to the Christian, the theme of ridicule to the world—which the Scriptures announce to us as the most powerful in giving scope to human depravity, and in wielding the forces of evil against the cross. In common with the ancient Christian, we fight with principalities and powers in high places, and until the mighty angel shall descend, to bind the prince and scatter his legions, the Church must expect to meet now, as in apostolic times, forces equipped, organized, and led on, by a chief who once shone the morning star of heaven's intelligences.

The power of the gospel to surmount these prime obstacles has always been the same. The agency of the Spirit and the gospel are ever with her. And I dismiss this point with the remark, that, as the miracle-working power, in all probability, did not pass far if at all beyond the age of the apostles, the early Church, for the last two hundred years of its fierce and bloody struggle, was thrown upon precisely the same resources with those now possessed by the modern Church—the common influences of the Spirit enforcing the gospel.

Let us now compare the relative situation of the Church to the governments of the world during the first three centuries of her existence, and at the present time. In looking back upon the ancient Church, we are at once struck by the

fact that she had to do mainly with one immense government. While it is possible that her missionaries may have passed the Euphrates or even the Indus, it is certain that the Roman empire was their great field of conflict. That empire was now in the zenith of her glory. Its boundaries swept around all the mighty kingdoms that live in the ancient records of our race. Her eagle, in its immense gyrations, spread its wing over the civilized world. The empires of antiquity, the world of knowledge and of civilization, all lay panting beneath the foot of Rome.

At this period of her history, the power of the empire had in reality passed away from the Senate. It was all concentrated in a single arm. A single mind directed the movements of this huge government; a single hand wielded the energies of the millions that paid tribute to Rome. So perfect was this power, the slightest whisper of that mind could be heard in the remotest corner of the empire; the wave of that hand was instantly seen and felt in the forests of Britain, on the sands of Libya, and along the banks of the Euphrates. The mighty despot reached forth ten thousand arms to execute his imperial will. The engines of his power were set up in every province, in every city, in every sequestered vale of human habitation. While, to curb the lawlessness of such colossal greatness, the moral power of the opinion of the world, which now operates so effectually upon the proudest thrones, had then no force. From the decree of this tremendous despotism there was no appeal, save to the high chancery of heaven.

It was in the bosom of such an empire that Christianity arose. For the first few years, it was suffered to work its way silently and freely. Rome as yet understood not its character. To her it was but one of a thousand religions. Tiberius does not hesitate to provide a niche in the Pantheon for Jesus Christ. The opposition it encountered, sprang from the Jew, the Pagan priest and philosopher, rather than from the imperial government. It was not long, however, before the clamors of the idolatrous multitude entered the palace of

the Cæsars. Whatever may have been the proximate causes, which at particular seasons kindled the fires of persecution, the grand cause of their existence is obvious. It consisted in the total opposition existing between the principles of Christianity, and the worship, the customs, the character of the influential portion of the empire. Christianity undeified their gods, dashed down their idols, overturned their altars, anathematized their priests, and cast contempt on whatever was most sacred, most ancient, most admired. Then began to lower those storms, which, with some short intervals of repose, for two hundred and fifty years, flashed and thundered along the Christian's path. From these, escape was impossible. Should the unhappy victim retire into some remote corner of the empire? But the edict of destruction had anticipated his flight, and where he hoped for safety, he met the iron grasp of a Roman prefect. Wherever the Christian turned, the same dark form was frowning upon him; the cries of martyrs, mingled with the shouts of the amphitheater, ever rang in his ear. There was, then, no sacred home of freedom to which the oppressed might flee. The world was one vast empire, and the tremendous enginery of its power was everywhere in motion, for nearly three centuries, to uproot the cross. Such was the nature of that governmental opposition, against which the feeble band of early Christians fought, and over which they triumphed.

Compare with this the situation of our modern Church. The civilized world is now divided into a number of independent sovereignties. Of these, several are on the side of Protestant Christianity. And when I say they are on the side of true Christianity, it is meant either that their governments explicitly recognize it as the religion of the state, as in England, or that the great mass of those who create the government, and of those who constitute it, are avowedly believers in the Christian revelation. Of these nations, Great Britain and the United States are the most powerful, and most decidedly influential in promoting the evangelization of the world. They embosom the wealth and the piety which are

to carry the gospel to every land, and resuscitate the half-extinguished fires of true religion on the altars of nominal Christendom. In general influence upon the world at large, no other nation can come into comparison with them. The commerce of the world, now one of the most effective chains of brotherhood, and destined to exert a mighty influence in the overthrow of superstition, barbarism and ignorance, is in their hands. Their fleets are on every sea ; their warehouses in every port ; their representatives are found wherever there is wealth to be gathered, or a government to be influenced by their presence.

Nor is this all. Millions of the heathen world are directly subject to one of these governments. Great Britain, for the last two hundred years, has been advancing in the career of conquest, until her subjects have multiplied from a dozen to more than a hundred and fifty millions ; her possessions have expanded from that little central isle until they gird the globe ; and, from holding as a feudal lord the throne of England, she has placed her foot upon the neck of empires vast, populous and ancient. But yesterday, you heard the roar of her cannon before Beyrout ; and every breeze that sweeps westward, bears to us the thundering of her artillery upon the commercial metropolis of China.

The effect of this general influence, we doubt not, is greatly to the advantage of Christianity. That this happy result has been diminished by the presence of great evils, is not to be denied. Commerce, mainly employing as its instruments those who have no sympathy with the religion of the cross ; conquests originating in an all-grasping avarice or ambition ; won by the sacrifice of holocausts of human victims on the altar of war ; and maintained by a system of oppression, which deliberately weighs the happiness of millions of immortal minds in the balance with gold, all tend, in some respects, to weaken the influence of Christianity on the conscience of the Pagan. Yet, in spite of these counteracting causes, there has gone forth, and is going forth, from this very commerce, and these vast conquests, an influence which

is destined, we believe, to revolutionize the world. Already have they brought whole nations, while they feel the force of our arms, to respect our religion. They have opened more extensive fields of labor before the missionaries, and they have also given them security, so that the name of either an Englishman or an American has been a charm more potent than was anciently that of a Roman citizen.

Casting our eyes beyond the governments directly under the control of Protestant influence, we see a number of States, nominally Christian, yet so sunk in gross superstition as to possess little of Christianity besides the name.

In respect to most of them, one fact is worthy of our notice. The principles of Christian toleration are working their way into their courts, and modifying the whole machinery of their governments. Nations, which a century ago expelled Protestantism from their shores, now receive it with open arms, or suffer it to carry forward its peaceful work unchecked. The spectacle of religious persecution in any country, no matter what may be the sufferer's faith, now interests and arouses the civilized world. That which, a few years ago, was made a part of the ordinary business of some governments, would now outrage the moral feelings of civilized society. Austria can not even exile her inquiring peasantry, far less torture them at the rack, or burn them at the stake; nay, even despotic Turkey may not bastinado a poor Jew, on account of his faith, without calling forth indignant remonstrance, long and loud, from every part of Christendom. To this great end also have those political revolutions been working, which of late have shaken so many thrones, and burst so many chains. While they have given to subjects a higher political importance, they have infused into proud rulers a salutary caution how they tread upon those most sacred jewels of liberty—the rights of conscience.

In this steady advance of the principles of toleration among civilized States, Christianity has reason for present joy and future hope; for the prevalence of such opinions is both the sign of the silent influence she has already gained,

and the foundation on which she can proceed to rebuild her decaying temples, and reopen her smoldering fires, among the nations only nominally her friends. What, I ask, has created this power of public opinion, before which the scepters of kings are lowered? What has brought it about that governments, whose grand argument was the sword in every contest of right, are now compelled to respect the opinion of the great family of Christian States? Neither the increased facilities of national intercourse, nor the progress of civilization, nor the terrific march of revolution, alone or combined, could have effected it, had not a purer Christianity breathed around the loftiest thrones the mild spirit of religion, inspiring a state of public feeling in which might can no longer pass as the synonym of right, brute force as the strongest argument of justice.

Under these better influences, the most bigoted governments are relaxing the strictness of their ecclesiastical regimens. Spain, proud and lordly in her rags, whose bigotry reared and perfected the horrid Inquisition, whose fields were fertilized by the ashes, and her broad rivers dyed with the blood of innumerable martyrs, whose records are a history of intolerance, written in characters of blood and fire, and over whom, as the result of that stern bigotry, there have brooded centuries of dense darkness—even she has at last burst her chains. The Bible is read on her sunny hills; a highway, broad and free, is rising for the chariot of the Prince of peace.

If now we bring into view the Pagan and Mohammedan world, the same great fact, with an occasional exception, is proved to be true. Governmental opposition is gradually relaxing its strictness under the general influence of the civilized. Egypt and the wide dependencies of Turkey are opening their ports to the Christian missionary. Nor should we be surprised were the decree of death, fulminated by the Koran against the apostate from Islamism, ere long to become a dead statute into which no earthly power dare breathe life. The scepter of Protestant England stretches over a hundred millions of the worshipers of Brahma. From the Ganges to

the Indus, from Travancore to Cashmere, that vast, populous, ancient land, crowded with villages, teeming with a luxuriant vegetation, is open to correct religious influences. Beyond it is China; an empire which no Christian can contemplate in the greatness of its extent, its high antiquity, the immense masses of immortal beings that swarm in its cities and darken its waters, and in that stubborn exclusion, mingled with affected contempt of all those foreign influences which might work out the elevation and salvation of the people, without being moved to wonder, to pity, and almost to despair.

Even here, however, are the dawns of better days. Around that vast empire there are clustering mighty influences from all quarters of the globe, which, like the atmosphere, she can not exclude, and before which her iron institutions must ere long be greatly modified, or crumble to utter ruin. It is impossible for the utmost power of the mightiest human will to give eternity to such institutions, when the whole world is rushing by them in a swift and broad tide of improvement. Yield they must to the accumulating pressure. Her only hope for the perpetuity of her present institutions, is a wall of entire non-intercourse with the whole world, higher, broader, more impassable than that monument of industrious folly reared against the Tartar horde; while millions of her people, beyond her control, are subject to the influence of Christianity; while she herself is encompassed with the commerce of civilized States; and while she is obliged occasionally to quail before the barbarian power, so long will she be exposed to a revolution which will shake her government to the ground. Nor need we wait long for decided changes in her policy. Let the influences which but recently have begun to surround her, operate with constantly increasing force for less than half a century, and we shall not want the pen of heaven-rapt Isaiah to predict the fall of this greater Babylon.

In whatever light, therefore, we compare the situation of Christianity, in respect to the governments of the world at the present time, with that of the first ages of the Church,

we find every thing to encourage us. Here she has gained vastly in the struggle of eighteen hundred years. We have come out of the caves and forests where the ancients were hunted. The mightiest governments are ours. Even the progress of free institutions, the political convulsions and the wide-spread revolutions, which are giving freedom to rising humanity, are either bearing onward the car of life, or rearing up broad highways, on which it may roll over the world.

Our next point of comparison, between the ancient and modern Church, respects the systems of religion they have respectively to encounter. Two large and ancient religions, the one of the Jew, the other of the Pagan, in the days of early Christianity, as now, resisted the advance of the gospel, with an uncompromising and vigorous hostility. The Jew was the first great opponent of the cross. The early propagators of our faith struck at this system with far greater success than has the Church since that period. The very origin of Christianity *then* gave it a power the course of time has partially destroyed. It sprang out of the bosom of Israel; it grew up beside their altar and their temple; its most thrilling scenes were enacted on that sacred soil, bedewed with the tears and blood of the faithful, vocal with the inspirations of holy seers, hallowed by the flaming shekinah, the splendid worship, the visible footprints of the dread Jehovah impressed on every hill and vale. It was not a foreign religion. It was the offspring of their own worship, the fulfillment of their prophecies, the grand and crowning scene toward which for ages their hopes, their prayers, their joys, their bloody worship, had all been pointing. The prime actor in it was of the kingly house of David. Its great apostles were sons of Abraham. To the Jew, in whose veins flowed the blood of their illustrious sire, with whom they worshiped at the same altar, breathing with them from childhood's hour the inspiration of their glorious history, they could preach of the Messiah with a force hardly to be reached by the Church at this day. Christianity has passed away from the country and the nation of its earliest love. Its dwelling-place is

with the Gentile, who for centuries has ground the outcast and saddened Israelite beneath the iron heel of a despotic power. In the view of that downtrodden nation, all the prejudices of an abhorred, a foreign superstition, cluster around the Christian religion.

There was much, also, in the time when Christianity first arose, that then gave it power over this race. It appeared at a time when the lines of a long series of most splendid prophecies, which for ages had been converging, seemed to have reached the point of fulfillment. The power of Rome hung over the sacred land, and they knew not how soon its black, dense clouds would pour down their sheets of flame. The bosom of the nation, as of one man, throbbed with intense expectation of the speedy manifestation of the great Deliverer. And when Christianity arose, it found a mighty advocate in those powerful sympathies and exciting hopes of the people. It carried with it all the authority of prophecy, such as then lived in the hearts, glowed on the lips, pervaded the worship, and molded the character of the entire race. Christ stood before them as the fulfillment of this prophecy; and though his lowly condition corresponded not with their lofty expectations, yet every argument he urged in demonstration of His Messiahship, came home to their hearts enforced by all the associations of their youth and manhood. Their ancient prophets seemed to descend from their high abode to bear their testimony to, and shed their homage around, this illustrious Being. But with that age, these feelings have passed away. From earliest infancy the Jew has been taught to execrate the Christian's faith, and the anathemas under whose intolerable burden he has groaned have given force to the lesson. For centuries the ingenuity of wit, the refinements of sophistry, the parade of learning, and the force of authority have been combined to bring into contempt the Christian interpretation of Messianic prophecies. And, while under the tuition of patriarchs and rabbis, of the Talmud and Gemara, he has become versed in the tactics of evasion and subterfuge, at the same time the entire force of his

education steels his bosom against the religion of the Nazarene.

In some respects, however, the modern Church occupies a position of influence over this people above that of the ancient. This very dispersion, this outpouring of the long-gathering flood that swept them from Judea and strewed them in wrecks on every shore, was minutely described in the sacred records three thousand years ago. On the pages of the New Testament the same dark events are foretold with equal distinctness. The Christian Church, in her efforts for the conversion of Israel, proceeds upon the firm foundation of prophecy fulfilled, such as affords the most indubitable evidence of the divine origin of our faith. Other circumstances combine to heighten the force of this argument. The lengthened darkness of that night, which, in fulfillment of these prophetic denunciations, has brooded over this nation for nearly two thousand years, has not been without its influence for good. As meteor after meteor has flashed across the sky and disappeared, leaving only increasing darkness; as prophet after prophet has reared the standard of Messiah, only to have it lowered in blood and shame, so the hopes of this people have been often raised, only to be dashed to the earth. No star of Bethlehem cheers the hearts of these anxious watchers. Hope is retiring before the increasing darkness of this starless night. Prophecy, such as Christianity authorizes, so sadly, so sternly fulfilled, is sadly working in multitudes the fearfully joyful conviction that Jesus of Nazareth is their long-expected Messiah. Thus time itself is elaborating an argument, of all others the most powerful, to dispel those bright illusions by which the Jew is blinded to the glory of the cross.

The other great opponent of Christianity was the Pagan. The conflict with Paganism, as it then existed under the forms of Atheism, Pantheism, and Polytheism, convulsed the whole Roman empire. It was then in its manhood. Poetry praised it; philosophy smiled upon it; the populace adored it; and the entire force of the State was enlisted in its defense. No circumstance was wanting that could contribute

to enhance the formidable opposition it made to the cross. It was then in the full maturity of its strength ; the passions of the great, the wisdom of the learned, the prejudices of the vulgar, with the immense power of that vast State, constituted the wall of its defense. Yet so mightily did the truth of Christ work, that in less than three centuries it set at defiance the omnipotence of Rome, won the emperor, and swept away the worship of the ancient gods. The huge and massive superstition crumbled down before the influence of Christian truth.

At this day more than half the human family are the devotees of the rudest forms of Paganism ; while here, at home, beside the very altars of a Christian people, there is springing up a refined Paganism, beautiful as poetry, profound as mysticism, and corrupt as the most depraved movings of the human heart. This hybrid issue of a spurious philosophy and a degenerate Christianity, after having poisoned the life-blood of one Christian nation, has crossed the ocean to seek the religious empire of this new world. But in this conflict, though it be with new and varied forms of this old error, the Church occupies a position far above that from which she waged war with the Paganism of Rome. Her weapons of offense and defense have been accumulating for eighteen centuries. They are wielded by the strength inspired in a thousand victories, with the science gained in the war of ages.

Such were the two great systems of religion by which Christianity was then opposed. But, at the present day, she has to meet not only these, but other religions, the growth of subsequent ages, framed for dominion, large in resources, and bitter in hostility to the cross.

In the opening of the seventh century, there sprang up, amidst the deserts of Arabia, a system of religion which, from that day to this, has presented one of the most formidable obstacles to the advance of Christianity. Its theology is one bold, grand truth, enforcing an equally bold lie. "*There is but one God.*" This was the thunderbolt Mohammed hurled among the idols of Mecca. "Mohammed is his prophet."

This was the imposition which gave to this *truth* the demonstration of the sword. Here has ever been the great secret of Mohammed's success. He was a prophet, through whom Heaven blazed forth its revelations to an idolatrous world. He was a chieftain, commissioned to enforce the will of Heaven by the terror of arms. In establishing his system, he brought to his aid two of the most powerful and most permanent passions of our nature. He roused the ardor of war; he awoke the enthusiasm of religion; and, as if to ensure the perpetuity of their union, he consecrated the first by the authority of the second, and gathered around the unholy alliance all the attractions of sensuality and ambition. Inspired by such a religion, it is not a matter of wonder that the fiery Saracen, sweeping in a whirlwind over western Asia, over Africa and Spain, should have dashed down the Pagan's idols, trodden in scorn upon the corrupt institutions of a degenerate Christianity, and ended by the establishment of one of the most powerful dynasties that ever swayed the scepter of dominion.

The situation of this system of religion, which but a few centuries ago shook the mightiest thrones in Europe to their base, is full of encouragement to the Christian. Its youth has gone; the signs of decrepit age mark all its movements. The empire shrunk to a tenth of its former extent—rebel provinces resisting successfully the power of the Sultan,—State after State in quick succession assuming an attitude of independence, while the proud son of Othman is forced to crouch before Christian sovereigns, a royal beggar for the political existence of his people.

Other nations around, and mingled with this race, are rapidly advancing in science and power; the Greek, the Jew, the Armenian, are daily rising in intelligence. Mohammedanism alone is sinking into an atrophy. Her efforts to rise are the struggles of a man in a morass, which serve only to show her own impotence and the impossibility of her rescue by foreign hands. Unlike Christianity, which, in the sixteenth century,—when the world was breaking loose from her

intellectual bondage—with the giant vigor of youth, shook off the incumbent mass of superstition, and took the lead of science in the disenthralment of the human mind—Islamism embosoms no elements of revivification. Its religion and its customs are all stereotyped after the pattern of the days of darkness. And as the courage, the enthusiasm, the hardihood of its mountain and desert-nourished youth, vanish under the influence of luxury and repose, there remains no vital force to rebuild her moldering walls, to prop her falling buttresses, to hold her up in the struggle for advancement with the great powers of Christendom.

Mohammedanism is thus retiring before the onward march of the civilized world. Change she can not without outraging the piety of every true Mussulman ; for her religion forbids those changes of government and manners which are necessary to her advancement. If she clings to her ecclesiastical policy, her political damnation is inevitable. If, breaking away from these trammels, she launches forth upon the wild sea of political experiment, then her religion must founder and go down for ever. How long it will be before the cannon which have desolated the fairest towns of Syria, and curbed the iron spirit of the rebel pacha, shall be pointed at the seraglio of the sultan, man can not predict. But the voice of Providence, borne to us on every breeze, declares that the decree against this once terrible power has gone forth. The allied power of all Europe may retard, but it can not stop the descending bolt. The haughty and cruel Ottoman, whose tread of death has crushed the minds and hearts of millions, whose sway has consigned to solitude and decay the garden spots of earth, whose presence is a moral upas beneath which science dies, and the living vigor of the immortal spirit withers—that power which has sought only to enslave, never to deliver ; to destroy, never to build up ;—is hastening to dissolution. And when the empire of Othman falls, when once the throne of the sultan, like that of the caliph, crumbles, then assuredly cometh the jubilee of Christianity over prostrate Islamism. Far and wide as the religion of Moham-

med is diffused, its professors, from every quarter of the globe, from the sands of Ethiopia, the mountains of Tartary, and the distant shores of China, all turn their eyes with anxious gaze to Constantinople, as the last refuge of their faith. When once the stone cut out from the mountain without hands, shall strike this colossus, when once its mosques shall echo to the voice of Christian worshippers, the death-knell of Islamism will be sounded over the earth. Not more surely will the arch fall whose key-stone is rent away, than will this huge edifice of religious imposture tumble into ruins, when once the empire of the Turk is overturned. It was the Turk who came to the succor of this religion when the dynasty of the caliphs was in ruins at his feet. This young, bold, hardy race of Tartars infused new life into the religion of the conquered Saracen, when it was rapidly tending to decay. And as the sultan falls into the same grave his ancestors dug for the caliph, what new power will arise to bid the decaying tree flourish green again over their sepulchers?

About the same period in which Mohammed appeared, another religious system, equally corrupt and still more formidable to true Christianity, sprang up in her bosom. The influences which originated the Papacy had been operating since apostolic days. But amidst the fire and the sword of persecution, the system could not reach its full development. It waited for the installation of Christianity as the State religion of the civilized world. That great event gave to the Church splendid temples for its worship, princely wealth and power for its ministers. Amidst the sudden splendor that encompassed her, as she emerged from the caverns and the lairs whither persecution had driven her, ambition, lordly, corrupt, and all grasping, wove that triple crown, which, within little more than a century, pressed the brow of the bishop of Rome, and before which the crowns of Europe's proudest sovereigns have often been lowered. I need not dwell upon the character of this spiritual despotism. Suffice it here to remark, that of all the forces of evil arrayed against the early Church, not one can be compared with this.

Yet, with this terrible power, Christianity has already fought, under circumstances the most unfavorable to success, and triumphed. The same weapons which then won the victory are now in our hands; the energy, which then shook down so many pillars of this vast structure, still lives to carry onward the work of reformation. Nor is it true, as it has been asserted, that the relative positions of Protestant Christianity and the Papacy, are nearly the same as they were left by the Reformation. It may be true that the Pope wields a scepter over as many millions now, as he did then; but who is ignorant of the fact that this power is, in many cases, little more than nominal. Slowly, indeed, as moral forces usually work, until they reach the crisis of sudden development, but no less surely, has the spiritual despotism of Rome been losing its hold upon the conscience of mankind. Government after government has broken its political power, until the old man on the Tiber has become an enthroned cipher amidst the gigantic powers of Europe. Nor is it a small matter in our favor, that this religion, ever clinging to the thrones of despotism and courting their darkness, is failing before the march of revolution and the progress of free principles. The advance of human society is against the power which reached its giant height only amidst the darkness of the middle ages. Hence, in every part of the world, where the principles of liberty and the elements of science are the common property of the people, this system makes no advance. True it is, that in both this land and in that of our fathers, it has exhibited within the last few years an unwonted vigor. But what religion ever yet dièd without exhibiting signs of returning animation? The wick, just ready to expire, flashes up for an instant with singular brightness; the body, from which life is fast departing, is convulsed to its extremities ere the fainting heart ceases to beat. Mohammedanism itself, now that its death-knell is about to be rung, is going forth on missions of propagandism to Central Africa. And can any one suppose that a religious despotism of this tremendous power will die as an infant falls asleep, and not as a giant tosses and heaves his

unwieldy frame, before his cry of agony is hushed for ever ?

In concluding this comparison of the religious influences hostile to the ancient and modern Church, it is necessary to notice the opposition of infidelity and erroneous forms of Christian doctrine. In the first ages of Christianity, the great conflict was with Paganism. A system which denied the truth of Christianity, of Paganism, and of Judaism, which, while it trod upon the Bible, laughed at the rites of the Pantheon, existed indeed ; but it was an esoteric doctrine, hidden within the groves of the philosopher and the cloister of the priest. That bold and shameless infidelity, which, since the Reformation has struggled so fiercely to sweep Christianity from the earth, had not yet appeared. It was the offspring of a later age. The mental agitations, the amazing intellectual activity, to which the efforts of the reformers in heaving off the superstitions of Rome had given birth, in connection with the frightful licentiousness engendered by the operation for centuries of a corrupt religion, quickened into life, and gave character and force to the delusion of modern infidelity. The influence of the Reformation, in awakening the intellect, extended far beyond the counteracting influence of its doctrines. The public mind was everywhere aroused by the exciting nature of the contest. The old channels of thought were forsaken, the old landmarks of doctrine were swept away, and the great deep was broken up. Nor is it a matter of surprise that, in countries where the truths of the Reformation were not suffered to root themselves, or where they could grow only in the hot-house of State patronage, infidelity should have reached up to so lofty a height.

With this fierce, proud, and malignant opponent, Christianity has been obliged to grapple in circumstances, than which none could be more favorable for the total rout of her forces. Against her were arrayed the highest powers of wit and science. Heaven suffered minds of the first order to waste their energies in support of this negation of truth. There is scarcely a single department of intellectual labor in which

infidelity has not had distinguished advocates. It has gone down into the subterranean depths of metaphysics, and labored with the energy of a Hume to upheave the foundations of human belief. It has traversed the sunny fields of literature, and breathed its poison on the page of history. It has ascended the rostrum of the statesman, and in the costume of liberty has employed the force of eloquence to subvert the noble truths of Christian freedom. It has sat on the high places of sacred literature, corrupting the fountains of religious influence, and prostituting the acquisitions of learning to the horrid work of debauching the teachers of men. It has even gone up into the pulpit and wielded the heavenly sympathies, attractions, and powers of that sacred place against the life of that religion which gave them existence. Not satisfied with this wide range of effort, it has descended into the styes of human corruption, and there, by ribaldry, by falsehood, by pandering to all the licentious desires of man, it has toiled with insane energy to shut the door of reformation upon the criminal, and extinguish for ever the still glimmering spark of hope in the breast of the abandoned.

In conducting these wide-spread operations, it brought to its aid all the then present and well-remembered corruptions of a most degenerate Christianity. The infidel wielded the corruptions of the Church against the very life of the Church. The pride of the hierarchy, the licentiousness of the priesthood, the bigoted ignorance of churchmen, the blood of heroic martyrs, and the contemptible fooleries by which the multitude were deluded, which had defiled the history of the Church for centuries, gave to a keen-sighted infidelity an immense advantage over its opponent. The former boasted of its tendency to disentrall the mind ; it was about to introduce the jubilee of knowledge, refinement, liberty, and equality. The latter, wherever it turned, was met by the hideous form of that corruption which had preyed for ages upon the peace, morality, and liberties of men. The tendencies of the former were not yet fully developed. It had not yet enjoyed space and opportunity for the manifestation of its character.

The latter, for a cycle of years, had been the dominant religion of Europe, and partially of Asia and Africa. Around the former clustered all the attractions of novelty, and large hope; around the latter, the damning persecutions, corruptions, hypocrisies, and failures of centuries. Under such circumstances the conflict began, and with such weapons it was carried forward.

For a time these vast efforts portended the ruin of the Christian cause. But it was only for a brief season. These hordes of the infidel ravaged, but they did not conquer; they passed over the land with fire and sword; but they roused the ardor of Christian zeal. They taught the Christian the discipline of their arms. Momentary defeat became the means of the more complete and permanent triumph of the cross. A thousand intellects concentrated their keen vision upon the evidences of Christianity. The fields of sacred history and science were trodden in every part by men of robust understanding, boundless learning, and profound judgment. With infinite toil, with inexhaustible patience, with superhuman energy, they labored at the defense of our faith. Around Christianity they reared bulwarks, high, massive, impregnable to the assaults of irreligion. They did still more than this; they entered the domains of the infidel. History was met by history, philosophy by philosophy, research by still deeper research. At every step the arms of infidelity were turned against itself. Meanwhile the mask fell from this mockery of religion. It stood forth disclosed in its naked ugliness before the world. Heaven suffered it to occupy a noble theatre on which to act out its true character in the view of all coming time. From that scene of raging passions, wild uproar, legalized hate, lust and butchery, I need not draw the veil. The memory of that time fills the soul with horror. That scene inspired courage into the Christian, while it covered the face of the infidel with paleness. His chosen vantage ground was wrested from him. Where are now the boasts, the jubinations, the pæans of triumph in anticipation of the speedy fall of Christianity, which then deaf-

ened the ear of Heaven? Where is now that host of philosophers, wits, poets, historians, statesmen, and crowned heads, which little more than half a century ago licked the dust trodden by the feet of the strumpet goddess of infidelity? The song of triumph has ceased; the loud huzzas are hushed. The swellings of that wretched atheism, instead of engulfing, have borne the ark of Christian truth high on the solid earth. Doubtless this opponent will still continue to resist the advance of the cross. We know not, indeed, but that he is even now summoning his energies for another fearful struggle. Nor is it improbable that with him Christianity is destined to grapple most vigorously in the conflict which is to chain the prince of darkness and usher in the millennial morn. Yet she fights with an oft-conquered foe; around her are the trophies of victory and the impregnable defenses of our faith. The Church has reached a position which commands the entire field.

In addition to this great obstacle, Christianity has to contend with others, springing up in her own ranks. There is, in the breast of the impenitent, a spirit hostile to the humiliating truths of the gospel, while at the same time conscience, unable to find repose in a system of barren negations, impels to the adoption of correct religious principles. To satisfy the demands of conscience, the costume of religion is preserved; to gratify the spirit of infidelity, the life of religion is refined away. To the joint influence of these forces is mainly due the production of numerous errors, adorned, outwardly, with the blazonings of true religion, but exhibiting, to the attentive observer, only an emasculated Christianity.

It is not to be denied that the early Church was greatly injured by the prevalence of numerous forms of error among her own disciples. Aside from the causes already assigned, which had peculiar force over minds wholly strangers to genuine piety, there were others which operated to lead astray the truly pious. It was an age of much popular ignorance. With the exception of the Greek and the Jew, the great mass of the people dwelt on the confines of barbarism and civiliza-

tion. In such circumstances, it was to be expected that error would spring up, even under the preaching of the most enlightened and cautious teachers. But, besides the general ignorance of the people, their best educated and most intelligent instructors were, in many instances, imbued with a philosophy as unlike that of the cross as paganism is unlike the law of Moses. The influence of this false philosophy was deplorably bad. The ignorance of a people unaccustomed to draw nice moral distinctions, and the scarcity of the Word, under the slow transcriptions of the scribe, gave full scope to the workings of this philosophy. The results are everywhere visible in the errors which mar almost every page in the early and subsequent history of the Church. Nor is it extravagant to affirm that these, almost as much as the power of heathenism itself, clogged the chariot wheels of salvation. If the battle-ax of a pagan Celsus now and then dashed down a parapet, the weapons of a philosophic Origen were fire-brands scattered within the sacred city.

In the conflict with errors of this character, the modern Church has, in some respects, the advantage over the ancient. The mental collisions and accumulated research of eighteen hundred years have given greater definiteness both to the views of truth and the perceptions of error. While it is undoubtedly true that the early Christians seized hold of the grand truths of the gospel, it is no less true that the *system* of truth it embodied was but dimly apprehended. The minor points of doctrine, the relation of the different parts of the system to each other, were not understood. The main points of a system may be easily apprehended, while their relations to each other may demand the investigations of centuries fully to unfold them. It is here that there is room for advancement in the knowledge of Christianity; science can not, indeed, better the Bible, but it may aid us in bringing out what is in the Bible. It can not prune and alter, and modify, and practically annihilate any of the truths actually to be found therein; but it may contribute to the more perfect development of their relations to each other. Without arrogance, no one can affirm

that, in the mode of interpreting the sacred Oracles, he has reached perfection in theory and in practice. Far less can this be asserted of the ancients. We know that some of the principles on which they reasoned are false. Nor is it too much to say that, in this respect, there has been a great advance since the days of the Fathers. Indeed, the circumstances of the early Church were, in the main, unfavorable to the profound investigation and calm discussion of the minor truths. It was an age of persecution, when men were obliged to cling to the strong points of truth. It was an age of missionary action, when the energies of the Church were mainly directed to the propagation of the gospel. There was little opportunity for quiet meditation, except in the cell of the monk, and the cave of the hermit, to which the latter part of this period gave rise.

In addition to the advantages enjoyed by the modern Church, in more definite perceptions of the system of truth, there is a familiarity with the character and workings of error which enables her to devise and execute the measures necessary for its overthrow. The incessant warfare with it, in which she has so long been engaged, has given her a keen perception of its multiform character and protean aspect ; an experimental acquaintance with the operations by which it is ever attempting to subvert the truth. It would be passing beyond the limits of rational conjecture to assert, with one of the most original writers of this age, that the fields of error have all been sown, the harvest reaped, and that, for the future, it can only reproduce antiquated and exposed dogmas. It is not improbable that such vast systems of imposture, as that of the Papacy, have all appeared. In this late age of the world, it seems hardly probable that other systems will arise to rival the deadly influence of this. Such elaborate and systematized errors are the result of the silent workings of centuries ; their power is only overthrown after ages of conflict. But with this exception, as society advances, as the relations of the different parts of truth become more fully developed, as each age bears an impress peculiar to itself, we must expect that error will

throw off its antiquated costume and adapt itself to the character of the times. It is always one in essence ; diversified in its manifestations as the firmament ; yet, even on this supposition, the knowledge possessed by the Church of the past appearances and operations of error is of immense advantage. The mind of the Church has been disciplined to a rapid detection of the advance of error and the means best adapted to meet it. The past has made her wary, deliberate, skillful.

The only remaining point of comparison between the ancient and modern Church, which I shall notice, is the literature of their respective times. When Christianity arose, the science of the world was in the hands of its opponents. The canonized shades of Plato and Aristotle frowned upon it ; the eagle-eyed philosophy of Greece, which then swayed the scepter of science, despised the gospel as the babblings of insanity. While a Tacitus and a Juvenal could turn away from it with the contemptuous exclamation—"An execrable superstition." The great masters in the realm of literature, the minds disciplined to thought, and rich in human lore, the philosophic historian, the brilliant poet, the astute dialectician, the powerful advocate, the large-minded statesman, with scarcely a single exception, out of Judea, poured their fire upon the fisherman of Galilee.

Look now abroad upon the domain of the heathen world ! The orbs of its pagan glory have all set ; the very stars which, in such luminous constellations, then flamed in the firmament, have all gone down to rise, in fresh, undying radiance, upon the institutions of a Christian people. There is darkness settling, like a pall, over the wide, pagan land. While around the cross is gathered the mind, the knowledge, the intellectual enterprise of the world. It is not asserted, indeed, that men of science are uniformly Christian in their convictions or their practice. Yet it is true that Christianity embosoms the multitude of those who are carrying forward, with indomitable vigor, the triumphs of mind ; she breathes into them the spirit of inquiry ; she calls them from airy and evanescent dreams, to the practical, the real, the true. On

her history, time is continually engraving, with a vividness that shall defy the lapse of ages, names as bright, as radiant, as powerful in the influence they gave to the advance of truth, as any to be found in the scroll of this world's record. Nor is this all the truth. She seizes hold of, and appropriates to the advance of her own great objects, the discoveries, the toils of her most bitter foes. She domesticates the gifted minds of pagan Greece and Rome in the groves of her academies and the halls of her colleges. She wrests from the hands of infidelity the weapons for which it has toiled, with wonderful patience, amidst the mausoleums of Egypt's grandeur and Egypt's fame, and plants them as buttresses around the truth of God. Go, single out the warrior champion of infidelity, a Voltaire, a Hume, a Diderot, a Gibbon; and I will show you one from the triumphs of whose genius Christianity has gathered, and is gathering, the materials of science, wherewith to swell her last great triumph over the downfall of error throughout the world. She fears not the development of truth or the march of science. While Rome threatens Copernicus, and imprisons Galileo, she cheers on her Bacon, rejoices in the triumphs of her Newton, and with a force, as gentle as it is irresistible, compels the votary of science to bring his offering to her shrine. She believes that all truth is one in its source, harmonious in its relations, and one in its end. The progress of true learning, she regards as in perfect harmony with that of true religion. In the widening circle of science she beholds a wider field for the triumphs of the cross. Hence it is that, standing on the mount of truth, the science of the world becomes her servitor.

The advantage we enjoy, in this respect, above the ancient Church, is obvious. We are qualified to be the teachers of the heathen world in science, as well as in religion. The learning of the mass of the followers of Mohammed is limited to the rhapsodies of the Koran; for the light that shone around the palaces of the Moor in Spain had gone out long before he was swept from her shore. And, aside from the flickering flame that may yet burn in Arabia the Happy, the entire

science of that religious imposture would not equal that of a Christian schoolboy. As for the heathen world at large, it has done nothing, for ages, but stereotype the errors of its antiquity. Mind is stagnant. The mental vigor which marked the ages of Plato and Cicero is nowhere to be found. There is no bursting away from the eternal round of hoary puerilities and childish superstitions. But the grand fact here to be noticed as most favorable to the success of Christianity, is that their systems of science are all interlocked with those of religion. The explosion of their systems of learning must rend their systems of faith. And as our schools, with the miracle-worker of the modern Church, the press, upheaves the absurdities which constitute their literature, the towering fabric of superstition, reared upon it, must come down.

I have thus taken a hurried view of some of the principal forces arrayed against the ancient and modern Church, in connection with the resources in their possession to overcome them. With these facts before us, who, in order to secure the ultimate and most enlarged success of missionary effort, could wish to place the Church in the position she occupied when Stephen harangued the Sanhedrim; when Paul preached to the most intelligent of the pagans, from the steps of the Areopagus, amidst the temples, the altars, the statues, the splendid monuments of Grecian prowess, piety, and science—beneath the shade of Nero's palace, in view of the Coliseum, crowded with its scores of thousands of the most enlightened and refined of Roman citizens, gloating over the dying agonies of his noble coadjutors, and at the heart of that colossal empire whose shadow darkened not only over the whole civilized, but of vast portions of the barbarian world? To effect such a change in the position of the modern Church would be to transfer the mind, the intellectual enterprise of the world, from her friends to her opponents—to blot out all that advance of science which has given such tremendous power to Christianity, over the absurd systems of heathen literature—to annihilate the press, thereby sweeping away the multiplied facilities of this age for the diffusion of truth, the overthrow

of error, and bringing back upon the Church the night when the simple word of God, the world's great conservator, was dependent upon the slow pen of the scribe for multiplication, at the cost of a rich man's fortune, and the gains of a poor man's life—to break up the mighty chains of commerce, foundering your ships, blowing up your steamers, giving back the needle to the mine, and the ocean to its old masters, the un-blessing winds and storms—to consolidate the various nations of the world, whose very rivalry and jarrings are hastening the political emancipation of man, into one vast despotism ; its energies swayed by one mind, and that mind filled with exterminating rage toward the Christian Church. But I need not complete the picture. It is enough for us to know that there is little in early Christianity of which we regret the loss ; that there is nothing in present difficulties to appall ; and we have every thing necessary, in the outward circumstances of the Church, both to inspire hope and check presumption. There is but one thing wanting, at this day, in connection with these advantages which the ancient Church possessed in a most remarkable degree, to insure the most rapid, wide-spread, and permanent success—I refer to the devotion, the faith, the zeal, with which the Church herself should engage in this work. It is true, and it is a truth to be deeply pondered by men of enlarged minds, who may be skeptical respecting the ultimate triumph of our religion, that in no period of the world's history has there existed a greater amount of intelligent, well-balanced, devoted piety, than in this age. With all the corruptions in doctrine, and extravagance in measures of this day before us, the assertion is hazarded, that religion has never, on the whole, embraced less of fanaticism, more of intelligence, wealth, and enterprise, than at this moment. Let the Church, then, but awake to the vigorous prosecution of the great object before her, and, imitating the self-consecration of the early Christians, throw herself into this great enterprise, with all her vast resources, and energy, divine and resistless, will be infused into her exertions, and the day of triumph will quickly come. In the

formation of this association, as well as in the marshaling of the Christian host abroad through the world, I behold the sign of the rise of that spirit which, when it shall generally fill the heart, and waken the zeal of the renewed on earth, will level alike the throne of the despot, and the time-cemented superstitions to which they cling ; before which the Crescent will wane into darkness, the funeral pile, and bloody idols of the Hindoo, flee away ; the intolerance, the corruptions, the fierce contentions of nominal Christendom vanish, while the song of redemption, which it first breathed forth on the plains of Bethlehem, will swell up, in grand chorus, from every altar and temple, every cottage and palace, and every hill and vale. The voices of ten thousand new-born sons of Zion fall upon my ear from the isles of the Pacific and the shores of India. Hail them as the prelude of that universal anthem which will enwrap the world when the gospel shall illumine every dwelling, and kindle the fire of a pure religion on every altar, and in every heart beneath the whole heaven.

VIII.

NATURAL SCIENCE IN ITS RELATIONS TO ART AND THEOLOGY.*

IN analyzing the spirit of any age or country, we shall find that it is the result of various causes, of elements diverse in character and in degree of power, which combine to produce the manifestations of national life. It is the predominance of a few of these at any one time which gives to that period their name and form. It was in the early part of the sixteenth century that the inductive philosophy received its grand development—a philosophy, indeed, which had always prevailed more or less, and regulated in a great degree human life, but which, as then it was taken above the common affairs of men, wrought into system and made to give law to the generalization of all science, has, by consent of mankind, stamped that age with its own impress. It was in the commencement of the eighteenth century that mathematical science in its purest forms attained a sudden and prodigious expansion; it was when Newton and Leibnitz sat on rival thrones, and from year to year dazzled the world with their discoveries and those of their followers, that the pure mathematics made the most surprising advance. Yet this was the age of Addison, ushering in the Augustan age of British literature, when poets and elegant writers swarmed throughout England, and our language received that finish of style which has ever since characterized it. And just as men look at this age from one or the other of these positions, they will call it the epoch either of mathematical science or elegant literature.

* An address delivered before the Miami Union Literary Society of Miami University, June 25, 1851.

The period in which we live may be styled the age of liberty, or of commercial enterprise, or of popular instruction, or of wide-spread organizations for the diffusion of the gospel through the world. In addition to these and other characteristics, however, there is one which seems to me to enter vitally into the spirit of the times, which, as a mighty force, is bearing society itself onward, which is intimately associated with all our commercial enterprises, and has relations of amity and support to both liberty and religion. I do not refer to the press alone, but to that which created the press; I do not allude to steam and its triumphs, but to that of which this is but one of a rapidly increasing progeny. I do not speak of schools, academies, and colleges, but of that which is supplying in a great part the elements of their instruction, and dictating to them a new world of knowledge. It is to *physical science* that I here refer, to that attention to material things, that enthusiastic study of the natural world in all its heights and depths, in all its forms of beauty and grandeur, in all its secret processes and operations, which is enlisting to so great an extent much of the talent and giving character to much of the learning of this age.

It is not to be denied that natural science—and I use the term in its broadest signification—it is not to be denied that this science has within the last half century advanced with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of the world. It has come forth from the smoky laboratory of the alchemist and the dusty study of the astrologer, and refusing longer to be held in bondage by the categories of logic or the formulas of empirics, it has risen to the dignity of true science, and vindicated its claim to a high position among ennobling pursuits. Allying itself on the one hand to the arts which are more directly concerned in the abridging of human labor, the provision of luxury and comfort gathered from all the world, and on the other with the more purely intellectual pursuits of the educated, it has forced itself into a position of authority and power from which it is utterly impossible it should ever be cast down. It is no longer a search for the secret of trans-

muting a base metal into gold ; it is rather the demonstration of the thousand uses to which that base metal may be so applied as not only to relieve it from all its baseness, but impart to it a virtue of genuine excellence and true nobility which the silver and gold never knew. It is no longer the casting of nativities and horoscopes, the busy idleness of a puerile, vaunting astrology : but it is the vision that, with more than eagle penetration, looks into space and *through* the crowds of worlds that roll in mazy pathways around us, and it is the powerful understanding that watches their motions and determines their positions, and so begins an approximation to the final solution of that magnificent problem, the actual construction and ultimate law of motion of this boundless universe. It is no longer the trickery of an amusing magic, nor the elaborately constructed and brilliant hypothesis of a theorist who, in his study and by the force of thought abstracted from all observation, pretends to interpret nature ; it is rather the actual unfolding of the amazing powers of that nature, the patient hearing of her voice, the gathering up of her utterance, and their harmonious combination, so as to present the book to our eyes as God wrote it, with glory streaming from every page and every line. That nature is thus questioned on every hand, that it constitutes a fact too broad and influential to be overlooked in an attempt to compass the spirit of this age, is too obvious to demand proof in the presence of *such* an audience. Its quickening power is seen and felt all around us. It has entered ancient universities, where Aristotle ruled for centuries, and rudely pushed him from his stool. It has sent Plato, with his *To kalon* and his *To eidolon*, his forms without substance, and his genera without species, to learn practical wisdom from the natural and living things that fill God's vast creation, and manifest forth his mighty Godhead. Even the proud realms of classic lore, and the fields where of yore the men of dialectics and syllogisms trod so grandly, have been rudely invaded by this modern adventurer ; and although we have not fully realized the large system of university education which Bacon, disgusted with the

everlasting study of precedents, untested theories, and the total suppression of the free spirit of inquiry into the world of nature, propounded long years ago, yet we are daily approximating to its full realization. Compare the list of professorships in any of the older universities of this continent or Europe at the present with one forty or fifty years ago, and read the progress of physical science, and the commanding position to which it has reached. To say nothing of astronomy and other branches of the mixed mathematics, where and what were chemistry and geology and mineralogy and natural philosophy and anatomy and physiology and the associated branches of natural science? Not only is it essential to a fully manned university now, that it should have its chairs of natural philosophy and chemistry and geology, but also those of agricultural and vegetable chemistry, and the application of natural science to the arts: while scarcely a school of any reputation is deemed complete without a laboratory and an apparatus for the illustration of the more common branches of natural philosophy and the system of astronomy. Within the last week I have seen an original plan for a university in the capital of an eastern State that embraces nominally three faculties of law, medicine, and natural science, but which in effect is a more perfect realization of the great philosopher's idea of a University than any thing we now have in this country; its chief peculiarity being the prominence given to the experimental sciences, the free scope allowed for a thorough investigation of the works of God. It is, indeed, difficult to realize either the progress or the results of the study of natural science by a comparison of brief periods. We must go back a few centuries into the heart of one of the most civilized countries of the world, and witness the grandest pageant of the day—the pageant that most fully revealed the spirit of the times, and declared the bent and taste of the minds that give law to nations. In the environs of a city now the largest in the world, and the metropolis of the grandest empire on which the sun looks down, there were gathered a few centuries ago the brave, the beau-

tiful, the noble, and the mighty of a nation's people. Kings and queens were there, and earls and barons, the makers of kings, stood proudly by their side; for it was a day when royalty came forth from its seclusion, and the satellites of a court and the grandees of a nation had met to behold how men sheathed in iron, with their brains in their stout arms and fists, could ride the hardest and dash the lance most powerfully against each other's brazen shields, and hack most lustily their steel-clad skulls. And through that vast array there was the most intense enthusiasm, and grave and gay chose their champions, and never a knight went forth to battle in the tournament that carried not with him the sympathies and prayers of many for his success, while the victor gathered the applause of thousands, and from the hands of the fairest and noblest there received the crown of glory. Nor was the influence of such a scene confined to those who witnessed it. The fame of it spread in slow but ever enlarging circles through palaces and cottages, through courts and peasant gatherings, while from side to side Europe talked of the splendor and the bravery of the actors, and the flower of a nation's chivalry assembled, and the beauty of the fair dames who graced the stirring scene with their presence. Such were the spectacles that then moved the hearts of refined and civilized nations, and to such pursuits were the strength of a nation's manhood directed, and by such actors were the grandest prizes of earthly renown borne off. Let us pass at a single stride from the past to the present. Let us visit the same spot, around which now the population of that same city in its vast expansion has reared miles of dwellings and gathered up the wealth of half the globe. The knight and mail-clad warrior have disappeared. The huge battle-ax and lance are seen no more. Where esquires and nobles fought, has risen in a night, at the creative will of science, a palace vast in its dimensions, beautiful in its proportions, and grand in its impression. No huge buttresses and deep moat and lofty wall and turret and keep and draw-bridge are there, for it is the temple of peace and unity, within which representative na-

tions gather, and against which no hostile foot advances. Royalty is there, with earls and lords, and all the magnificence of the richest courts, but they assemble to do honor to another scene, and grace the triumphs of another style of manhood. The real heroes of this modern tournament, the men whose names grow familiar as household words to whole continents, are they whose genius has reared such a temple and filled it with the handicraft of the world, and gathered there the flower and fruit of science long toiling in solitude and depression for the advancement of the outward state of man and the elevation of society. That wondrous exhibition on which the eyes of nations are turned, beside which the splendors of royalty grow dim, and the brute force and warlike magnificence of the age of chivalry retire into contemptible obscurity, is a type of the age, a mirror of its spirit, a striking indication of the hold which all these pursuits which have the elevation and comfort and improvement of society as their chief end, are taking upon the hearts of men.

But it is time for us to leave this general surview and descend to a more particular inquiry into the connection of this increased study of natural science with those practical pursuits which are essential to the progress of society, with those arts which adorn and that religion which saves the world.

That this devotion to physical science has a connection most intimate and vital with those pursuits most directly associated with our physical comfort, is obvious to an attentive observer. It is a fact well worth being treasured up and reflected upon, that the world is so bound together in all its parts, and even the universe around is so allied to us, that a discovery in any part of it of some new phenomenon, or the original combination of some of its elements in the form of an invention, is in some way made to affect happily the whole. It is not now as once it was, when men studied not to find out the powers and attributes of the world, but in defiance of nature sought the demonstration of some ingenious theory, baseless as the fabric which the imagination of youth rears in the distant future. It is now the aim of the student of natural

science to observe the facts just as they present themselves to the cautious mind, and on these as a basis immovable as the foundations of the globe itself, establish those broad generalizations which give to each department of study the character of true science. And no matter where or in what department he may push forward his investigations, yet it will be strange indeed if he make not some discoveries which will contribute something to that practical knowledge by which labor is rewarded, the sphere of mind enlarged, and human comfort promoted. The investigations of an obscure chemist in another part of the globe are enhancing prospectively every acre of arable land on the earth's surface. And thus the chemist and the farmer—the geologist and the smith—the inventor and the operator—the astronomer, the merchant and sailor, are each connected together by invisible but real circles of influence. Nay, often the most barren fields of nature, into which only an enthusiastic devotion will carry the explorer, furnish the richest blessing to the world. The man who, amidst the ridicule and contempt of courts and nations, went forth upon the ocean to discover not a new world, but a new passage to an old world, sowed his seed upon seemingly the barrenest rock, and reaped the richest harvest for mankind. The observation of each star that twinkles, the determination of its position and times, is linked on to the perfection of the whole system of navigation and geographical discovery throughout the world, and is aiding forward that stupendous commerce which even now is net-working the globe. The discovery of Daguerre has furnished employment for scores of thousands, and comfort and luxury to millions. The original explorer is constantly accumulating materials which the genius of the inventor and the skill of the craftsman will fashion into new powers of labor and new sources of wealth. Meanwhile the enthusiasm of the student and the experimenter descends to the multitude; and the prospect of new avenues for advancement or the just fame of a national benefactor rouses many minds and quickens genius itself in the race of improvement. As each new discovery is announced, there are intellects on

the alert not only to introduce it into the general systems of science, but to criticise it with a practical eye, to seize hold of it as an available force for the promotion of the interests of mankind. It was the student and the experimenter who discovered the capacity of soft iron instantly to become or cease to be a magnet ; but no sooner is the discovery announced, than the practical genius of the inventor seizes hold of it as a means for talking round the globe. And thus the student clears the pathway for the inventor, and the inventor provides the models for the skillful operator, and the operator brings forth his improvements and rouses the public mind to grasp a new idea and ascend another step in physical progress. The action and reaction between these different classes of thinkers and workers not only affects themselves personally ; it spreads through society an influence favorable to enterprise and advancement ; it stimulates labor, breaks up the barriers which divide men into classes and retard their progress. Whatever affects directly the physical improvement of society, whatever is adapted to mitigate the original curse pronounced upon the earth, and while it abridges toil, brings to it larger means of bettering its condition, touches some of the most common springs of human action, and creates in turn a healthful mental excitement. The student of natural science thus stands at the source of influences that affect all the elements of society ; that in time steal into the heart of nations and modify the condition of empires. Call him idler, enthusiast, fool, if you will ; ridicule and starve him as a fit reward for studies so meaningless to the dull eye of ignorance. Yet wait awhile, and lo ! he has struck the rock, and the water gushes forth and flows on for ever to quench the thirst of millions, and bear its benison to a wide and ever-enlarging circle of mortals.

Passing from this acknowledged tendency of natural science, we come at once upon a more doubtful territory. The question comes home to us, whether this wide-spread devotion to the visible and the physical, is not destroying a just devotion to the more purely intellectual and spiritual,

whether the analysis of soils tends not to withdraw our students from the analysis of language, and the anatomizing of bodies from the anatomizing of minds, and the observation of visible things from the high pursuit of purely intellectual forms and processes, and the laws of matter from the laws of nations? Now it is certain that it is not for the highest interest of society that the educated mind thereof should be chiefly bent upon these physical attainments. For we must have men with intellects disciplined to sound the depths of law, and unfold the principles of civil and political organization; men who have studied the pathology of the human system, and grasped the laws which control his physical and mental powers; we must have men who can compass the laws of trade and trace out their obscure economy; men who will rise to the far-sighted vision of statesmen, and from the confused experiences of the past and the present evolve that style of national government which is in harmony with the largest welfare of nations. We must have men who shall cultivate the field of general literature—poets, historians, essayists; men who shall compass the force of languages, and gather into one tongue the cream of the world's science; who shall study God's revelation in its holy original, and ascending above the metaphysics of individual sciences, master that higher system in which they all unite. And it is a question for us to examine whether the physical spirit of the age does not tend to impair that higher culture, that thorough analysis of mind, that study of language, that attention to the purer mathematics, that compassing the lessons of history, that observation of man as he has lived and developed himself in his nobler works in all ages, and that calm, rigid, patient spirit of generalization and acute reasoning, and that noble style of expression, which are more or less essential to the formation of those who are to mold and bless the world. Is it not true that there may be a tendency in this spirit of the age to monopolize all the merit and all the benefit and all the mind; to dictate the course of education and the style of training not only for some, but for the multitude of those

who are to be preëminently the thinkers of the world ; to denounce as antiquated all that bears not the stamp of its own image, and test the value of all education and all pursuits by a visible, immediate and vulgar utilitarianism ? It is undoubtedly the fact that in one respect this attention to the facts of a visible science may exert, and has exerted, a most happy influence upon our universities and regular schools of education. It has in part made obsolete the unending logomachies and disputations on subjects in themselves most trivial, or beyond the range of the human faculties ; it has assisted in dispersing theories which had no just foundation, and restrained the overflow of mind in the direction of investigations that have no higher end than to demonstrate the skillfulness with which the air may be beaten, and to display the ground and lofty tumbings of intellectual mountebanks. But may it not be, that in the sweep of this overflowing stream, there is a tendency not only to bear away the useless and the fantastic and the effete, but also to undermine palace and temple, and state house and cottage ; that the physical may seek to give law to the spiritual, matter control mind, and so the order of God be inverted, and that which should be the subject at length rises to be the lord. The ultimate result of such an uncounteracted influence would be of all things most disastrous to natural science itself. For science is not merely a collection of facts, a series of experiments. When the facts are gathered and the experiments are made, there is then a higher process of mind to be undertaken, the process of drawing out the metaphysics of which the facts known serve but as a basis. The house has yet to be built, and it demands, to erect a noble structure, a truly noble and generous discipline of the intellect, and the compassing of many elements of thought, and the grasp of a mind trained by other means to combine and analyze, to reject the false and hold on to the true, and wait and think, and think and wait, until the knowledge shapes itself into a full-grown theory, and gains at length the just proportions and stability and relations of science. Nay, more, there is

sometimes contained in the higher discipline of the University and of abstract science the only knowledge of the instrument by which natural science can effect its ends. The invention of logarithms is an essential element of the great progress of astronomy, and the higher mathematics are the very gateway into this majestic universe that sparkles about us. To suffer the spirit of a merely physical and immediate utility to govern our modes of education, is just to sacrifice on the altar of sense the highest of all utility, and at length so emasculate the intellect as to weaken its power of generalization, and turn the student world into a crowd of busy empirics. Let us, then, while on the one hand we appreciate the excellence of this devotion to physics, guard against the influence which would test all that is most noble by an outward rule; that would measure mind by a material standard, and education by the knowledge it gives of the forms of things, and the power it imparts to acquire a purely physical wealth.

I pass to a few remarks respecting the influence of this spirit of the age upon the fine arts. It is a common complaint that this intense devotion to the physical and practical has exerted, and is destined still further to exert, an unhappy influence upon those arts which express the ideal and seek to represent forms and sounds and scenery of imaginative beauty and thrilling power. It may be true, indeed, that the overgrowth of this physical spirit is hostile to the arts which deal so largely in ideal perfection. But this can be true only of its excess. For it is not to be supposed that the practical and the ideal—the physical and the spiritual—the substance and the form—the excellence and the glory, may not co-exist in their highest perfection. They are ever so united in the creation of God, and they may be in the works of man. The fountain that quenches thirst and fertilizes the earth, also flashes beautifully in the sunlight and murmurs sweetly in the stillness of evening. The tree that furnishes fruit and shade and fuel, hath often a loveliness and a grandeur of color and form that raise the most vivid emotions of pleasure in a

soul sensitive to ideal excellence. The sunlight that warms and cheers us, the most practical of all God's creatures, and the mightiest generator of the useful in the world, how doth he paint the flowers of every hue and dress the trees in ever-varying foliage, and wrap round the earth a robe like which none so fills the ideal of beauty which the human mind can form. And is it to be supposed that as the mind of man shall more and more come to understand those works of the infinite Creator he will fail to appreciate the noble and grand and lovely, or from his study of the practical, lose all power to express ideal perfection and combine into one the images and sounds that most affect and ravish the soul awake to all that is perfect? We are not of Plato, nor of Aristotle, in this matter. God hath in his intellect the patterns of all excellent things; and man, the image of God, hath not of himself, but in virtue of his sonship, the capacity to appreciate, and from that which God created to combine and so express such excellence in sensible forms or human language. This is the basis of all noble art and of all genuine poetry. And while it may be that in the first stages of a too exclusive attention to that which seems to be practical and most immediately useful, the mental and the remotely useful may be somewhat neglected, yet at length the continuous pursuit of these sciences and study of these works of God must bring round a new, more vigorous and more correct appreciation of works of art. Indeed, already much has been done to correct the misjudgment of artists and spread abroad a taste for their works. The progress of science and the practical arts has sent genius to work in a broader field. It has diffused and is diffusing the productions of genius in all mechanical skillfulness through the entire community. If in architecture we rear no grand cathedrals and hang no domes sublime in air, yet is there growing a spirit which seeks to rear our dwellings and lay out our grounds in ideal perfectness. If we paint no exquisite transfigurations and chisel no Phidian Jupiters, yet is there growing the desire to adorn our dwellings with the expression of natural scenery and fashion our furniture in forms of beauty.

The hand of taste and art is making itself visible in the construction of even those monster powers by which huge steamers are sent forth from continent to continent ; and I doubt not there is often manifested in the form and finish of many of our most efficient instruments as exquisite a beauty of its kind, as just an appreciation of symmetry and ideal perfection as that which shines forth with such condensed brilliancy from the works of the ancient masters. There is in the mint at Philadelphia an engine used for coining gold and silver, so exquisitely formed and so astonishingly accurate in its running, that if you fix your eye only upon the outer face of the regulator, it is almost impossible to detect, from either sight or sound, that it is in motion. If you will visit some of the larger cabinet warerooms in our city, you will see ideal beauty, in both form and finish, as lavishly displayed as in a gallery of pure art. It is thus the spirit of art is molding not simply here and there a "Greek Slave" or a "Landing of the Pilgrims," but the every-day forms amid which men move, giving a finer appearance to the common, exalting the mean, refining the rude, and marrying substance and form, matter and mind, the practical and the beautiful, as doth our great Creator in his glorious works.

In another manner also is physical science cultivating and gratifying a taste for art. The invention of engraving multiplies copies of the finest paintings, and scatters their spirit and fragrance over the world. The instrument more recently invented for copying statuary is preparing the way for the bringing home to the mass of us who can not travel abroad to see them the enjoyment of all their excellence. *Sun-painting*, too, itself the triumph of genius, how it multiplies forms and features we love to gaze upon ; how it rescues from an oblivion, we would in vain seek to penetrate, the countenances of those passed into the skies ! With all its imperfections, how immensely superior as a work of art to the ill-drawn and worse-painted caricatures called portraits that hang in many a drawing-room, and stand as the misrepresentations of the loved and the lost ! Nor have we reached the summit of perfection in

this direction. Genius will achieve nobler triumphs in this field ; and yon orb of light will yet at its invocation paint for us on the metal, as he does in the mirror and the water and all over nature, forms that will surpass, in soft and delicate finish, in admirable drawing, in exquisite coloring and light and shade, and in naturalness of expression, the brightest imaginings of a Reynolds or a Raphael. It is not the costliness of a thing that gives it value. In our offerings to God, this may be true as an expression of our appreciation of his excellence ; and then the alabaster box is fit and full of meaning. But beauty and excellence God himself hath created in wonderful profusion. To me it is a matter of joy, when, from the works of man, new sources of pleasure in the contemplation of actual or ideal excellence are opened up, not merely to the few who have wealth to lavish, but to the multitude who toil with mind or body for their daily bread. And I doubt not that the time is coming when in the advance of physical science a point will be reached where science and art will join their forces, and united give to the world—not to kings and princes—not to palaces and wealth—but to the world, to the peasant and the cottage—to the farmer returning from his plow and the artisan from his toil, as beautiful forms of ideal excellence as the world has ever seen, purified from the grossness which has too often disgraced the works of genius and made them a synonym for corruption of manners and the fall of States. We trust the time is coming when we shall have *original* architects ; when men shall not imagine architecture too perfect to be improved, and invention shall not stand at the present limit, afraid to cross it, and genius can do nothing but copy the “stones of Venice,” and remodel the crumbling Parthenon. There is a field for an original genius, for the Wrens and Angelos of the future, yet unoccupied. Egypt can build us gloomy jails and penitentiaries—Greece can fashion banks and exchanges—Arabia light and graceful summer palaces—Germany turreted state houses and somber mass houses. But where is that *Christian* architecture, which, in all its arrangements, befits the proclamations of the gospel and the simple

worship of a primitive Christianity? a style of architecture in which within, columns to obstruct the sight and intricate arches to scatter sound, are absent; while without, there shall be an expression all in harmony with our simple yet sublime faith, and a fit temple to be associated with the solemn and joyous worship of Jehovah? We doubt not such architects will yet rise, whose works will differ as much from those old forms of building as they differ from each other; who will give us a truly Protestant architecture; who will symbolize our faith in a style at once grand, simple, beautiful, adapted to our worship and destined to endure and act as an educating influence for multitudes unborn.

There is one subject in respect to which the connection of natural science is so broad and so influential for good or evil, that it would be unpardonable to omit the consideration of it in the discussion of such a theme. The connection of natural science with natural theology and the written Revelation is daily rising in seeming importance, and demands of us a cool and accurate determination. In speaking on it, you will allow me not a poetic but a professional license both in the mode and limits of the discussion. For natural theology is the final end of all these sciences. They are but the roots, this the lofty tree. Each science is composed first of facts; then of the laws and relations of those facts to each other, or the metaphysics of that science. Then above these there are laws common to several or all these departments of knowledge, which constitute a still higher system of metaphysics; and these again hold a direct relation to the final cause of all. The more general divisions of natural science are great roots of a noble tree—each of which, while it has a distinct system of roots of its own, at length unites and forms the trunk which bears the wide-spread tree. Natural theology is the tree which springs from natural science as its root. The creation which natural science investigates and analyzes, exists prior to revealed religion. The *world* was made and then man to inhabit it. The house was made, its massive foundations laid, its goodly superstructure uplifted, and all its

wonderful adornments fashioned, ere man was created as its tenant. "Where wast thou, when I laid the foundations of the earth? declare if thou hast understanding. Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who laid the corner-stone thereof, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" When man was fashioned, the work of creation was accomplished; he stood upon the greensward of a blooming creation, and gazed forth upon ten thousand objects of natural beauty and grandeur. *He* did not see them come into existence; they antedated his being; the wondrous facts of natural science were beneath, around and above him, the first walk he took in his new domain. The hosts of heaven wheeled as now in silent, mazy, burning march above his head; the trees lifted their tops heavenward, and flowers bloomed and fruits blushed into ripeness, while field and grove and watercourse were animated with the busy life of a teeming population. Now out of this thought of the priority of the natural to the written revelation of the Infinite, there grows another, that natural science as the basis of natural theology should precede or accompany the fuller and more distinct revelation in human language—that the physical world is essential to the full establishment and unfolding of the idea of God in the mind of man. I mean not to deny that the All-powerful can manifest himself by a direct inward inspiration, independently of his works. I will not speculate upon the possible or the impossible in respect to him whose infinite resources are probably known to us only in their lowest degree. Nor is it necessary to consider the influences now existing within the human heart adverse to the reception of his knowledge, even when it is the compound heat and light of both natural and revealed religion. But considering man simply as he was originally and is now in his best estate, a being of exceedingly limited faculties, it seems necessary that he should have something more than mere *assertion*, although that were made by the voice of the Creator himself,

to preserve and develop within him suitable conceptions of the infinite Lord. The physical world is the stable manifestation of certain attributes of that Being, addressing the senses, irresistibly laying hold of the understanding, and where there is no counteracting force, adapted at once to suggest the noblest ideas of God and impress them indelibly upon the soul. It is the body in which the thoughts and mental operations of the Invisible clothe themselves, in order to become visible to the eye and cognizable as elements of reasoning by the mind of man ; it is a medium of manifestation between the divine and human, through which the former reveals himself, in ways not only wonderfully varied, but adapted to create in the soul a permanent abode for the grand and awful idea of a creating and sovereign Spirit. To understand this more fully—to see how important a place these natural evidences of the existence and attributes of God hold as a foundation even for the written revelation, you have only to imagine this globe denuded of all that which constitutes its glory. Let the verdure, the flowers, the trees, the fountains disappear ; let the giant rocks and the open strata and the vast system of crystallization which has ribbed the earth in stone, be concealed ; let neither the beauty nor the melody of the brute creation meet his eye or fall upon his ear, while its admirable adaptation to promote the good of man and evince the wisdom of the Creator is hidden from his view ; let the heaven above him no longer hang out its myriad lamps at night and glow with noontide brilliancy ; let the clouds no more condense the rain-drops and reflect in images of celestial beauty the glories of the setting sun ; let man stand alone, ignorant of his own structure, maintained by direct power from above through no agency of second causes ; let him see around him only a dull, fashionless clod, and above him only a canopy of equally dull and formless cloud ; let him witness no evidences of divine wisdom in the creation above and beneath him, and examine no specimens of the divine handiwork, such as will carry with them an irresistible demonstration of the high attributes of Jehovah ; and then how long

would it be before he gained any correct idea of his Creator, or having gained it, how long would it be before it faded from his soul? In what condition would he be to receive a spoken or a written revelation, when as yet there have never been presented to his senses the natural evidences of any of the high attributes of the Infinite? Nay, is it not true that it is among the works of natural science that the mind first and most constantly finds the stimulus for exercise; that here it learns to reason and generalize and ascend from effects to causes—from the seen to the unseen—from the known to the unknown—from that which is cognizable in part to that greater part which lies hidden from view? Is it not true, that at the very outset of its career the mind quickens and expands as it comes in healthful contact with the facts of natural science; and that through long years of intellectual toil it acquires the power to grasp in part the immense conception of a God? Without this discipline, without these works having already wrought into it certain great and fixed ideas; or without the presence of that which is visible and known to furnish a foundation for the invisible and unknown, how would direct assertions, though made in the clearest language, convey suitable ideas of God, or how could God demonstrate his being to man?

But change this scene, transfer the solitary man from that dull globe and those meaningless clouds to our living, echoing universe, with its stars and brilliant skies and laboratory of rain drops; with its animated creation, its verdant life, its pleasant fountains, its evidences of loveliness and wisdom multiplied as the seconds of time—reaching down into the earth far as man can sink his shaft, stretching away into the heavens far as the telescope can penetrate; bring him into such a world as this, where the attributes of God look out upon him from every object on which his eye can rest or his reason study; where the most impressive demonstrations of what God is, from what he has done, encompass him round and force themselves upon his attention, and if his heart is only right, will there not be a preparation, a power of influ-

ence mighty to create the noblest ideas of God, and fill him with the profoundest reverence? Can he look out upon the ocean sleeping in calmness, or uplifting the thunder of its surges, without grasping the idea of boundless power? Can he study the mechanism of the heavens and the earth without receiving the most affecting conceptions of infinite wisdom? Can he look upon the images of beauty that everywhere adorn the face of nature, without attaining a vivid idea of the loveliness and glory of him who threw into such forms so large a part of his creation? And when he has compassed these demonstrations of the natural, will his mind here arrest its progress, and at the very threshold of the moral will he cease to reason? Or, will he not enter the inner temple and seek to know the truth, the benevolence, the justice and the holiness—the moral sovereignty of the great “*I am.*”

Now, with such a foundation to rest upon, with such a demonstration to work with and prepare the way; with such convictions already wrought into the mind and incorporated with all its habits of thought; with such a universe of testimony to appeal to—testimony that can not lie and that can not be resisted without a desperate purpose, men are prepared for a higher revelation, for a step in advance of all the teachings of merely natural science, and the means are furnished for the ready communication of such a profound revelation, and the impressive manifestation of it to the soul. Thus it is true that physical science the farther it extends its researches, the more perfectly it analyzes and compares, and combines and unfolds the real structure of the universe, is but uncovering the broad foundations on which the written revelation may sublimely repose.

But while this is the general relation of natural science to natural theology, yet there is another special and vastly important relation which the progress of physical science sustains to revelation. For it is in part on the physical world that this revelation is made to rest for the demonstration of its original; it is by means of this natural science and its triumphs that one portion of the evidence of inspiration is

tested, and the superiority of that evidence demonstrated over all false theogonies. What are miracles but the voice of the Creator speaking through physical laws of his own creation, and attesting the inspiration of prophet and apostle? What are they but the attestation of God given to an express revelation in the same way as his works attest his natural character? Gravitation and mobility are attributes and laws of fluids which evince the being and wisdom of Jehovah; and when *he* comes forth and reverses or suspends those laws, and channels a pathway for vast armies through the depths of the sea, piling up the waters in firm walls on either side the human host, what is that but the Almighty, through a physical element, by the suspension of its ordinary laws, demonstrating his presence, as he did originally when he set the waters flowing, and made it their nature to seek the lowest level? Disease and death are results of the operations of laws which he has created and maintained, and as such they declare his almightiness; but when to attest the inspirations of prophet and apostle, disease instantly vanishes and death gives up its prey, and for the time a new set of laws supersedes the old, is not this the use of the physical creation to demonstrate the divinity of the spoken and written word? It is the fact that natural science has just such a voice, and can have no other in these cases; that all its researches have only established the fact that water is mobile and flows to the center, that death is the total absence of life, and it is no more within the reach of human power to restore the vital element, to spread the flush of health and infuse the vigor of life into the cold corpse, than to create a world; it is the fact that such ever has been and ever will be the testimony of natural science, that gives such demonstration to miracles, and lifts them above all the jugglery of magicians and all the delusions and trickery with which superstition seeks to impose upon the credulity of ignorance, and impresses upon them a universal and permanent truthfulness, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. For if the time should ever arrive when in the progress of science the secret should be discovered of dividing the

ocean with a rod, or multiplying bread with a word, or restoring the dead to life, then would this branch of the evidences of inspiration fall to the ground, and these miracles would only prove the greater knowledge and skillfulness of those who wrought them. But if, on the other hand, they baffle all the research of wise men, and amidst the triumphs of science, in all other directions, remain as impossible to unaided human power as on the day they were wrought, then does that science, by the confession of its impotence, attest their divinity.

Having thus stated on the one side the connection revelation holds with natural science, it is but just to add that in another view Christianity is itself a *science*, an independent science as truly as geology or chemistry or astronomy. It has its own facts and its own laws digested into a regular system. It has its threefold foundation of miracles, prophecy and internal character. Each of these proofs of inspiration is complete in itself, and when combined, they form a demonstration as logical and substantial and immovable as that furnished by any other science whatever. Taking our stand on these, we rest with as firm an assurance as can possess the human mind in respect to any existence. The stars in their courses may seem to fight against us; the earth may seem to bring forth her long-concealed testimony against that we hold to be truth; the entire field of natural science may seem to bristle with demonstrations against this higher science, yet neither the stars, nor the earth, *can* furnish a demonstration against, at all comparable with that which already exists in favor of, Christianity. There may be those who regard this spirit that is abroad, and these physical pursuits, as inimical to the establishment of a firm faith, as tending to the overthrow of our assurance. But such souls have never studied this higher revelation as the very perfection and flower of all the sciences, rising among them and above them, sublime and eternal. To change the figure, it is not an arch of wood that shakes beneath the burdens it must bear, that decays with age, and demands with each successive cycle a new recruit of props and

timbers to supply the waste of time. It is rather an arch of living stones, compacted by the onward march of ages, challenging the earthquake to upheave and the universe to destroy. I saw the man of science dash his ax against the wooden props and supports which the fearful friends of truth had reared beneath it ; I saw them fall, one by one, while at each successive overthrow the hearts of the tremblers grew faint, and the triumphant shout of the opposers rang through the world. But when the dust of the conflict was settled, behold the same goodly arch towering in its own naked grandeur, self-supported, and more grandly revealed than before. And so when natural science has been subsidized to give utterance to a lying testimony, we can wait awhile until a new induction has taken place and observation has a wider range, and the facts assumed as the basis for a presumptuous hypothesis, which hasty and ardent minds had woven into a theory, stand forth in a new light, and the theory falls to the ground, while the truth, biding its time, at length comes forth radiant with a brighter splendor and circled with a more brilliant crown.

I have said that Christian theology was a science, as truly developed in all its parts, related and bound together in one magnificent whole, as any of the other sciences—with this great difference—this crown imperial upon its head, that it stands nearest the eternal throne and reflects the intensest brightness of the divine being, that it lifts the veil from the future and opens the portals of hope to the sons of time, that it visits earth not so much to weed out its briars and thorns as to scatter the darkness of the soul, and enable the once bowed spirit to stand erect and joyful amidst the sorrows of this life, and bid it plume its pinions for a heavenward flight. It is too often forgotten by the professors of other sciences, that this is a science the noblest of them all, and in some respects the most difficult ; that it has its learned professors of intellect as profound and sublime as any the world has known ; that it has its volumes of learned investigation, its transactions philological, historical, and ethical, its inward development

in the growth of a living faith unfolded in works of Christian biography, its outward defenses built up from the solid rock of unchanging truth so high that no adventurous arrow of the assailant can scale its battlements—so strong that no huge battering ram, however powerful the hand that wields it, has ever succeeded in starting a single stone. It has been too common for men to forget this fact, and as a consequence, in the language of an eloquent defender of our faith, Christian theology has been considered “a common hunting ground ;” on which not only empirics and literary mountebanks, phrenologizers and mesmerizers, the personal caricatures of science, but also men of real power and genius and learning in their respective fields of inquiry, have felt at liberty to pursue their prey with as much coolness as if they had been at home in the wide enclosure for centuries. It is indeed a confessed truth in this country that every man is born a politician, and from a child upwards rightfully assumes the prerogative to pronounce upon the profoundest affairs of State and call his grandfather an ignoramus. But we deny that men are born *theologians*, or that the study of every thing but theology necessarily qualifies a man to judge of such a vast and complicated system. It is a mystery to us how the study of stars, or rock strata, or fossil fish, will enable a man to interpret Hebrew and Greek. Undoubtedly all science hath relations of amity and support to theology ; and if these relations be duly considered and rigidly followed, they will conduct the student to a point where reverently he will wait for the higher revelation of the science nearest the throne. Yet doth every science require and form peculiar habits of observation and special kinds of learning, that may not be so favorable to the investigation of other sciences. The mathematician has his mode of demonstration, and the jurist his, and the chemist his, and the theologian his, and the classical scholar his. And each of these may be most admirable for their own kind of work, yet by no means the best for another field of inquiry. It is not usual even in particular sciences or professions to look for universal perfection, or adaptation of mind to all its

parts. The ablest special pleaders at the bar ; the acutest controversialists in divinity, have not always been the finest lawyers or the most comprehensive theologians, since the mind turned intensely in one direction, to differences and words, does not so readily grasp the resemblances and fathom the profounder principles which underlie both law and theology. Still more strikingly is this true in different sciences, where in the mode of investigation there is little if any resemblance. I would not, in these remarks, be understood as intimating a desire that you, gentlemen of science, should conduct your investigations trammelled by any necessity of seeking to harmonize the facts you may discover with this highest of all the sciences. Bring forth your facts, but be sure they *are facts* ; form your theories, but be sure they have a *just* foundation ; push your investigations into the heavens above and the earth beneath ; and fear not that it is possible, though you study from this hour to the conflagration, though you should penetrate to the center of the globe and ascend to the central palace of the universe, you should ever discover a stone or a shrub, a comet or a sun, that will not at length, when you find its real place and true position, lift up its voice with all nature and providence in a chorus of praise to him who redeemed the world. Let the past teach you ; let the surgings of science backwards and forwards, now threatening to engulf Christianity and now retiring in calmness, teach you. Let this grand fact, that the march of science has gathered its trophies and laid them *all* at the Redeemer's feet, admonish you that, however glorious may be your discoveries, there is a science filled with an intenser light, springing forth from the heart of the Creator, that like Mount Blanc, grows taller, lifts itself nearer the skies, sparkles with a more glorious radiance, is crowned with a grander sublimity, the higher you ascend the tops of the mountains that cluster round its base.

There is abroad among many minds an impression that this devotion to physical science and art is apt to generate a physical spirit—that the occupation of the mind with material things tends to materialize the opinions and destroy faith in

the unseen and the spiritual. The names of La Place and La Grange, and others of kindred nature, are made to bear up the burden of this weighty charge against the study of the works of the All-wise. We take it as an admitted principle in this discussion, that there is in man naturally a heart of unbelief by which the most amazing manifestations of the divine *may* be colored, obscured, and resisted. But this fact bears with equal strength against all sciences, whatever be their nature—yea, even against the right understanding of the sublimest of all revelations. If there be any thing *peculiarly* destructive of faith in these physical studies, it must be due to one of two causes. It must arise on the one side from the occupation of the senses to such an extent as to forbid the exercise of reason—from the absorption of the man in the outward and the tangible to so great degree as to prevent the full development of the higher powers of the understanding and dull his soul to the perception of the spiritual and unseen. But this is directly in the face of all science—which is an ascent into the region of systems and laws and forces inferred to exist from the known facts—this is downright barbarism, and is totally destructive not only of faith but of mind in all its nobler actings. Or on the other hand this tendency to materialism must arise from apparently a directly opposite, but substantially the same cause as that just mentioned. If in these investigations the man of science carries his discoveries so far as actually to see *through* all nature—if instead of finding mystery within mystery, and the power of life and order eluding the most thorough resolution of all known phenomena, he penetrates the mystery, lays hold of and drags forth to light the plastic power which arranges and vivifies all the material world, why then indeed it may be true—then indeed it would be true that natural science, prosecuted to its farthest limits, would materialize his views, and destroy all faith in an invisible power of infinite wisdom, the mighty maker of all things. But if the longer man stretches his line the deeper this awful ocean of life becomes; if the farther his telescope penetrates the heavens, and his microscope the earth,

the more entirely are all his speculations distanced by the magnificence and wisdom of the scene ; if the more searching his analysis into principles and second causes, he utterly fails to see *through* them—he always finds back of all his researches a mysterious power which it is utterly impossible for him to grasp or comprehend ; if he finds that there is a limit to his knowledge, not from the shallowness of the subjects, but from the nature of his own mental faculties, and that the smallest flower that springs up at his feet hath that within it which eludes the most intense vision of the most vigorous intellect ; if he sees this to be true, not in one or two instances, but in every instance, that there is a plastic power which ascends from stones to stars, and pervades all creation in its wondrous subtlety and influence, *then he is obliged to believe*—then he is brought face to face with an infinite being, whom by searching it is impossible to find out unto perfection : and so the tendency—the uncounteracted force of these material studies is to bear him onward to a sublime faith in the eternal Creator, and prepare his mind for the reception of whatever further light he may see fit to shed upon his soul. Thus the “unlocking of the gates of sense” is made ultimately to unlock the gates of the spirit to the entrance of the grandest views of the infinite Lord. The march of this science, *other things being equal*, will be the triumph of a lofty and intelligent faith—a faith, stripped of the rags of superstition and distorted views of truth, in its own celestial beauty hastening to attract the world around the cross of Christ.

Nor is it true, in fact, that the broad stream of unbelief has to any great extent been fed from this fountain. Who have been the famous patriarchs of infidelity, the grand masters in this temple of nightshade ? Were they Copernicus and Galileo, the Bacons and Keplers and Newtons, and a host of such bright names ; the naturalists to whom all eyes at once turn with reverence, whose amazing toils created a new world of science, and gave an upward impulse to the human mind, and set in motion that train of causes whose results are our daily wonder and thanksgiving ? Or were they not

such men as Bolingbroke and Hume and Gibbon and Voltaire and Paine, the speculators, the moral and political philosophers ; men who set reason above facts, or made the facts bend to their logic ? And in these latter days, whence sprang that mystic rationalism which spirits away Christianity in a fog of doubts, of myths and fables, and degrades the chief revelation of the Infinite to a level with the Iliad of Homer and the theogony of Hesiod ? Came it from Davy and Herschel and Cuvier and Humboldt, the grandest naturalists of their day ? or came it not from the brains of a Kant, a Hegel, a Strauss, and others of like character, the men who spin their theories not out of the heavens and the earth, but out of their own benighted intellects ? What form of infidelity at this day is most rampant, insinuating, plastic and intractable ? Comes it from natural philosophy, or astronomy, or the yet infant geology ? or comes it not from a false philology which misinterprets Scripture, and a false philosophy which misinterprets life and its great ends ? Natural science has this advantage, that fact meets fact, the hypothesis of to-day has to encounter the new revelations of to-morrow ; and however plausible the theory, if false, it can stand but a little while amidst the keen research of so many minds bent upon observation and eager to search out the new and the true. But men may argue on other questions, and words may take the place of arguments, and ingenuity triumph long over the simple truth. Amidst the uncertainties of language and the intangible nature of abstract ideas, sophistry has always found room to build labyrinths more intricate than that of Crete, in which the strong and the bold have been incarcerated, and from which no Ariadne has furnished a clue to escape. Bewildered amidst the intricacies of abstract reasoning, and reaching, by the terms of logic, conclusions that the instinctive nature of man proclaims false and absurd, they have often brought the very name of metaphysics into contempt, and involved all enquiries into the abstract relations of things in their own disgrace. But in natural science, although there may be the same readiness to adopt unwarranted

conclusions, and the same impatience of protracted investigation, and the same unwillingness to wait the gathering together of the requisite materials for the establishment of a sound theory, yet there is not the same room for the play of the imagination and the freedom of speculation ; and if there were, there is a way of meeting idle conjecture by bringing forth the results of a farther observation—of overturning a false hypothesis by the testimony of tangible and stubborn facts, far superior to that which, on the field of metaphysics, the advocate of truth must pursue to overtake and expose the advocate of error. While then we admit that in such pursuits the human mind, bearing about with it the common infirmities of our nature, may stray into the dark regions of error ; while we admit that minds undisciplined by the exercise of faith in the higher mysteries of Christian truth, may even seek to array nature against revelation and wield the forces and facts of a material creation to obscure and obliterate the powers and truths of a spiritual creation, yet we do not admit that this is due to the nature of the pursuit or the tendency of physical science—that there is any thing in the study of the material creation specially adapted to destroy our faith in the unseen or hostile to the Christian revelation. Science falsely called, sciolism and sciolists, the froth and scum of the age, are often found thus waging war with that truth whose foundations they have never reached, and on whose sunlit summits their eyes have never gazed. But true science hath in itself a native sympathy with all the truth of God, and gently draws the wayward heart it has led captive towards the richer manifestation of *his* being and attributes, *his* word and works, in whom all knowledge finds its center and widest circumference. And as natural science shall advance in its conquests, and rise to a fuller comprehension of the globe we inhabit and the universe of which it forms so small a part, its every step will bring us nearer the mighty source of being, and into nearer relations to the written revelation, until to study creation will be to study the plainest demonstrations of the truth and inspiration of that sublime word,

in which the unseen world, and all the future life, and all the amazing mysteries of Redemption are so clearly unfolded—until the *works* of God shall everywhere be found so to bear up His *words*, that the former shall be seen to be the deep and broad foundation on which the latter repose. In these rapid advances of physical investigation, and these noble triumphs which every month and year herald to the world, we behold the growth of a mighty ally of Revelation. These facts, which Unbelief would wrest to the overthrow of her sovereignty, will array themselves in legions, compact and disciplined, on her side. The new power that is bringing into neighborhood the antipodes, and spreading the influence of Christian nations round the world, is preparing the way for the triumphant march of a Prince whose vesture is the stars, whose chariot the clouds, whose crown is the sun, whose sword is truth sublime and eternal, and whose voice is the sound of many waters.

Young gentlemen of the MIAMI UNION LITERARY SOCIETY, I can not close these imperfect remarks on the relations of natural science to other sciences and pursuits, without an allusion to him whose name, often mentioned on these occasions, never fails to awaken fresh enthusiasm; the broad-minded, clear-sighted, independent spirit, far in the advance of his own age; the boy who, at fifteen, left Cambridge in disgust at the suppression of all free inquiry at the sources of truth, and the uniform idolatry of precedents and antiquity.

“The great deliverer he! who from the gloom
Of cloistered monks and jargon-teaching schools,
Led forth the true philosophy—here long
Held in the magic chain of words and forms,
And definitions void; he led her forth,
Daughter of heaven!—that slow ascending, still
Investigating sure the chain of things,
With radiant finger points to heaven again.”

Bacon, as we look back upon him, resembles an oak, springing beneath the roof and within the walls of a con-

servatory, till at length the vigorous branches upheave the roof and rend the walls, and the gigantic tree stands forth uncovered to the blessed sun and the free winds of heaven, at liberty to grow as the great Creator made the forest king to grow, and teach the world a lesson of liberty for the immortal mind. I stay not to describe at length a character, better described a thousand times before ; I stay not even to lay my tribute of gratitude at his feet, for that he hath already, and from every shore go pilgrims yearly, and will till time shall end, to wreath that thoughtful statue which surmounts his grave with bays ever green and ever fresh, the offerings of thankful souls. It is to one trait in his character that I wish to direct your attention and solicit your imitation. No man felt more deeply the deceitfulness of the heart, its liability to err, and the danger of that pride of science which blinds the mind to the richest truths of heaven. Study his *Novum Organum*—analyze his idols of the tribe—the den—the market—the theater ; and behold the true humility of the philosopher, conscious of human weakness and deeply sensible of his own. Hear him say—“ We, for our part at least, overcome by the eternal love of truth, have committed ourselves to uncertain, steep, and desert tracks, and trusting and relying on *divine* assistance, have borne up our mind against the violence of opinions, drawn up as it were in battle array, against our own internal doubts and scruples, against the mists and clouds of nature, and against fancies flitting on all sides around us ; that we might at length collect some more trustworthy and certain indications for the living and posterity.” Listen to his prayer as a student—“ To God the Father, God the Word, God the Spirit, we put forth most humble and hearty supplications, that *human* things may not prejudice such as are *divine* ; neither that, from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, any thing of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds toward divine mysteries.” Study nature thus, let the consciousness of weakness and the adverse forces around you, and the necessary limitations of knowledge lead you

ever to give utterance to such petitions and exercise such a spirit.

These scenes, this place, these societies, all bring before my mind one who here studied, who ripened from boyhood to a resplendent manhood in these halls, whose mind gained its finish and discipline in the exercise of these societies, whose character was molded into a lofty integrity under the instructions given in yonder edifice ; one voice, that has often pealed forth its eloquent music and fervid declamation in this place, is heard here no more ; one heart, whose interest in this institution never diminished, beats no more ; one mind that aided in the direction and oversight of this his *Alma Mater*, is absent from her council ; one eye that yearly looked forth in calm brilliancy upon these scenes, is closed for ever. Twice have these fields and trees adorned themselves with their summer robes since Charles Telford ceased from earth. Yet here lives his memory in many hearts ; and in yon Queen City, where the college youth ascended to the level of the loftiest minds, there lives a deeper memory of an integrity that never swerved from its high purpose—a character that shed luster upon his noble profession—a faith in the truth of Christ that abode and grew stronger till the hour of his departure. Cut down in the dawn of a most splendid day—denied on earth that most brilliant career which seemed opening upon him, he has left behind that which will endure when the triumphs of his intellect are all forgotten—the stern integrity and unfaltering faith of one whose vision took in the grandeur, and whose heart reposed upon the consoling truths of the Christian scheme. Let that faith be yours ; let that integrity constitute your crown ; let your intellectual triumphs be adorned by such an unwavering trust in the unseen Jehovah, and you will not only shed luster on your society and this institution, refine and ennoble your species, and live in the memories of earth, but when the science of this world shall be unable to sustain you amid the gathering shades of the night of the grave, a light from the skies shall illumine your spirit and reveal the open portals of a better world.

To-day, too, your eyes have looked upon the form, and your ears have heard the voice, of one whose life and vigor have been devoted to the cause of Christian science in this western world—who long presided with great honor over this institution, and sent forth from its walls many who now stand in posts of influence and usefulness throughout the land—whose green old age is still consecrated to the same sublime ends—to whom generations shall look back with gratitude and affection as a master-builder in laying the foundations of that vast temple of science, which, rising in this, our free land, shall yet tower above all the Orient and look out benignantly upon the broad Pacific. Need I name him, “*clarum et venerabile nomen?*” *

“*Serus in cælum redeas, diuque
Latus intersis*” nobis.

* Rev. Dr. Bishop.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSES AND ESSAYS.

IX.

JOHN CALVIN.*

· It is singular that, looking through the innumerable volumes of biography which have issued from the British and American press, we can not find a life of "the Theologian" of the Reformation, at once full, just, and adapted to the popular mind. The life by Beza, prefixed to Calvin's works, although eminently just and appreciative, is yet entirely too brief to satisfy the inquiries which naturally suggest themselves respecting such a man. He wrote also as a cotemporary, when much was known of Calvin's private and public life, which he might not regard as of special importance, but which now would be of intense interest, as tending to throw light both upon the Reformer's character and the progress of the Reformation. As a cotemporary, Beza was not in a position to write such a biography as this age demands. He must write, if he write at all, in the spirit of those times, and in harmony with the current feelings of his generation. He could not well foresee the change which, on some questions, would be effected in three centuries. He could not put himself forward, amidst the altered opinions and feelings of the Protestant world at this day, and adjust his view of the Reformer to meet our wants. But his work is preëminently valuable as a record of the impressions made by Calvin upon one who knew him intimately—one who, by his deep learning and varied talents, was capable of justly appreciating his intellect and heart.

The great work of Dr. Paul Henry, published in its complete form in 1844, begins a new era in respect to our knowl-

* From the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for December, 1854, and June, 1855

edge of the Reformer. It is the result of more than twenty years' patient research into all the sources of information open to the historian, on the Continent. He has combined the various particulars of Calvin's life with an analysis of his most important works, and a general review of the period of the Reformation. Dr. Henry has the rare advantage, in a biographer, of being heartily in sympathy with his subject. He has penetrated beneath the less attractive exterior, into the inner spiritual life and deep Christian experience, which more than all things else enriches the writings of Calvin. He has formed a clear and just idea of the peculiar intellectual power which distinguished the author of the "Institutes" and the volumes of commentary on the word of God. Perhaps he is as impartial as any man could be who had dwelt so long under the direct influence of this mighty mind. To the theologian and the scholar his work is invaluable as a mine of original materials and genial criticism; and, in this respect, it will never be superseded. But, as a work for the reader and especially the American reader, it has certain characteristics that will materially interfere with its usefulness, and greatly limit its circulation. The division of the work is rather artificial than natural, and necessitates a great deal of repetition and many apparent anachronisms. He considers Calvin's life and character under three divisions; the first of which embraces the formation and development of his doctrinal views; the second, his system of discipline and his efforts to establish it; while the third describes his controversial labors in the defense of Protestantism against the Papacy, and his own form of Protestantism against errorists and schismatics. Now it so happens, that while in Calvin's life these three divisions have an *apparent*, they have no real foundation. It is impossible to carry out such a plan as this without constantly returning to portions of the life already passed over. It is not like traveling over the successive stages of the same road, but like traversing in succession three parallel roads. Chronology is set at defiance. Dates mix themselves up in singular confusion. The men whom you saw hurry over the first road, you

journey with again on the last. On this plan, it is next to impossible to have a single full picture of the Reformer or a connected view of his life.

Nor is this the natural development of the subject. In the real life these several parts cohere as one whole. Dr. Mott might just as well dissect a body in parallel sections as Dr. Henry write a life in that form. Calvin began as a theologian, but his commentaries, his establishment of the Presbyterian discipline and his manifold efforts in defense of the faith, synchronized to a large extent with each other. His efforts to establish Presbytery began with his first settlement at Geneva. His controversial tracts date back to the exile at Strasburg and the masterly letter to Sadolet. His commentaries occupied him all his life as a pastor; and though there were particular periods when he was more absorbed in one or the other of these things, yet it is not possible to divide the whole life by them, in regular chronological sequence.

This mode of writing destroys the charm of progress which one feels in advancing through a biography. It fails to leave upon the general reader any very distinct and single impression, and it is only possible for the scholar to attain a connected view by the slow process of reconstructing the materials for himself. It furnishes, indeed, a fine opportunity for the introduction of dissertations and philosophical essays on topics connected with the Reformation. In this respect, Dr. Henry has enriched his work with many profoundly suggestive discussions. But this kind of writing is not exactly biography, except as it rises naturally out of the life of the subject, and is designed to set that life forth more completely. Even then, however, it is necessary rather to touch lightly and briefly upon such points. We protest against the introduction of long, abstruse and barren analyses of all the works an author may have written, into the body of his biography. It is amply sufficient to show the occasion and the general manner of his work, and its relation to his own development or that of his time. It is much better for the general reader to have the minute and critical examinations of an author's

writings placed in a volume by themselves, as Orme has treated the *Life and Works of Baxter*.

If to this artificial division, and the substitution of these miscellaneous dissertations for lively and graphic narrative, we add a style somewhat heavy and diffuse, we shall see clearly enough the reason why this life of Calvin will not be able to take rank with the living history of D'Aubigné as a work for the popular mind. The latter writes history as if it were biography, and his work has all the interest which attaches to the life of Johnson or Defoe; while the former writes biography as if it were philosophical history, and occupies a position, in respect to popular interest, not unlike Hallam in his historical essays. With all these subtractions, however, this work will remain as one of the most original, comprehensive, and noble contributions to the history of the great Reformer and his times. For the scholar, it will continue to be the most important aid in the formation of a just opinion of the most hated and the most admired man of the sixteenth century; the man who, above all the mighty minds of that period—rich though it was in great names beyond any equal period of the past—gave form and systematic development to Protestantism, and originated those republican theories which are now spreading through the world.

The life of Calvin, by Dyer, written by an Englishman, and published some years subsequent to the great work of Henry, has the merit, which we have denied to the former, of lively and graphic description. It has been characterized as a mere compilation from Henry and others. But this does not do it justice. There are some facts brought out in it that we have seen nowhere else; and the whole together forms a consecutive biography, possessing much more unity and interest as a popular work than that of the German. Instead, however, of being worthy of the subject, it is the rarest piece of special pleading to sustain a foregone conclusion that we have ever met with in court or out of it. He systematically exaggerates the failings and contracts the excellences of the Reformer. He never rises to a broad and impartial view of his

real position. He judges Calvin just emerging from Romanism, and with the shadows of the escaping darkness yet resting on the foot of the glorious mountain whose summit was bathed in the rising sunlight, as if he lived and acted in this day when the sun had reached the meridian. He exhibits an astonishing ingenuity in the misinterpretation of garbled extracts of letters whose whole tenor and spirit lead us to a directly opposite conclusion. With remarkable tact and under professions of the strictest impartiality, he so groups together the testimony against, and so destroys by sly insinuations that which is in favor of Calvin, as to distort the character he professes to describe and blacken the man he pretends to admire. A more thorough biographical pettifogger the annals of this class of writing have yet to furnish. It is in perfect keeping for Beda, Duprat, and the inventors of popish legends, to execrate the man who, more than all others, gave existence, form and perpetuity to the Reformed Church; but it is passing strange that a Protestant, in this nineteenth century, should be found capable of writing a work wherein all that can be brought to bear against him is set forth with dogmatic confidence, while the excellencies that adorned or constituted his real life are only glanced at sideways, or admitted reluctantly with an over-cautious "may be."

We propose, in this article, to give a brief sketch of the life of the Reformer, and hereafter to trace out his influence upon the world, and compare his character with some of the other great leaders of the Reformation. Once for all, we give Dr. Henry credit for much that we shall say, which it has not been convenient to note as his at the time of writing.

John Calvin was born at Noyon, in the north of France, July 10, 1509, a little after the time that Luther, then twenty-six years old, entered the university of Wittenberg, as Aristotelian professor. His father, Gerhard Calvin, the notary apostolic and procurator fiscal of the county of Noyon, was in high favor with the chief men of the province. He was for a time educated at his father's expense in the family of the Mommors, one of the most distinguished in that region.

He early evinced a fondness for study and a freedom from boyish excesses. His father destined him for the Church, and had influence sufficient to procure for him, in March, 1521, a vacant chaplaincy in the cathedral of his native town. Thus, at twelve years of age, was our young Reformer invested with the clerical character. A week after his election "the child's hair was solemnly cut by the bishop," and by this act of "tonsure" he was made capable of entering the priesthood and united with that mighty hierarchy, to oppose and overthrow which the energies of his life were afterwards devoted. Here he was not destined to stay. Two years after this event, while the plague was raging at Noyon, his father procured of the ecclesiastical authority permission to send him to Paris for the prosecution of his studies.

The custom of appointing children to ecclesiastical offices seems to us preposterous. The election of bishops four years old, and the investiture of mere children with some of the most important and lucrative offices in the gift of the Church, infers an amount of corruption and a total want of a just estimate of the ministry, scarcely credible in a nominally Christian church. Yet with all this abuse and evil there was an idea connected that has done much to give efficiency to Romanism. It is part of this system that whoever gives himself to its ministry, or is given by his parents, shall be cared for, placed in a position where he may either serve the Church at the time or be in process of training for future service. The child in the school, the convent or the college, whose future life is to be devoted to the service of Roman Catholicism, has all the resources and authority of the Church pledged to sustain it. This watchful guardianship of a young priesthood, and this purpose to *train* men at her own expense for *all* her ecclesiastical work, is significant of the energy and success with which Rome moves forward. She not only has her own schools and colleges, but she seizes upon the most talented of her youth, and spares no pains to fit them for her work. The men whom she counts upon for special labors are not suffered to limit their education by the advantages of

provincial institutions. They are sent to Rome itself, the metropolis of that faith, there to enjoy the rarest literary privileges under the most accomplished masters. Calvin owes a part of his training to the Church he subsequently sought to reform. And our Protestant churches will never reach the greatest efficiency until, as churches, they take in hand the training of an evangelical ministry and secure to every acceptable candidate a fair support.

Calvin remained at Paris for more than four years, and prosecuted his studies in Latin and philosophy, under the instruction, among others, of Maturnius Cordier, whose "Colloquies" are not yet wholly disused, and who subsequently renounced papacy, and spent the closing years of his long and useful life in Geneva, under the pastoral charge of his pupil.

When eighteen years of age, Calvin received the living of Marteville, "altogether against rule, for he was not yet in orders, having received only the tonsure." Here and at Pont l'Evêque, he preached several times. Up to this time he had never been acquainted with a Bible. The period of his residence at Paris was one of the most stirring in the history of Europe. Francis I., defeated at Pavia, was a captive. Charles had besieged and taken Rome itself. The Reformation was spreading in every direction throughout Europe. In Paris the Sorbonne, with Beda at their head, had inaugurated the era of martyrdom; and in the Place de Grève and the Close of Nôtre Dame, the nameless "Hermit" and the young Pavanne had already gone up in chariots of fire, the foremost of that vast army of Christ's witnesses whose blood was to moisten the soil of France.

Yet now, for the first time, is this young chaplain and preacher made acquainted with that book which, in every true Christian family, is the first a child is taught to read and the last that is read when old age is about to close its eyes upon this world. Romanism had shut up the Bible. It was not lawful to read it in the family. It formed no part of the training of the priesthood. It entered not at all into the life

of that church which professed to be the only church of Christ. It was, most probably, the yet unpublished translation of Robert Olivetan, a near relation, which first opened the eyes of Calvin. He began to see the errors of Romanism. He felt uneasy in his position as a pastor in connection with a church opposed in so many respects to the word of God. At this time his father changed his views in respect to his son's course in life. He chose the law.

Calvin, not yet a true believer, but seeing Christian truth as the blind men recovering their sight saw men as trees walking, readily acquiesced in this purpose. He went to Orleans, where he studied for some time under the most famous juriconsult in France, Pierre de l'Etoile. Here, as at Paris, he advanced with great rapidity until, in the occasional absence of the professors, he was selected to lecture in their place. From Orleans he went to Bourges, pursuing his studies under André Alciat, becoming acquainted with Melchior Wolmar, from whom he first learned Greek. Wolmar was himself imbued with the great doctrines of the Reformation, and contributed not a little to his pupil's establishment in the faith.

While thus engaged in the study of civil law, Calvin did not neglect sacred literature. The Bible became the subject of most intense interest. The real nature of Christianity gradually revealed itself to the ardent student. He had been distinguished for the severity of his morals from early boyhood. Either his early training, or this, associated with the marked predominance of the intellectual powers over the sensual, enabled him early to resist the temptations of vicious indulgence which surround a youth in a great city. Meanwhile he was yet a bigoted devotee of the Church. He was, as he himself confesses, "obstinately fixed in popish superstition." He could look, with an approving eye, upon the terrible *auto da fé*, by which the papacy sought to purge the Church and the land of heretics. At length he begins to study the word of God. At once he resigns chaplaincy and benefice. He turns himself to the law as a refuge and a path

in which ambition might win wealth and favor. At his majority he is pronounced, by no less a scholar than Scaliger, the most learned man in Europe. Still he had not yet attained peace. He attended to and trusted, in some degree, the ceremonies of Romanism ; yet he declares, "that whenever he descended into himself, or raised his heart to God, such extreme horror surprised him that neither purifications nor satisfactions could heal him. The more closely he examined himself, so much the sharper became the stings of conscience. To such a degree was this the case, that neither solace nor comfort existed for him, except in so far as he could deceive or forget himself." At length he is brought suddenly to rest in Christ. He is the subject of a rapid conversion. From that time the law ceases to interest him. The Institutes of Justinian yield to the glorious gospel. Stella and Alciat are forsaken, while Paul, and John, and Isaiah, and all the blessed company of holy men, who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, are thenceforth his teachers. Immediately he began to preach in the villages around Bourges the gospel that had entered his heart. The Reformation received a new impulse from his labors. Men of all classes, whose minds were troubled in respect to the great points then in dispute, flocked to this young student for information, and gained new views of the precious truths of Scripture. The death of his father soon broke the last link that held him to the law. He returned to Paris and openly identified himself with the disgraced and persecuted followers of Christ.

We have now reached the threshold of Calvin's public life. Hitherto his course had been smooth and prosperous. A student from his earliest years, he had enjoyed the finest social and literary advantages that France could afford. It was not his lot to struggle, as did Luther, against a depressing poverty. He was born and educated in the bosom of that happier middle class from which the great majority of the ablest and noblest of the world's benefactors have come. For, while here and there a man like Bunyan and Wilberforce, representing in their origin the lowest and the highest stratum of

society, appears among the leaders of the moral movements of the world ; yet these classes contribute far less to these movements, in proportion to the numbers of the first and the privileges of the second, than the third class, lying between them. It is from those upon whom there rests neither the depressing curse of deep poverty nor the enervating curse of great riches ; who feel, indeed, the necessity of useful employment sufficient to quicken their energies, but who also cherish the independence and the ambition inspired by the consciousness that the paths of affluence, of distinction, or of healthful competence open before them ; who may not attain education without an effort, but who, nevertheless, have access, in some degree, to literary privileges at an early period ;—from such persons it is, in the main, that the profoundest thinkers and the mighty actors in the world's history come forth. The sons of destitution and of affluence, whose names shine brightly in the past, are solitary stars ; while the sons of a healthful, yet laborious competence, form constellations of glory in every part of the firmament. It was this class that gave Melancthon and Zuinglius, Bucer and Beza to the Reformation—that gave Knox and Chalmers—Wesley and Whitefield—Edwards and Dwight to the church of Christ. It was thus happily that Calvin's powers were early developed. He was a thinker and a student from childhood ; all his early associations combined to ripen his powers for the great work, which, at that period of the Reformation, it was necessary should be done.

The change which took place in his father's views respecting his profession, coinciding as it did with the change which was secretly going on in his own soul, in regard to the purity of the Romish church, is a marked event in its influence upon the future life of the Reformer. It led him to abandon the barren speculations of the schoolmen, and apply himself to the study of the civil law. It taught him to systematize, to classify, to combine truth according to its nature and affinities. It prepared him to grasp the *system* of divine truth which God had revealed in his word and set it forth in its

naked simplicity for the apprehension of mankind. It was another and very marked stage in the preparation of the great Reformer for his special mission, as "the Theologian" of the Reformation.

Calvin was now twenty-three years old. His conversion, more quiet than Luther's, was genuine and thorough. At the very beginning of his new-born soul, his zeal for all other studies cooled, and he gave himself up chiefly to the study of the word of life. He at once became the center of a deep and wide interest—"but a year had passed over," he says, "when all those who had any desire for pure learning came to me, inexperienced recruit as I was, to gain information. I was naturally bashful, and loved leisure and privacy; hence I sought the obscurest retirement; but now every solitary place became like a public school." His seal well represented the character of his feelings. It had engraved on it a hand holding a burning heart, with the motto, "I give thee all! I keep back nothing for myself." He had not been long in Paris before he abandoned his former studies, and gave himself wholly to the ministry. He preached with great power to private assemblies of the faithful, and closed every sermon with that glorious annunciation: "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Amidst his devotion to his books, he was unwearied in exhorting the multitude of disciples who filled the prisons, and in consoling and confirming them by his letters.

It is of this man, at this period of his life, Dyer remarks, that he aspired to be the head of the Reformed party in France. This student, so shy and bashful that he had to be sought out by the faithful, and afterward solicited by them to preach the gospel, is charged with the silly ambition of desiring to be the chief of the Lutherans in his native land. He had before him in the Roman church, as he declares in his letter to Sadolet, the brightest prospects of preferment. In the law, he stood already at the head of his profession in legal attainments, and saw within his grasp, affluence, honor, station, and power. He rejects them all the moment he receives Christ into his soul; and though retiring in his feelings

and studious in his habits, he yields to the solicitations of the faithful, and enters at once upon the service of the gospel. If to lose all for Christ, and burn with a self-consuming flame to see the religion of Jesus triumph in France; if to expose himself to the perils of persecution and death in the proclamation of the gospel; if to renounce the fairest earthly prospects, and receive in exchange contempt and poverty and persecution; if these things, and such as these, constitute a just ground for the charge of ambition, then was Calvin ambitious.

His first essay as an author was made at this time (1532). He published Seneca's treatise, *De Clementia*, with a commentary of his own, for the purpose of pointing out to Francis I. the better way in which a wise king should rule. Not long after he wrote a discourse, full of evangelical truth, which Nicholas Cop, the newly-elected rector of the Sorbonne, delivered before one of the largest and most intelligent assemblies in Paris, on one of the Catholic feast days. This awoke anew the spirit of persecution. Cop escaped to Basle, and Calvin fled into the south of France, where he was befriended by Margaret, the romantic Queen of Navarre, the sister of Francis, and grandmother of Henry IV. A year after he ventured back to Paris, and, at the hazard of his life, offered to meet the heretical senators in a public discussion. In the next year (1534), after publishing his work on the "Soul's Sleep," he left France and went to Basle.

This was a period of distress and darkness in France for the Reformed. "Jacob Lefevre, the instructor and friend of Calvin, who prepared the way for him, by banishing the scholastic philosophy, expounding Scripture, diffusing a knowledge of languages, and creating a love for new ideas," was in exile at Strasbourg. Lambert, the Franciscan, had gone to Wittenberg; Briçonet, Bishop of Meaux, had been humbled, and compelled to recant; Farel and Roussel had escaped into Switzerland; while Margaret, the Queen of Navarre, saw the bloodhounds of the Sorbonne approaching every day nearer to her own residence. Francis I., exasperated by

some placards against the mass, affixed to the doors of public buildings in Paris, instituted a solemn lustration. The image of St. Genevieve was carried round the city ; while the king himself walked uncovered in the procession, accompanied by his three children, carrying white tapers. No less than six martyrs suffered in the flames during the procession.

Calvin was now in Basle. This city had already a university, founded in 1459, and had become the favorite retreat of learned men. Here Erasmus had taken up his abode and received the great and the learned, who came hither to enjoy his society or pay him their homage. Simon Grynæus lectured in the university on the Holy Scriptures and the old classic writers with great success. Wolfgang Capito and Œcolampadius had already laid the foundation of the Reformation in this city.

Calvin's brief sojourn here of not more than two years, constitutes an era in his history and in that of the Reformation. It was in this period he produced the first edition of his "Institutes." He here wrote and published the work, which at once gave him a name famous throughout Europe, and placed him at the head of the Reformed church in France and Switzerland. Calvin thus accounts for his writing it : "When I was living obscure and unknown at Basle, and when many pious men had been burned in France, and their execution had inspired the Germans with deep hatred and indignation, efforts were diligently made to quiet the feelings thus excited. For this purpose false and wicked pamphlets were circulated, and in these it was asserted that the Anabaptists only, men of unquiet spirit, whose fanaticism threatened to destroy all social order, as well as religion, had been the sufferers. When I saw this was a mere court artifice, invented to conceal the shedding of the innocent blood of holy martyrs, by the lying pretense that they who suffered were utterly despicable ; and when I saw that, if this were not contradicted, the persecutors would continue to rage and massacre unchecked, I knew that my silence, or my not opposing myself with all my strength to their fury, would be

treason to the cause of righteousness. This was the occasion which led to the publication of the 'Institutes.' My first object was to free my brethren, whose death is precious in the sight of God, from a shameful slander; my last was, as many more of our unhappy people were threatened with similar cruelties, to excite at least some feeling of pity and compassion for their sufferings in other nations. I did not, however, at that time produce the large and laborious work which is now before the public, but a mere sketch of the design." Of this work we propose to say something in another article. It is only necessary here to remark, that although this first edition was "but a mere sketch of his design," yet its success was immediate and immense. Five years before, the Confession of Augsburg had been published. But, as yet, nothing in the way of a systematic and full development of the doctrines of the Reformation had been given to the world. The Anabaptists at Munster and the Libertines had cast suspicion upon the doctrines and tendencies of the Reformers. It was necessary there should be written a work to which the persecuted followers of Christ could appeal, as a just representation of their faith. The man for this work had now reached maturity. He had been trained in the ablest academies, by the ablest teachers. His intellect, originally strong, quick, and comprehensive, had received all the development which the science of that age could impart. The man himself had been taught spiritually of God, and disciplined thoroughly in the school of trial. Immediately this book is received with enthusiasm all over the Protestant world. Not merely in Switzerland and France, but throughout Germany, Holland, and Great Britain, it is hailed by the leaders of the Elect Host as most opportune, clear, and satisfactory. Paulus Thurinus, a learned Hungarian, well expresses the feeling of multitudes when he declared that, "since the writings of the apostles, the ages had brought forth nothing equal to it."* The Sorbonne raged against it, and burnt every copy

* *Præter apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem.*

they could in any way lay their hands upon. But it lived in spite of them, and went forth on its great mission, establishing the believers in England and Scotland, as well as on the Continent. Thus, at twenty-six years of age, had Calvin taken a position among the chief minds of that age, and exhibited an intellect, a piety, and a power of execution, which exalted him to the side of Melancthon and Luther.

It is remarkable, as an instance of the thoroughness with which Calvin had thought out his opinions, at this early period, that between the first and the far more elaborate last edition of this great work, there is scarcely any variation in the doctrines presented. The arrangement of the work is entirely changed, new chapters are added, and the original ones enlarged, but the great system which he early grasped, as that which expressed the teachings of the word of God, remains the same. Beza says: "The doctrine which he held at first, he held to the last. He varied in nothing; a thing which can be said of very few theologians." This, perhaps, is entirely too broad an assertion. But, so far as it expresses the early maturity of his views on faith and Christian discipline, and the wonderful tenacity with which he held to his opinions, it is in the main true.

Early in the spring of 1536, Calvin left Basle and visited Renata, Duchess of Ferrara. In Italy the Reformation had commenced, and Ferrara was at this time its center. The duchess, a daughter of Louis XII., and sister-in-law of Francis I., had become deeply imbued with the evangelical doctrines, and gathered around her a circle of kindred spirits. Calvin, however, had scarcely reached Ferrara, before the weak husband of the duchess, in concert with the inquisitor Ortiz, expelled the Protestants from her court. Calvin, however, had time to become personally acquainted with her, and to lay the foundation of that influence which, by his correspondence, he continued to exert over her during his life. Renata held fast to the cause of Christian truth, amidst the temptations of a court, and the assaults of the Papacy. After the death of her husband, she returned to France, and

there boldly professed the Protestant faith until the day of her own departure.

Calvin now turned his steps back to France. But here there was not a spot in which he could rest in peace. The bloodhounds of the Inquisition were unleashed. He was a man of rare mark ; a foe the Sorbonne would have exulted to clutch. A thousand common opponents they would have despised. But Calvin was a host himself, whose life in France, or out of it, was destined to be a terror to the enemies, a quickening spirit to the friends of the Reformation. The Sorbonne and this man could not live together in the same country. This youth of twenty-seven had in him elements of grace and power sufficient to shake the hierarchy to the ground. Who can doubt what, with the divine blessing, would have been the result, if Calvin had found in Francis another Frederic of Saxony ? Who can doubt but that France might have been saved her terrible baptisms of blood, and, in the first rank of Protestant nations, have illustrated a history glorious for the noblest forms of civilization and Christianity ? But God had other lessons to teach the world through France, and another destiny for Calvin. He saw that for him there was no rest on his native soil ; he knew that to stay there was just to offer himself up a victim, without reason or necessity, to the rage of Beda and Morin. He resolved to leave the land that thus cast him out. "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." It was not the fear of death, but the desire to proclaim Christ by his life, that impelled him. Hastening to Noyon, he sold his paternal estate, and with his brother Antony and sister Maria, bid farewell for ever to the place of his birth. With what sadness and tears did this noble heart pass into exile ! What pangs of suffering did it cost him to leave the land of his fathers a prey to the man of sin ; her soil already wet with the blood of Christ's witnesses ; her noblest and ablest children thrust from her side, while she was entering upon that dark career which, for three centuries, has made her the reproach of Christendom, her history the saddest picture in

the annals of the world. "I am driven," says he, in a hasty letter to a friend, "from the land of my birth; every step towards its boundaries costs me tears. Perhaps it is not permitted truth to dwell in France; so may it be perhaps with me; let her lot be mine." Take courage, noble heart! thy God is leading thee into a city of refuge, from which thy voice shall sound out not merely over France, but the world!

It was Calvin's purpose to retire to Basle, and then to Strasbourg, and occupy himself in general labors for the Reformed churches. But the war, in which Germany and France were now engaged, had closed the road leading directly to these points. He was compelled to pass into Switzerland by a circuitous route, in consequence of which he took Geneva in his way. He designed spending but a single night in this city. Discovered by Farel, he was urged to remain and preach the gospel there. Calvin "answered like a young man," "that he would not bind himself to any one church, but would endeavor to be useful to all, wheresoever he might happen to be; that otherwise no time would be left him for his own improvement; and that he was not one of those who could afford to be always giving, without ever receiving." Farel, as if inspired, answered with all the authority of a prophet, "Now, I declare to you, in the name of the Almighty God, to you who only put forth your studies as a pretense, that if you will not help us to carry on this work of God, the curse of God will rest upon you, for you will be seeking your own honor rather than that of Christ." Farel was a true prophet, and Calvin listened to him as if he spake the words of God. More than twenty years after, he tells us, in his preface to the Psalms, that this "threatening of William Farel was as if God had seized him by his awful hand from heaven, and compelled him to renounce his intended journey." Thenceforth Calvin's name and fame were to be the chief glory of this ancient city. Montesquieu says, "The Genevese ought to observe the day of his arrival as a festival." No man in all its history, glorious as it is, and resplendent with names of world-wide renown, exerted so

lasting and happy an influence over its destiny, or did so much to make it conspicuous and honorable.

The city, numbering at this time not more than twenty thousand inhabitants, by its position and its history, was admirably adapted to become the metropolis of the Reformation. Situated on the western shore of Lake Lemán, where the Rhone has its exodus, with Mount Blanc towering before it, and the clear waters of the lake at its feet, "the lofty houses towering above the walls, and enclosed by the verdure of the glacis," the city reposes in queenly beauty amidst the most beautiful and sublime scenery. Its history reaches back to the times of Cæsar, when it formed one of the strongholds of the Allobroges. Subsequently, destroyed by fire, it was rebuilt during the reign of Aurelian, and called by his name. The inhabitants embraced Christianity in the fourth century. It was at one time the capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, then attached to the French monarchy, and still later transferred to the German empire.

The power of the emperor in those days was exceedingly limited. Struggles arose between the local counts and the bishop, in which, for the most part, the city sided with the latter, and the surrounding country with the former, who had their residence in the mountains. The government of the city had long been partially republican. At length the struggle assumed a triangular form, in which the popular party, the bishop, and the Dukes of Saxony were the antagonistic parties. In 1526, by an alliance with Berne and Friburg, the Genevese became strong enough to resist the duke. While, just after Farel's visit in 1532, the Catholic bishop, having carried off a young girl in the season of Lent, was expelled for ever from the city.

At this time the Reformation had made great progress in Switzerland. At Zurich, Zuingli had established the Protestant faith, and had already fallen by its banner in the battle of Cappel, in 1531. Basle and Berne had both been won over to the truth, while darkness still rested upon Geneva. It was not until 1535, that, under Farel and

Viret, the Reformation obtained a permanent foothold in the city.

Just at this juncture Calvin arrived. The Reformation had fairly commenced ; the bishop had been finally expelled ; the Duke of Saxony had been successfully resisted. But as yet the city was divided into factions, and in a state of political and religious chaos. He was received with immense enthusiasm. Crowds flocked to St. Peter's, the cathedral church, to hear him preach. He was immediately elected preacher and teacher of theology,* the latter of which only, he at that time accepted.

The situation of things at Geneva made Calvin's position one of great and increasing difficulty. The Reformation was as yet merely nominal. The people had thrown off the form of the Papacy, but the manners and morals, the ignorance and unholy passions which it had nourished, were still unchanged. "Lively and excitable, the Genevese citizen had till recently indulged in an almost unbounded license. He loved dancing and music, and, when the season allowed of it, enjoyed those amusements in the open air. The doors of numerous wine-shops lay always invitingly open ; and in rainy weather, or to those whose dancing days were over, offered in addition to their liquor, the stimulus of a game of cards. Numerous holidays, besides Sundays, released the wearied tradesman from his warehouse or his shop, to seek recreation in the form most agreeable to him. Masquerades and other mummeries were frequent." The greatest dissoluteness of manners prevailed. Reckless gaming, drunkenness, adultery, blasphemy, and all sorts of vice and wickedness abounded. Prostitution was sanctioned by the authority of the State, and the public stews were placed under the superintendence of a woman elected by the council, and called the *Reine du bordel*. The registers abound with entries respecting the regulation of these pandemoniums. . If the manners of the laity were corrupt,

* "Professor of Sacred Literature," Beza says. But Henry says, "Teacher of Theology," because there was yet no academy.

those of the clergy were as bad, or worse. The canons of St. Peter's, whose office conferred upon them a share in the spiritual government of the city, were particularly notorious for their misconduct. They paraded their vices with so much effrontery, that in 1530 the Genevese refused to pay them the tithes which were so unblushingly applied to the purposes of debauchery ; and they were obliged to solicit the interference of Friburg, in order to obtain their money. Their ignorance was on a par with their profligacy ; and during the progress of the Reformation, the Genevese clergy publicly admitted before the council that they were not learned enough either to maintain or to refute the doctrine of the mass, and the authority of human traditions."*

In this state of things, the first attempts at discipline by Farel were displeasing to the people. Meanwhile, however, Calvin had begun his great work with his accustomed vigor and decision. The Anabaptists had made a lodgment in Geneva, and created a party adverse to the new ministers. Calvin met them, and in public discussion overwhelmed them with argument and fairly drove them from the city. Peter Caroli, a renegade teacher, sought to destroy their influence by public accusations of heresy. He, too, was defeated, and left the city.

Secretly, however, there arose a powerful party of independents and libertines, who struggled fiercely against the discipline of the Reformers. The ministers sought for a thorough moral reformation. The council, in accordance with their wishes, forbade many amusements which tended to the corruption of manners. "A card-player was put in the pillory, with his pack of cards about his neck. A man guilty of adultery was sentenced to banishment for a year, and paraded through the city with the woman who shared his guilt, by the common hangman." These measures awakened bitter opposition, and a party was formed expressly to put down the ministers. They succeeded at length in arraying the council against

* Dyer, p. 73

them, and in securing the passage of resolutions which virtually subjected the Church to the State in matters purely religious. Calvin and Farel resisted, and took a decided stand against the council. "They declared they would not administer the sacrament of the Supper in a city which would not submit itself to any kind of church discipline." They took their stand on two principles which enter into and give character to Calvin's whole system of church discipline: First, the duty "of excluding from the Lord's Supper those who, according to the judgment of the Church, appear unworthy of the privilege; and secondly, of not allowing the Church to be subject to the State in matters which concern religion."

Calvin and Farel were summarily expelled from the city. "Let it be; it is better to serve God than man," was their noble answer. Calvin retired to Strasbourg. This was in 1538. Here Bucer and Capito labored, and here Calvin was persuaded to take part with them as a teacher of theology in their newly-established high schools. He also gathered in this city a French congregation, and during his residence entered the marriage state. He lectured or preached every day; composed his celebrated answer to Cardinal Sadolet; took part in several diets; extended his acquaintance among the Lutherans, and bore a conspicuous part as a wise counselor in most of the measures adopted for the advancement of the Reformation.

But, with all this labor and responsibility upon him, Strasbourg was, in comparison with Geneva, a place of repose and quiet. His residence here had a most decisive influence on his after usefulness. The pride of intellectual power, so natural to a young man, was humbled. He felt himself driven to a more perfect dependence on God. Retiring within himself, he sounded the depths of his own weakness and corruption, and felt more than ever the power and the preciousness of the redemption of Jesus. This was his Patmos, where he received new revelations of divine truth. It was in this retirement he prepared himself for those energetical labors which occupied most of the remainder of his life. The great

commentator, whose lucid expositions of God's word were to instruct millions in after days, was formed, if not created, at Strasbourg. This brief retirement from the strifes and fierce antagonism of Geneva, gave depth to his piety, expansion to his intellect, and enriched his whole nature with a new power of thought. When recalled by the now humbled and repentant Genevese, he carried back with him a richer Christian experience, a judgment wiser and more cautious, and a capacity for influence greatly increased.

This event occurred in 1541. He shrank at first from a resumption of his former charge. His fears suggested excuses for not returning. And when at last duty and faith prevailed, he exclaims, "But with how much sorrow! with how many tears! with what anguish!" He loved his flock at Geneva so dearly, that to save them "he was ready to resign life itself," yet to assume again those fearful ministerial responsibilities and enter again upon the great work of renovating that polluted city, was a trial terrible to his now humbled nature.

His return was a triumph, not of man, but of God. He would not go back alone; Farel, who had shared in his exile, must also share in his recall. This bold and heroic Reformer remained but for a season. After a brief visit he returned to his flock at Neufchatel.

Calvin was now thirty-two years old. His shrinking and timid nature had been strengthened by the fierce storms which had beat upon him. His intellect was in a state of great maturity and fruitfulness. His domestic life had been settled by a most happy marriage. His Christian character had developed quietly and nobly, and completed his preparation for the great work he was to perform. His mission was now one of peace and order; the building up of the Church out of the chaotic wreck of the Papacy; the setting forth of the grand system of Christian doctrine, and the exposition of the living Word.

He first turned his attention to the subject of discipline; while at Strasbourg his views on this subject had been more

fully matured, and the exposition of them in his Institutes prepared. He first of all requested of the council the appointment of representatives, who should act with the pastor in the administration of discipline. This constitutes one of the chief principles of that pure Presbyterianism which he sought to reëstablish, according to the original constitution of the primitive Church. In connection with the parity of the clergy, it formed a direct contrast to the practice of the Roman church. It gave to the Church itself the power of discipline in the most efficient form. He made those lay elders subject to an annual election, and ordained that they should always outnumber the pastors. The clergy were stripped at once of that power which had rendered them, at times, the most formidable opponents of spiritual freedom. A court was constituted by the people themselves, the most efficient of all bodies for the administration of church government. Much of Calvin's success, in the restoration of order, and the constitution of a pure church, amidst the abounding licentiousness and rebellious elements still powerful at Geneva, is due to his system of church discipline. He put the burden of its administration off from himself and his colleagues upon the consistory, in which the laymen were double the clergy. He placed between the pastors and the shafts of the evil-minded and the profligate, a body of wise and efficient laymen. He secured wiser and more thorough action, by enlisting in the work men moving among the people, and conversant with all their prejudices, feelings and opinions. This system, which for its simplicity, efficiency and freedom, commended itself at once, soon spread through all the Reformed churches in Switzerland, France and Holland, entered England, and became dominant in Scotland.

It is just at this point the Lutheran church had failed. Justification by faith was then the grand doctrine which Luther made the article of a standing or a falling church. But the church that fails in discipline, that flings open the sacrament to all comers, that lays aside the true authority of the keys, may have a creed the most orthodox and catechism the

most admirable, as expositions of Christian doctrine, yet will she utterly lose her purity, and become a degenerate mass of formality and corruption. It is in this point of view that the Protestant world owe to Calvin a debt of gratitude, for the restoration of discipline to the Christian Church, not at all inferior to that which belongs to the mighty and heroic Reformer who reëstablished the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and lifted up on high the truth of salvation solely by the blood and death of Jesus Christ. In this little republic of Geneva, did this man, all unconscious of the vast results he was working out, introduce the idea, the form and the most efficient machine of church discipline. He drew lines of circumvallation around the Lord's table, and guarded the approach to it with a jealous eye.

The defect of his arrangement consisted in committing to the State the power of electing the consistory. His beautiful ideal of a State was that of a theocracy, in which the civil and the religious departments acted as checks upon each other, while both acknowledged the same ultimate authority, and followed the same general rule. This connection of Church and State was common to the Protestantism of that age. It was the *πρώτον ψεῦδος* of the Reformation. It has been the source of evils manifold, in both Church and State. The union never has existed long without bringing forth evil. Geneva itself, in these latter days, is a witness to this truth.

But with this exception—which indeed for a time rather aided the evangelical religion—the system of Presbytery, as worked by Calvin, had a most happy influence in reducing the chaotic mass to order, and in establishing a well-ordered Christian society. John Knox, who spent two years here during the reign of bloody Mary, thus writes in 1547: “In my heart I could have wished it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where, I neither fear nor shame to say, is the *most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles*. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and

religion, or sinners reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."* In 1685, more than one hundred years after Calvin's death, Bishop Burnet visited Geneva. His eulogy of this little State is too long for us to quote. He says that Geneva has so many good constitutions in it that the greatest may justly learn of it. He praises their good works, their justice and good faith, the exalted character of their ministers, the extent to which learning was diffused among all classes of citizens, their public morality and general civility. Let these encomiums on Geneva be compared with the description given of its state and manners under the Papacy, and the contrast is a glorious vindication of the efficacy of Calvin's influence, and the working of his system.

Within the limits assigned to us it will not be possible to describe minutely the phases of Calvin's life and work during the twenty-eight years that he labored at Geneva. He established the academy in which Beza and Turretin afterwards lectured, and which for a long period furnished preachers and pastors for the Reformed churches.

His "Institutes" he elaborated in successive editions until it assumed its present completeness. He labored with extraordinary diligence at his Commentaries until the close of life. He wrote in defense of the Reformed doctrines, and, for the encouragement of the faithful, tracts which would fill volumes. The churches of Reformed faith everywhere in Europe looked up to him for advice and assistance. He was poor, and rejoiced in his poverty, while he made many rich. The great theologian and reformer, whose mind has impressed itself deeply upon the whole Protestant church, lived in an obscure house, and on a salary that was barely sufficient to supply the usual necessaries of life. "His pay consisted of fifty dollars, twelve measures of corn, two tuns of wine, and a dwelling house." To this some additions were made afterwards.

After his return, "he preached every day during each

* Letters, p. 377.

alternate week ; thrice a week he gave lectures in theology ; presided in the consistory on Thursday ; and every Friday, at the meetings for scriptural discussion held in St. Peter's church, delivered almost a complete lecture. When it was not his week to preach, he had his works brought to him in bed at five or six o'clock in the morning and dictated to an amanuensis."*

Florimond de Raimond, the Catholic, says of him: "With a body dry and attenuated, he had a mind ever grave and vigorous ; ready for service, always prepared for attacks. He fasted greatly in his youth ; never seeking society, but always retired, Calvin had hardly an equal. He was so assiduous in completing his 'Institutes' that he passed whole nights without sleeping, and days without eating."†

In the university he had, while yet a youth, by severe study without exercise, laid the foundation for various diseases that troubled him through life, and brought him prematurely to the grave. But so intense was his enthusiasm, so earnest his spirit, so entirely did he give himself to the work of the ministry, that few men have ever lived who in the same time have accomplished so much for the Church of Christ.

If we view Calvin as a writer, we see a master forging the links of thought and giving them a form admirable for strength, clearness and beauty. His Latin is Ciceronian in its purity and its vigor. He gave to his native tongue an elegance and a force which contributed essentially to its present purity. It has been objected that he indulged in invective. But this was the manner of his time. Personalities were interwoven with purely doctrinal discussion. Erasmus, the most elegant writer of his age, uses language that would scarcely be tolerated now. Melancthon, with his mild and womanly nature, was more than most men of that day free from this excess. But how many Melancthons would it have taken to

* Dyer, p. 113.

† Henry.

have wrought out the Reformation? Zuingli, the ardent; Farel, the impetuous; Ecolampadius, the patriot; Viret, the winning and gentle; Bullinger, Beza and Bucer, all indulge in the same style of discourse. Luther himself exceeded the rest in the abusive epithets he heaped upon his adversaries. There is a fashion in writing and in controversy, as well as in the cut of a man's clothes. And it is saying but little for us that in the progress of three centuries, amidst the refinements of peace and the quiet possession of the gospel, we have attained a polite style of literary warfare, and have learned how to assail error and errorists with gloved hands.

Of Calvin's married life we know little. His wife, Julette De Bures, was, according to Beza, "a worthy, noble, well-read person," a fit companion for the Reformer amidst the stormy period in which he lived. The notices which he has left of her are always pleasing. He calls her "singularis exempli femina." Soon after the death of his infant son, the only child he ever had, he writes to Viret: "Greet all the brethren, and also your aunt and wife, to whom my wife sends her best thanks for the friendly and holy consolation which they have rendered her. She could only write by means of another, and even to dictate a letter would be painful to her. The Lord has indeed inflicted a grievous wound upon us by the loss of our little son, and we feel it bitterly. But he is a Father and knows what is necessary for his children." This happy union lasted for nine years. She died in 1549. Then he unbosomed his heart to Viret in a long epistle, in which he gives an account of her triumphant death. His agony for a time was almost insupportable. Even after seven years had gone by, he recurs to his loss with the deepest emotion. The childless and widowed man ceased to look to this world for consolation. He looked forward with hope to the better world, and anticipates a reunion there with the loved and lost.

His heart was formed for friendship, and his friends clung to him with passionate affection. Farel, Viret, Melancthon were very dear to him. Of Melancthon, after his decease, he thus writes:—"O Philip Melancthon, to thee I address my-

self, to thee who art now living in the presence of God with Jesus Christ, and there awaitest us, till death shall unite us in the enjoyment of that divine peace. A hundred times hast thou said to me, when, weary with so much labor, and oppressed with so many burdens, thou laidst thy head upon my heart, 'God grant that I may now die!' But I, on my side, have also a thousand times wished that we had the happiness to live together."

With Farel and Viret he maintained, from the first hour of his acquaintance, an unbroken friendship and intimacy rarely surpassed. In mental characteristics they differed widely "Farel excelled in a certain sublimity of mind, so that nobody could either hear his thunders without trembling, or listen to his most fervent prayers without feeling almost as it were carried up to heaven. Viret possessed such winning eloquence, that his entranced audience hung upon his lips. Calvin never spoke without filling the mind of the hearer with most weighty sentiment."* They were both his seniors, Farel indeed by some twenty-five years. Associated together either at Geneva as co-pastors, or when occupying different fields, as co-laborers in the same great Reformation, their union and affection continued till the close of Calvin's life. He thought that he perceived in them qualities superior to those which he himself possessed. Farel's boldness, decision, and martyr-spirit called forth his wonder and admiration. To him and Viret he unbosomed his whole heart. His letters are as remarkable for their transparent simplicity, as for their trusting confidence. Beza, who wrote his life, and who, Dr. Henry thinks, "surpassed him in learning and eloquence," was his associate in the new academy at Geneva, and had every opportunity of studying his character. He not only admired the greatness of Calvin, but loved him ardently as a friend. John Von Spina, after his conversion, had an interview with the Reformer. Shortly after he thus pours out his heart: "Mine eyes were fixed upon your countenance as long as my companions would allow. Their society now became

* Beza.

bitter and intolerable to me. I was still far from satisfied. In the interview which you granted me, short as it was, you had inspired me, by that mysterious power which seemed to breathe in your discourse and words, with a veneration which could not be surpassed. I am troubled, from hour to hour, with that desire to see you again which arose in my mind as you bade me farewell. And I hope my soul will not rest, till the Lord has united me to you in the bonds of eternal friendship." "They praised," and loved him most, "who knew him best." His house was thronged with visitors from all parts of the Protestant world, eager to enjoy his friendship and listen to his counsels. Knox, and the translators of the "Geneva Bible," and scores of Puritan reformers, when driven from England by the persecution of bloody Mary, found a home at Geneva under the protection of Calvin. Thousands of French refugees, hastening away from the terror and the sword that overtook the Protestants in their native land, were received at Geneva with open arms. Calvin ministered to their wants, and stood between them and the jealous hostility of the council. He maintained a wide and varied correspondence, both of business and friendship, with the pious on the Continent and in Great Britain. Deprived of children, widowed in marriage, he gave to his friends and the Church of Christ, the warm affections which others lavish on their kindred. Few men have ever lived who loved more ardently, or inspired in turn a more intense affection. If his striking and bold characteristics created the deepest hatred in those who loved not his cause or the pure truth of God, they were so pervaded by a noble and generous nature as to create an equally enthusiastic affection on the part of those who had embraced the truth. He was not merely admired by his friends for the grand and solid qualities of his intellect. Beneath all these, and surrounding them, were tender and kind affections that won the hearts of those who had access to his society, and sympathized with the great truths it was his mission to establish. To distant spectators, who saw only his massive intellect in his profound and boldly developed system of faith,

he appeared like that Mount Blanc, whose glittering summits, rugged, and cold, and lofty, create in the mind of the beholder the emotion of awe and the feeling of the sublime. But to those who approached nearer and witnessed his simplicity, his benevolence, his single-hearted devotion to the cause of Jesus, his appreciation of Christian excellence and all noble qualities in those associated with him, his profound humility, his love of truth, his forbearance towards those whom he regarded as not willfully in error, his kindness of spirit toward those who sought him for counsel and comfort, the feeling of awe became blended with softer and warmer emotions, and the majesty of the sublime mount associated with itself the vineyards, gardens, and flowers that flourished and bloomed in its lovely valleys, and spread the attractions of Eden around its base.

Calvin was not naturally a man of war. Unlike Farel, whose bold and impetuous spirit seemed to be most at home amidst the tumult of contending forces, he rather shrank from controversy, and was only driven to it by a stern sense of duty. The confusion and the strife in which his first residence in Geneva involved him, inspired him with an almost invincible repugnance to undertaking the pastoral office again in that city. He found in Strasbourg a congenial repose; a harbor from which he dreaded again to sail forth upon the tempest-tossed ocean. Yet, in spite of this love of retirement, he was driven by the force of duty to engage in controversies with the opponents and the friends of the Reformation, to as great an extent as any man of that age. The mighty movement which gave the Bible to the people, burst the fetters in which mind had been so long chained, and brought men forth from the dungeon into the light of day. Dazzled often, rather than enlightened, multitudes embraced the most outrageous errors, and sought a license for base passions in the yet unregulated freedom of opinion. It was the home for the mad revelry of error. The Reformation, identified by its foes with this malignant brood of heresies, demanded of its leaders the fullest vindication.

Meanwhile, among the Reformers themselves, there had sprung up a controversy on points not at all vital to the great system they mutually held, which not only threatened disaster, but which ultimately set back the Reformation three hundred years. Calvin, as the foremost man in the Reformed church, was compelled to appear frequently in defense of the truth. Few men have ever lived who saw the truth more clearly, or loved it more intensely. He could not bear to see it trodden in the mire. He could not bear patiently with those malignants whose aim it was to cast down the gospel, and on its ruins rear a temple within which the pride and lust of man might worship. He expressed his abhorrence in terms vehement and almost fierce. He handles these despisers of the truth as ruffians and outlaws from the realm of charity. He crushes them with his ponderous logic, and then heaps upon them the most tremendous invective. He treats the enemies of the truth as the enemies of God, and brands their errors, in the sight of all men, as the products of the pit.

But in respect to all the many personal assaults against himself, and in regard to the difficulties which separated the Reformers themselves, his manner is greatly different. He comprehends at once the distinction between the substantial and the non-essential. He deprecates divisions, and is ever ready to surrender matters indifferent. Of all his colleagues, at the time of his banishment from Geneva, he evinced the greatest liberality in the tolerance of those things which did not affect the essentials of Christian faith and discipline. Schism and secession in Christ's church, he regarded as crimes of no ordinary magnitude. He labored for peace. In the great controversy, "De Cæna," which divided the Reformed and Lutheran churches, and exerted so disastrous an influence upon the cause of true religion, he labored with all the strength of his great intellect and earnest soul to harmonize the parties on a common platform. His letter to Luther is one of the most beautiful exhibitions of child-like veneration and tenderness, which one so gifted, so admired himself, manifests towards one who might be supposed to be his rival

and opponent, to be found in all history. Nothing gave him deeper pain, or wounded more severely his sensitive heart, than the polemic zeal of those who sought to set these churches at variance.

It was in the midst of this controversy, in 1560, that Melancthon, who on this as on most other points of doctrine agreed substantially with Calvin, died. "Wearied with labor, oppressed with many cares," the mild and gentle Christian, the learned scholar and profound theologian, went to his rest. He left Calvin alone in the field, to struggle for peace and harmony until the last. His end was not far off.

Without dwelling here on that event, which, more than any other, has been used by Calvin's enemies to blacken his fair fame—the burning of Servetus—and reserving the remarks we have to make in vindication of his character from the aspersions which even Protestants have cast upon it, for another article, we hasten to the close.

He had labored after his return to Geneva for nearly a quarter of a century, in the unselfish and noble work of building up the kingdom of God, there and abroad. He had met with obstinate and violent opposition for years, in Geneva itself. But at length his sagacity, his courage, his simple piety, his caution, and his zeal, won the victory. His system of discipline became firmly established and thoroughly interwoven with the republican constitution of the little State.

He had engaged, even to the last, in controversy with false friends in the Church and enemies without. But each year the circle of his influence widened, and the power of it deepened. He became the center towards which thousands turned their eyes in affection and confidence. He corresponded with princes and peasants, and cheered on the martyrs amidst their anticipated baptism of fire. He labored to build up a church at Geneva, as if that were his only work. He gave himself to the writing of commentaries and the instruction of students in theology, as if that were his great business. He wrote in illustration and defense of the Reformation, as if that alone were his chief task. He corresponded

with multitudes abroad, and counseled crowds who sought him at home, as if that were the grand duty of his life. His love of truth, of the Church, and of the Saviour, wrought in him a courage most heroic, a zeal the most consuming, and impelled to labors which seem to us, at this day, almost superhuman.

As life drew towards its close, "that child-like trust in God, and invincible faith in prayer," for which he had all along been remarkable, revealed themselves still more fully. "He became remarkably soft and gentle; he strove to offend no one, and exhibited an unfailling hope in a better life, which he expressed in short, soul-felt prayers." Unlike Luther, he never sank into such depths of darkness, and never rose to such heights of impassioned joy. His temperament was calmer; his spirit more habitually serene. Sickness and wasting study, and life's sea of trouble, had combined to exhaust the energies of his body; but his soul seemed to burn with a holier flame, and be instinct with a celestial vitality. To the last he studied the Scriptures, and dictated his thoughts upon them. Amidst the severest sufferings, when his brethren besought him to suspend these labors, at least during his sickness, he mildly answered, "Would you that the Lord should find me idle when he comes?"

Early in 1564, it became evident that this precious soul was soon to leave the world. "On the 2d of April," says Beza, "it being Easter day, he was carried to church in a chair. He remained during the whole sermon, and received the sacrament from my hand. He even joined the congregation, though with a trembling voice, in the last hymn, 'Lord, let thy servant depart in peace,' and looking at the countenance of the departing one, easily might we discover the signs of Christian joyfulness."

On the 25th of the same month, he made his will, in which, after giving thanks to God for his conversion, and testifying his belief in the gospel, and praying that he "may be so purified and washed by the blood of the great Redeemer, shed for the sins of mankind, that he might be able to stand

before his judgment seat, and bear his image on him," he disposes of his estate, amounting altogether to less than three hundred dollars.

On the 30th, he had a final interview with the four syndics and the members of the council. They went in solemn procession from the council chambers to his house, where he gave them a solemn address, full of instructions and grateful recollections of the goodness of God to him and to them. Few scenes in this world's history are more deeply instructing and tender than this last interview of Calvin with the government of the city in which he labored so long, and with such manifest tokens of the divine blessing. After his address he prayed for them, and "then offered his right hand to all present, and left them deeply affected and shedding floods of tears, as if taking their last leave of a father."

On the 28th of April, two days previous, he had addressed all the ministers of the Genevese territory assembled at his house. He spoke to them of his affection for them; recounts the success the Lord had granted his cause in that region, and bid them farewell. "We went from him," says Beza, "with very heavy hearts and wet eyes."

Early in May, having learnt that Farel designed to visit him ere he departed, he wrote to him in Latin: "Farewell, my best and most faithful brother; since it is God's will that you should survive me, live in the constant recollection of our union, which, in so far as it was useful to the Church of God, will still bear for us abiding fruit in heaven. I wish you not to fatigue yourself on my account. My breath is weak, and I continually expect it to leave me. It is enough for me that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his people both in life and in death. Once more farewell with the brethren. Geneva, May 2d, 1564." Farel, now seventy-five years old and feeble, came nevertheless to bid him personally farewell, and then returned to Neufchatel, where he shortly afterwards departed to his rest.

His sufferings were extreme, but his soul was all peace. In his agony he exclaimed in the words of David, "Lord, I

opened not my mouth, for it was thy doing." "Thou dost sorely afflict me, O Lord, but it is consolation enough for me, and I suffer it willingly, since it is thine hand." Multitudes thronged to see him and express their sympathy. He desired them to be told "that he would rather have his friends pray for him, than afflict themselves with the sight of his sufferings."

At length the time of his departure had come. It was on the evening of the 27th of May, when the sun, descending in the west, still lingered on the glorious summit of Mount Blanc, while the twilight in its stillness rested upon city and lake, and the surrounding country, that this man of God left the world. The event, though long expected, filled the city with mourning. The State and Church wept together. The inhabitants crowded to gaze upon his emaciated countenance and lingered long in tears by his cold remains. Without pomp or parade he was conveyed to his grave. No stone marks the spot where sleeps the dust of one of the greatest of men and most noble of confessors. He wished to illustrate in death the simplicity and humility he inculcated in life. The tears of a bereaved people were his eulogy; his works his monument; and the thousands he guided to Christ and confirmed in the faith, his crown of rejoicing on high.

We now purpose to enter more fully into an enumeration of the sources of that power which has given Calvin a name, not only among the great, but the greatest men of the past. That he has gained a name among the most illustrious in the annals of the world, and that it is but the expression of a character the most remarkable, and an influence the most profound and wide-spread, both friends and foes are compelled to affirm.

The Church of the Reformed, in France, in Holland and Switzerland, just so far as they retain the spirit of the gospel,

recognize in him the master-mind that, through three centuries, has wrought among them with unequalled power. His influence lives in the Scotch and Irish churches with increasing vigor. It has, from the time of the Reformation, assisted, with varying success, in vivifying the elements of good in the heart of the English church.* The great majority of the evangelical clergy of England have sympathized with his doctrinal views. His works, translated into their language to a greater extent than those of any other continental writer, have found a home in every well-furnished library, and, in parts, have been circulated widely among the people. The religious revival which, under Whitefield and Wesley, constituted an era in the religious history of England, while under Wesley and Methodism it took the form of opposition to Calvinism, yet under Whitefield it recognized that system as the truth, and constituted, in connection with it, the leaven which has since wrought so powerfully in restoring evangelical piety within the bosom of the Establishment itself. The Puritans were Calvinists. The stalwart theologians of the seventeenth century, whose names have become household words, whose works are even now republished and circulated by scores of thousands through Protestant Christendom, as the most

* Hooker thus speaks of him: "A founder it had (viz., the discipline of the Reformed church) whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy since the time it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by learning or reading so much as by teaching others. For though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none, but only to God, the Author of that most blessed fountain, the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides.

* * * * *

"Two things, of principal moment, there are which have deservedly procured him honor throughout the world; the one, his exceeding pains in composing the 'Institutions of Christian Religion;' the other, his no less industrious travails for expositions of Holy Scripture according to the same Institutions. In which two things, whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labor, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them if they gainsayed; of glory above them, if they consented."—*Preface to Ecclesiastical Polity.*

JOHN CALVIN.

thorough expositions of evangelical truth, were, almost to a man, deeply imbued with the spirit of the great Genevan.

In this new world, Calvin has, from the first, wielded a more extensive influence, both upon the character of our theology and the forms of our ecclesiastical and civil government, than any other man. The Puritans of New England, the Hollanders of New York and New Jersey, the Reformed of Pennsylvania, the Scotch-Irish of Virginia and Carolina, the Huguenots, who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled by thousands to our shores, were all students of his works, in full sympathy with his system of doctrine. Causes which, in the old world, continue to prevent the full development of his views in regard to the form of the Church, and especially to limit the application of his principles in respect to the establishment of civil liberty, did not exist on this side of the Atlantic. Here the churches modeled after the Geneva pattern, furnished the mold for State institutions. The representative republicanism of Presbytery impressed its most essential features upon our civil constitutions; that republic which now challenges the admiration of the world for its well-ordered liberty, acknowledges, through its ablest historians and statesmen, its obligations to the master-spirit of the Reformed church.

It is also a fact full of interest, that wherever in Europe or in this country, the system of Calvin has ceased to rule as a vital element in the popular instruction, there piety, in its profoundest experience and most intelligent form, has declined. The great revivals of the past century and of this, in the Church of Scotland under Chalmers, in the English church under Simeon and Wilberforce, in this country under Edwards, the Tennents, Davies, Dwight and Griffin, have been distinguished by the re-installation of Calvinism as the most effective form of divine truth for the building up of a stable and intelligent church. The recent revival of evangelical religion in Germany and France, has been marked by nothing more significant than the revival of interest in the writings of the great Reformer. The Lutheran church, so

long the rival of the Reformed, as she emerges from her eclipse of faith, turns joyfully to hear the voice of Calvin, as it echoes still across the waters of Lake Leman. Her ablest theologians edit his works and re-write his life. And there, where once Luther and Melancthon reigned supreme, the word of Calvin, after the lapse of three centuries, has begun to quicken multitudes and shape the thoughts of those who are working out this new reformation. At this moment Calvin is effecting more to renovate the Protestantism of Germany than either Luther or Melancthon. If we pass over into those evangelical sects which formerly rejected his system, it will be found that the thinkers among them who combine in the highest degree deep piety and logical thought, approximate to his views much more than to any other system of faith.

Now, such influence, so wide and profound, so permanent and diffusive, is not an accident, nor a product of imbecility and malignity. The mind that thus brings into sympathy with itself the profoundest thinkers of three centuries; that, overleaping the metes of language, of nations, and even of time, rules over men of such varied culture, such opposing prejudices, and diverse pursuits, need ask the testimony of no national academy to establish its claim to greatness. Time, the spontaneous voice of the good and great, the vital power of institutions, civil and religious, felt over continents, have long since fixed its position, where ecclesiastical bigotry can not reach it. It is not the little hills, or a solitary mountain, that can affect to any great extent the climate of a continent. It is the lofty and extended range, upheaved by God on high, that permanently modifies the seasons. Gathering upon its summits the snows of winter, it feeds the streams, arrests and cools the hot winds of summer, and spreads its influence around half the globe. Level the Rocky Mountains, and what would be the character of all western North America? Level the Alps, and what a change would come over the climate of all southern Europe! Calvin, like those everlasting mountains under whose shadow he toiled, and where now his

dust reposes, for centuries has shed abroad an influence upon the Protestant world, whose extent no man can measure, whose future no man can estimate.

In accounting for this vast influence, we are led most naturally to find its source *first of all in the character of the man himself*. In the last analysis of such power, we are compelled to look for its elements in the peculiar constitution of him who puts it forth. It were as easy to build a pyramid on its apex, as to suppose that a narrow, feeble intellect could be associated potentially with such surprising results. It were less irrational to imagine that the huge blocks which compose the ruins of the temple of Baalbek, with all the exquisite beauty of the forms, which ages have not sufficed utterly to efface, were quarried, chiseled and elevated to their position, by idiots and pigmies, than to suppose that Calvin's work was brought out by feebleness.

The most obvious characteristic of his intellect is *force*. From whatever point you view it, it presents the same solid, massive aspect. His thoughts are always weighty, sometimes grand. He assails an enemy with the heaviest artillery. He never falters in his defiance, or plays like a light horseman around the object of attack. He is in the field of thought, Richard the Lion-hearted, cleaving at a blow of his ponderous sword, helmet and cuirass of steel; never Saladin with his light and keen Damascus blade, searching for the open joints of his adversary's harness.

He displays his power in the most rigid analysis, combined with the finest generalization. He searches at once for principles, and then follows them out in their various relations. The highest power of a logical mind consists not so much in the ability to deduce consequences from their just causes, as in the intuitive perception of original principles from which the appropriate results follow as naturally as the stream flows from the fountain. The power to reason on premises already known is far less characteristic of a truly great mind, than the power to discern the radical elements which constitute the only just basis on which a true solution of any great question

can be wrought out. Inferior minds often exhibit great skill in the construction of syllogisms. Allow them premises, and they will conduct you straight to their conclusions. But it is only a mind of truly original power, the highest logical force, that descends at once to the determination of the groundwork of all correct thought, and rears upon it an argument compact and immovable as the pyramids. Such a man as Eck, the opponent of Luther, and at first the leading champion of the Papacy, is a fair example of an empirical logician, who reasoned from any and every premise that offered itself, with a skill that not unfrequently confounded the greatest of his opponents. In mere dialectics neither Luther nor Melancthon was a match for him. But Calvin's mind was of another and a higher order. He intuitively sunk his shaft down to the very rock. He sees with wonderful clearness and states with convincing force the principles which alone are fundamental to his subject. His statement of these is usually a demonstration. With his feet upon the rock, he puts forth his strength with perfect ease, and confides in the logical unfolding of the truth. Erasmus could analyze a leaf, and describe its minute construction with greater elegance and taste; Luther could paint the tree itself, in its majestic expansion, and wilderness of branches, and with greater vividness; but neither of these equaled him in the ability of laying bare the roots which give vitality to every branch and leaf. Nor did he lack the power of logical development. A clear and compact argumentation, not unlike that of Webster, characterizes almost all the efforts of his mind. His perceptions are sharply defined, as well as profound. His reasoning flows on naturally as the necessary consequence of his principles.

In his mental constitution the reasoning faculty held supremacy. The imagination, or the fancy, was either not originally very vigorous, or it had been trained to the work of an humble servitor. He once attempted, like most other men of great intellectual power, to write poetry, but the attempt issued, like that of Cicero, in a failure. He had none of the susceptibility to pleasure from the contemplation of

the grand and beautiful in nature and art, which belongs to highly imaginative natures. He strode through a cathedral with about as much emotion as a backwoodsman feels in entering a log cabin. He passed his life amidst the grandest and most beautiful scenes in the natural world, yet there is not a line in all his voluminous writings which betrays that they exerted the slightest influence on his soul. Yet in spite of this lack of fancy, he possessed enough of the secondary power of imagination to give life to all his composition. He indulges in tropes and metaphors; but they never mislead his intellect, nor cloud his perceptions. He was not one to delight in an idea only as it loomed up in an illuminated bank of fog. He never suffers a subtle fancy or an original analogy to seduce him, as it did Burke and Jeremy Taylor, from the main course of his demonstration. They loved to play with their subject; to dress it up in all the colors of the rainbow; to adorn it with every variety of illustration which an exuberant imagination could create or discern, until, not unfrequently, the subject itself was wholly lost sight of beneath the richness and amplitude of the costume. But Calvin's intellect never encumbered his thoughts with a superfluity of adornment. He drives directly at the object he seeks to attain, without waiting to gather up in his progress a company of gay and fanciful attendants.

Nor is it at all just to regard him as merely able to combine most happily the thoughts of others—a demonstrator of the principles which they had unfolded. The power of an independent thinker, of an original discoverer, is visible on every page of his works. He searched through the past, and tried conclusions which others had reached, by the rules which his own mind had measured. His every step is marked by the same originality, independence and authority which characterized Napoleon in the demonstrations of the battle-field. Both were undoubtedly indebted to the past. No man is purely original in this age of the world. The one had studied Cæsar, Marlborough, and Turenne, the other had read the fathers and schoolmen, and each had mastered all that had

been taught before his day. Yet both proceeded in their work with independence, greatness and power.

In order to conceive rightly of the power of such an intellect, we must not lose sight of Calvin's peculiar temperament. A great mind is not unfrequently so imbedded in a gross nature, that its activity is greatly diminished. It reveals its power only in occasional and spasmodic efforts. A sluggish or a sensual nature often drags down the loftiest intellect, or greatly impedes its operations. Calvin's temperament was of another character. He cared not at all for ordinary pleasures; neither sensual passions, nor those which fasten upon earthly possessions, moved him. He was as content with poverty as with riches, and better satisfied with the meager fare which left his mind clear, than with the feast of the opulent. He might have been a Francis Xavier; he never could have been an Alexander VI. He might have condemned himself to the isolation of the ascetic Jerome; with him he could look down upon all merely earthly dignities as toys suitable for vulgar minds, while occupied with his own great thoughts, with those spiritual ideas which are of power to mold the strongest intellects of the world; but he never could have become the slave of those earthly appetites which drove Origen to sacrifice his manhood to the morbid demands of conscience. He was preëminently an intellectualist. Aside from the restraining power of grace, his natural temperament, associated with a mind so active and fervent, contributed not a little to lift him above many of the temptations which assail men differently constituted. It may indeed have rendered him less susceptible of the pleasures of social life; it may have amounted to a defect in his character, and unfitted him to shine in the more limited sphere of a merely pastoral office; it may have diminished somewhat his sympathy with common minds and ordinary interests; but it undoubtedly constituted an important qualification for the loftier stage on which he was destined to act his part, and assisted in elevating him to that position from which, as from a throne higher than that of kings and emperors, he was to send forth thoughts

that have worked with quickening power for centuries in the hearts of millions. It gave him a strength of mental endurance unsurpassed even by the dead and yet living emperor of his own native land. These men were cast, in this respect, in a similar mold. Impassive, in regard to the ordinary influences that sway men, as marble, they both possessed, in part as the consequence of this constitution, an astonishing force of continued and intense mental action. Calvin never rested. He never gave way to self-indulgent repose. He passed from the lecture-room to the study; from the exhausting work of preaching to the labor of preparing commentaries, institutes of theology, controversial tracts, with no diminution of energy. He slept but little; his body wasted to a skeleton under the imperious demands of his spirit. But his intellect, as if superior to all physical forces, gathered fresh strength from its own restless action, and grew mightier as the powers of the earthly nature decayed. Baxter had much of the same constitution, but we know of no man of his time, and but few are known to history, who were his equals in the capacity of unintermitted and far-reaching thought. It is said that Homer sometimes nods; we know that Luther often demanded repose; even the more intellectual Melancthon grew weary; but Calvin, in his extraordinary flights, seemed never to drop his pinions; he swept a wider circle as he advanced nearer to the sun.

We have but one other remark to make in respect to Calvin's peculiar constitution, in virtue of which his influence has been so vast and permanent. *He represented in himself, to a greater extent than any other, the ideas and wants that were then at work in the Christian Church.* Men differ as much in the power of representing the feelings and the views of their fellow-men as in any other one respect. The masses move along incapable, in the main, of seizing the great ideas which control them, or of expressing distinctly and vividly the spirit which animates a state or nation. But there are men in whose minds that which lies indistinct and confused in the multitude arrays itself into order and system, and

stands forth as distinct and harmonious as the movements of a great army under the eye of a consummate general, who seize instinctively upon the spirit which is abroad, or who are unconsciously so filled and animated by it that it finds a direct illustration through their words and deeds ; who occupy so elevated a region that the perception of the want enables them at once to perceive also that which will most fully meet it. This power is one of the primary elements of greatness. It is a matter of original constitution. Study and training may increase its susceptibility, and impart a power to control its direction. Circumstances are always necessary to its full development to give it a position in which it may reveal itself in living acts. When the fit occasions arise, then such a man appears ; he is at once recognized by the multitude, and henceforth he remains a living embodiment of that which in them has long struggled for expression.

Now it constitutes one of the marked characteristics of Calvin, and explains to us in part the hold he has had upon the Church, that he stood forth as the representative of the Reformation as it existed in the larger class of minds, especially in those whose influence in the development of Christianity was destined to be superior to that of all others. Luther was a German ; and while it is true that his great soul stood up in defense of the liberty and purity of the Church, when other men quailed, and while he will thus ever remain the grandest figure among the mighty men of that or any other age, yet the very intensity of his national spirit, which gave him such surpassing power over his own countrymen, incapacitated him from being in full sympathy with the Reformers of other nations. He thought, he felt, he spake, as a German. The whole costume of his theology and ecclesiastical polity is national. He represents the defects, as well as the excellences, the cumbrous robes as well as the bold spirit, of his own people. Men think of him only as a German. He never set foot out of his country, except in the direction of the Vatican. And it is casting no disrespect upon his memory, or diminishing aught from his real worth,

to affirm that he never was the representative of the largest number of the most influential minds enlisted in that vast movement.

But with Calvin it was not so. Men knew him not as a Frenchman, any more than they know Paul as a Hebrew. Ardently as he loved his nation, yet, in the loftier position he had reached, he had in a great measure left behind him national peculiarities, and brought himself into sympathy with the energetic spirits of all Protestantism. Knox, Cranmer, and Melancthon sat at his feet, and recognized in him the embodiment of views and feelings common to them all. He was a Scotchman to one, an Englishman to another, a Hollander to a third. He lived at an elevation of thought, and amid a circle of ideas, into which the most spiritual thinkers on the side of the Reformation rejoiced to enter ; where, exalted above the lower range of sectarian views, they met together as on the common platform of substantial Christianity. It was this cosmopolitan feature of Calvin's spirit that would not suffer him to become identified with the partisan views of Zwingle, although in some respects he resembled that great Reformer more fully than any other man of that age. This broad, capacious spirit, as it qualified him to move in the higher regions of a common Christianity, made him then, and ever since, the representative of the thoughts and feelings of vast multitudes in all the nations among whom Protestantism prevailed.

If to these constitutional attributes of Calvin's character, to this originally vigorous and comprehensive understanding, this peculiarly intellectual temperament, this remarkable representative spirit, we add a training at once scholastic, legal, biblical, partaking of the subtlety of the schoolmen from whom the scepter was just then passing away ; of the accuracy and breadth of legal science, then in its early manhood ; of the freshness and life which the revived study of the original Scriptures had imparted to classical knowledge ; and if to these powerful means of mental development, we add, still further, a spiritual discipline most profound, bringing him

into fellowship with the sufferings of Christ, and into experimental knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus—we shall then have before us, in the main, the original sources of that power which has wrought so vigorously and so long in all parts of the Protestant world.

This Reformer, thus furnished of God with a genius of exhaustless fecundity and power, laid it all upon the altar of religion. By a life of incessant toil, he accomplished results befitting such original endowments. For, after all, it is by deeds that greatness vindicates itself. Nor is it every kind of mental labor that exerts a *personal* influence. There are men of vast acquirements who have accomplished works at once difficult and admirable ; works that abide as the memorial of their greatness when they have passed away, but who, nevertheless, do not impress themselves or their thoughts upon the minds of the world. Erasmus effected a great work in editing the Greek Testament, thus placing in the hands of others the instrument by which they were to revolutionize the Christian Church ; but in all this, he is not felt, personally, as a quickening influence. The translators of the original Scriptures into the vernacular of the people, like Tyndale and Coverdale, did that which entitles them to the everlasting gratitude of the Church ; but in all this, they do not so come personally in contact with the minds of men as to make themselves, their genius, their thoughts, a living and direct influence by which they are seen, and felt, and acknowledged, as mighty thinkers. Calvin himself assisted in the translation of the Scriptures into his native language ; but it is Calvin as the demonstrator of divine truth, the voice of God to millions, the expounder of the living word, the illustrator of that which is obscure, and the exhibitor of great principles in a coherent system, that has become an emperor in the realm of thought.

Calvin was not naturally given to controversy ; but, possessed of such remarkable powers for the discussion of truth, and placed in a position where he felt himself compelled to vindicate the great principles of the Reformation from the assaults of its avowed enemies, and the abuses of its friends,

he was necessarily drawn into the arena of personal conflict. It was with reluctance that he paused from his direct labor in developing the great system of divine truth for the use of the Church at large; but when his views were assailed, when monstrous errors were putting on the aspect of truth, when the rising Church of Christ was threatened with total subversion, then he turned aside for a time from his great work to unmask the error, and confirm the perplexed children of God. He engaged in controversy with more than his wonted ardor. His spirit was heated, and often exasperated, by the malignancy and the felt evils of the attacks of the errorists of that time. He wrestled with the most gigantic forms of error. He assailed them with the most ponderous logic, with the bitterest sarcasm. If he did not always discriminate between a malignant opposition and an honest conviction, it was in part because the very violence of error amidst the upheaving confusion of religious systems, needed to be met by an opposition at once bold and uncompromising. Personal controversies, however necessary they may be for the vindication of divine truth, yet are always liable to engender the heat of ill feeling. The controversialist must be almost superhuman, not to impute wrong feeling to him whom he has convicted of wrong thinking. The intolerance of error, which is holy, passes over too often into that intolerance of the errorist which is sinful. And hence it is that controversy rarely lives, in its influence, beyond its own age. The struggle for victory mingles with the struggle for truth. Points of no real importance are considered as essential. Positions are taken according to their relation to an opponent, and not according to their bearing upon the Church at large. Criminations and recriminations take the place of thorough discussion. The battle is often fought and won on grounds that have little interest for posterity, or which are often not the real grounds on which the truth must be vindicated in after times. For these reasons, controversial writings, with rare exceptions, are among the most short-lived of all theological writings. Augustine's "City of God" lives, while his controversial tracts

are known only to the curious historian, and serve only to illustrate the conflicts of the Church. Luther's tracts, fulminated against the heresiarchs of his day, are just so much lumber to the masses of the Christian Church; while his "Epistle to the Galatians" remains as a vivifying force in the hearts of men. Milton's "Areopagitica" will never die; while his "Eikonoklastes," with all its wealth of diction and magnificent declamation, is virtually unknown. Now and then, a controversial treatise on some subject of abiding interest, and approaching the didactic style, like Pascal's "Provincial Letters," keeps its position; but even such works yield, in interest and permanent influence, to calmer and less personal discussions. Even Pascal's "Thoughts on Religion," imperfect and fragmentary as is their character, are yet vastly more effective now, and are destined to a far wider range of influence, than the wonderful artillery with which Port Royal assailed the Jesuits, and set all France and Italy in a blaze.*

While no man was a more successful controversialist than Calvin; while some of his tracts, like his letter to Cardinal Sadolet, are models of fine argument and an elevated Christian spirit, yet they have ceased deeply to interest the Christian Church, and Calvin lives now in those calmer works which embody his profounder thinking and his pure life of faith.

Let us view him then as a theologian. For it is as the author of that system which by common consent, since his time, has borne his name, that he has won the proudest position as a thinker and wields the greatest influence over the faith of the Protestant world. Undoubtedly the basis of his power is the fact that this system is substantial truth; that amidst the intense scrutiny and adverse questionings of after ages, and the advance of scientific theology, there yet remains in the whole of this magnificent edifice scarcely a single mu-

* In these remarks we refer to *personal* controversies, where individuals are pitted against each other. Many works are controversial, in the sense of opposing error, which assume a didactic form, and in which the personal element is either wholly wanting, or is not made prominent. The "De Civitate Dei," and Edwards on the Will, are examples.

tilation, with only here and there a recognized disproportion or some small quantity of perishable material. Nor is the system simply true, but also that form of truth which presents it in its profoundest and loftiest aspects. It starts with just and comprehensive views of God. It lays its foundation deep in the divine sovereignty. It sees the Almighty in his sublime capacity of an absolute and an infinitely wise Governor in all things. It beholds him sitting on the circle of the heavens, the inhabiter of eternity, and out of his infinite perfections ordaining for his own glory whatever cometh to pass. This is the key to unlock all the mysteries of theology. All the parts of this system are directly related to him as their final cause. The fall and the redemption of man take their character from his purpose, and find their full explanation only in his wise and holy sovereignty. There is nothing really profound that does not thus center in God. The system that starts from man—that makes much of man, is necessarily superficial.

But while truth, and such truth, constitutes the eternal basis of this system, yet this of itself does not account for the fact of Calvin's influence as its expounder. The same system, in the main, had been held by theologians before him, and in his own time. Augustine maintained it with great force of eloquence. The schoolmen had to a great extent reduced it to a scientific form. His cotemporary, Melancthon, had embodied it substantially in those celebrated confessions and apologies which for a time spread dismay through the ranks of the Papacy.* We must look for another reason for the

* The Lutheran Confessions do not go as far as Calvin on the subject of predestination; nor do the majority of those who adopt his system fully accept his representations on that subject. Henry says: (vol. ii. p. 94,) "He (Calvin) practically agreed with Luther in this matter (of predestination), and in his last Confession, drawn up in 1562, he speaks more decidedly than ever against those who trusted to predestination, rather than to that which immediately concerns their state." Luther, he tells us, read the "Institutes," "cum singulari voluptate." Melancthon never harmonized fully with Calvin on this point. Calvin must be considered as the man who has most fully declared this doctrine, and established it.

fact that this system has come to bear the name of the Genevan Reformer.

In regard to this point there are several things which combine to make up the power of Calvin ; part of which he had in common with the Reformers, and part of which he possessed in a degree superior to them.

1. He took the Bible alone as the rule of faith. He brought all his reasonings to the simple test of Scripture. He did this so fairly and with such correctness of interpretation, that while the full inspiration and authority of the sacred writers are admitted, so long will his views of truth remain unshaken. This he did in common with his co-laborers.

2. He divested this system of the superstitious notions, false philosophies, and subtle, but human distinctions, which from the days of Ambrose and the degeneracy of the Roman church, had been accumulated upon it. He swept away, as if they were so many spiders' webs, those earthly, fantastic, and unscriptural reasonings by which the Papacy, in its fearful apostacy, had sought to justify itself, and vindicate its claim to be the Church of God. Never was there a mind less given to superstition—less under the influence of a morbid imagination acting upon a morbid conscience. He separated intuitively the accretions of error—the miserable coverings of wood, hay, and stubble which previous theologians had built around the glorious temple of truth. This he did also in common with the other great men of the Reformation.

3. He seized upon the great points of this system with surprising force. They stood out clearly before him in their relations to each other. He developed them with masterly power. He reasons not only acutely and profoundly, but with a judiciousness and discretion never surpassed.

Some men write only for the learned ; others only for the unlearned. Calvin, on the other hand, represented that large class lying between these extremes. In learning, on a level with the learned, he yet wrote theology not for the scientific but for the thoughtful. He thus ultimately molded those above and those below him, for the scientific were attracted by his

eloquence, and then affected by his profound arguments, while the masses will always be moved by those who reason most clearly and forcibly. It is thus that Calvin's Institutes are often found not only as indispensable to the library of the scholar, but in the hands of the more intelligent of the people. He so constructed and developed his system that it should meet the wants of the very minds that have the widest rule, and accomplish the most among men. It might have been just as true, and as a system just as complete, indeed as a scientific development of theology more complete, and yet having a different form, have soon ceased to meet the wants of man, or passed into utter oblivion. In constructing a ship there is a vast difference between the huge galleons in which Spain used to transport her treasures home from the western Ophir, at the rate of four or five knots an hour, and those model vessels which, under the impulse of steam, and with or without or against the wind, now traverse the ocean in a week or two. And in the construction of a system of theology, there is an equal difference in adaptation to meet the wants of living souls. This difference between Calvin and any of his cotemporaries is manifest to him who will consult their works, and invests him with a perennial influence—a power that will only decline when the nature of human mind shall cease to be what it is.

4. Calvin's theology, in addition to its comprehensiveness, acuteness, and adaptation to meet the difficulties and wants of man, is instinct with the fire of genius. He wrote it for the Church of Christ. He did not sink his style in a series of dry statements and subtle distinctions. Every line is eloquent with thought and feeling. There are no state platitudes—no phrases repeated as a cold formula of orthodoxy. There is life—energy—fire, in all his movements. A man deeply moved and all in earnest is before you. His sympathy with truth—with the Bible—with God and with man, shows itself on every page. It is the most eloquent system of theology that has ever been written. Not merely in the elegance and forcibleness of its original Latin, but in our cumbrous,

irregular translation, we see the lofty genius and feel the power of the writer. Untrammelled by arbitrary rules, unaffected by contrary examples, he suffers his fervent soul to interpenetrate the cold forms of logic, and give to truth its native life and grace.

Such we conceive to be among the most striking features of this great work. In spite of some extreme opinions, and one in which we conceive Calvin, in common with the other Reformers, to have been wholly wrong (his views in regard to the obligation of the Christian Sabbath), we know of no book better adapted to settle the mind of this age firmly on the great system of evangelical truth, and promote that firm faith in God and his word, which a vain reliance upon human reason has weakened in multitudes.

Our limits compelling us to be brief, we can not enlarge on the character and excellence of those various commentaries upon the Old and New Testaments, which constitute in our view the noblest monument of Calvin's genius. This is less necessary, as it is our purpose to suggest the sources of his power rather than to make an extended analysis of his works. His Commentaries occupied him much of the time after his return to Geneva to the close of his life.

In mere exegetical learning he may not have been superior to several of his cotemporaries. Indeed it is claimed that in this respect he was not equal to his associate Beza. He quotes scarcely at all from previous commentators. Verbal criticism he attempts but rarely. His learning appears rather in results than in the processes by which those results were reached. His great aim undoubtedly was to bring out the mind of the sacred writers and unfold the precise thought designed to be expressed. Whatever would divert the reader from fully appreciating this, he at once threw away. In his preface to the Epistle to the Romans, he says to his friend Grynæus: "We both of us thought that the principal excellence of the interpreter consisted in *perspicuous brevity*. And indeed, since it is almost his whole business to lay open the mind of the writer whom he undertakes to interpret, if

he withdraws his brains from that, he so far turns aside from his main end, or at least wanders beyond his limits." It may also account to us for the absence of much of the display of philological machinery, so characteristic of modern commentators, that he wrote for the Church at large. His lectures on the Scriptures, though delivered during the week, were for years attended by large congregations; and his Commentaries, which constituted the basis of those lectures, thus received a popular character adapted to meet the wants of the Church rather than those of the few learned. Yet even among the learned no man has received higher praise; nor is there another person of the past or present age whose interpretations of Scriptures are oftener quoted by the ablest modern commentators.*

His great excellence and the chief source of his power lies open to any one at all familiar with his Commentaries. First of all he possessed the ability of seeing at once the real position of the sacred writers. He puts himself into their place and explains their words from their point of view. Losing sight of the sixteenth century, he transfers himself to the times of David, of Isaiah, of Christ. He surrounds himself with their circumstances; he breathes the atmosphere of their age, their country and their society. He sympathizes with their feelings and enters into the very life amidst which they wrote. His Commentary on the Romans seems thus to be rather an explanation by Paul himself, or a cotemporary, than that of a Frenchman, centuries after the Epistle was written. Now, this peculiar form of reading the Scriptures from the same point of view as their authors, was an admirable qualification for the full understanding of their meaning. For while it is peculiar to the inspired volume that the inspiration of God gives it a character of universality and teaches

* Lucko, Rheinwald, Gebser, Hengstenberg, Boehmer all evince their acquaintance with and appreciation of his Commentaries. Winer, whose labors constitute an era in sacred criticism, thus speaks of him: "Calvini miram in pervidenda apostoli mente subtilitatem, in reponenda perspicuitatem probant"—as quoted by Tholuck.

an expression of the religious feeling of all ages, yet that expression is more or less (of necessity) affected by the occasion which gave it birth. The actual experiences of prophet and apostle are necessarily associated with the circumstances amid which they lived. The enemies they encounter, the condition of the Church in their time, the errors or evil practices that prevailed, all enter into the mold in which the truth is cast. And he who rising above the present, most clearly perceives, and most fully appreciates their position, is of all others best prepared to represent their thoughts. Calvin as fully as, perhaps more fully than, any other commentator possessed this ability.

But this power is only preliminary to another equally conspicuous in him ; to that peculiar exegetical intuition by which he seizes the natural development of the thoughts and penetrates the heart of a difficult passage. The secret links of association that bind together the parts of the living word, the law by which each writer thought and wrote, he apprehends with surprising clearness. He traces out with peculiar skill the connections which shed an entirely new light on a whole chapter. Now here we think, more than in any other one respect, is the commentator revealed. It is not by mere verbal criticism, by the knowledge of forms of construction, by the mastery of verbs, nouns, adjectives and particles, that the interpreter of Scripture is most truly characterized.

Bloomfield and Winer may be admirable grammarians ; they may furnish an admirable apparatus for determining the mere forms of language ; but it is quite another thing to penetrate the language and detect the course of thought which has given birth to that peculiar mode of speech. Indeed, we have sometimes thought that the tendencies which the grammarian cultivates, and by which he is enabled to pronounce upon the intended character and force of individual words and sentences, were, in some respects, adverse to the free exercise of that exegetical genius which is keen-sighted to detect the spirit that lies within the form, and the subtle associations which chain together the parts of the inspired

record. The lawyer who accustoms his mind to all the details of legal forms, sharpens the faculty by which he detects minute sophistries and legal quibbles ; but he endangers thereby the power to enter into the spirit of the law itself, to generalize upon the great principles which animate the whole fabric of civil jurisprudence, and correctly unfold the views of those profound writers whose minds were mainly intent, not on the construction of their sentences, but upon those things of which language is, at best, but an imperfect medium.

Of all books in the world, the Bible is one that needs just such an interpreter. It is like the natural world—not a consecutive treatise, like Plato's *Phaedo* or Butler's *Analogy*, but irregular, rugged, varied, compact, multiform. There are mountains and valleys, trees and flowers, crystals imbedded in granite, and coal cropping out from the hill-sides ; streams wild and shallow, smooth and profound. Truth is given in condensed masses, in sentences, in parables, in narratives, in rapid arguments. The strata of thought are sometimes piled upon each other in the inverse order of their formation, they are often torn violently asunder, separated by huge chasms, interrupted by the upheaving, right through them, of some stately mountain, whose top shines in the far-off heaven. Now the man who is to interpret this book must have a genius above that of a collector of cabinet curiosities, or of one who can simply measure accurately the angle of a crystal and give names to classes of beautiful forms. Like Newton and Bacon, he must be able to seize the laws which have formed these irregularities, and the subtle spirit that underlies and penetrates the outward creation.

Such an interpreter of God's word is Calvin. With wonderful tact he removes the difficulties that meet and arrest a superficial observer ; he states the different interpretations which others have given of the words before him, and then unfolds, in the most natural manner, the real meaning of the sacred writer. He instinctively avoids what is forced, what springs not spontaneously from the very heart of the subject. He indulges in no quaint conceits, and never seeks to magnify

his genius by the attempt to evince his ingenuity in far-fetched explanations. And here lies his great power. His mind works so easily, the view he gives springs so naturally from the language, and harmonizes so entirely with the context, that, instead of wondering at his skill, you rather wonder at your stupidity in not having seen it before.

Another characteristic of Calvin, as a commentator, is the absence of any attempt to make the Scriptures speak according to any preconceived system of doctrine. We do not mean that he had no respect to the traditional interpretations of the Church ; for to have done this, would have been to reject one of the most admirable aids furnished by the Spirit and Providence of God. Nor do we mean that in no instance his own doctrinal belief exerted an influence in giving shape to his interpretations ; for this would be to attribute to him a perfection of independence almost superhuman. But what we mean is, that his Commentary, to a remarkable degree, is the outflowing of clear intellect and spiritual life in full sympathy with the truth itself. It is not cut and squared, to meet the exigencies of a theological system. Unlike Luther, Melancthon, Musculus, and Bugenhagen, who "made it their chief concern to prove the *Loci Communes* of the Lutheran system, and to shed additional light upon them, by doctrinal and practical discussions," * Calvin sought, without reference to any system, to unfold the real sense of the sacred writers. He does not seek, by special pleading to establish some dogma of theology. His fairness, candor and truthfulness reveal themselves on every page. On reading his "Institutes," we can readily imagine that Calvin could write or had written a commentary ; for that work abounds with just and forcible interpretations of Scripture, as the basis and justification of the doctrines it contains. But no one, on reading his Commentaries, would have imagined that their author had written a line of systematic theology. He avoids doctrinal discussions, except as they constitute the simple and direct unfolding of the text. In some instances even his interpretations

* Tholuck. Bib. Rep., vol. ii.

seem to conflict with the views expressed in his theology. It is this manifest purpose to let the Word of God utter its own will, without attempting to shape an instrument by which its tones shall be modified, that commends the Commentaries of Calvin to the minds of men, and assists in perpetuating his influence.

We need not here speak of his style, at once elegant, perspicuous, concise, and forcible. He rarely indulges in declamation, and never in that luxuriance of imagery of which Luther is so remarkable an illustration. He distinguishes admirably between the functions of a commentator and a preacher; between the man whose business it is to lay open the Scriptures just as they are, to the thoughtful reader, and the man whose business it is to illustrate and apply the Scriptures thus laid open, to all the varying wants and circumstances of a congregation.

And finally, we see in Calvin a spirit pervaded with the profoundest religious feelings; molded by the very truth he seeks to unfold, in hearty sympathy with the holy men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The life of religion animates every line. The love of the truth and of Jesus, the brightest manifestation of truth, glows everywhere. We see a Christian in profound experimental acquaintance with the deepest wants of the religious life; a confessor, attesting his estimate of the gospel by his renunciation of all earthly honors, in obedience to its will; a soul humble, penitent, relying wholly on the redemption of Jesus, amidst the stern trials to which, in common with his fellow-laborers, he was exposed; a soldier, taking the truth of God alone as his armor and his weapon of attack upon the powers of darkness.

All these great qualities have combined to give Calvin influence as a commentator. They are now reviving an interest in him all over Germany and the Protestant world. They are destined to perpetuate his powers, when others, great and learned and pious, but possessed of these peculiar excellences in a less degree, have ceased to influence the world.*

* Those who desire to read a learned and admirable analysis of Calvin's Com-

Calvin was not only a writer: he was the founder, or the reviver, of an ecclesiastical system. He not only pulled down, with holy zeal, the vast structure of the Papacy; he was also equally zealous in reconstructing the outward form of the Church in harmony with the pattern given us in the Word of God, so far as that was appropriate to the age in which he lived. His views on this subject were very early matured; and one of his earliest labors at Geneva, was an attempt to build up a church according to his ideal.

His system involves the following principles:

1st. The Church of Christ is under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; and we are to look to the promise of the Saviour for the preservation of her truth and purity.

2d. The Word of God is the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

3d. The permanent officers of a church are presbyters and deacons.

4th. To deacons is committed the care of the funds, and of the poor.

5th. To presbyters belong government and instruction.

6th. Presbyters are divided into, first, Pastors and teachers, whose chief work it is to preach the gospel and perform pastoral labor, and administer the ordinances; second, Lay elders, whose business it is, in conjunction with the pastors, to attend to discipline and order.

7th. The election of all these officers belongs to the Church itself. The pastors ordain only those whom the people choose for this purpose, the function of the Church, in this behalf, being to decide who, in the judgment of charity, are called of God to office, no one being qualified without such call *both* of God and the people.

8th. To secure harmony of faith and practice, the churches meet in Synods or Councils by their pastors and elders, the latter being the representatives of the people.

mentaries, are referred to an article by Tholuck, translated in the *Bib. Repos.*, vol. ii. First Series.

9th. The Church, in all spiritual matters, is entirely independent of the State, and responsible to Christ alone.

This system, in part, Zwingle had adopted in the church at Zurich, before Calvin came to Geneva. Francis Lambert had propounded it, in the main, in Germany, although with little success. Calvin, however, first gave the full development of it in theory ; and it is to him that its spread among the Reformed churches is chiefly due. The theory, in its perfect form, is found in his Institutes. But in the attempt to establish it at Geneva, he felt obliged to vary from it in one important particular, in suffering the elders to be chosen from the council, rather than from the Church at large.

On this system, we submit the following remarks :

1st. It constitutes a well-defined, consistent, and positive government. Order is Heaven's first law : and in the Church, Calvin saw that government was just as necessary, and just as scriptural, as in the State. He sought to frame a system substantially in harmony with that adopted by the primitive Church, which should be compact, consistent, and strong enough to resist the tendencies to anarchy on the one side, and priestly domination on the other

2d. It invests the Church, under Christ, with original jurisdiction. The power goes up from the Church to her officers, and not down, from a consecrated and necessarily independent priesthood, to the people. It gives to the Church power to determine who shall enter into fellowship with her ; to decide upon articles of faith, according to God's word ; and to establish the laws according to which she shall be governed. This is the great principle of liberty—the vital principle, which opposes most directly all the pretensions of the Papacy, and in its operation cuts up by the roots all priestly arrogance and power. It makes the members of the Church kings and priests ; the ministry, while holding their office direct from Christ by the inward call of his Holy Spirit, and so being his ambassadors, are yet the servants of the people, for Christ's sake.

3d. It provides for the regular exercise of this power on

the part of the Church, by the institution of a strictly representative government. It devolves the election of *all* ecclesiastical officers upon the private members of the Church, and compels them to pass upon the character of those who are to act in her behalf.

4th. It provides for all the great objects, to attain which officers are necessary. It designates the men who shall preach the gospel, and instruct the Church, and administer the ordinances, and sets apart to their work those whom the Church has appointed. It designates those who shall administer discipline, and care for the purity, order, and peace of the house of God. It specifies those who shall act as stewards of the congregation, the almoners of their bounty, charged with the support of the ministry and the poor. These are the permanent and most necessary officers of the Church. And these are all found in the primitive Church.

5th. It involves the essential purity of the clergy, in opposition to a divinely constituted prelacy or hierarchy. It holds that all ministers are equally bishops and presbyters, on an equality in respect to government.

6th. It constitutes the Church independent of the State in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things. It gives no power to the State to lord it over God's heritage ; to determine who shall be entitled to church fellowship ; who shall fill Church offices ; what shall be the faith of the Church ; or who shall decide upon her confessions.

7th. Any minister, when placed in heathen lands or new settlements, has an inherent right to act alone, establish churches, and ordain their officers ; but so soon as the Church crystallizes around him, he comes under the general, established system.

8th. In addition to this form of government, the system carries with it a simple ritual of worship. It rejects the pomp and ceremony of the Romish church, as opposed to a truly spiritual worship. It avoids the constant appeal to the senses, as at war with the simple power of truth, and adverse to the cultivation of an intelligent and scriptural faith. It retains

what the early Church possessed—the reading of the Scriptures, the preaching of the word, extempore prayer, and the singing of psalms and hymns. It threw aside, with the mass, the missal, the liturgy, the processions, the robings of priests, and the mummary of the altar.

The enunciation of these principles constituted an era in the history of the Church and the world. It is impossible to estimate their influence in rearing a barrier against the assumptions of the Papacy, in promoting the healthful discipline of the Church, and sowing liberal ideas in the world. "These ideas," says Ranke, "are the same on which the French, Scotch, and American churches were afterwards founded, and, indeed, on which the existence and development of North America may truly be said to rest. Their historical importance is beyond all calculation."*

Luther approved the system, but he felt unequal to the task of introducing it into Germany. "For the Germans are a wild, rude, turbulent people, with whom it is not easy to begin any thing, unless there be the pressure of the greatest necessity."† There was also another reason which prevented the progress of these principles among the Lutherans. The Reformation had risen in connection with the temporal power. The secular authorities had engaged in it, for the purpose, in part, of being emancipated from the immediate supervision of the clergy. They had no love for either the discipline or the democracy of this ecclesiastical regimen. "If these ideas, which we may describe as ecclesiastically democratic, afterwards triumphed in other countries, it was because the new church rose in opposition to the civil power; its real root and strength were in the lower classes of the people. But it was far otherwise in Germany. The new churches were founded under the protection, the immediate influence, of the reigning authorities, and its form was naturally determined by that circumstance."‡ In France, where the State opposed

* History of the Reformation, cap. 5.

† Luther, quoted by Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. i. p. 399.

‡ Ranke, *History of the Reformation*, cap. 5.

the new order of things, this system was developed more fully than Calvin had been able to realize it in Geneva. In England, where the king undertook the Reformation, the Church was constituted on prelatical principles, and Presbyterianism assumed the form of dissent from the established worship. But in Scotland, where the people carried it over the heads of their rulers, it was triumphantly established.

It is of importance here to observe, first, that these ideas, constituting the principles of freedom in the Church, are, of all others, most hostile to the advance of the Papacy. They dethrone pope, and cardinals, and prelates. They suffer no priestly mediator to stand between the Church and Christ. They permit no man to lord it over the heritage of God. These principles, as they prevail, build up free, pure, intelligent churches, in whom the Spirit of God dwelling richly, lifts up a standard against the pride of the hierarchy and the power of the Man of Sin, before which they are destined to be utterly destroyed.

Second. It is Calvin's good fortune to have revived that system which not only most mightily opposes all spiritual despotism, but which identifies itself, as a most efficient ally, with the progress of civil liberty. The churches he has modeled are the nurseries of intelligent freemen ; of men full of respect for government as God's institution, not fractious, not licentious, not given to anarchy ; men accustomed to make laws and to obey them ; to choose their own rulers and sustain them ; to exercise the rights of priests and kings without confusion or discord. Such men planted this land, and founded this republic. The Puritan rulers, says one of our greatest living orators, when they fled to Geneva, saw there "a church without a bishop, a state without a king." They never forgot what they saw, or the lesson it taught. They attested it in that great Parliament which brought the head of Charles to the block, and inaugurated a new era in the history of freedom. They attested it when two thousand of them resigned their livings, and went forth beggars upon the world. They attested it when they came to these then inhos-

pitiable shores, and planted the church and the school-house in every village, that they might have liberty to worship God. They attested it when the hour of travail came, and millions of freemen rose against the injustice of King George and Lord North. They attested it when they established the Church on the sole basis of God's word, and gave to this new world a republican Constitution. Every State Constitution since formed is a living witness of the mighty working of those principles which Calvin thus sent forth to the world. While this system and these principles mold the people and form the churches of this great republic, priestcraft may import her millions, and rear her cathedrals all over the country, and seek to play off here the spiritual despotism which, for a thousand years, has bowed the old world to the dust. We will penetrate and renovate her millions with the light of God's pure truth; her cathedrals will cease to witness the impieties of the mass, and the mummery of her liturgy chanted in an unknown tongue, or remain as monuments of a decaying superstition; her spiritual thunders will furnish food for laughter and contempt; her colossal despotism, cold and frowning, will melt away beneath the sun of freedom and truth.*

Such were the great deeds that this man was empowered to perform for the cause of Christ. Such were the living thoughts which he sent forth to work in the minds of men long after he was in his grave. These constitute a power indisputably great and wonderfully successful. These spread his influence over Europe and this new world. His theology,

* It may not be generally known that Calvin was among the first of the Protestants who sought to plant a colony in America. "Their—the French Huguenots'—first effort to plant a colony was made in Brazil, under the superintendence of Calvin himself, and of Admiral Coligny, who had become a convert to the doctrine of the Reformation. The church at Geneva furnished the missionaries designed to accompany their brethren to the new world; and its pastor presided at the meetings at which the necessary measures were adopted. Thus Calvin and his flock were the direct agents in the earliest endeavor to establish the Protestant faith in America." It failed through the treachery of Chevalier Villagagnon, its leader. "The colony was nearly thrice as numerous as that which laid the foundations of the institutions of New England."—*North Am. Rev. for April, 1855.*

his commentaries, his system of ecclesiastical government, have not grown old. Invested with a perennial youth, the providence of God is even now awakening to their study multitudes of thoughtful minds. Errors he may have held ; opinions in theology he may have pushed, in some instances, beyond clear revelation ; interpretations he may have given of individual passages of Scripture that will not stand the test of sacred criticism in its present advancement. To say this is only to repeat that he was not inspired, and that infallibility dwells in no uninspired man. It is in spite of the opposition which the stern aspects of parts of his theological system awakened, in spite of the practical errors into which he, in common with the other Reformers, fell, that the substantial merits of his works have won for him so proud a position among the minds which have been employed by God to wield a wide and profound influence over the character and destiny of our race.

We can not take our leave of this illustrious man without adverting to the time when he arose, and the position in which he was placed. It is a part of the providence of God, not only to raise up great men, but to place them on that stage and at that time, which, together, will enable them most successfully to accomplish their mission. "You can not produce the great man before his time, and you can not make him die before his time ; you can not displace, nor advance, nor put him back ; you can not continue his existence, and replace him, for he existed only because he had his work to do ; he exists no longer, because there is no longer any thing for him to do, and to continue him, is to continue a useless past. It was once said to a soldier, who had placed himself upon a throne, 'Sire, you must watch attentively over the education of your son ; he must be brought up with the utmost care, in order to be able to replace you.' 'Replace me !' he replied : 'I could not replace myself ; I am the child of circumstances.' This man felt that the power which animated him was not his own, and that it was lent him for a definite purpose, up to an hour which he could neither hasten

nor put back.”* Calvin came upon the stage just at the time when a man of his peculiar character was most needed. Already the Reformation had penetrated the hearts of multitudes ; the first great battle had been fought and won ; the Reformers had announced at Spiers their eternal “*Protest*” against the edict of the emperor, commanding silence in respect to those truths which their hearts burned to preach as the word of life ; already they had given to the world their “*Augsburg Confession*,” which henceforth was to be one of the great landmarks in the advance of Christianity. Henry, on the throne of England, in obedience to his brutal lusts, had just renounced allegiance to the pope, in order to become pope himself. Francis and Charles, perplexed at times and wavering, were yet intent on crushing the Reformation. Luther’s grandest work in originating the great revolution, was already accomplished. Melancthon, his learned and noble associate, had mainly fulfilled his mission. The hour of success was the hour of danger. Divisions were everywhere threatening the very existence of the Protestant cause. The work of consolidation—of building up on a solid foundation, amid the ruins of the Papacy, and the conflicting interests which struggled for supremacy—had yet to be done. A mind was needed of another order from that of either Luther or Melancthon, Zuingli, Farel, or Lefevre. A mind solid, learned, inventive, logical, active, and stable, to give forth a full and systematic view of the doctrines of the Cross, was the great want of the time. Calvin, whose mental training and character were just of this kind, suddenly emerges from the smoke of battle in Paris, and is seen and recognized at once as the man for the age and the hour. A century earlier, or a half century later, and he would have been out of place. The circumstances of that time were just the ones to develop such a mind, to furnish just the work it was qualified to do, and to give it just that position in which it could be most successfully accomplished.

* Cousin, *Hist. Mod. Phil.*

Nor is it a matter of small importance that Calvin was a Frenchman, not a German—that he was placed at Geneva, and not at Wittemberg. As a German, he would have risen under the shadow of the great men who, in Germany, wielded a scepter that no mere man could hope to obtain. He would have been trammelled in some of his noblest efforts. Coming out of France, he carried with him the sympathies of all the evangelical of his countrymen, and over them he exercised an influence superior to that of any other reformer. Planted at Geneva, he became the leader of the Reformation in Switzerland and in Italy. Had he remained in France, his life might have been frittered away in individual conflicts, and he might not have been able to develop and establish his ecclesiastical system. At Geneva, he had but to mold a small community; and though he had to deal with the warm blood of the South, and the bold spirit reared amid the wild scenery of the Alps, yet it was a field he could easily compass, where he could give to the world a practical illustration of his church system, and find leisure to send forth, in their most perfect form, the works which have made him immortal. Hither, as to an asylum into which neither pope nor emperor dared to enter, exiles from all Christendom flocked in crowds. Here, in this little republic, they heard the truth set forth in its clearest light; they saw the primitive Church revived, and flourishing in its original order and purity. To France, to Germany, to Holland, to England, to Scotland, they carried back principles which, planted all over these lands, have brought forth precious fruits.

Thus, the time when Calvin rose, and the position which he occupied, were just those in which his true greatness could be most fully developed, and his influence spread abroad most widely over the Christian world. He was not like one born out of time. The age waited for him; the Church was ripe for his mission; the hand of God guided him to just that spot from which he could speak, and where he could labor with the greatest success.

We do not pronounce upon this man an unqualified eulo-

gium. All great men have their weaknesses, their defects, their errors. No man has ever perfectly emancipated himself from the evil habits of his own time; nor has any one, in whom great talents and great passions dwelt, when called to show those talents on a lofty stage, succeeded in wholly repressing the evil influence of an imperfectly sanctified heart. Unlike many who have acted a great part in history, Calvin's defects and errors fall away from him; while the learning, the genius, the piety, the wealth of thought, remain to illuminate and bless the world. We care not to detect the spots on the sun. We are not concerned to count the thorns around the stem of the flower whose beauty and fragrance delight us. We behold in him a man of extraordinary powers, of wonderful affluence of thought, of singular devotion to the will of God. We recognize him as one elevated by a divine hand to a position in which he labored with sublime energy and devotion for the salvation of his fellow-men. He loves the truth as it is in Jesus, and knows no joy so great as that inspired by the work of making that truth known to dying men. He renounces wealth and home for the sake of Christ. Engaged in a glorious movement that has but one end, the emancipation of souls from the bondage of ignorance and sin, he knows no ease, he counts no toil too great that aids in effecting this object. Fond of retirement, he obeys his conscience and mingles in the cares and perplexities of public life. A student in all his habits, he yet engages in the difficult and annoying work of managing a rude multitude, and disciplining into order a church almost hopelessly ignorant and corrupt; complying and gentle to all who seem to love the Saviour—longing and praying, above all the men of his time, for the union of Christians in the bond of peace—he was called to fight with beasts in human form, whose malignant assaults threatened utter ruin to the ark of God. To him this land owes a debt of gratitude it can never pay. He lives among us in Church and State. In the emancipation of the Church from all forms of spiritual despotism, and the State from all the tyrannies that crush men into the dust

—the principles which he put forth have already borne, and are destined in the future, still to bear, a glorious part. We thank God that such a man lived just when and where he did. Among all the great men of the past—the men who have exerted the most extensive influence, for the longest time, with the noblest effects, history knows not his superior.

X.

WILLIAM PENN.*

WILLIAM PENN was born in London, October 14, 1644. His father was Admiral Sir William Penn, a man greatly distinguished as a naval officer, both under Cromwell and Charles II. Living apart from the civil convulsions of his age, devoting himself with ardor to his own profession, he not only gained celebrity, but the honors of knighthood. The old sailor, reposing from the toils of his rough profession, upon the laurels so bravely won at the conquest of Jamaica, and in that terrible conflict with the Dutch fleet at Opsdam, in 1665, remained until his death a favorite at the court of Charles.

His only son, William, springing from so goodly a stock, was destined by his father for civil life, in the expectation of a rapid advancement and a brilliant career. This expectation was disappointed; although that son in the end has attained a name and a fame surpassing the highest wishes of his fond parent. In pursuance of this design, he gave to William the best education the kingdom afforded. After studying under teachers of eminence at Chigwell and Tower Hill, he was entered at Christ's Church College, Oxford, in his fifteenth year. Here he numbered among his associates the famous John Locke, with whom we shall find his name associated in after life. He devoted himself to his studies, until the occurrence of an event, which, while it led to his expulsion, exerted a most important influence upon his future course. While at school he had been the subject of religious im-

* A lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati, Ohio, December 7, 1847.

pressions, which at this time were greatly deepened by the preaching of an Oxford layman, Thomas Loe, a Friend. Soon after the restoration of Charles the Second, an order came down to Oxford requiring the students to wear the surplice—an old custom which the scepter of the Puritans had swept away. The usage was offensive to Penn and his associates, among whom was the afterwards celebrated Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. Between these friends, an attack was planned upon the newly-robed collegians; in the execution of which they rushed upon them and tore their surplices over their heads. Here at least is something thus early developed in this college boy, out of which subsequently came forth the full-blown Quaker Confessor. Oxford, however, was not the place for such exhibitions, and the college authorities soon cooled the ardor of this surplice-rending spirit by an edict of expulsion.

The admiral, vexed at the dishonor cast upon his name, and fearful that his son's religious feelings would interfere with his success in civil life, sends him to France. He resides for a short time in Paris, and spends part of the years 1662 and 1663 with Moses Amyrault, a Huguenot professor of divinity at Saumur, a man whose reputation filled all France, alike eminent for his piety and his ability as teacher of theology. To this noble man much of Penn's mental discipline and theological acquisitions are undoubtedly due. Here he gained that familiarity with the early Christian writers, which contributed essentially to his success in the subsequent conflicts of life. He returned to his father's house in 1664, polished in manners, familiar with several modern languages, with a mind enlarged by communion with foreign society, yet with his religious feelings still unchanged.

Thus prepared, he entered a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, from which he was driven by the plague, which raged in London during the year 1665. In the course of the next year his father sent him to Ireland, for the double purpose of taking charge of his estates on that island, and by introducing him into the light and gay court of the Lord Lieutenant,

Duke of Ormond, of breaking up his son's religious associations, and restoring his love for scenes of gayety and splendor. In this latter object he is singularly foiled. For William, while on business at Cork, accidentally met with the Quaker layman, the veritable Thomas Loe, whose preaching at Oxford several years before had so much affected his mind. He heard him preach again, on this theme—"There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." That sermon makes William Penn a Friend for life. This event occurred in 1666, when he was twenty-two years old. He is soon recalled by his father, refuses even to take off his hat in his presence, or yield in the least to his parent's desire that he would conform to the manner of "courtly people," until the stern old sailor, exasperated by his firmness, indignantly expels his only child from his house. But though cast out, he is not forsaken. Kind friends ministered to him, a mother's love still embraced him, and a mother's hand relieved his wants.

While under this cloud at home, he first appears as a preacher and an author. The man who could suffer such domestic trials for conscience' sake, was not made to be an idle member of the church he had espoused. In his twenty-fourth year, with no small discipline of mind and heart, he appears boldly before the world as one of the leaders of his sect; and from this time, until disease paralyzed his frame, he ceased not, with his tongue and pen, to advocate the cause of religious truth in the guise of Quakerism. We now find him preaching from place to place; here disputing with Presbyterians, Independents and Episcopalians, and there composing tract after tract in defense of what he regarded as truth. For one of these publications, directed against the popular notions of the Trinity, he is arrested and thrown into the Tower, where, during a stay of seven months, besides other works, he wrote his "No Cross, no Crown," the only literary production of his with which I am acquainted, that has had much popularity out of his own denomination, and has survived till this day.

Released by the intercession of the Duke of York, we next see him, in 1699, at the bedside of his friend, Thomas Loe; and soon after a joyful reconciliation is effected with his father, and he returns to reside beneath the parental roof. The next year is remarkable for his famous trial at the Old Bailey, of which I propose to say something in the sequel. He is acquitted, and although committed to Newgate on account of fines, which he was conscientiously opposed to paying, he is soon liberated. He returned home, to witness the decline of his esteemed father, and close that parent's eyes in death. He at once succeeded to the estate, worth some £1,500 a year. But the acquisition of so considerable a fortune does not in the least abate his religious ardor. With a zeal mounting up to enthusiasm, he continued to write and preach. He issues a work in defense of the liberties of British subjects; disputes with the Baptists respecting the universality of the divine light; writes a "caveat" against Popery; and is finally committed a second time to Newgate, for refusing to take the oath of allegiance. On his release he traveled in Holland and Germany, and returning in 1672, marries Gulielma Maria Springett, the daughter of Sir William Springett, a lady of distinguished personal beauty, and many noble qualities. For several years his life was a scene of incessant labor in behalf of the persecuted people of his own faith. They were years of stern oppression, when the vials of wrath were poured out upon them even more copiously than upon other Dissenters. Penn therefore wrote much in favor of *toleration*; and by his interest with the Duke of York rescued multitudes from prison.

In 1675 he disputes with Richard Baxter, and by a mere accident becomes a manager of the colony of West Jersey. He had been called to arbitrate between John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge, respecting the half share of New Jersey, held by the former in trust for the latter. This he did so successfully, that when Byllinge soon after was obliged to deliver over his property in trust for his creditors, William Penn was selected as the very man of all others most compe-

tent to take charge of it. He soon effected the division of New Jersey into East and West, drew up a constitution for the western half, and set on foot extensive plans for securing emigration thither. To such slight circumstances is that deep interest in our western continent due, which ultimately brought him to our shores, and gave his name to one of the fairest of our State sovereignties. From this period, indeed, the main current of his life set towards America ; to encourage emigration, and guide the great experiment to a prosperous issue, constituted his chief toil.

During the year 1677 he is moved by religious impulses to travel a second time through Holland and Germany. During the progress of this journey he has a memorable interview with Elizabeth, Princess Palatine of the Rhine ; writes to the king of Poland in favor of the Quakers, and we are told, in various places has weighty exercises, and much travail in prayer. These visits to Germany subsequently created a large emigration from that country to Pennsylvania, and embalmed his name as one of the most excellent of men, in the hearts of multitudes along the Rhine. For several years from this time he is engaged on the one hand in managing the affairs of West Jersey, and on the other in promoting the interest of his people in England. He petitions Parliament in their behalf ; speaks before select committees with great address ; writes treatise after treatise in favor of toleration ; and has interviews with King Charles on the same subject. Although generally indifferent to the political contests of the day, yet he engages with all zeal in the advocacy of Algernon Sidney's election, because he, in common with others not a few, had learnt to respect and love him as a true friend of man.

Shortly after this, that event occurred which has given the name and the fame of William Penn to America, and enrolled him among the founders of these independent commonwealths. The Government of England was indebted to his father £1,600. He solicited in payment, and received,

- the grant of that entire region now known as Pennsylvania.* He soon published his masterly frame of Government; emigrants in crowds sailed for this new home of freedom, and finally Penn himself, leaving his family behind, embarked on the 1st of September, 1682, and about the middle of October following, landed in the New World. Of the character and events of his government, I propose to speak presently. It is sufficient here to say, that having instituted a government, selected the site and laid out the streets of Philadelphia, and negotiated important treaties with the Indians, he sailed for England on the 12th of August, 1684. His return was accelerated by the dreadful persecution to which the Friends were again exposed, under a government bent on utterly crushing the spirit of non-conformity.

Scarcely had he landed, before that congeries of wit, profligacy and hypocrisy, Charles the Second, died. The Duke of York, with the title of James the Second, succeeded to the vacant throne. With this prince, Admiral Sir William Penn had been very intimate, and on his death-bed commended his son to his guardianship. And it is due to the character of this unfortunate personage to say, that in this instance he was true to the memory of his friend, although, as the result proved, his friendship was more malignant in its influence upon the fortunes of Penn, than his indifference or his hostility. Penn cultivated the friendship thus within his reach, removed his residence near the person of the king, interceded for many of the oppressed, and enjoyed the pleasure of securing the recall from Holland of his old college friend, John Locke, whither he had fled to avoid persecution for his opposition to arbitrary power. Yet this intimacy with a monarch so bigoted and despotic, drew upon him suspicious eyes. The cry of Papist and Jesuit was uttered against him, and he was obliged to resort to the press to defend himself against these attacks.

During the brief and ignominious reign of James, he re-

* The name selected by Penn was "Sylvania," but Charles, much against Penn's wishes, declared it should be "Penn-sylvania."

mained by his side, with the intention, doubtless, of benefiting thereby the persecuted of his denomination. On the election of William and Mary, in 1688, Penn began to reap the fruits of his intimacy with the dethroned monarch. He found himself not only in disgrace at court, but in great danger from the portion of a correspondence he had carried on with the exiled James. He is forced into retirement for several years. In 1693 a double calamity fell upon him. William deprives him of his government in Pennsylvania, and his amiable and accomplished wife is removed from his arms by death. In addition to these sad trials, his own society turned against him, for one, among other reasons, that he mingled too freely in political life ; and thus his foes were emphatically those of his own religious household, for whom he had suffered persecution, and undergone prodigious toil. Meanwhile he abides quietly at home, instructing his motherless children, and submitting himself to the wise chastisement of his God. In 1694 the tide of his prosperity began to return. He is reconciled to the Quakers, and restored to his government. Two years subsequently he marries Hannah, the daughter of Thomas Callowhill of Bristol, and buries his eldest son, a young man of great promise. In September, '99, accompanied by his family, he embarked on his second voyage to America, and arrived here the last day of November.

For two years he remained with his colony, superintending its affairs, renewing treaties with the Indians, and effecting among his own society the passage of resolutions for the instruction and elevation of the negroes. At the close of this period, he is recalled to England, by the efforts then made to dispossess the proprietaries of their governments. Amid the tears of his people and the sorrow of his poor Indian allies, he left us, never to return. There is little worthy of special notice during the remainder of his life. Under the quiet reign of Queen Anne, he employed his mind chiefly in colonial affairs, until in 1712 his powers were much impaired by a fit of apoplexy. From this period he gradually declined in health, and on the 30th of July, 1718, he died.

From this hurried sketch, let us turn to a few of the points in the life and character of this extraordinary man, the discussion of which will bring him and his age more prominently before us. I say "HIS AGE," for it is just, and fundamental to an enlightened estimate of the past, that we transport ourselves back to their times, and view them as they stood related to their own age. To judge them by the present, is either to deny that society has been at all profited by their discoveries, investigations, or elaborate productions, or to refuse them the benefit of a rule created by the very progress of the human mind, and essential to our own vindication before the tribunal of the future generations. Judged by the present, in what niche would the master-spirits of the past—the Bacons, Newtons, Aristotles, be placed? A child now masters truth that once taxed the strongest intellects. The theory of gravitation is familiar to school boys now; but there was a time when the discovery of it constituted a prodigious advance in human science. Minds of very limited endowments now penetrate millions of miles further into the heavens than did Copernicus; but there was a time when, to detect the orbit of a planet, and suggest the revolution of the earth, was a new and brilliant revelation. If this is true in natural science, it is equally true in moral and civil science. The noblest men the past has produced, judged by the present, would sink into contempt. They have labored to lift men up to their platform, and prepare them to rise beyond it. And it is the noblest tribute to these worthies, that many of their opinions, then novel, have worked their way into the mind of nations, and become the proud vantage ground of future progress. Who now reads "Locke on Toleration?" How few plod through the "Novum Organum!" What has become of the "Rambler?" This seeming neglect is the proudest triumph of these immortal authors. The millions have been elevated to the heights they reached, while to their generation they were standing in the sun. They have lifted us, their intellectual children, to a position of equality, from which we may easily rise to one of superiority; and he would

want the good sense of a child, who should boast of himself as taller intrinsically, because he was so placed relatively as to command a wider range of vision. It is but just, therefore, for us, in forming an estimate of Penn, to measure him by his age, and the men of his times.

I shall speak of him first as a Quaker Confessor. The period between 1625, when Charles the First ascended the throne of Britain, and 1688, when William and Mary reigned by right of parliamentary election, is the most memorable in the history of England. The great religious Reformation had been slowly working for a century in that island. The Word of God, now fully translated in that old Saxon garb which it still wears, had penetrated the masses, and elicited a vast amount of mental power. Under this sublime process of discipline, minds were developing that were soon to reveal themselves as the Anaks of that age. There was opened an original continent of thought, as fresh, as exhilarating, as if that book itself had just been revealed. Under the darkness of the middle ages, before the Press and the Reformation had given this volume to the people, men groped with lanterns and torches over the world; now the sun shone out, and they traversed kingdoms, ascended mountains, sailed over oceans, everywhere mapping down the great features of truth for all future time. As the discovery of this New World gave wonderful enlargement, stimulus, and activity to the human mind, overturning ancient theories, revolutionizing commerce, awakening an amazing spirit of enterprise, and carrying its reforming energy into social and civil life; so did the Bible, when thus brought in contact with society, work with surpassing energy all through it, affecting, not merely the religious, but also the social, the civil, the commercial world.

And yet, just at this period, the nation was cursed with rulers utterly unable to understand the mighty workings of the popular mind. The Stuarts were in the main destitute of that kingly *prescience*, the noblest mental endowment of a true statesman, which, through a comprehension of the present, anticipates the future and provides for it. They knew

not man, least of all their own people. Ascending the throne in the person of a foolish pedant, they left it in that of a blind bigot. They attempted to arrest, when they should have directed; to repress utterly, when they should have guided the movement toward freedom. But the spring had come; the fountains were full; the snows of a long winter were dissolving; the impetuous stream swelled below, and chafed against the incumbent ice, until at length it rent its massive chains with a voice of thunder, and down swept the broken fragments toward the sea. For a time these waters were arrested under Charles and James. They piled the ice barrier high above and deep below; but the angry river was not thus to be restrained. A part, sweeping off laterally, poured itself upon this continent, and spread fertility over rising States; but the great stream wrought and bored until it channeled an outlet, swept away that lofty barrier, and moved on triumphantly.

It was in the midst of this popular commotion that Quakerism arose. About the time of the beheading of Charles the First, George Fox made his appearance. He was the great original of his people, the primal spring of their history. To him it was revealed that, instead of depending on external teaching, men were to listen to the responses of an inner oracle, and consult the Spirit, the living light that ever shed its radiance around and within the soul. This inner light is the great principle of this denomination. Human teachings, even Scripture itself although inspired, are only coördinate—supplementary, but not absolutely essential. Hence a learned ministry was useless. **THEE** and **THOU** were the proper terms of address. Taking off the hat was a show of courtesy utterly worldly, and might induce hypocrisy. Oaths were of no consequence; for if a man would not keep his word, would an oath bind him? These and other things like them constituted their original, apparent and permanent peculiarities.

But we are not to suppose that these things alone constituted the vital force and inward life of this society. They

were only the external signs of that which originated and sustained such a body of men, so distinct and peculiar. The original essence of Quakerism was *an intense spiritualism*. In common with multitudes in that age, on whom the Bible had shone, they sought for a worship more spiritual than that which for centuries had enchained the Christian world. They fled away from cumbrous rites, from gorgeous ceremonies, from a glittering, icy formalism ; from a power which, in their view, usurping the throne of devotion, had converted worship into mummery, and the minister into a chattering priest, which, intruding within the social circle, had corrupted the simplicity of manners ; coined artificial modes of speech, like the gilding of base metal, to give currency to worthlessness ; and installed as supreme dictator in the seat of Conscience and Jehovah the capricious goddess of Fashion. Outstripping the Puritans, who sought here for a qualified mean, they took refuge in a system of worship and life, from which all the attractions of *form* were totally excluded—in which silent communion with God, or spontaneous offerings of prayer and exhortation should exclude all prescribed rituals. They had seen the world enchanted by the outward, to the utter neglect of the inward life of religion. They distrusted a thing that had power to put aside the noblest interests of the life to come ; that under the guise of devotion converted men into parrots, and under the plea of refinement of manners, turned society into a playhouse for apes and monkeys. They proclaimed war against it. In the stern simplicity of their churches and dwellings, in the total absence of all form in the conduct of their worship, in the directness of their speech, in their refusal to conform their dress to the caprices of fashion, and the consequent preservation for generations of the costume of the seventeenth century, they gave their testimony against the idol that had enslaved the world. This thirst for the truly spiritual in religion, this desire for sincerity in the intercourse of life, this earnest resolve to shake off the yoke of hypocrisy, will at once reveal to us the secret of their origin, their success and their continuance ; it will suggest to us one

reason why this system obtained such a mastery over a mind so vigorous and well balanced as that of William Penn, and prepare us to do justice both to their character as a people, and to his, the most illustrious of them all.

It should also be remarked that, in their origin, there was deep enthusiasm. The sect was born amid most extraordinary convulsions, in both the State and the Church. And it was natural that it should at first partake of the intense earnestness of the age. There was much enacted then under the impulse of an inflamed imagination, which the after sober judgment of the society rejected. The interruption of public worship by violent outcries, and sometimes by the spinning wheel and distaff imported into the church—the manner in which individuals attempted to give an unmistakable sign of the nakedness of the people, and other things of a similar nature, were rather an index of the intense enthusiasm of their early life, than of the real character and matured principles of the society. In time, however, all such offensive peculiarities were either modified or removed. The fearful persecutions which soon fell upon them turned their attention from others to themselves.* They were harried, pilloried and cast into prison. Newgate was crowded with men and women, too conscientious to take the oath of allegiance, or pay fines wrongfully imposed. This terrible ordeal made them more respectful of the rights of others, and purged off the dross of their early professors.

Amidst this scene of wild licentiousness in the court, and the mad revelry of persecution among the people; when chapels were closed, clergymen of piety and learning by thousands were silenced, informers lurking in every corner, and green-eyed suspicion peering at men through their very windows; when gluttonous priests filled the pulpit, and the

* The Conventicle Act was passed in 1664, and renewed in 1670. Of this infamous law, the Bishop of Peterborough declared publicly, that it had done its business against all parties, except the Quakers; but when the Parliament sits again, a stronger law will be made, not only to take away their lands and goods, but also to sell them for bond slaves.

monarch passed unrebuked from the chamber of his mistress to the communion table, it was not easy for a mind laboring under conviction of sin to hear truth adapted to its condition and enjoy the instructions of faithful pastors. And when Penn heard the truth preached by Thomas Loc, it was a grateful benediction unexpectedly bestowed. The truth thus heard sank into his soul, secured a response from his conscience, and a cordial embrace from his affections. He turned disgusted from the splendid dissoluteness of courts, he surrendered prospects as bright for future civil advancement as opened before any man of his age and rank ; he adopted the sentiments of his teacher respecting costume and dress ; he exiled himself from the house of a father he dearly loved ; he endured imprisonment and contempt with unflinching fortitude. Now, here are the great elements of a true confessor. To constitute such a one, there must be deep convictions of truth, a high estimate of the importance of that truth, and an enthusiastic ardor, alike in suffering for and advancing its interests. Penn had a deep, earnest spirit which gathered strength from opposition ; which obstacles rendered more impetuous ; which neither favor nor threatening could turn aside from the chosen path. Soon after his conversion to Quakerism, he is imprisoned for attending a meeting of Friends. A pardon is offered him. He firmly refuses it. "Religion," he says, "which is at once my crime and my innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but mine own freeman." He meets his father. But the ceremony of the HAT he rejects.

- It goes against his conscience. Then comes the struggle between affection for his parent, reverence for his authority, and the loss of his inheritance, on the one side, and his conviction of the demands of religion on the other. Young Penn weeps in agony. The stern yet kind old admiral entreats, then threatens, and at last drives his only son from his door. He becomes a preacher. His energies seem to expand under persecution, and he traverses the land with the fire and zeal of an apostle. He is sent to the Tower for publishing a heretical pamphlet, and there writes "No Cross, No Crown ;" a work

by which he will live when his persecutors have passed into oblivion. He tells the Bishop of London, through whose interference he was imprisoned, "that his prison should be his grave before he would renounce his just opinion; for that he owed his conscience to no man." Before long he is again arrested while preaching in Grace street, and put on trial at the "Old Bailey." This trial is among the most memorable on the records of that age, scarcely yielding in interest to that of Baxter. It will be remembered that the incarnation of malignancy then occupied the chief seat of justice—that Jeffries, with his ermine dragged in the blood of non-conformists, and wet with the tears of women and children, infused his own fierce spirit into most of the subordinate judges. Under such an administration on the bench, the courts of justice became the vilest engines of oppression; crimes ceased to be measured by the eternal principles of rectitude; justice bowed to the capricious humors of ermined sycophants; and innocence finding no rest within the temple of human law, amid this wild sea of passion could only fly for refuge to the ark of divine law, commending itself to a power supreme over earthly courts. During this trial, Penn wishes to overthrow the indictment by denying its legality, and demands the law for it. The recorder tells him it is "common law." Penn answers, "according to Coke, common law is common right, and common right is the great charter privileges confirmed." The recorder remarks that "he is a troublesome fellow," and finally the mayor cries out, "take him away, turn him into the Bail Dock." The jury nobly acquit him in spite of threats and repeated attempts to starve them into a different verdict. But the prisoner and the jury are all fined for contempt of court, and sent to Newgate.

It was amid such trials Penn exhibited in the early part of his course the rugged virtues of the confessor. It was by such a discipline his intellect obtained its growth, his principles consistency, and his heart a knowledge of its own workings. Nor was he singular in this. The entire sect exhibited the most amazing fortitude. Conscientiously opposed to the pay-

ment of unjust fines, and the oath of allegiance, they became peculiarly obnoxious to the arts of informers and the injustice of courts, without the ability to avail themselves of those means of deliverance which sometimes opened to those less scrupulous. They languished in prisons, they were despoiled of property, they died by hundreds from the infections of dungeons. If that was an age of gigantic vice, it was also an age of equally gigantic virtues; if that was an age when religion was derided, and the scoffer sat in the high places of power, it was also an age when the fine gold of Christian character came forth from the furnace in its most unsullied purity.

But turning from William Penn as a confessor, permit me, before entering upon the discussion of that part of his life most interesting to us as Americans, to say a word respecting him as a preacher and author. His sermons are occasionally spoken of as full of power. But if we may judge from the appearance of the man and his style of writing, it seems to us that he must have been more instructive than persuasive—better adapted to enlighten the mind and triumph in its convictions, than to stir the heart by the electric flashes of deep emotion.

As an author he shows himself capable of excelling in beauty. But he cared little for ornament. Neither the genius of his faith, nor the rough controversy which raged about him, inclined or permitted him to cultivate the graces. His mind was more Roman than Greek, and his works show rather the massive thought and simple earnestness of the former, than the elaborate beauty and exquisite finish of the latter. With a perspicacious genius that grasped strongly and saw clearly, he could set his thoughts forth vividly and logically. Far from being a profound metaphysician, he yet rose to distinguished excellence as a popular reasoner. And though no match for the dialectics and theological acumen of Baxter, he displays on the more general subjects that agitated the age, a reach of thought, a practical sagacity that reminds you of Franklin, with this great excellence above the philosopher, of a vastly more elevated tone of religious feel-

ing. His writings are voluminous. He sent forth pamphlet after pamphlet on the great questions that then absorbed the attention of his own people, and to some extent stirred the heart of Christendom. Those controversial works, popular indeed among his own society, are mainly unknown beyond it. Designed for that age and the controversies of that day, it is impossible to reinvest them with their original interest. His work, however, "No Cross, No Crown," to which allusion has been made, has been destined to a longer life, a wider influence, as it embraces subjects of permanent interest to mankind in every stage of his progress. His writings on the "Liberties of Englishmen," and on "English Toleration," although admirable of their kind, have been cast into the shade with other similar works of genius, by the light of that "holy experiment," which in this land has had its successful trial.

Certain it is, however, that the society of Friends, at that time, needed just such a sagacious, common-sense mind, and that he acquired, and for years wielded among them, a most salutary, as well as a far-extended influence. Fox, the original, the personification of Quakerism, was the man whose clarion roused the slumbering people, whose fervid eloquence won over the multitude. Penn arose to give consistency to their opinions; to rear ramparts around their citadel; to exhibit with logical strength and no small show of learning, the foundations of their faith. If Fox raised the recruits, and kindled their zeal, Penn organized and disciplined them into a regular army. If Fox was the head, Penn was the light, so that without them both, there would have been no perfectness. This was the great service he rendered to Quakerism, and for this she cherishes his name among the noblest of her worthies, and the most potent of her men of might.

We come now to consider Penn as the founder of a colony, and its first statesman. It was fortunate for our country and the world that this continent had so early a discovery. During the period intervening between this event, and the commencement of those troubles in England which produced the

great Revolution, adventurous spirits had surveyed much of its coast, entered its harbors and rivers, and diffused abroad a fair knowledge of its character. The wild dreams of the speculator, the enchanting visions of a western Eldorado that stirred the breasts and led captive the imaginations of the first discoverers, had given place to the sober views of truth. Then as that great conflict advanced, this land opened itself as a secure theater for the working out of those principles which then heaved the foundations of society, and shook down many of its proudest columns. Opinions in the fatherland were all in chaos ; men knew not what they most needed, or knowing this, could not see an open pathway to its accomplishment. *There* the growth of those great principles which had taken root in multitudes of minds, was repressed by ancient forms, by a lordly hierarchy, by rich nobles, by the deep loyalty to royal government, generated by ages. But *here* the way was open. The field was new. Men must create governments for themselves. The parent government was too distant, and for a time too indifferent, to affect them deeply. Loyalty to royalty, originally weakened by the very impulses that peopled the country, like the law of gravitation, diminished in a geometrical ratio, by distance, and the necessities of a new world. And hence, unobstructed by the gigantic power of the PAST, the founders of our colonies could institute their great experiments in civil government, with a broad verge of liberty around them, in which to correct in the future the mistakes and ignorance of the present. Never in all time had *such* a field opened ; at *such* a period ; to be sown with *such* seed. Persecution is our god-father. Intolerance was the best patron this country has ever known ; better a thousand fold than the patronage of princes, and the benedictions of kings. It sifted the noblest sons of France upon our shores ; it gave us the honest, cool, intellectual German ; it drove hither the unbending magnanimity of Scotland ; it scourged from their own fair shore the best blood of the free Englishmen ; nor did it refuse us warm hearts from the fast-anchored isle of Erin. Intolerance, we

bless thee for thy chains and scourge ! Thou wert but the birth pangs through which a nation sprang into being—a nation, on whose future, as on whose past, “ excelsior ” is blazoned, and from whose expanding energies, illustrating the true sources of human improvement, the four old, hoary continents may yet gather the materials for national renovation.

The idea of founding a colony, mainly for the development of civil and religious freedom; was not peculiar to Penn. He followed in the track of others. But to him is due the conception of a plan of government, in some respects more complete than any other then known. When once this scheme was formed, and his charter secured, emigrants came in crowds to share in the magnificent enterprise. The high character of Penn drew thousands around him from the bosom of his own persecuted people, who longed, in sympathy with him, to try the experiment of a State founded on such broad Christian liberty. They flocked also in companies from the heart of Germany, to place themselves under the banner of a man whose presence among them in times past had inspired a respect alike for his clear, manly intellect, and his open, Christian heart. So large indeed was this emigration, and so regularly did the stream continue to swell for many years after the first establishment of the colony, that it became to Penn a matter of heartfelt congratulation that no single person, in the whole history of English colonization, had planted, within the same time, so large and prosperous a colony as that which, long ere his death, filled the rich valleys, and bordered the noble rivers of Pennsylvania.

It is impossible for me to do even partial justice to his character as a statesman without presenting some of the main features of his government. In the forefront of his scheme there was an *unlimited toleration of religious opinions*. It is scarcely necessary for me to remark here, that in the early ages of the Church intolerance raved and gnashed its teeth ; but it was always against the Christian, and by the Jew or Pagan. The Sanhedrim launched its thunderbolts against

the disciples ; Rome's imperial eagle wet her claws in their blood. Tolerant of all other opinions, the mistress of the world, like the volcanoes at her feet, for more than two centuries vomited forth, at ten different periods, flame and lava and ashes upon the peaceful Christians. Then came a change. Constantine takes the persecuted to his bosom ; builds for them churches and cathedrals ; instals Christianity as *the* religion of the empire. But the spirit of Pagan Rome had not ceased to exist. It passéd over into the Christian government. It merely changed its costume, and soon revealed itself mighty for evil, both in the acts of the Eastern, and in time, in the fundamental code of the Western church. Under these influences the nations were educated for centuries. The Reformation did not at once shed light on this subject. As it awakened thought ; as it burst the bands of ecclesiastical authority ; as it exalted the Bible above traditions, councils and Popes, translated and brought it home to the people, so it scattered the seed which in time should bring forth the perfect fruit of toleration, while, for the time being, it necessarily modified the code of persecution, by the very process of an enlightened discussion of the rights of conscience, involved in the withdrawal from the paganized usurpation of Rome, and the return to the original platform of apostolic Christianity. But in the first stage of the controversy, the more obvious, vital, and grand truths of revelation were the points upon which the deepest interests of the great champions of right centered ; and it was not until the right of reformation, based upon the right to hold, avow and practice the great system of saving truth, as revealed in the Bible, was settled, that men gained the leisure to turn their thoughts upon the consequences of the principles thus established.

It was in the struggle of the popular mind, during the English Revolution, that this great element of liberty expanded and worked most successfully. At the commencement of that struggle the spirit of intolerance raged on all sides. Romanists, Episcopalians, Independents, Presbyterians, and even the Quakers, in the first stage of their history,

betray scarcely a conception of this great truth. Even in New England, where the elements of toleration were as generously sown as anywhere on earth, Williams and Hutchinson are driven into exile. But as the struggle advances, and parties change sides—the weak waxing strong, and the powerful descending into obscure positions—this truth receives its development. Roger Williams first embraces the bright idea. The principle is settled in his clear, calm intellect, and Rhode Island, years before Penn^a or Baltimore had seen America, gained the immortal honor of being a State founded in the conscientious conviction of the wickedness of intolerance, and the right of man to his own conscience.

In England, some of the strongest minds of that age grappled with the question. Locke wrote on it with great power. Milton illumined it with the splendors of his genius. Penn published pamphlets and volumes in favor of it. He declares that "what we ask we must give." He traced the opposite systems of tolerance and intolerance down from earliest history, and successfully showed that the States most free had been most stable. He goes into an examination of the ancient liberties of Britons, and declares that this or that sect of religion was not specified in the ancient government. And when he founded his colony, he resolutely incorporated these settled convictions into the fundamental framework of his political system. Carrying with him the hearts of multitudes smarting under the lash of conformity, he gave to the world the broad and full experiment of a perfect religious liberty.* No tests, save that of the belief in the being

* I have used the term "toleration," in this discourse, in its general and loose signification. Strictly, "toleration" implies a national church, a church constituted by the government as the authorized worship of the people, and sustained by the State. Thus England TOLERATES dissenters. She tolerates them in refusing to conform to the State church, but obliges them to contribute to the support of that church. But Penn went far beyond this; he, at a single stride, reached the very position to which the spirit of religious freedom, existing in all the other States, gradually brought them. With him, as with us now throughout the republic, the State recognized no one ecclesiastical body as privileged to be the church, before all others, nor did it tolerate any as a kind of necessary evil. It recognized

of a God, barred men from the highest offices of State. No church, patronized by law, enjoyed an immunity of privilege, with authority to prey upon those out of its pale for subsistence. Men worshiped God, or refused to worship him, without a sheriff's writ upon their backs, or an informer's eye upon their actions. Wherever men chose to worship, they reared their temples; whenever they chose to enter them, they found no bristling bayonets marshaled to prevent them. This was the great law of religious liberty, dearer to man than even civil freedom, as the interests of the life to come are inconceivably more grand and momentous than those of this life. This law was made a chief column in his political fabric. He planted it so conspicuously, so firmly, that nothing but revolution could wrest it from its place, and prevent its abiding to uphold the glorious dome of conscience and religion for all time.

He did this at a time when Britain was convulsed with the conflict of parties, and groaning under the rod of oppression. What Locke *thought*, Penn more than executed. What was heresy to millions, he established as a fundamental statute of his government. At a single stride, he took his position beside the few, in advance of the many. And for thus leading the van in this great war with ecclesiastical oppression, he will be honored while men love truth and value freedom.

We are next to view Penn as giving to his colony a large degree of *civil* freedom. The constitution, framed with reference to the wants of the people at that time, is certainly remarkable for the extent of its political privileges. While Locke was attempting to establish in Carolina his pyramidal constitution, a system of government reminding us of Oriental towers nineteen stories high, with its dozen orders of nobility,

all religious systems as deserving PROTECTION, while it conferred exclusive privileges upon none. This is the present position of all our States, and this is the doctrine of freedom of conscience. "Toleration" and "dissent," therefore, in the sense attached to them over the water, can be used here by no ecclesiastical body, in reference to another, without incurring the charge of either surprising arrogance, or unparalleled stupidity.

its large property franchise, its total exclusion of the masses from the circle of political control ; while the great philosopher was elaborating this system, so as to secure power and nobility for ever to the few, Penn was proceeding, on simple principles, to create a legislation which should spring from the many, and have reference to their largest good. As governor and proprietor, he retained for himself but a triple vote, while he entirely surrendered to the people the power of taxation ; the power, which more than all things, carried along with it the pledge of freedom ; the power, to gain which for themselves, the colonies subsequently poured out their best blood and treasure.

That there were defects in his scheme is doubtless true. But for that age it was a work of great perfection. Its defects were many of them excellencies in the circumstances of that people. Time, which tries and changes all human products, has left its impress here. Lifting us above the state of colonies and territories—the infancy and childhood of nations, where in part foreign strength and wisdom must coöperate with our own to produce a perfect manhood—it prescribes for us a new political regimen, in harmony with our advanced condition. The State lays aside the dress of the territory, and forms for itself one of ampler dimensions. The colonial scheme of Penn was admirably adapted to the circumstances of his people. But he went beyond the *originating* of such a platform of government. It was an evidence both of great forecast and generous feeling, that instead of stereotyping his scheme, and seeking to perpetuate an iron constitution, into which the State should be cast, as the metal in the founder's matrix, he regarded it as a germ that, in its development, would rise into new conditions of existence, and demand new laws of life. He early distinguished between the fundamental, charter rights of man, which no time should abridge, no circumstances innovate upon, and those other parts of all constitutions which are in their nature temporary, and may be altered to suit the advancing condition of the people.

Constitutional reform is one of the greatest privileges of

Americans. Our civil governments are no Minervas, springing perfect from the brain of the most consummate legislator. The human mind, by nature limited, can compass only the present, and not even that perfectly. It can not penetrate far into the future, anticipate the changes of society, and so frame an instrument that it shall meet the wants of all succeeding generations. The very fact that it is the master-piece of wisdom for one age, may render it utterly unsuitable for another. The appeal, therefore, to antiquity, as the proof of adaptation in a constitution to subsequent times, is not always well taken. Antiquity, indeed, has its noble uses. The further into it society sends the roots of its organic life, with greater power does it usually grasp the minds of men, and lift itself up with a more massive trunk to meet the storms that sweep around it. Even the new colonial, or territorial offshoot, must begin at once to lay hold of antiquity, for the purpose of obtaining greater solidity, a loftier life, a richer foliage, as the progress of time permits it to expand downwards and upwards. Antiquity thus gives a more perfect organic life to society. A new social state necessarily lacks one important element of power, consolidation and perfectness. It has nothing *ancient* to inspire veneration, no PAST, with its attractive associations, its thrilling history, its venerable presence, ennobled by distance and age, to create the life of patriotism, and bind men to their institutions and their soil with bands of steel. Antiquity, lifting the awful form of government above us, stays the hand of inexperience from rude assaults; rebukes rash experiments—sudden, harsh and ill-timed changes; teaches us that all healthful reforms in the State are slowly elaborated, and that, in the attempt to rend away from the trunk too many of its branches, gnarled and unproductive though they be, there may be danger of affecting for a time the vigor and life of government itself. Such are the uses of antiquity in an age of reform.

But while all this is true, to suppose that in addition antiquity consecrates all civil forms and laws, so as to bar progress in constitutional legislation, is, to say the least, ab-

surd. Such a sentiment would eternize abuses, repress development, and oblige all subsequent generations to be cast in the iron mold of the favored one that may chance to have stood at the head of national existence. With equal reason might our first ancestors have fixed the costume of all their children, and skins formed the sole material of dress. The log cabin might as well be perpetuated by a law of the first settlers as the architecture for all this New World. There is indeed a just sense in which we may legislate for the future, for the broad, uprising millions. But it is only by acting on principles that will lift them up to, and open the way for their elevation above ourselves.

Now, it is the sad inheritance of many nations to possess a government that can not be reconstructed without revolution. It is our highest boast, that our constitutions contain within themselves the provision for their renovation. This idea is with us fundamental. Law, constitutional Law, is our sovereign. We own no other civil monarch, we bow to no other scepter. Amidst the collision of parties, the heat of political strife, the heavings of popular passion, our fast-anchored throne, rising like a light-house amid the breakers, is the Constitution and the Law. But if that Constitution had no provision for its renewal, and adaptation to each generation; if what it is to me, it must be to my grand-children, amid altered circumstances, when the wave of population and the advance of society have borne all things forward, then does it become in time an hereditary despotism, the more fearful because it dies not, and can only be overturned or amended by the fierce throes of revolution. This idea, therefore, of constitutional reform is indeed magnificent, vast, reaching down to the very foundation of the organic life of nations: an idea baleful! terrible! a flashing meteor driving at their thrones, to all hereditary despotisms; but to us not the genius of Anarchy with its bloodshot eye and naked sword, but the noble form of peaceful and law-loving Freedom. It gives to each generation the power of renewing its organic law; it sends down that law itself to the next gen-

eration, not in the condition of a watch to be wound up, nor of a blind force to be resisted at the expense of blood, but of a living nature, which, when it reaches its manhood, embodies a provision for the production of its kind—another organism like itself, but shaped to meet the new exigencies of society. With such a constitution, errors, defects, abuses, are all temporary. They may exist, but it will not be for the want of a disciplinary power to remove them. The generation that feels itself straitened by the action of the past, has its remedy at hand. By the same peaceful action that legislates under constitutions, it may reorganize its fundamental law, and totally alter the entire frame of government.

It is no small tribute to the statesmanship of Penn, that he thus early distinguished between the temporary and changeable, and the permanent and unchangeable. That, while he put religious freedom among the *rights* of man, which might be enlarged, but which, as jewels wrenched from the hand of irresponsible power, ought never to be surrendered even to the caprice of legislation, he still had an eye on the perfectibility of his system, and permitted his government to undergo important changes during his life. It was necessary that he should retain some privileges; yet he ever met his colony in the spirit of concession, repeatedly changing his constitution to adapt it to their condition. In this he laid the foundation of constitutional reform; although it was not given him to see the influence of this idea upon the character of a nation, and upon the interests of liberty; nor to behold the future structures which, from these beginnings, have so grown into grandeur and perfectness as to arrest the observation of the world.

A sketch of this great man would be incomplete without an allusion to his views of that sad institution, which, grafted upon us when we were the connected offshoots of the parent tree, has ceased not to gather about it the anxieties of the good, and to constitute an element of deep political and social excitement in the heart of our nation. There is undoubtedly a wide difference between the reception of just principles, and

their application to all proper subjects. The principle may be clear, while its application may be doubtful. This distinction must be admitted in morals, as the only key to the apparent inconsistencies of the noblest men. And it is perhaps true of this age, that if it has any thing to boast over our ancestors, it is in this direction—in the application of the principles they held equally with us. On this subject, Penn, when compared with his age, needs no apologist. Of freemen he was foremost. Embracing those great principles, which, sown all over this new world, in time brought forth the Declaration of Independence, the Revolution, and the final consolidation of these colonies under a republican form of government, he was behind none of his cotemporaries, and in advance of most of his age, in their application to the condition of the African on American soil. He wisely commenced his labors in this field where others often end theirs. The religious instruction and general elevation of the slave in his own colony, greatly enlisted his interest and awakened his sympathies. He labored with great diligence to effect these objects, during his last visit to this country. He looked forward to emancipation, and so earnestly did he call the attention of his own society to this subject, that he may be regarded as a pioneer in that gradual reform of their discipline, in consequence of which, about the close of the Revolution, this whole body became disconnected entirely from the institution of slavery.

The principles and practice of Penn in reference to peace, especially as illustrated in the treatment of the aborigines, are worthy of our notice. We may regard these principles as an extreme. It seems difficult to understand why the same argument that forbids me to defend myself personally in the hour of extreme danger, does not equally restrain me from defending myself by the hand of a sheriff; why the arguments urged against *personal* self-defense, are not in the end equally good against defense come from what quarter it may; against, in short, all laws, penalties, and human government. Yet, if these views are an extreme, manifestly they are an

amiable extreme, infinitely more in harmony with the spirit of the gospel than the other extreme, of a blustering, insolent and fiery disposition, that creates an insult by suspecting it ; that resents, but never recants nor remits ; that prefers a loaded pistol to a fraternal epistle ; that makes a skillful murder demonstration perfect of an unsullied honor ; that counts war a pastime, and the glory of arms the highest triumph and prize of life. The one spreads arts, morality, religion through the world ; the other, by the glare of burning villages, amid the wailing of the widow and the orphan, builds its monumental pyramids of human skulls and cements them with human blood. Ridicule as men may the attitude of the non-resistant, there is at the groundwork of the theory a noble principle—a principle of implicit reliance upon the justice and the providence of God, to take part with the innocent, and, in ways to us inscrutable, work out their deliverance. It is the principle that he who touches the meanest of God's little ones injuriously, arrays the resources of an omnipotent and omniscient being against him ; it is also that other noble principle of the gospel, that LOVE, as it worketh no ill to our neighbor, so it doth mightily tend to disarm revenge of its purpose, and turn back the sword of malice into its own bosom.

Adopting these principles, in their most unqualified form and extreme aspect, Penn conformed the early legislation of his young empire to them, and thus gave a peculiarly peaceful spirit and cast to the government and people. Nor was he disappointed in the results. Few nobler illustrations of the admirable workings of these principles, in a civil government, are to be found, than those furnished by the history of this State for more than a century after its colonization. During this entire period, with only two or three exceptions, the blood of a Friend never stained an Indian's tomahawk. That was a sublime scene in our national history, worthy a Raphael's pencil and a Campbell's pen, when three plain, unarmed Quakers threw themselves fearlessly among thousands of hostile Indians, exasperated by rumored wrongs and burn-

ing with the thirst for vengeance ; when redressing their grievances, they disarmed their malice and reopened the fountain of affection and confidence in the red man's breast. Such a scene reveals the mighty hold of Penn upon the artless nature of the Indian ; it proclaims the influence of a long series of peaceful and just acts, commencing with the first settlement of the colony, in forming the minds of nations to confidence. It reveals not only the power of a *peaceful*, but also of a *just* spirit. For William Penn had none of the elements of that pusillanimity which cloaks a niggard and grasping policy under the formal profession of religious principles. He and his people were not only men of peace, but of justice also. For every foot of their soil he paid the price. He deemed it not sufficient to have purchased the land of his king. He recognized the rights of others, antedating all the discoveries of moderns ; title deeds recorded, indeed, in no parchment of courts, but written out on every tree of the forest, which, however massy their trunks and lofty their branchings, had all started from the germ centuries after the Indian began to possess this world of ours. And to this day the jurist, as he searches back among the records of that age, sees everywhere throughout that State the effective witnesses of the justice of Penn. He bound the aborigines to him by treaties, by mutual courts of equity, by habitually seeking their highest good. No red skin could charge their good father Onas with injustice or unkindness. He taught his colonists to redress their wrongs. He punished the men who took an unjust advantage of the simplicity of their nature. And though the Indian has faded from the broad domain of his fathers, and the song of his love, the shout of his fearful war-cry, rings no more through those woods, along those streams and around those mountain tops ; though Wyoming is smoking from the torch, and bleeding beneath the hatchet of Brandt, yet, spirit of Penn ! thou at least art blameless ; thy name was the music of peace and love to the poor Indian in his night of sorrow ; and of thee he spake tenderly to his children's children, long after thy

rest had been attained. Had the same maxims universally regulated the white man's intercourse with the red man, the records of our States and nation would have been unstained by legalized bloodshed and judicial robbery. Then we should have been spared the mortification of seeing the decisions of the highest tribunals in the land nullified by an inferior court; noble men, intent solely on rescuing the Indian from destruction, incarcerated like felons in prison; the domain of a once powerful, now feeble people—a domain received as the heritage of ages, improved in part as the earnest of that higher civilization to which they were fast ascending—wrested from them by the arm and right of the stronger, while they are swept from the graves where their fathers are buried, and where it is the red man's highest ambition, and most devout aspiration, he may at length rest. We honor the memory of the man who, in contrast with such enormous wrong, made justice to the Indian the corner-stone of his commonwealth, and kindness the law of his spirit. May his example be not only admired, but followed; and the mingled justice and love of his statesmanship enthrone itself in all the high places of power in our country.

But time admonishes me to bring these remarks to a close. It is sufficient to remark, in taking leave of this subject, that Penn carried the same habits of reform into the criminal code of his colony. He at once blotted out those bloody penalties which darkened the pages of English jurisprudence; wisely reserving the greatest and most influential penalty for that crime which is of all others most horrible—embodying in his statutes that world-wide command of *One* wiser than all human legislators; an imperial edict, emanating from the invisible throne of Justice, applicable to all ages, and binding upon all men; in which the collective wisdom of all time can detect no imperfection, and upon which the heel of a nation can never be placed without prejudice to its highest welfare—“Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.”

I have thus given you a brief and hurried sketch of this

great man—imperfect in itself, and more imperfect from the fact that I have purposely abstained from all discussions that might assume the aspect of theological controversy. He was not faultless. He had his own weak points ; although for a character of such positive and strongly developed features, they were neither numerous or offensive. Could we look at him from a different position, and analyze his character simply as a religious man, the justice of this remark would be manifest. But we care not to look for defects amid so much finely-developed, positive excellence. To him, and to the people he led hither, the nation is indebted for lessons, illustrated by noble examples, which it becomes us to ponder deeply. National history is one of the finest means of national discipline. The past thus embosoms the future ; it sends down an influence that forms the atmosphere of thought for succeeding generations, that insensibly works millions into the same national lineaments, and creates a common life of feeling, a unity of action, through the masses of a nation. This means of national discipline, for a people springing but yesterday into being, we possess in a most eminent degree. Our antiquity is crowded with heroic ages, luminous with heroic lives. Scarcely a colony was planted that does not serve to illustrate the power of some important principle in the Church or the State. Scarcely a generation has risen that has not given birth to noble characters, whose peculiarities evince the power and spirit of their age. But among them all, the colony of Penn stands forth rich in its own historical treasures, and strikingly peculiar in its great developments. While the character of Penn himself is certainly a remarkable study, upon a canvas, every part of which is studded with lives singularly great and worthy of an heroic age.

It has been said that he lived a century too soon. To me he seems to have lived just at the period which, of all others, was best suited to his genius, and gave to his mind the broadest field for labor. There is a sense in which Huss, Jerome, Copernicus, Roger Bacon and Raleigh, lived before their time.

The world was not prepared for their theories in science, religion and government. They died leaving their foot-prints on the sea shore over which the ocean soon rolled ; while their names, concealed for a time by the moss and ivy of superstition and ignorance, yet chiseled deep in the very front of the noble temple of truth, live in the view of an age better able to appreciate their character and do justice to their deeds. For them a generation must arise, partaking of their sympathies, before the rubbish will be removed from their names, and their heroic lives will acquire their rightful influence. But with Penn it was far otherwise. He lived at a period of history of unparalleled interest, when the past and the future were in conflict, when the chains of authority were loosened, and society was a great caldron, where all opinions, all customs, mingled furiously without uniting ; when men thought, wrote, spoke freely ; when new worlds were to receive their form and impress from the few master minds ; when the doors were thrown wide open to the panting victims of intolerance of the grandest theater ever elaborated by time for founding empires, for establishing novel political systems, for testing theories that till then had only lived in the brains of students. Penn appeared on the stage at *such* a time. He was just the man for such an age. With the heroism of a confessor, he united the wisdom of a sage, and the enterprise of an adventurer. He lived just when and where a man of his stamp could stretch the scepter of his influence farthest into the future, and scatter over the richest soil the selectest seed of the most noble principles. Put him at any other point in the world's history, and he will seem out of place. He was fitted to be the cotemporary of Sidney and Russell, and Vane and Milton, and Locke and Baxter, and the heroic founders of New England. The Quaker preacher was the man for his age. He lived not a year too soon ; he died not a day too early. And from this fortunate union of the age and the man, there have come forth results at once grand, pure and abiding.

There is one lesson which the life of this noble man af-

fords, it well becomes the young men of our country to study. Defective as his religious system is to me, yet I can not but admire his fidelity to conscience. In whatever else he was yielding, here he was firm as the rock. His convictions of duty gave way to no considerations of pleasure, of wealth or ambition. What he thought *right* he did, though all the forces of the court and the hierarchy were arrayed against him. Here he is truly sublime. And if you would select one trait of his character most worthy of imitation, it should be this independence in seeking for truth, and this fearless energy in following out the convictions of an enlightened conscience. This virtue is everywhere at home. It lies at the foundation of all deep religious faith ; it is essential alike to a well-balanced moral and religious character, its sphere of influence is as wide as the circle of your life itself. At all times and in all places, party, interest, honor, pleasure, contest the supremacy with conscience. To us the means of satisfying an honest inquiry into the fundamental principles of morals and religion are so accessible, that no man need be in doubt respecting his course. Political casuistry, commercial morality, social order, the healthful discipline of the mind and heart, are all tested and determined by a few simple principles in morals and religion. It is over the application of these principles, Conscience sits as the dictator. To maintain these truths in practice, demands genuine independence and unbending decision. If you would follow conscience, you must, at times, breast the perverse currents of party, of the spirit of trade, and the customs of society. But if you persevere, the very effort will develop within you a marked, ingenuous and lofty character ; if you persevere, though the partisan, whose only merit may be consistency in error, while his crime is treason to truth, should brand you "traitor," though friends may frown and all things seem joined in a conspiracy against your peace, yet be assured that in the end, under the government of one whose purpose it is finally to vindicate truth and virtue, as surely as the sun shall rise after the darkest night, so surely will re-

ligion, justice, magnanimity and conscience triumph. The name of the once disinherited Quaker is immortal. The woods in yonder State, the key-stone of our glorious arch, whisper it; the stir and rattle of that great city whose streets his hand traced, echo it; the flaming forges of Pittsburg blazon it; the rumbling of ten thousand cars, bearing, from the emboweled earth, the black combustible and sterling ore—the physical elements of a nation's strength—proclaim it; while two millions of freemen cherish it, as did the ancient Roman his household deity. There was indeed a time when the young nation he created seemed to have forgotten him; when, could spirits reveal themselves, it needed no effort of fancy to imagine his, fleeing from their capitol, with cheeks crimsoned with indignation, and hands upraised in horror, at the injustice, which under the guise of "Repudiation," struck at those fundamental principles he would have died to maintain. When the flames wreathed themselves about that hall, dedicated to independent discussion, and ushered in that dark and bloody march of riot, which converted the city of "Brotherly Love" into an arena where fraternal discord and demoniac passions held their jubilee, then, if any earthly transactions could have reached him, would his rest have been disturbed. Those times have gone by, we trust never to return. His spirit may no more revisit the soil he loved; but his name and fame, the heritage of our common country, shall yet be cherished in a nation's heart, and mentioned, with respectful affection, by augmenting millions, as their peaceful anthems swelling up in harmony with the thunders of the Atlantic and rolling onward with the orb of day, shall at length peal along the Rocky Mountains and mingle with the surges of yon vast Western Sea.

WILLIAM PENN'S LETTER TO THE INDIANS.

"LONDON, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

"MY FRIENDS,—

"There is a Great God and power, that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world: this Great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and to do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief unto one another; now this Great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends; else what would the Great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble unto you, and caused great grudgings and animosities sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the Great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country; I have great love and regard toward you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you, or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion to be offended against them. I shall shortly come to you myself, at what time we

may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters ; in the meantime I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace : let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly peaceably, and friendly with you.

“ I am your loving friend,

“ W. PENN.”

XI.

JOHN CALVIN AND JOHN WESLEY.*

IN the free development of mind in this our country, the anniversaries of our colleges and universities have grown to be a power in the State. Passing beyond the reunions of old friends, and the genial interchange of social courtesies between individuals gathered from various parts of the Union, they have become the occasions for discussions not directly connected with education—discussions of questions often wide in their range and general in their character. Hundreds of thousands of youth in the process of education, and of mature minds already in the field, are gathered annually to listen to these addresses. A collection of them from year to year would constitute the finest illustration of the substantial characteristics of the trained mind of the country. The subjects they discuss, the spirit they breathe, the salient points from which the eloquence coruscates and thrills, would reflect like a mirror the changing aspects of our national life. Amidst a vast congeries of declamation, there would still be found a vast amount of sound thought and eloquent discussion—of thought that, penetrated by true emotion, entered as a living and germinating force into many a soul ripe for its reception.

But while all this is true of our colleges, it is curious to observe how another kind of common law has grown into authority in respect to our female seminaries. These have their anniversary addresses as well as our colleges. But for some reason, not always apparent, the speakers on these occasions

* An address delivered at the first anniversary of the Western Female Seminary, at Oxford, Ohio, July 17, 1856.

have felt it incumbent on them to dwell on themes more immediately connected with female education. Whether this results from the fact that these institutions are comparatively of modern growth among us, and their policy stands in need of special vindication ; or whether it be due to an impression that the audiences on these occasions have less sympathy with more general themes, I know not. Certain it is we have had the whole *modus operandi* of woman's education, and the various aspects of woman's sphere dwelt upon and canvassed and illuminated so often and so largely, that the community have come to regard it as a matter of course, that a speaker on such an occasion as this shall tell us all he knows, and some things he does not know—all he thinks and what he does not think about woman and her development and her life. And while there is no subject so lovely and so attractive to a man of sense as this personification of grace and beauty, yet we can not help thinking that this perpetual harping on a single string, however sweet its tone may be, and this narrowing down of our anniversary discussions to a dissection of our ideal Eve, is any thing but a compliment to the intelligence of those we are called to address. Education, female education, in its richest garb, its noblest dignity, its purest ideal, lives and moves before us to-day. There is an eloquence of emotion, and an intelligence of thought, and a maturity of development revealed on these countenances, that forbids my apologizing for the freedom I shall take in addressing you on a theme that has no special relation to one sex more than the other—a theme of common interest to the thoughtful, and not inappropriate to these your literary festivities.

It is now more than three hundred years since John Calvin founded the University of Geneva. This illustrious man valued learning as the friend of revealed truth.

He disciplined the intellect, and prepared it to expatiate over the field of earthly science, that when illuminated by the higher science of revelation, and quickened by the life of Christian faith, it might grapple understandingly with the errors that assailed the Church of God. He never dreamed

that the science of nature in its profoundest teachings could possibly be in any respect at variance with the science of revelation. The latter indeed was the fuller, the richer unfolding of God ; but it rose out of the former, as the branches, leaves and fruit grow out of the trunk and the roots. It was true that, revelation aside, there was, on the one hand, the pride, the vain speculations, the unseemly arrogance and pretension of science ; but, on the other, there was the credulity, the folly, the debasement of ignorance. The first marshaled the forces of skepticism, the second of superstition. If mere learning puffed up, sheer ignorance prepared men to credit all the monstrous conceits of an ill-regulated fancy ; and so when taken by themselves they balanced each other, with this exception, that the former always led the latter. But when a new force was introduced, the influence of which counteracted the incidental evils of science, and consecrated it to its original purpose, then it was no longer a question whether in preparing minds for the largest and the best influence, that which so admirably trained the intellect should be wisely used or wholly surrendered to the enemies of the truth.

With such views Calvin laid the foundations of his university. Some of the finest intellects adorned it as teachers, or came forth from it as scholars. Beza and Turretin, Bonnet and Necker, Beranger and Pictet illustrate its history ; while hundreds of faithful pastors, as quiet laborers in the ministry, or as confessors and martyrs in those fierce persecutions which Rome kindled to consume the Protestantism that threatened its existence, demonstrated the wisdom of its founder. Wherever, since that time, Calvin's influence has been deeply felt, there similar institutions have sprung into existence.

Let us pass down the stream of time two centuries. Another reformation was stirring the stagnant waters of England. Another reformer had arisen, whose name, like that of Calvin, was destined to become a household word wherever the English language is spoken. John Wesley, in the fullness of

his power, had begun to lay the foundations of a church whose history, in its greatness, he could but imperfectly foresee. Himself thoroughly trained in the discipline of science, he valued too highly the importance of learning, not to appreciate its influence in the great movement he had, under divine guidance, so successfully originated. His comprehensive mind designed that the church then rising into life should embrace within itself all the means of a thorough education. He would not have it dependent on the great universities of England, and so he founded at Kingswood—where Whitefield preached to ignorant colliers his first field sermon on Rose Mount, and afterward laid the corner stone of a school for their children—an institution which he designed should be not at all inferior, in its discipline and advantages, to Oxford or Cambridge. It was no fault of Wesley's that his policy in this respect was not immediately successful. It was impossible for any one man, however remarkable his talents, to superintend the progress of a movement which daily outran the expectations of even his sanguine spirit, and at the same time give that constant and minute supervision absolutely essential to the building up of a great university.

But the policy was wise, although in his time but imperfectly realized. That which he proposed in England, another land was to see executed. Kingswood inaugurated the policy which contemplated the complete independence of the Methodist church for the means of a liberal education, but it was in America this policy was destined to be fully tested. In the institutions of learning already established in most of the States of this confederacy, bearing his name on their portals, we see the realization of the broad views and comprehensive spirit of John Wesley.

I propose on this occasion to bring before you these great men. Their name, their fame, their substantial greatness are of no doubtful kind. Their influence at this hour flows on, deep, strong, wide-spread. There are no two uninspired men in all the past, whose genius, overpassing the limits of their native land, is affecting more happily or more powerfully than

theirs the whole Protestant world. And I speak of them on this occasion especially, because there was that in them which in a high degree claims the study of the young. It has been said that the proper study of man is man—a sentiment partial, and therefore false. The proper study of mankind is God ; and it is only as we study God in man that we are at all elevated above human baseness. The men that are most studied are those in whom ambition and lust reveal themselves amidst the light of genius. It is not man's original powers and noble capacities that attract the student ; it is man as in obedience often to depraved passions he has acted a conspicuous part in human affairs. The conqueror in his robes of blood ; the statesman in his tortuous path of intrigue ; the poet, enshrining lust on a golden pedestal ; the philosopher, the most conceited, the most blind of all, rearing his ice-palaces on the crushed sensibilities of humanity ; these are the gods our youth are taught to worship. Your Cæsars, and Louis XIV., and Napoleons ; your Voltaires, and Pitts, and Sheridans ; your Drydens, and Byrons, and Shelleys ; your Spinosas, and Humes, and Kants, are the demi-gods of history. Such men and their deeds are the study of our youth ; and thus it happens that the devil in man, and that which is most devilish in his doings, gilded over and commended by the radiance of genius and the attraction of great talents, form the staple of history. The pure, the true, the spiritual ; the men whose hearts evince the power of a divine influence in renovating their passions, and breathing into them a sublime spirit of devotion to *His* will ; the men whose lives have been the salt of the earth, and whose deeds have blessed millions, are passed superciliously by ; their defects magnified ungraciously ; their genius depreciated ; their deeds of love and their influence of light rarely recognized, or more rarely still, lauded. History has been intent unwittingly in fulfilling divine prophecy. Gibbon, and Hume, and nine tenths of their compeers, have fulfilled the words of Jesus, "If they have hated me, they will hate you also."

Turning from the men most glorified in history, named

most appropriately profane, I invite you to view the characters of two men in whose lives you will find that which ennobles intellect and reflects most luminously the divine working in man. And in order to present them before you in the short time allotted to this exercise, permit me to state rapidly some of the points of resemblance and difference between them.

First. These great men both sprang from the middle class in society. Calvin's father was a notary in the ecclesiastical court of Noyon, his native place, and secretary of the bishop. He was possessed of a competency, but not of wealth. Without belonging to the nobility of France, he was yet on terms of familiar intercourse with several of them. Wesley's father was rector of the church at Epworth, and his mother the daughter of one of the non-conforming Puritan ministers who were ejected from their livings at the Restoration, when that incarnation of hypocrisy, lust and folly, Charles II., ascended the throne. The mothers of these men were women of fervent faith, and their fathers men of strong, clear sense. They came forth from that condition in society which has given to the world the great majority of its ablest and most useful minds. Neither poverty with its depressions, nor wealth with its advantages is adapted to nourish the largest thinkers and the noblest workers. Out of the first now and then a mind like that of Bunyan shines a star of the first magnitude; out of the second now and then a man like Wilberforce has succeeded in impressing himself upon his age. But in proportion to the numbers of the first, and the privileges of the second, such minds are rare. If the progress of the world rested upon them alone, its advance would be slow, its history soon written. It is that happier class who feel neither the curse of deep poverty nor the enervation of great riches; who are under the necessity of useful employment sufficient to quicken their energies, but who also cherish the independence and ambition inspired by the consciousness that the paths of affluence, of distinction, or of an healthful competence are open before them; who may not attain education without an effort, but who nevertheless have early access to its advan-

tages—it is from this class, in the main, the profound thinkers and the mighty actors in the world's history have come forth. The sons of destitution and of affluence, whose names shine brightly in the past, are solitary stars ; while the sons of a healthful yet laborious competence form constellations of glory in every part of the firmament.

Second. Calvin and Wesley were men of commanding intellect. They differed, as I shall presently show, in their mental structure, but both of them were possessed of rare original endowments. Great minds may remain undeveloped from the absence of the occasions necessary to reveal them. But minds that, amidst scenes demanding great power in their chief actors, have shown themselves equal to such emergencies, have thereby received the stamp of greatness. Deeds demonstrate the reality of great original powers. The world recognizes greatness only as it reveals itself in action, and the deeds of these men have long attested to friends and foes their consummate power. We admit the necessity of circumstances to develop the original capacity ; but we also affirm that all the circumstances that ever were combined together never developed greatness out of inherent feebleness, or made him truly great whom God had not first capacitated by his gifts for the exhibition of high qualities. No feeble hand reared the pyramids ; no limited capacity ruled the British senate for twenty years, during the fearful conflict with the French at the close of the last, and the opening of the present century ; no limited intellect framed the Institutes or wrote the Commentaries of Calvin, or began and consolidated the reformation which gave birth to the Methodist church.

And with these great powers, both of these men *received a fervid temperament*—an active, earnest spirit, which ever impelled to labor ; which made effort a joy, and nerved them to the most continuous and persevering toils. They were not men who could sit down at their ease. The "*fervida mens*" was a living impulse that compelled the putting forth of their extraordinary powers. The restless energy of their original natures made thought and labor in some direction a necessity.

If they had not been in the ministry, they were men of such an active temperament that they would have been conspicuous actors in some of the fields of worldly renown. They might have been leading statesmen, mighty warriors, agitators and chiefs in the conflicts of human society ; but drones and slugs, content to hide in obscurity and bury their talents, they could never have been. Had they been farmers or mechanics or merchants or politicians, the world might not have heard of them ; their names might not have echoed from continent to continent ; millions might not have looked back to them with veneration and love ; but in their own circle their vehement spirits upbearing their native gifts, would have made them men of mark.

Third. Calvin and Wesley, neither of them, were compelled to limit themselves to an inferior sphere of action by *the conscious want of intellectual training*. They enjoyed the finest education which their ages afforded. They were both students from childhood. Calvin pursued a wide range of study in all the branches of a liberal education. He studied Latin under Corderius, the best grammarian of his time. He studied law with Wolmar, the ablest jurisprudent of the age. At twenty-one, he was pronounced by Scaliger the most learned man in all Europe. Wesley, at Oxford, ran through the curriculum of that university with great success. He was master of half a dozen languages ; and it was from the unique position of a Fellow of Lincoln College that he was able to expatiate as a minister of the Church of England over the whole British empire.

Now this is a significant fact in the qualification of these men for their peculiar work. Great talents are found here and there in all classes of society, and though undisciplined, they may yet be capable of effecting great things in some directions. But the greatest works in human progress it is not given them to perform. Wesley found a vast amount of latent talent among the uneducated, and in the progress of his work he took measures to develop and use it for a most noble purpose. But among all the men he thus called out, there was

not one who could have taken his place or performed his work. And so it is in all history. Thorough mental discipline is nothing more than the just development of the intellect, producing that mental balance which enables a man to look all round his subject, and prosecute his work with the finest instruments to the end. And this discipline, however it may have been acquired, whether under the disadvantages of private study, persistently mastering the difficulties which obstruct and guard the ascents to the heights of power, or with the aid of tutors and professors, doing the same thing—is the essential condition of the accomplishment of the greatest and most useful works of man. The exceptions are rare indeed. Enthusiasm may do much ; native talent may do much ; a gift for some special work may effect much ; but enthusiasm and talent and peculiar aptitude can do vastly more when they are aided by the discipline of a thorough education. In saying this, I do not say that a college education or a private education is the best mode of attaining this discipline. Some men are better educated in one way, and others in another. But the thing itself is that which all men, who are to act a great part and effect a lasting work, must attain. Calvin and Wesley started at this high elevation, and from it they have sent forth an influence which lives to this time.

Fourth. Calvin and Wesley were equally distinguished by the most fervent piety. Their devotion to the cause of their Master was simple and profound. Calvin, early in his study of the Scriptures, saw and embraced the truth. Up to that time he had before him first, a brilliant career in the Romish church, and then an equally brilliant prospect in the law. But when the light of Christ's truth entered his soul, he gave himself wholly to the proclamation of this truth to his fellow-men. In the Papal church he might have been bishop, cardinal, pope, and sat on the loftiest eminences of ecclesiastical power. He might have risen at court to the most august positions that Francis had in his gift. No man of that age, untitled, and springing from the middle class, had prospects more brilliant for a successful worldly career.

Riches, honor, fame, pleasure, robed in their most attractive graces, assailed his heart. But when once he had emerged from the darkness of a soul struggling under the burden of its sins, and the peace of a living faith had entered his heart, then he flung them from him, as the rock dashes back the spray of the ocean. Henceforth he coveted no honor but that of serving Jesus. He endured persecution, he embraced poverty, he consented to be an exile from the land he dearly loved, he stood forth a simple-minded and humble confessor of Christ. He bathed his soul daily in the living light of God's pure truth. His experience became a transcript from the life that breathed and glowed in the precious volume which, with a rapturous enthusiasm, he embraced in his heart. This is the secret of his power. He had power with God; he lived in constant communion with the author of all power. His whole life was a protracted vigil, an incessant sacrifice, a perpetual incense of prayer and praise. He who might have enjoyed princely revenues, died worth less than two hundred dollars; and over his grave, by his express injunction, no stone was raised to mark the resting-place of the mortal remains of one of the greatest and most devoted of Christ's servants.

- Wesley, too, early in his career, entered the service of his Master. He too had before him honor and competency in the Church of England. But when he heard the call of duty, he gave himself with all his heart to a work that involved opposition, persecution and poverty. How he lived as a burning light of faith, through what conflicts he passed, and came forth stronger in the Lord; how the peace of God dwelt in his heart; how he gathered strength from on high; how he who made many rich, and reared for Christ chapels all over England, died at last worth not more than the Genevan Reformer, is known to you all.

These great men embraced the same fundamental truths, drank daily at the same fountain of living water, walked by the light of the same ever-burning lamp, embraced the same rich and all-sufficient promises, rejoiced in the same assurance of

divine forgiveness, breathed the same spirit of compassion for a world in sin, were conscious of the same personal inability to effect any thing of themselves, illustrated the same enthusiastic consecration of all their powers to the service of their right royal Prince, and died supported by the same triumphant faith.

Fifth. These Reformers were illustrations of the most extraordinary diligence and persevering labor to effect the same great object. The world has never seen more marked examples of the old Roman maxim—"totus in illis." Calvin, in consequence of his severe application in youth, carried with him into public life a body radically diseased, and a ruined constitution. The tabernacle in which he dwelt swayed to and fro with every breeze. Instead of supporting the soul, it seemed as if nothing but the indomitable energy of this active spirit kept it from falling to pieces. It was as if the hands of a giant constantly propped up the tottering edifice. In spite of this incessant fight with disease, he bore himself amid the most gigantic labors like a bodiless spirit. He preached every day during each alternate week; thrice a week he gave lectures in theology; he presided in the consistory every Thursday; every Friday at the meeting for scriptural discussion, held in St. Peter's church, he delivered almost a complete lecture. When it was not his turn to preach, he had his books brought him at five or six in the morning, and dictated to an amanuensis. He carried on a most extensive correspondence with leading minds all over Europe. He wrote some forty volumes of Commentaries, Institutes, and Controversial Tracts. For a quarter of a century, from the time he came to Geneva till he died, he knew no recreation; he bent all his mighty energies, amid opposition the most violent, and great physical weakness, toward the single object of making known to men the whole Word of God.

Wesley, generally blessed with health, and engaging in a course of life eminently favorable to its preservation, exhibits a like unity of purpose, and unconquerable energy in its execution. He traveled yearly over four thousand miles, chiefly

on horseback. He preached, during his fifty years of ministerial labor, more than forty thousand sermons. He denied himself the pleasures of literature, of which he was passionately fond, to carry out this extraordinary programme of labor. His eye was upon all parts of Great Britain. His lines of travel networked the kingdom. He threw aside every thing that did not bear immediately or remotely upon the successful prosecution of his great work. His energy extended to the last hour of his life, and after fourscore years had passed over him, he pursued, with unintermitted zeal, the same course. And it was not until the wheel at the cistern ceased to revolve, that this noble labor for Christ and His cause reached its end. Well might these holy men, as they looked back over their varied and incessant toils, exclaim, "*per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum, tendimus in cælum.*" Their prodigious toils, their unity of purpose, their entire consecration of life to its great work, have few parallels in history.

Sixth. Calvin and Welsey were truly representative men, and as such fitted to mold and direct the minds of others. The ideas which move society lie confused and feebly appreciated in the multitude. It is only here and there, a mind capable of seizing them, of giving them form and life, of intensifying and impersonating them before the world. Such a mind represents in itself the wants, and the ideas that fill up the wants of men. It does not create the want, that exists already. It does not originate the idea, for that is already existing, and is partially revealed; but it feels in itself, and attains the full consciousness of what the want is. It seizes hold of the truth which this want demands, and meets its necessities. It has power to bring forth this truth, so that as the want is felt, multitudes shall recognize it as the very truth they have hungered for, have confusedly thought of, and dimly apprehended. Then this soul stands forth as the embodiment of the feelings and views of the masses. And as it thus appears, it has power to propagate the same ideas in various directions. It becomes a quickener as well as a

guide. It moves as well as enlightens. It discovers the deeper wants of other souls, and makes them sensible of their real necessities. It pours into their minds the very thoughts which are mighty to rouse the stupid, and elevate the debased to its own level. Such men God has made great—great in feeling, great in intellect, great in tact, great in effective action, and therefore great in influence. Calvin was such a man. He knew the want, the real feeling, that moved the souls of men; and with surprising intuition, he grasped the truth adapted to meet that want, that would commend itself to those who felt thus, and lead them forth into the liberty of the sons of God. Behold! how, to this day, he stands forth as the representative of the feelings and views, and noblest aspirations of millions! how his words have quickened and guided vast multitudes! how in him they find the vivid personification of just those eternal ideas which elevate, and satisfy, and bless their souls!

Wesley, too, was such a man. As he felt, as he thought, millions feel, millions think. Striking in another direction, standing in another position, occupying a somewhat different field of thought, yet with what power did he work, how boldly did he represent what he thought and felt, how vividly did he impress himself, as the impersonation of their views and feelings, upon multitudes! Who is there to this day that more fully, more justly, or more vividly represents in himself the character of the Methodist church, than John Wesley?

Seventh. Calvin and Wesley were leaders in the two most important reformations in the history of the Church, and both of them founded distinct ecclesiastical systems. When Calvin came upon the stage of public life, the great Reformation of the sixteenth century had already commenced. Luther, its great orator, and the grandest figure in the assemblage of great minds that adorned and illustrated that age, had reached the zenith of his power. The Reformers had pronounced their emphatic *protest* at Spires, against the tyrannical decision of Charles—a *protest* against spiritual despotism, which we rejoice to wear as our crown of glory, our

grand distinctive name, a name which tells the story of the Reformation for all time. At Augsburg, Melancthon had presented his great Confession of the truth as it is in Jesus. But, as yet, the whole reform movement was desultory and unconsolidated. Then Calvin, a mind of another, in some respects a higher order, appeared. At once he takes his place as *the theologian* of the Reformation. He is acknowledged as the man for the time. He is elevated to the position of chief by the voice of all the Protestant world outside of Germany. Luther had quickened the slumbering millions. His clarion rang all over Europe, as the voice of God. The Romish church, a vast edifice, reared by the toil of centuries, began to crumble. That mighty word, "the just shall live by faith," as it thundered over the continent, shook down the altar, the images, the proud cathedrals. Then came the builder. Then arose the architect, who out of these ruins was to rear, in beautiful and solid proportions, the form of Christ's living church. That architect was Calvin. He consolidated, he systematized, he planned, for the upbuilding of a church, that in its simplicity, and unity, and apostolic vigor, should stand for ages the mightiest bulwark against the power of Rome, the most efficient propugnator of the truth. His ideas penetrated Germany, and aided in the construction of the Lutheran church. In France, in Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, they entered and wrought with greater power. In England, though modified and resisted, they yet exerted a vast influence. His ecclesiastical system has spread itself abroad, reviving and consolidating the spirit of liberty among the great majority of the Protestant world, and carrying the power of republicanism into this, then almost unknown land.

When Wesley entered Lincoln College, the Church in England had sunk into a state of profound stupidity; multitudes of the people were as ignorant of Christianity as ever they were under the papal rule. The young men at Oxford, who formed the first circle for prayer, were a strange, an anomalous class of beings. But from that prayer-room the

light of piety was destined to go forth again, till it should illumine that whole island, and kindle anew the flame of Christian love in this western world. Of that reformation, whose vital power has since been felt all through the established Church of England, Whitefield was the great orator. He moved upon the hearts of men with the power of a divine inspiration. He passed from continent to continent, a blaze of living light and love. Wherever he went, men crowded around the cross. Such eloquence, so pure, so lofty, in a cause so holy, attended everywhere with such demonstrations of power above the art of man, the Church had never heard since apostolic days.

Charles Wesley was the sweet singer of this reformation. His poetic genius, inflamed with the love of Christ, gave to the Church the choicest gems of art. He sang not as one who is quickened by the admiration of natural beauty, not as one fired by earthly passions, and enshrining in forms of loveliness the corrupt breathings of a worldly heart; but as one whose spirit had been bathed in the silvery light of a better world, whose emotions had been entranced by celestial visions, in whose heart the love of Christ had quickened all that was most pure, most noble, most heavenly. And thus his lyrics have been the breathing of piety for millions; the eagle wings, on which humble and contrite souls have soared upward to the throne where the Lamb sitteth, where angels and saints on that sea of glass ever worship.

But Wesley—John Wesley—had still a higher mission than either of these. If Whitefield was a Demosthenes, John Wesley was an Alexander; if Whitefield was a Cicero, John Wesley was a Cæsar—a Cæsar not to gain bloody empire, not to marshal rapacious legions to slaughter, but to organize and discipline the hosts of Israel for conflict with the world. It was given him, not only to quicken by his bold and manly eloquence, multitudes of the ignorant from the sleep of death, but to lead them into green pastures, to fold them in safety, to originate and consolidate that church which for one hundred years has been distinguished, alike for the vigor of its

piety and the energy with which it has assailed the powers of darkness, and preached the redemption of Jesus to the poor in that land and in this. Calvin and Wesley! behold them both! each, in the reformation of their own time, originating systems ecclesiastical, giving form to churches, that not as rivals, but as co-workers, have accomplished such wonders for Jesus.

Without carrying further the parallel between these men, permit me to mention only the fact that they were not faultless. They were neither of them guiltless of mistakes and errors which their enemies in after times have seized upon to reflect dishonor upon their memories. Calvin, emerging from the Papacy, in common with all the reformers, however completely he may have divested himself of the costume, could not at once wholly emancipate himself from the subtle spirit which had penetrated the very bones of men. What wonder was it if, amid the heat of that fierce conflict, they did not at once see the full bearing of those great principles of liberty which they had established, and could not, amid the wild confusion of the time, give to the winds that maxim of the Catholic church which makes it the duty of the State to inflict temporal penalties upon men who grossly assail the truths of religion? More than a century and a half passed away before the Protestant church fairly ascended to its present platform of religious liberty. It rose to this eminent position in virtue of those very ecclesiastical principles which Calvin himself first fairly saw and unfolded. Bacon believed many things which belonged rather to the state of knowledge in his day. But the principles of Bacon have carried science forward to its present high position. And Roger Williams, when he began in Rhode Island the total separation of the Church from the State, was but acting as a consistent disciple of the Genevan Reformer.

So Wesley, emerging from the formalism of his age, at first did things which in after life he was compelled to disown, and partisan opponents, fastening upon his errors of judgment, deny to him the privilege of learning new truths from

the providence of God, and would fain compel him to be as ignorant at sixty as he was at thirty years of age.

The misjudgments of these great men, in point of fact, are neither vital to their systems nor their piety. They fall off from them as time advances, and leave their true greatness in all its symmetry and grandeur. So have I seen the gallant ship that had traversed the world of waters, had visited tropical seas, and penetrated the frozen north, and borne itself bravely amidst the tempests that sweep the main, return home with sails rent and discolored and her keel loaded with the shells she had gathered in every clime, while yet the heart of oak was still sound and her masts were all firm, and after the lapse of a few days in port, she stood forth strong and free to battle with the ocean and the storm. And thus it is with those whose greatness has its seat in God. These men of might, their defects and misjudgments fallen from them, still live in all the purity of their characters, the power of their principles, and the grandeur of their illustrious examples ; and so they will live for ever.

But it is time that I pass from these analogies, and present before you some of those points in which these minds just as strikingly differed from each other.

And first, *you will perceive a contrast in the original structure and movement of their minds.* Calvin was remarkable among all the men of his time for depth and grasp upon the principles that underlie the forms of truth. He penetrated into the heart of his subject. He possessed that philosophic power which, not content with the first view, held a proposition before the eye until it was resolved into its original elements. Words and formulæ were to him as nothing. He sought the ultimate idea which only a full and protracted analysis could reach ; and then from that, as from a rock, he built up the system of truth in all its relations and lofty proportions. This was the original power that constituted him the *theologian of the Reformation*. This lifted him above his celebrated compeers, and made him a teacher for all the ages to come. This qualified him to write those Institutes

which time has made immortal. This fitted him to penetrate the spirit and hidden meaning of the sacred writers, and stamped his Commentaries with that impress of truth which compels modern philology, with all its advance in the mere machinery of interpretation, to recognize in him an almost inspired teacher.

Wesley, on the other hand, did not at all excel in this philosophic penetration. His ardent mind seized at once upon a proposition, without caring to look below the form in which it was expressed. His conceptions were intuitive. His quick eye saw at a glance the general aspects of truth. He did not hold the truth before him till it was resolved into a final analysis. He knew not how to penetrate to the root and then trace out the tree along its trunk and branches, till in its full and noble proportions it lifted itself far up into the sky. He lingered among the branches and was satisfied to take the tree as others had developed it. He was a capital disputant. He knew all the forms of logic. He was a practiced athlete in the arena of controversy, and woe to that man who aspired to wrestle with him for victory. He penetrated at once the false premises of an adversary, and dragged it forth from amidst the verbiage which concealed it from view. At the bar he would have won eminence as a pleader in the contest with the greatest lawyers of his time. But this very power of argument, springing as it did from the rapidity of his perceptions, was adverse to that coolness and deliberation which alone prepare the mind to penetrate the ultimate ideas that form the basis of all profound truth. In this respect he was vastly inferior to Calvin. The latter was like Burke or Webster, the expounder of constitutions, the enunciator of principles, and gifted with a grand, a majestic eloquence that illuminated all it touched, and was fitted for the unfolding of truth that should affect and mold after generations. Wesley resembled Fox in the power of direct argument, and our own Clay in the popular character of his eloquence. •

But this very difference made each of these men the man for his time. When Calvin came upon the stage, it was in

theology especially that a master mind was needed. That was the time for instruction, for consolidation, for systematizing truth, for building up the system of Christian doctrine and discipline divested of the falsities and glosses which ages of darkness had heaped upon and around it. For this profound and noble work such a mind was originally constituted, and appearing at that time it did its work most nobly—ascending into those higher forms of thought with consummate ease, striking directly into the heart of the system of truth, carrying its appeal to the thinkers of the world with an unsurpassed power.

But when Wesley came upon the stage, the field of Protestant theology had been traversed for two hundred years by stalwart intellects. Turretin, Baxter, Owen, Charnock, Howe, and others of kindred genius, had given to the Church those tomes of Christian doctrine which form the proudest monument in the history of the Protestant church. It was not in the field of theology that the work of that time was to be done. The Church herself lay stupid and dead amidst the forms of truth. The articles and confessions of the churches still remained as compact and harmonious as before, not a line wanting, not a stone shaken out of its place. The temple of truth rose majestically ; but, alas ! the men who thronged its aisles and sounding corridors were blind and stiff. The fire on the altar smoldered in its ashes. The swelling chant, the sublime confession, the loud response still echoed along its arches ; but the wail of the burdened sinner, and the glad symphony of hearts filled with the love of Christ, and the eloquent appeal of apostolic men to souls crowding the broad road, had died away. It was the time for the soul filled with the love of God to startle the slumbering pastors and the stupid people from their dreams. That was the time for a man of bold and stirring eloquence, of direct and popular argumentation, to bring all his resources to the work of rekindling the fire on this dishonored altar, and chasing with scorpion lash the profane intruders from the temple of God. John Wesley was that man. His ardent soul fired with new-born love, his in-

telleet rapid and clear, his power of direct argumentation and *ad hominem* appeal, his bold and eloquent manner, his mastery of those simple ideas which do most execution with the popular mind, his uncompromising principles and indomitable zeal, interpenetrated and glowing with the mingled love and faith of an humble Christian, qualified him above all men of his time for carrying forward this new reformation, and proclaimed him the man set apart of God as his elect instrument for the renovation of his age.

And holding this same idea of adaptation in view, you will see how these men, Calvin and Wesley, in another particular difference, each excelled in his own way. *Calvin was not gifted with much tact in the management of men.* Confined to Geneva, he had more than he could do to hold in check the wild passions of the masses in that provincial town. It was not his province, nor his work, to pass from town to town and impress himself upon the boisterous multitude. Farel here was vastly his superior. Farel was the Whitefield of Switzerland. His eloquence fell peal after peal upon the hearts of men like the artillery of the skies. It was Calvin's work to enunciate great principles, which other minds grasping firmly, should spread abroad, and with them mold the people. He addressed himself to the thoughtful, and through them he moved the masses. His range of thought was too elevated for the great majority. He was indeed eloquent in his way. St. Peter's was thronged for years to listen to his expositions of Christian truth. But his eloquence was of that weighty and solid character which the more thoughtful chiefly appreciate. It was the majestic flow of a deep river, which traversed vast regions, and spread itself abroad fertilizing innumerable fields, the greatness of which the dwellers on its banks did not at once understand. He fed a thousand reservoirs, himself unseen. He cared not to come in direct contact with men. His study was his home, and his pulpit his throne. His words were not spoken alone for the hundreds that listened to him. Those students who hung upon his lips were to go forth, through France and Switzer-

land, proclaiming the truth this great master had taught. Those theological prelections and luminous commentaries were to enter the studies of other men, and in England, Scotland, and all over the Continent, were to speak through them to the people. Such was his work.

But Wesley had a work to effect directly upon the popular mind, and through it to quicken pastors and revive an interest in those same truths which Calvin had taught so successfully. The whole process must be reversed. The fire must be kindled at the bottom, and spread itself upward through the already prepared materials. He must begin with outcast colliers, with the most brutish and ignorant of the populace. He is to kindle a flame of Christian love, out under the broad arch of heaven, in those hearts to which Christianity was but a name—a flame that should ascend until the worshippers in stately cathedrals felt its warmth, and bishops and archbishops recognized anew the mission of the ministry of Jesus. He was to organize a church and give it pastors, and frame its laws, and bind it together as a compact, self-existent, living, self-perpetuating organism of religion. And for this work God gave him a special tact in the management of men. He could look a mob into silence. He quelled a riot with a word. The shake of his hand made the most ferocious leaders of the wild, roaring populace his fast friends. His knowledge of character was intuitive. He rarely ever failed in his judgment of men. He detected talent, and gave it a place to reveal itself. His preachers grew up around him, a band of noble, self-sacrificing, docile co-workers. He was capacitated for government, and he displayed on the wide field of his itineracy, as consummate powers of generalship as Pitt or Napoleon ever exhibited in the conduct of Parliament or the marshaling of armies.

With such marked differences in their original powers, these men contrasted equally *in the actual working out of their course*. Calvin started with settled principles. His plans were all thoroughly digested, and philosophically arranged at the commencement. The elements of his theology

were published before he went to Geneva, and though he vastly improved and amplified them, yet his views never were altered. The original treatise is incorporated just as it was written, in the last and perfect edition. His system of church government was fully settled at the beginning of his public career. The fundamental principles which characterize his system and his after works, were early and unalterably established. His life was but the filling up of this system. He wrought outward and upward from this firm foundation. He encountered difficulties at every step. Opponents swarmed on all sides. He became the target for the shafts of Libertines, Anabaptists, Socinians, Papists, yet he never wavered. He held the truth with a giant hand high above the waves. He sent it forth to the world in new forms, but it was the same substantial thought.

Wesley, on the other hand, began without any regular plan. He was a Fellow of Oxford, and a rigid churchman, without the remotest thought of originating a new church organization. Schism was full of horror. He only knew that God had called him to preach the gospel, and preach it he would. If the churches were closed against him, he would go forth into the fields. If the rich and the great frowned upon him, he would proclaim the glad tidings to the ignorant. And so he went on step by step, diverging from the establishment, planning this and then that to meet the emergencies as they rose, taking something from the Moravians, and seizing hold of some idea which the progress of the cause presented to him, and combining them all with admirable tact to effect his purpose, until, before he realized it, he had actually established a church outside of that of which he was an ordained minister. He followed the divine hand, and it led him where he once thought it impossible he should have gone. And so, at length, there grew up the firm and consistent framework of the Methodist church, and hundreds of preachers, and thousands of communicants, looked to him as their earthly father and head.

You will bear with me while I state another point of dif-

ference in our Reformers. Calvin had a tender and loving heart. He loved his friends with a greatness corresponding to his profound nature. The man who attached to him in the bonds of sweetest earthly affection such men as Farel, and Beza, and Melancthon, could have had in him nothing sour, morose, malignant. No man loved the Church, and all who bore the character of his Master, more ardently than he. Of all the Reformers, he labored with the greatest earnestness to compose the differences that then began to distract the Protestants—he, of all men, felt most deeply, most painfully, the divisions among the leaders of the elect host. In the great controversy, "*De Cæna*," which divided the Lutheran and the Reformed, he stood midway, and struggled for long years to unite the parties on a common platform: and had he possessed the tact in managing men that distinguished John Wesley, in all probability that unhappy division, which arrested the progress of the Reformation, and turned the arms of the Reformers against each other, and so gave the papal party time to recover from its confusion, would have ceased to exist. But with all this tender and loving nature, Calvin was irascible and easily excited. He hated error with all the power of his soul, and when he saw what he deemed the truth of God assailed, he came forth in its defense, and with a two-edged sword clave error and errorist to the earth. He early lost a wife, whom he loved most tenderly. His only child died in infancy. His physical pains, which made his life a constant scene of suffering, tended to augment the excitableness of his nature. In these circumstances, deprived of those domestic enjoyments which God hath appointed to soothe our spirits in the hour of trial, he was called upon to fight with men of most malignant spirit, and to refute errors of the most destructive character. What wonder is it, if he, like Luther, should sometimes have failed to discriminate between the error and the man who held it? Yet with all this, or in spite of all this, his piety shone out so transcendently, that those who knew him best, loved him most. The Council of Geneva express his character in their resolutions after his death, in

one word—*majesty*—a great intellect pervaded and guided by a truly great and pious heart.

Wesley, on the other hand, was naturally amiable. It was easy for him to love. The grace needful to make one Calvin such as he was, was sufficient, speaking *more humano*, to make half a dozen John Wesleys such as he was. He knew little of disease. In fine health—his mind constantly diverted by the round of new scenes, successful beyond his hopes in the great work to which he was called, not of necessity exposed to that kind of controversy which most excites indignation and anger, his amiable spirit had full and free play. In him piety revealed itself in the form of *love*. In Calvin it showed its greatness in the form of *duty—obedience*. In both, despite their faults, it shone forth with uncommon brilliancy.

Let us dwell for a moment on the closing scenes of these two sublime lives. It is Easter Sabbath, the 2d of April, 1564. On this day the church of Geneva were wont to celebrate the supper with unusual solemnity. We enter St. Peter's. The magnificent edifice is thronged in every part. By the dim light that streams through the stained windows in the distant choir, the preparations for the communion service are visible. The plain table with its snow-white covering, its sacramental vessels, the simple bread and wine, tell the whole story of the Reformation, and proclaim the overthrow of the idolatrous Mass. On either side of it the ministers of the gospel are seated, and behind them the grave senators of this young republic. No priestly miter, nor ducal coronet, nor royal escutcheon is visible in that house of prayer. The same power that banished the altar and the image has cast down the flaming symbols of spiritual and temporal despotism.

A deep and oppressive silence is upon the vast assembly. It is obvious to even a stranger that this is no common occasion. The gravity, the intense solemnity, the sad and tearful aspect of the multitude indicate the expectation of an unusual scene. At length there is a slight rustling at the great

central door. A wave of excitement passes over the whole assembly—the throng parts—slowly a pale, emaciated form is borne up the broad nave, and placed immediately before the communion table. That massive head, that dark eye burning with celestial light, that spiritual aspect full of calm majesty and radiant with hope, proclaim the presence of one of the greatest and noblest of men. It is John Calvin's last communion. The service commences—Beza is the preacher. The learned and faithful colleague of Calvin, revering him as a father, and walking in the light of his instructions as in the purest and brightest reflection of divine truth, speaks on this day as one inspired and looking upward to the open vision of the supper of the Lamb. He descends from the pulpit, and, advancing to the table, begins the simple yet solemn sacramental service. He confesses the sins of the people; he gives thanks to God for the love that gave his Son a sacrifice for us; he invokes the divine benediction upon the sacred emblems and those about to partake thereof. Then breaking away from the usual formula, he bears on his heart him who so long had preached in that house, and who had there been a spiritual father to so many souls—whose words had gone forth as a message from the throne to millions in other lands, now for the last time on earth about to commemorate the death of his Lord. The sight of that emaciated countenance, the sermon full of tenderness, the prayer burdened with emotion that choked the utterance, have profoundly stirred the heart of the assembly. Then, as he presents to his revered and beloved friend and father the simple elements, the sympathy becomes too deep for restraint; sobs, in vain suppressed, burst forth. Tears unbidden flow from eyes unused to weep. Old men and strong men who saw him as in his early prime he first entered that house—who knew what Geneva was then, and see in contrast what through his labors it is now, bow their heads and weep that they shall see him no more. Young men and maidens whom he had baptized and instructed—whose hearts had been led to Christ under his ministry, are filled with unutterable sadness at the pros-

pect of his departure. Some whose vices he had reprov'd and whose hatred he had won, stand awe-struck and smitten, as if already the great Judge had passed sentence upon them. Not a heart in that vast assembly is indifferent—not one that does not feel that the chief glory, the brightest light of their city is about to set. Amidst sobs and tears, group after group approach and retire from that sacred table, until all have partaken. Then with a subdued utterance they sing the closing hymn. In a tremulous voice, yet with a look of joy irradiating his dying countenance, Calvin joins in its solemn strain : •

“ Now let thy servant, Lord !
 At length depart in peace ;
 According to thy word,
 My waiting soul release.
 For thou my longing eyes hast spared,
To see thy saving grace declared.
 To see thy saving grace,
 That soon dispensed abroad,
 The nations shall embrace,
 And find their help in God ;
 A light to lighten every land,
 The glory of thy chosen band.”*

And so he passes out of that sacred place, never again to enter it, and is borne to his own home. A few days later a solemn procession moves from the town hall to Calvin's dwelling. It is the council about to hear his final instructions and take leave of him for ever. Soon after the ministers assemble to look upon him once more, and the aged Farel, now past fourscore, travels to Geneva to take the hand of his former colleague ere the heavens should receive him. With admirable simplicity and appropriateness he gives them all his final counsels, and commends them affectionately to the care of his heavenly Father. Then with the peace and joy of anticipated life in his heart, without a struggle or a sigh, just

* Baird's "Eutaxia," to which the author is indebted for the hymn and a part of this description.

when the shadows of coming night darkened over Lake Lemman, while still the pinnacles of the Alps that towered above his dwelling, shone in the calm light of the setting sun, this noble soul passed from the darkness of earth to join Melancthon and Luther in that glorious heaven where the light shall never more cease to shine. And so he died.

More than two centuries have passed away, and we enter another chamber, where another great actor in the scenes of time is about to pass from earth. He is an old man of fourscore and five summers. For sixty years he has preached the gospel of Christ. For fifty years he has been the leader of a glorious reformation. For forty years he has been the earthly head of a new ecclesiastical organization, in connection with which the Spirit of God has breathed into tens of thousands the peace of a Christian faith. With the harness still on, he is stricken down. He has never sought for rest, save as he rested in the great work to which his life was given. Disease and pain he has hardly known. Death has come to him gently as the natural decay of the mortal tenement—not as the tempest or the fire prematurely unroofs or consumes, but as time with its subtle and slow-working forces loosens the mortar from the walls and rots the timbers. He, the father of his people, the servant of God, distinguished as the instrument of vast benedictions to millions, once reviled and mobbed as a fanatic and a disturber, now honored by the united voice of a great people as God's chosen minister, feels that the time of his departure has at length come. In the complete possession of his faculties, his heart full of peace and hope, with every thing arranged for this world and the world to come, he falls asleep to awake in that world where the martyrs and confessors of all ages, and those who have been wise to win souls, shine as living stars for evermore.

These great men, whose characteristics I have now sketched, are not men of the past. They live, they labor, they constitute mighty influences at work in the bosom of our great republic. The church of Wesley, not only by its prodigious numerical expansion, but also by its rapid progress in intelli-

gence, its schools, its higher seminaries and colleges, its deep and steady enthusiasm, is growing into a power of incalculable influence upon the future of millions on this continent. We may refuse to recognize it ; we may think of it as it once was, a fervent, rude, ignorant innovator ; but, despite our opinions, lo ! it rises before us a compact, gigantic, symmetrical organism, animated with sincere devotion, sustained by an indomitable will, informed by an hourly advancing intelligence, its one foot washed by the Atlantic, the other by the Missouri, with one hand in Maine and another in California, everywhere at work and everywhere triumphant.

Calvin, too, is here visible in all our institutions. Our great Revolution was but the enfranchisement of the youth—the introduction of that youth to the rights of manhood. That youth had his growth long years before the muskets of Bunker Hill and the cannon of Yorktown thundered forth his accession to man's estate. Our republicanism was born on the banks of Lake Lemman. Hoary-headed Jura smiled upon his cradle ; the music of the avalanche and the roaring cataracts of the Arve were his nightly lullaby. Three hundred years ago, Calvin enunciated and organized the principles which gave being and form to our national life. Before his death he sought to realize what we now see on this continent. He planned and sent forth a colony to be planted on these shores—a colony of Huguenots, which should found a Protestant republic. This plan failed of execution through the treachery of the person chosen to carry it out. Calvin died. He saw not this asylum for his oppressed countrymen opening its portals. But his words, his thoughts, his principles lived still. These, scattered broadcast over France, Holland, and Great Britain, penetrated the souls of millions. They were brought hither in God's better time. They lived, they grew vigorously on this virgin soil. Their roots sank down and embraced the solid granite. Their branches spread out bold and free. In other lands they were dwarfed and impeded by the time-cemented walls of monarchical institutions. Here, in nature's grand temple, with the heavens for their roofing and the

ocean for their boundary, they grew up in solid, majestic fullness. Neglected, despised, they grew all the more rapidly. Natural obstacles, aboriginal hostilities, the battle with the forest and its denizens, hardened, consolidated, strengthened them. Then, when the fiercest tempest came, when the Revolution swept over them, they stood firm, they rose proudly above it, and still to this day they flourish in the vigor of an early youth. No man in whose intellect and heart the principles of Calvin have their home, can be any thing else than a freeman. In New England or Virginia, in Ohio or on the plains of Kansas, he must be untrue to himself and to his God, before he can tamely put his neck beneath the yoke of the oppressor, or put his foot upon the neck of the oppressed. The first declaration of independence in these colonies was the work of a Calvinistic minister. Into Church and State, Calvin, above all men of the past, has breathed his spirit, and his principles have modeled our great republic.

I have already remarked that the influence of this great mind was eminently favorable to education. Wherever his spirit has gone, there it has created institutions of learning, and made the school-house and the college the noble allies of the Church. In this new world it early reared such institutions. It built up the school and the academy in every village. It inaugurated a new era in the history of education, and advanced in the breadth and fullness of its views on this subject far beyond the old world, where first it rose. The genius of our country, interpenetrated by it, reveals here the same free, bold, original development which has already subdued a continent, spread its adventurous commerce round the globe, and carried the practical arts and sciences beyond the limits reached in the lands from whence we sprung. Not merely for the sons, but also for the daughters of our country, it has opened wide the gates of knowledge. Where, in any part of the globe we inhabit, does there exist a spirit so general and earnest in its purpose of securing the advantages of female education, or institutions more numerous and better adapted to meet that purpose than in this land? Among

the thoughtful of our countrymen—and they comprise the vast majority—the full, the free development of the intellect of woman is just as well settled as any other axiom of education. Its limit in the case of either sex is the same—a limit created by the necessities of life, and not at all by any inherent difference in the nature of the subject.

Under the quickening influences of this creative spirit, institutions of female education rise on all sides. All aim to educate woman, but the extent and character of this education, and the manner of filling out the idea, are not by any means the same. Some seek mainly to polish the manners; some to impart a few outward accomplishments; some to strengthen and adorn the intellect; some to combine a thorough intellectual with a truly Christian development. The institution whose first commencement we this day celebrate, stands forth unique and singular in this western world. Other institutions may excel this in the mere artistical forms of education, and others may equal it in mere literary advantages—for neither of these constitute its great ideal. Its chief peculiarity lies in the extent to which it combines the intellectual with the practical. It guides the hand while it polishes the manners, disciplines the affections and develops the intellect. It unites womanly thinking to womanly acting. It marries labor and learning; the domestic and the literary life. It disciplines the whole woman to her work as a thinker and a doer. It ennobles woman's domestic avocations by penetrating them with the spirit of a Christian literature. It combines in itself more completely than any other institution, *all* those forms of education which go to make an earnest, complete, intelligent, practical, Christian woman. This was the grand idea of that truly illustrious lady, in whose mind the plan of this seminary had its first conception, and under whose supervision it received its first successful development. This marks its whole spirit and working. If any man wishes his daughter to be a fashionable doll, let him not send her here; we cultivate no such plants. If any man wishes his daughter to shine only in the light of artistic accom-

plishments, let him not send her here ; for these we cultivate in strict subordination to another—a higher ideal. If any man seeks simply to make his daughter a mere scholar, there are other institutions where this can be effected as well as here. But if a man wishes to see his daughter develop her powers in the line of a true woman's life—if he covets for her the crown of an earnest-minded woman, inspired with lofty aims, conscious of power for good, and determined to use it aright—a woman whose disciplined head, and heart, and hand, are all prepared for a life of ennobled Christian action, in any and every field that she may properly call her own, then let him send her here. In this institution she is to be no longer a passive recipient or a partially-developed flower, but part of the active forces which work for a grand end. Here she is something ; a giver as well as receiver ; a steady, joyous, onward thinker and actor. She is the coefficient of a family where all is life, thought, labor, recreation, praise. She helps sustain this family ; she contributes to its efficiency, its economy, its order, its usefulness ; she is one of the living wheels within the great wheel, that inspires, that moves it onward. She drops at the door of this seminary the idea that her father pays so much money for which she is to receive so much knowledge. She enters here as herself a vital element of this household. At once she begins to occupy the position which every true woman is to hold in after life—the position of a power for good, for self-support, for the progress and elevation of society and domestic life. This gives dignity to her step. Her very air proclaims that she has a purpose in life—that she is not a plaything nor a loiterer, but a noble Christian lady, with high aims and power to realize them. Her office may be seemingly unimportant ; she may perform the lightest part of the household duties ; but such as it is, she knows that it is something essential to the economy of the family, and one of the wheels that if clogged must derange the whole machinery. Entering into this mutually helpful society, how soon will its spirit penetrate her ? She comes here trembling, doubtful, fearful, dreading almost

what is before her. But soon her fears depart. She breathes a new atmosphere; she feels its inspiring influence; she learns to love order, to rejoice in being an helper and a worker, to feel the dignity of action directed to a good purpose. Who can estimate the value of the discipline of order, of economy, of intelligent action she daily receives? Meanwhile the head is clearer for thought, the body grows more symmetrical, graceful, and beautiful, while the heart is more sensitive to the realities of this life and the claims of the life to come. She who came here immature and almost helpless, goes forth after the prescribed curriculum, an intelligent, refined, self-trusting, earnest, well-developed lady. She is prepared to nurture and to bless a race of noble freemen. Place her where you please, her spirit will bless, her intelligence illumine, her accomplishments adorn, and her active life enoble and stimulate the whole circle within which she moves.

In such a family as this, it follows of necessity that there must be limitations as to age and mental attainments. It is neither a nursery, nor a preparatory school for mere girls. There must be some ripeness of body and mind in the pupil who would profit herself by the thorough study, and profit others by fulfilling the domestic avocations of such an institution. It holds, in respect to other schools of more ambitious names, the relation of a university to the academy. It disciplines minds in the direction of life's great duties and woman's peculiar work, just as the university trains minds for distinct professions.

Of course, its discipline must be strict, its order must be perfect. This is not the place for young minds to amuse themselves. These young ladies have a higher mission just now, than to waste their time with those who are too lazy to improve the golden hours of youth themselves, or too silly not to appreciate the position and objects of those who assemble here. Even a parent, in his mistaken fondness, may forget the necessity that exists here, that his child should not be jostled out of her place in the beautiful and orderly system of this family arrangement. I say even a parent may need

to be reminded that the success of this plan depends absolutely upon the promptness and regularity with which every pupil, and his daughter among the rest, is in her place and fulfills her duty. In this our free land, where, alas! too often the children rule the parents, where in many a family domestic discipline is unknown, it seems almost a perilous experiment to plant an institution which embodies and carries out the purest idea of family order. Here, there, everywhere, it seems as if it would impinge upon the disorderly freedom of the girl, or the captious indulgence of the girl's parents. But after all, I do not sympathize with—I never have from the beginning sympathized with the tremors, the evil auguries of those who deem that on this rock our noble ship will strike a shattered wreck: for I know that beneath this superficial looseness of our life, there is a great and a noble heart, a sound and a practical common sense; and I have never doubted but that when once this institution comes to be thoroughly understood, and is permitted to make its appeal direct to this clear-sighted judgment, and this right royal spirit of our western life, that we shall all take it to our bosoms as one of our most useful friends; and that then, instead of waiting for pupils, we shall find its doors besieged by a crowd eager to enjoy its high advantages.

For where on the surface of this globe, in all lands and climes, can you find as thoroughly earnest and intelligently practical a class of men and women as dwell on these western hills and prairies? We have dug up forests that flourished in a green old age when the Norman conquered old Saxon England. We have built cities and towns, and adorned them with schools and colleges, faster than any nation before us. We have spread the sails of a more numerous and a richer commerce in half a century than the East has done in two centuries. We have laid down more railroads and achieved greater material triumphs, and done more to bind this vast valley together in the chains of a true civilization, in a few years, than all the world besides in centuries. The western heart will trust and follow a hard-working, intelligent man,

wherever it finds him. It will love and rejoice in, and almost worship, a pure-minded, earnest, intelligent woman, wherever it sees her. And if there be a place on all the continents of earth, that is just *the* place to plant such an institution as this, and gather round it deep sympathies, and fervent prayers, and strong hands, it is surely here in this great western valley, among this practical people. Aye ! and have we not found it so even in our short experience ? Whence comes this deep interest, this quiet enthusiasm, these numerous applicants that to-day greet us ? Whence is it that, in a single year, so many hearts were opened to respond to our appeal for funds to rear these lofty walls and prepare this goodly spot for the inauguration of this institution ? Yes ! these old oaks that tower around us rejoice to-day that while beneath their shade the Indian tomahawk gleams no more, and the Indian squaw wears out her life no more in the hard labors which her proud lord forced upon her, the daughters of a fairer race, in the bloom of their opening beauty, here circle in merry sports, and develop a lofty and noble character, and prepare themselves to live the life of true Christian women. And from this spot, this jewel on the fair brow of our State, richer far than those which flame in kingly coronets, there is to go forth in widening circles an influence that is to accumulate in power until it spreads its holy benedictions over all this western world.

Mr. President,* I feel that before this address is concluded, it belongs to me to discharge a most grateful office toward yourself and the teachers and pupils of this seminary. Here, on this 17th of July, 1856, on this the first anniversary of an institution in the inception and establishment of which you have borne the chief part ; in the presence of this multitude of sympathizing friends, I tender to you my warm congratulations. Little did I anticipate, when first you suggested this project, that its completion in such grand proportions would so soon stand forth a visible fact. To-day the enthusiasm,

* Rev. Daniel Tenney, President of the Board of Trustees.

the indomitable purpose, the tireless energy, the habitual recognition of a high, a holy end, which animated you, wins the crown. Looking down upon this lovely scene, and up at yonder lofty edifice, did you possess the spirit of an old Roman, you might exclaim, "*Hoc monumentum cœre perennius exegi!*" But you have drank inspiration from another fountain; you have learned wisdom from another and a better teacher; you have felt that, "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." You will be among the first to recognize that divine benediction, without which our mightiest and wisest efforts are utterly powerless. We thank God that he inspired the idea and the purpose to realize this idea; that he gave you resolution and wisdom to lay these foundations so firm and broad; and that he gives us this day so auspicious a commencement of what, we doubt not, is to be a most noble future. May you live to see many classes of graduates passing from this place to shed abroad the influence of refined, intelligent Christian women, and then in a better world see the full and happy results of this great undertaking!

Permit me also, in behalf of the Board of Trustees, on this occasion, to tender to you, our respected principal,* and your excellent associates in the instruction and management of this institution, our warmest congratulations. You came here a stranger in novel circumstances—circumstances which led some to anticipate a failure—to organize and set in motion heterogeneous elements, and give to this western world an illustration of that peculiar discipline which in other circumstances and under special influences had challenged our admiration. A few months have passed. You are no more a stranger. Aided by your faithful and intelligent associates, you have successfully organized this institution, and this week we have begun to gather in its first ripe fruits. We congratulate you on the success of this great experiment. You have

* Miss Helen Peabody.

amply vindicated the wisdom of the policy which led to its establishment ; you have earned a high place in our esteem. We trust that this day will be the type of many anniversaries in which you shall send forth class after class disciplined in mind and heart for the labors of life.

Young ladies, I can not take leave of this audience without addressing a parting word to you. I have spoken of your teachers as those who have successfully organized this seminary ; but I would be doing you wrong not to recognize your share in this success. Your sisterly affection ; your womanly honor, mutually reliant and trustful ; your intelligent alacrity in sustaining the interests of this your novel family organization ; your obedient, free-hearted life ; your quick perception of the necessity and advantage of that discipline which constitutes the organic power of this seminary, and more than all, your deep interest in that practical Christianity which is here the centralizing, vitalizing energy that puts the whole of these activities in motion, and concentrates them to their high end: these things constitute you, with your teachers, the founders of this beneficent institution.

The future will have its color from this young past and present. When years have rolled away, and your daughters come up hither with you to sit as you now sit, beneath the shade of these venerable trees, as you meet each other again, how will you point back with pride to this year past—live o'er again the healthful excitements of this period, and speak of those who here are with you now, then off on missions of love all over the land, or gathered lovingly around the throne on high. Yes ! gathered *there* ; some, perhaps many of you, ere that day shall come, with those already gone, will be in another world. But if now ye love Jesus, then ye will not cease to thank and praise him for what these instructors here did, when in this your opening womanhood you listened to their words of love and peace and light. In a few days, I hope, with your beloved principal, to visit another, the only other such institution as this. I hope to stand where Mount Holyoke flings his morning, and Mount Tom his evening shad-

ows across the quiet stream and lovely intervals of the Connecticut. There, beside the grave of her whose intellect shaped this beautiful and beneficent organism, and whose Christian spirit breathed it into life, we will bear to the daughters of the East the greetings of these young daughters of the free, the boundless, the hopeful, and the mighty West. We will tell them of the light which, kindled at their altar, and borne hither by vestals from their honored shrine, now flames so brightly amid our milder skies. And as of old the cannon roared, and the loud huzzas of millions echoed from hill to vale across a continent when New York's noble son, her greatest Clinton, mingled the waters of our Lake Erie with the waters of the Hudson, so will we begin the anthem of praise, that as it rolls above the Alleghanies, and stays not till it mingles with the roar of the surges of the broad Pacific, shall celebrate the mingling together of the streams of holy influence from the East and the West in one tide of love and light and power for ever.

XII.

HISTORY, THE UNFOLDING OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE.*

"Give ear, O my people, to my law; incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old; which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from *their* children, showing to the generation to come, the praises of the Lord, and his strength, and his wonderful works that he hath done. For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to the children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children; that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commandments."—PSALM lxxviii. 1-7.

THE preservation of their history was among the sacred obligations of the children of Israel. To them had been committed in trust the only authentic records of the race from Adam to Abraham. In Abraham, the Church, as separate in form from the rest of the world, had its origin. Previously spread abroad, and manifesting itself in here and there an individual, it now entered into special relations with a single family. Along the line of their descent, the divine ministrations for their preservation shone forth luminously. Victories, miracles, and wonderful providences distinguished their history. God, who was indeed present with all nations, and wrought among them all, yet here exhibited most powerfully his spiritual presence, and displayed the clearest light of his truth. It was incumbent on the fathers of each generation to see to it, that a history so full of instruction should be associated with the thoughts, and vividly impressed upon the

* A discourse occasioned by the death of the Hon. Jacob Burnet, LL.D., of Cincinnati, Ohio. Delivered May 29, 1853.

memory of every child as it grew to manhood. It was for them to see to it, that from the earliest dawn of intelligence, the events of this grand history should begin to enter the mind, color the imagination, awaken emotions of reverence toward God and patriotism toward the land and race over which this God thus gloriously ruled. And if you would seek for one cause more powerful than any other, which has contributed to maintain the distinctiveness of Israel, in all his wanderings, and the pertinacious adherence to the faith of his fathers, amid the perils of persecution and the seductions of pleasure, for more than eighteen hundred years, you will find it in his early familiarity with this, the most wonderful among all written and unwritten histories, and the complete possession which, from childhood upward, the past glory of his nation obtained of his entire soul. It is the consciousness of belonging to such a race that clothes his spirit with dignity, while his body is covered with meanness, and that makes him look down upon kings, while he seems timidly to crouch at their feet. Though the sun of his glory has long since gone down in darkness—though century drags along century, protracting the weary vigils of his Rabbis, and mocking the interpretations of his doctors—yet the very sky which to others is obscured by clouds, wild and gloomy, is illuminated to him in colors of beauty and hope, by the backward beams of his sunken luminary. So early did he learn the past, so soon were its glories poured around his being, that even the awful chill and blackness of the present can not wholly take from him the influence of its brilliant hopes and prophetic grandeur. For purposes like these, God obliged the Israelite to teach his children the history of his State and Church—so mighty a weapon is this in hands skillful to wield it over the opening minds of youth.

Nor is this a singular case. The history of any State—even where that State has been degraded, but especially if it be glorious and in harmony with its institutions—is an instrument of vast influence in the education of men. It will act as a plastic presence, subtle, ethereal, stealing into the

mind, and unconsciously molding the heart. Silently, as thoughts of the past come to dwell in the soul, will the young mind unconsciously drink in the powerful inspiration; silently, the memory receives impressions never to be effaced; silently, the imagination, seizing hold of the facts of the past, reproduces them in vivid and glowing pictures, while the reason joyfully submits to follow in the path of so amiable a prejudice. The history of our own land, early taught to our sons, is a great bulwark of liberty. Its influence in perpetuating that American spirit which has created it, is beyond measure powerful. The history of Scotland and of England is reproducing itself continually, as the planted acorn brings forth the oak. An instrument for the education of the human mind like this, is surely too precious to be neglected—too mighty to be despised.

History has been divided into sacred and profane. But the division, although convenient, is apt to associate with history a false idea. There is no history profane in the sense of being atheistic or without God. Profane it may be from the sin and folly it records, but profane it is not from the absence of a providence that runs through and works through it all. The race of man is still one—descended from one parent, subject to one law, exposed to one death, to be saved by one Saviour. The history of the world is not a series of disjointed fragments, without concinnity, order, purpose and unity. The world, with its oceans, continents, saharas, frozen regions, burning tropics, forms but a single globe, every part of which bears a just relation to every other part. The oceans have a settled and necessary proportion to the continents, the streams to the land, the plains to the mountains, the deserts to the gardens, the ever green to the ever frozen. The metals, the coal beds, the forests, are in due proportion to the size of the planet and the wants of its inhabitants. Its position toward the sun and moon is precisely the best arrangement for the greater number of its people; and thus all its parts form a whole, arranged by the single mind of Jehovah,

admirably adapted from their peculiar combination to answer one grand end.

It is thus with the race itself. Divided into nations, tribes, families, scattered over all parts of the world, subject to various conditions, each part has still a place in the history of man ; and the providence of God has a lesson to teach the universe, from each one of these separate and seemingly disjointed members of the human family, that shall contribute something absolutely essential to the final completeness of the illustration of God's excellence, for which the world was created. The providence of God runs through each separate branch of human history as the sap pervades the outermost branches of a tree, and gives to the whole a unity of form and life. The purpose of God in the creation of man could not be answered without this vast variety in the illustration of great principles, without subjecting intelligent moral natures to all conditions, and permitting them to work out their appropriate results. There are some streams that occasionally disappear from sight, running underground for a time, then reappearing on the surface ; so the providential government of God seems to be lost from the sight, in reference to some nations, until at length it suddenly reveals its presence and its purpose. The stream of that overflowing government penetrates all climes and nations. It is not without a design worthy of the Infinite, that one part of the descendants of Noah were impelled into Ethiopia, where, isolated from the rest of men, and blackened by the sun, they grew into so strange a variety of the race. Not in vain has China submitted to other conditions, and illustrated the operation of other principles. Not a tribe, however far they may have wandered, on whatever isle of the ocean they may have been blown, like sea-weed, from other shores ; not a nation, or series of nations ; not a battle, an invention, a single condition in the lives of men, that fulfills not some important mission in the government of Jehovah.

To a full appreciation of this grand scheme, running as it does through all history, there are two obstacles ; the one is

the position of the heart, the other the limited power of the mind. No man can at all enter into this amazing providence whose heart is not in sympathy with it. Such men as Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, may chronicle facts, in most pure and eloquent language; but the spiritual bigotry, the narrowness and falsity of their religious conceptions, unfit them for appreciating the remarkable thread of divine providence that runs through the events they record. To them, those facts are merely isolated events tending to no grand result; while to the Christian there is a singular coherence in them, a life of God that runs through them as a complete whole, illustrating sublime and excellent principles. We must *believe* if we would *know* the truth. A soul involved in the meshes of skepticism sees all things confused and entangled; his very philosophy is nothing but confusion worse confounded—trains of events springing from nothing, leading nowhere! But when the believer, with only the same intellectual power, begins to survey them, he beholds a thousand lessons of wisdom revealed in the sunlight; and where he can not trace out the full purpose, he may yet discover some of the subordinate designs.

This leads me to say that the other obstacle to the full comprehension of the providence of God in history is the imbecility of the mind. We can not here reach a position sufficiently high to take in the entire field of the divine operations. This providence is so minute and so extensive—reaching to all events of the humblest character, and comprehending the entire history of the race—that no single mind can here fully know all the facts, far less arrange them according to the natural order which they assume in the divine mind. Besides, the history of the race is incomplete. Experiments and illustrations are yet in progress. Much of the present is linked on to the future, and we must wait for that to unfold its real character; we hold one end of the thread, but where it will lead us, we can not yet fully tell. Now, when, at length, these two obstacles shall be removed—when, taking our stand where the mind can gradually look all over the

workings of divine providence through the history of men, we shall be able to appreciate its various character—what a scene of grandeur and glory will burst upon us ! It will be more sublime than the vision of the universe of stars and suns, moving in silent, solemn march around the central palace of the King of kings ! When the mind of man shall reach that position he will behold an order, a wisdom and a glory, where now he sees only confusion, folly and darkness. The forcible declaration of Jesus will then be magnificently illustrated, “My Father worketh hitherto and I work,” and the product will be so grand, so glorious, so affecting, as to compel adoration and wonder for ever !

But I hasten to say a word on the history of the Church of Christ. The religious history of the world is the real trunk of all history. The relation of man to God takes precedence of, as it is infinitely more important than, the relations of men to each other, and the physical world. The civil and social developments of society are to the religious, what the outward life is to the heart ; what the leaves and branches are to the trunk of the tree. And the great trunk with which the religious history of all men is to be connected, and from which it will derive its unity, is the Church of Christ. All the developments of national character—the workings of government, of popular systems of faith, of errors, and partial truths, of forms and traditions, of art and science, of language and eloquence, of revolutions and wars—are but parts of a wondrous scheme, in which the *truth* shall be made luminous by the failures of errors ; and the redemption of Christ, with the influence associated with it, be demonstrated by experiments of vast reach and prodigious power, to be the *only thing* that can save, and bless, and exalt a fallen race. It is necessary to the perfect exhibition of the transcendent power and glory of the scheme of salvation by the cross, to permit the training and trial of men under all other forms of belief and kinds of influence. If some one form of State government will make men holy and happy, why, then, the cross of Christ is unnecessary. If some form of error, systematized

and wrought into efficiency and beauty, will do as well to train men for the skies, then the wisdom of God in Christ is not declared. If the simple plan of salvation may be amended, on the one hand, by striking down some of its strongest pillars, or on the other, by superadding a mass of human forms and superstitious observances, so as to be a better instrument for the deliverance of men from guilt and pollution, and their preparation for immortality, then is God's truth in that scheme of redemption, in part, useless or insufficient; and the Infinite must divide with the finite, the glory of human salvation. But if, after ages of trial, in all forms, under all circumstances, by all sorts of human inventions, in all stages of the progress of society—it is seen that every thing is a failure but the original, incorrupt and simple scheme of redemption; that this alone can reclaim men from the ways of sin; that this alone can assure the parent of his own salvation, or that of his child; that this alone can make a healthful state of society, in which peace, and temperance, purity, intelligence and true courtesy, physical comfort, and liberty of conscience, shall most perfectly reign; that this alone can bind up the broken heart, assuage the pains of disease, and light up the bed of death with an unfading glory; then, indeed, will the wisdom of Jehovah be vindicated, and that truth which he hath declared to be “the power of God to salvation,” will be exalted before angels. Then will He whose life has flowed through the Church from its institution in Eden down to the conflagration, gather around himself a glory most astonishing and unique, while all the heavens shall shout, “Worthy art thou to reign, for thou hast prevailed to unloose the seals of this great mystery, and unfold in thy blood the scheme of life eternal.” What a scene will then be spread out before the universe, in which the permission of all these errors will be understood, and the redemption of Christ shall rise over one and all triumphant! How shallow and mean the intellect of the wisest errorist! How transcendent and glorious the wisdom of Immanuel! Thus the history of the Church is interwoven with that of the world, in all its forms; and thus,

when God proceeds to unravel the long series of its events, and place them in order before us, shall we learn to admire and adore. Oh! amazing wisdom, that penetrates all things, compasses the operation of all causes, and institutes a plan of redemption on which innumerable failures of men will shed the brilliancy of final and complete success!

Such, in brief, is the true character of the history of the Church and of the religion of Christ. It combines in itself all that is most sublime in both the providence, and word, and works of God. It is a larger mirror, reflecting with more perfection and power, over a wider circle of mind, the character of God in Christ, as the Redeemer of man, than it is at all probable will be found anywhere else in the universe.

I have spoken of history in general. But history is made up of elements; and the richest elements, the most precious materials of which it is composed, are contained in the biographies of individuals. Biography constitutes the fountains and the minor streams, which in their confluence form the history of the world. There are some individual lives that illustrate the domestic life, the social state, and customs of the mass of the people. There are others that reveal to us the religious character and sacred science of a nation. There are others still, that connect themselves with art and law, with medicine, commerce and mechanics. There are others that are associated with the doings of the State; with the formation and transformation or continuance of government; with the progress or decay of national aggrandizement and national power. Now, if we are careful thus to preserve the individual history of a few men in each department of life; if we are vigilant in rescuing from oblivion the biographies which best illustrate the state and progress or decline of society, then we shall have gathered up the materials out of which to form at length a true and most useful history of the providence of God in his dealings with men. It is not, indeed, every man's history that deserves thus to be recorded. Some men just appear upon the stage of action, and are seen no more. And while every human life, if faithfully written,

would have something valuable as an encouragement or a warning, yet it is only from here and there a few, that we can gather the best materials for the final history of man.

It has been the peculiar fortune of the eminent man who has just departed from us, to have lived through so long a series of years—to have been associated with such men and such scenes from early childhood—to have borne such a part in measures of far-reaching influence upon society—to have been connected with the State and with the Church, in such a variety of ways, and through so protracted a life—that a faithful biography of his one life would present some of the most deeply interesting and marked features and characteristics of our age, of our land, and of the early history and progress of our western world. It would embrace the stirring scenes and illustrious actors of our revolutionary struggle ; the conflicts through which our present Constitution gradually assumed shape and authority ; the struggles of ambition and local interests for disunion ; the early educational institutions of the nation ; the pioneer life of this great North-west ; the steps by which States were formed, and law and civilization spread themselves over lands once trodden only by the Indian and his prey ; the feeble infancy of our churches and schools, and the influences against which the truth of God has prevailed, and the religion of Jesus has rooted itself in the hearts of millions ; the change from the roughness and the privations of the woods to the refinements and opulence of beautiful towns and populous cities, where men from every clime assemble on these sacred days to worship the living God, in temples such as would dishonor no nation, however high its civilization. These fourscore years and more have been pregnant with the mightiest changes in the history of the whole human race. Revolutions, arts and sciences, religious progress, the earth opening all her ports to the missionary of the cross, stamp a character upon these years among the most remarkable in the annals of time ; while at our firesides, in our own land, they measure the life of our nation, the constitutional history of our Union, the progress and expansion

of our population and territory, and the rise of great religious societies, as the instruments of the Church in the spread of Christianity.

In the brief limits allotted to me, I can but touch upon a few points in the life of this aged patriarch.

Jacob Burnet was born in Newark, New Jersey, on the 22d of February, 1770. His father, Dr. William Burnet, of Scotch descent, was a member of the second class that graduated at the College of New Jersey, in 1749; was elected a member of Congress under the Confederation in the fall of 1776; the next winter was appointed physician and surgeon general for the Eastern District of the United States—an appointment he held to the close of the war.

Judge Burnet received his collegiate education at Nassau Hall, Princeton, N. J., where he graduated with honor in September, 1791. After a year spent there as a resident graduate, he entered the office of Judge Boudinot, of Newark, as a student of law, and under that distinguished lawyer, laid the foundation for his future attainments in his profession. During the year 1795, his health having failed, he traveled extensively, visited the West for the first time, and made choice of Cincinnati as his field of future labor. In May, 1796, he was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and immediately removed to this then frontier village. He entered at once upon the practice of his profession, was admitted to the bar on his arrival, and soon obtained that foremost position as an advocate which he maintained until his retirement from the active duties of his profession. In 1799 he was nominated to the Senate of the United States, and with their advice and consent appointed by the President, John Adams, one of the legislative council of the second grade of Territorial government. He continued a very active member of this body until the establishment of a State government in the winter of 1802-3. During the war in 1812, and subsequently, until he declined a reelection, he was elected to the State Legislature. Retiring from the practice of the law in 1816-17, he was, in 1821, appointed to the Bench of

the Supreme Court, and subsequently elected to the same office by the Legislature. In 1828, he was transferred from the Bench to the Senate of the United States. At the expiration of his term of office, he refused to be a candidate for reelection, and ever since rigidly adhered to his purpose of remaining in private life. In 1847, he published his "Notes on the North-western Territory," as his contribution to the history of the West. He departed this life, May 10th, in the 84th year of his age.

This life, thus marked out, naturally falls into four divisions. The first embraces his youth and education; the second, his professional career; the third, his more public service on the Bench and in the Senate; and the fourth, the period of retirement in which he spends the last twenty years of his life.

The parentage, the early domestic life, and the future educational influences under which the youth ripens into the man, each contribute their part in the formation of character. Parentage imparts temperament and capacity; the early domestic life impresses upon childhood, in its most susceptible state, a thousand unseen and silent plastic influences, which subtly insinuate themselves into the very bones and marrow of the young life, and abide with it for ever; the subsequent associations with men, and the discipline of a preparation for public life, confirm and enlarge, or impair and contract the power of previous training. Now in all these respects Judge Burnet was highly favored. He sprang from a God-fearing ancestry—from those who had left their native Scotland to enjoy in this land those rights and that freedom which they could not obtain at home. Newark, Elizabethtown, and a number of adjacent towns in that section of New Jersey, were originally settled by men of the same stamp as those who emigrated to New England. They brought with them the word of God and the ministry. Their first concern was to rear a church and a school-house. The earliest house of worship built at Newark was of such a size that all the inhabitants of the place could have sat at the same time upon its foundation wall. They built their church and their academy

for the future. There Nassau Hall had its origin, and it was while still at Newark that the father of Judge Burnet completed his studies in it, under the presidency of the Reverend Aaron Burr. His father, a physician of eminence, the associate of Washington, and an actor in the scenes of the Revolution, was a man of great decision and high moral character. His own mother died while he was yet a youth, yet not before she had left the impress of her pious teachings and example upon his heart. These domestic influences were here most happy. Rarely is it that you see an entire family of sons and daughters, embodying more moral worth than that of which our departed friend was a member. The benediction of Jehovah rested upon them in life ; it descended upon them at the domestic fireside ; the dead have left behind them a fragrant memory. Of the living, but one remains, and that one loved and honored by all who are able to appreciate Christian excellence.

The First church in Newark, during this period of Judge Burnet's life, was filled by the Rev. Dr. WcWhorter. He was a man not distinguished for great brilliancy—not at all the equal of his successor, Dr. Griffin, in richness and power of thought and eloquence—yet of such fine scholarship, of such consistent Christian character, of such rare wisdom, efficiency and ministerial dignity, as to hold his position for half a century, with the increasing regard and confidence of his people to the close. To him Judge Burnet looked back with the greatest respect and reverence. He never mentioned his name without some epithet of regard. He could repeat some of his expressions and passages of his sermons when himself fourscore years old ; and it was easy enough to see that impressions had been made on his mind and heart by the ministry of this venerable minister of Christ, that must have contributed vitally to the formation of his character. It is not every man that can tell, or is willing to acknowledge, how much he owes to the power of the Christian ministry over his early years. This appointed influence of Heaven, associated with that of the parent, and confirmed by it, often sinks deep

into the soul, and greatly assists in preparing the soil for the rich fruits of maturer life ; and that parent is both wicked and foolish who fails to second the faithful efforts of a minister of Christ for the religious well-being of his children. With Judge Burnet all these influences were in harmony, and thus we find him, when fourscore years had passed over him, looking back to the faithful servant of God, to whom he listened in youth, as the instrument of the deepest and most salutary impressions ever made on his heart.

He entered Nassau Hall shortly after the termination of our great revolutionary struggle. The storm of war that had burst with such force upon Princeton had passed away. The college buildings, which had been converted into barracks for British soldiers, were again the peaceful retreat of science. He passed through his college course with distinction and honor, and subsequently spent a year there as a resident graduate. He there formed that taste for the classics which remained strong in him to the day of his death. His scholarship was accurate, and his acquaintance with some of the leading authors familiar and extensive. He was accustomed through life to read the New Testament in the original, and his occasional quotations from Latin authors, when near the close of life, have often surprised and delighted me.

Among the men at Princeton, during his college career, there was one who exercised great influence in forming his character. Dr. Witherspoon was then the presiding officer. His commanding sense, clear logic, Christian simplicity, decision and purity, as it gave him a wide influence in the convention that framed our national Constitution, so it secured for him the respect and the deference of the students of Nassau Hall. He was a man of strong, sterling character. Stiff and erect as the granite mountains, but like those mountains on which the earliest sunlight played, around which the clouds gathered and condensed the fertilizing showers, he stood firm amidst the most trying scenes, shedding light and refreshing influence upon the quickened minds that resorted

to him for instruction. A powerful mind, when it meets with another powerful mind, young, susceptible, and of somewhat congenial temperament, will often give to the younger a form and impression that will characterize all its future. Wither- spoon, with his strong, clear intellect, and Christian spirit, found in young Burnet elements of power worthy his molding hand; and he gave to them an impress that no after struggles and toils in the broad battle-field of frontier life availed to efface. To the day of his death, Judge Burnet cherished an exalted opinion of his venerable teacher, spoke of him with the deepest enthusiasm, and acknowledged the influence that had blessed his life and vitally affected his character.

In rightly estimating the influences that formed the character of the deceased for usefulness in the pioneer life to which he was destined, and the early molding of State institutions in which he was to bear so large and important a part, you will not fail to notice the times of his youth, and the men with whom he was early associated. The period that elapsed between his birth and his entrance upon professional life, embraced the whole of our revolutionary struggle, the formation of our national Constitution, and the discussions that preceded it; the launching of the nation upon the ocean of existence, as an organized and united government, and the administration of Washington, consequent upon the adoption of the Constitution. Central New Jersey was the fiercest battleground of the Revolution. There the grandsires of some of us fell in the struggle for religious and civil freedom, and there their dust will abide till the trump of judgment. His father, Dr. Burnet, took an early and a decided part in this memorable conflict, and with many others periled all on the issue. His family were at times compelled to flee from their homes to a place of security; and thus the scenes of this great contest—the alternations of hope and despondency attending its fluctuations, the distress and terror, as well as the joy—all wrought themselves into the experience of the manly boy. At the close of the conflict, he was thirteen years old;

and the impression of many of its scenes remained vivid and strong to the day of his departure.

No sooner, however, had independence been achieved, than those great constitutional discussions commenced, which for vigor, comprehensiveness, simplicity, profundity, and adapt-
edness to the original state of our country, are without a parallel in the world's history. His father was the intimate friend of many of the leading minds of the Revolution. His house was often visited by those whose skill and intelligence were alike successful in the field and in the senate-house. Among these, next to Washington, stood forth that man of giant intellect and wonderful versatility of genius, Alexander Hamilton. Much as we admire the men of world-wide fame who so recently have passed away from our Senate, yet it can not well be questioned that in all the attributes of a statesman; in profound and comprehensive views; in that intuition which at a glance saw through the most perplexed and difficult subjects; in that practical tact, which out of confusion educed order, and impressed a united impulse upon a complicated organization, and minds of opposing and diverse views, we have never had a statesman who could rightly challenge superiority to him. It was in occasional association with such men, amidst the stirring discussions of that day, that the early manhood of Judge Burnet was formed. It was his rare fortune to listen to Washington, in the delivery of his inaugural, when he took his seat as the first President of the United States. It was his still rarer fortune to listen again to the tones of that voice, when calmly, solemnly, and impressively, the father of his country took leave of public life, and gave to us and to the future that farewell address, every word of which should be, not written in letters of gold on that lofty obelisk a nation rears to his memory, but engraved on the memory of every child that shall be born on this wide domain, and wrought as living lessons of wisdom into the manhood of all our country.

These various associations, this peculiar discipline, these early instructions, were the training of the all-wise Jehovah

for the wide and important sphere which Judge Burnet was appointed to fill. They give breadth, consistency, and strength to his whole character. They prepared him for just that position which he subsequently occupied, and in which he became the benefactor of this entire North-west. In the founding of a State, it is essential that there should be men of brawny muscle, to fell the forests and overcome the physical obstacles that oppose the entrance of civilization ; it is essential there should be men of speculation and enterprise, to plan, purchase, and improve. It is always necessary that the minister of Jesus should be there to assist in laying the foundations for the upbuilding of religious institutions. But in addition to these, and others, it is equally essential there should be some men of accurate scholarship, of profound and comprehensive legal knowledge, of practical tact and enterprise in the business of legislation, to lay the foundations of the law in wise constitutions, and adapt the new political institutions to the original circumstances of a yet unformed community. The training to which Judge Burnet was early subject, was of just the kind adapted to mold him for such a high position. He who believes in a divine providence, will see in this the hand of God, and the heart of God's kindness.

It is surely not among the least of the divine benedictions to a nation, when the *great Sovereign* not only confers exalted talents, but prepares the possessors to employ them wisely in advancing national interests. When He bestows rich and special endowments on individuals; when He directs the varied discipline by which these endowments are most fully unfolded ; when, having prepared the men for their work, He at length exalts Washington to the chieftainship in the crisis of the Revolution, Jackson to the Presidency, and Webster and Clay to the Senate, in the hour of national peril from sectional jealousies ; when He thus endows, and trains, and finally guides to their fields of labor, just such men as the time and the occasion demand, surely He doth confer upon the people a benediction among the richest of time. It is through such minds the national life is modified.

preserved, quickened. They settle difficulties, harmonize conflicting interests, resist injustice, give vigor and tone to national feeling, enact, expound, and enforce the law of liberty. Their words are engines of power ; their lives a ministry of temporal salvation in the sanctuary of the State. A single clear, decided, strong, and pure soul, prepared for its work, and present when the foundations of the State are laid, or when the crises of its successive developments arrive, is worth infinitely more to society than mines of gold or fisheries of pearls, or a million of men too ignorant to understand the necessities of the State, or too corrupt or vacillating to lead in the path of rectitude and peace. Great talents are neither accidental nor common. A Moses, a Solomon, and a Paul ; a Demosthenes and an Alexander ; a Cicero and a Cæsar ; a Luther and a Calvin ; a Charles V. and a Napoleon ; a Cromwell and a Washington, are rare creations. When such powers exist, and when the possessor has been disciplined and taught to exercise them for the good of man, the establishment of truth, the overthrow of evil, the protection of the noblest interests of society, then do we recognize in them the goodness of Jehovah to those among whom they minister.

This early training, these domestic, religious, literary, and political associations of Judge Burnet, not only left an in-eraseable impress upon his nature, but revealed that nature in bold and clear outlines which no after scenes could materially change. There are some souls, which, like the trap rock, when they once assume a form and begin to harden, are never after susceptible of great revolutions from any ordinary agency. The fire which first melted, must melt it again before a new impress can be stamped upon it. His nature was thus thrown up into a form strong and bold, by this early discipline ; a form which remained substantially the same from early manhood to the last hour of his protracted life.

Two events marked the close of this period, and exerted both an abiding and a salutary impression upon his after course. His father died about the time of his graduation ;

and before his law studies were completed his lungs became seriously affected, and his health was prostrated. It was in connection with these events, and the meditations to which they led, that his convictions of the truth of Christianity, and the reality of religion were finally settled never to be shaken. He then saw and felt what were the only great principles of action that could preserve him amidst the temptations of life. He declared to me a few months before his decease, that at that time he adopted practical convictions and principles, according to which he had ever since endeavored to form his life. What was the depth, the extent and the vitality of those principles, I need not now attempt to discuss. It is sufficient here to know, that before he entered upon public life in this new world, he had already formed a standard of right and duty, and that he came hither not only mature in understanding, but in conviction and purpose, at least, anchored to the great truths of divine revelation.

We have seen him amidst the influences of childhood, youth and early manhood. Let us pass on now at a single stride from the refinement and cultivation of his early home, to the rudeness of life in the forest and the wilderness. Fifty-seven years ago this month, he was admitted to the bar in his native State. Fifty-seven years ago this summer he began his professional life in this place. A few score huts and rude frame buildings, with the log Fort Washington, composed the village. The inhabitants, including the garrison, numbered not more than six hundred. The entire white population of the whole North-west did not amount to fifteen thousand. But Wayne had compelled the Indian to bury the tomahawk. The peace of 1795 had given the land rest from its savage aboriginals. The beginnings of mighty States were here. And here was the field, and this was the home for such a man to perform the work of assisting to lay the foundations of civil society for these on-coming millions.

We are at once struck by two things which marked his early career. Although feeble in health, yet he at once addressed himself to the duties of his profession. His com-

manding talents, his ripe scholarship, his brilliancy and success as an advocate, from the first secured to him an extensive practice. He traveled to Marietta, Detroit and Vincennes, in order to attend the courts held in those places. By bridle paths, by blazed trees, fording streams, through the deep, wet soil, often camping on the ground, this young lawyer, in delicate health, but with indomitable enterprise and perseverance, prosecuted his work.* He ate no bread of idleness; he shunned no just responsibility. He took long journeys on professional business, when scarcely able to sit on his horse. He appeared in court, and prosecuted important suits, when in no condition to leave his bed. He not only grappled with the difficulties attending the performance of his duties as a lawyer, over this immense and unsettled North-west, but he cheerfully engaged in the business of legislation, and superadded the labors of council to the incessant toils of an advocate. Before such decision, industry and

* In one of these trips of the bar from Cincinnati to Marietta, the Judge relates, that after crossing the Hocking river, near where the town of Athens now stands, they were overtaken by night, and unable to keep the path. The majority of the party determined to proceed, and to do this, one at a time dismounted, and led the way on foot, relying on the sense of feeling to keep the path. Some time after midnight Mr. Burnet was on foot leading his horse in front, and feeling for the path, when he stepped down a small precipice about three feet: his horse being frightened, suddenly drew back and prevented him from falling. On regaining his former position, it was ascertained that a little in the rear, the path turned to the left at nearly a right angle, and went down a sidelong hill some fifty feet or more, to a creek, which proved to be Wolf Creek. On the return of the party, they ascertained that within three feet of the small precipice down which Mr. Burnet had stepped in the dark, there was *another, almost perpendicular*, down to the bed of the creek, down which a step or two more would have precipitated him.

At another time, on a return from Detroit, night overtook them in the middle of a swamp, swarming with gnats and mosquitoes. There being no moon, and the forest very dense, it was found impossible to keep the path, much less to see amid the quagmires on every side. They had no alternative, and were compelled to halt till morning. To lie down was impossible, from the nature of the ground; and to sleep was quite as difficult, as they were surrounded with gnats and mosquitoes. After remaining in that uncomfortable condition five or six hours, expecting every moment their horses to break away, daylight made its appearance for their relief.—*Burnet's Notes on the North-west*, pp. 67 and 71.

perseverance, difficulties vanished. The young man who came here with the assurance of a brief life, gradually hardened his constitution, and triumphed over disease, until for many years he has walked these streets, to all outward appearance, one of the most hale and vigorous. He who had scarce physical strength to warrant the hope of life, by an indomitable will, a patient industry, a temperate life, and a judicious exposure, not only rose to the front rank in his profession, not only long enjoyed the most extensive practice in the State, but actually accomplished more for himself, and more for society, and more for this great territory, and more for the federal Union, than almost any one of his early cotemporaries and associates. This energy of character marked him to the end. He would not consent to use his carriage, in his daily visits to the bank, or in his attendance upon the sanctuary, until within the last few months, when disease had begun to draw his life to a rapid close. He sought no assistance from others when he could assist himself. Action was his life: an energetic will, an enterprising spirit, a conscientious desire to do his duty, resisted the early influence of disease, and lengthened out his days far beyond the usual term of human allotment.

But there is still another fact of far greater importance, which characterizes his early life at the West. At the period of his settlement here, the principles of French infidelity, and with them French morality, had reached their height of influence on this side of the Atlantic. It is difficult for us, even amidst the imported skepticism of this day, fully to appreciate the extent and the power of the principles of Rousseau and Voltaire—of Diderot, and Hume, and Gibbon, over the cultivated class of society in this country. The French war, antedating the Revolution, began the degeneracy. The soldiers engaged in early conflict, on their return to their homes, in many cases brought with them the profanity and the irreligion of those whom they had fought. The subsequent advent of the French army under the gallant Lafayette, in spite of the generous object at which they aimed, was yet the introduction of a speculative unbelief and a deteriorated state

of morals, among a multitude of the now educated and intelligent, which distances any thing we have since experienced. The vulgar infidelity of Paine has at times since gone down among the ignorant ; but there the elevated, the intellectual, the leaders in society were often skeptics. Yale College was a nest of young atheist philosophers. The late Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, once remarked to me that in his youth, in Virginia, it was rare to find a public man who was not tainted with this leprous infection. A near relation, now in heaven, informed me that when she made a profession of religion towards the end of the last century, she knew of but one *young man*, in her wide circle of acquaintance, embracing many who had been officers in the army, and in civil life, who was truly a Christian. War, in its immediate effects, is always hostile to morals and religion. A civil war, like that of the Revolution, protracted for nearly eight years, was enough of itself to produce, for a time, a retrograde movement in society, and generate a vast amount of idleness, immorality and crime. But when to the natural influence of such a fearful conflict, you add the influence of that nation which took part with us in the struggle, and by the assistance of her arms prepared the way for the entrance of her popular philosophy, it is easy to understand the reason for so wide-spread a degeneracy.

With such a state of things in most of the eastern portions of our country, it was not to be expected that a better condition of faith and morals would be found in the frontier towns at the West. In point of fact, wherever the army was located, it was worse. Judge Burnet has himself recorded the fact, that, with the exception of General Harrison, and three or four others, most of the officers of the army, both under Wilkinson and Wayne, were intemperate. Idleness, intemperance and gambling, prevailed among them. In the early times of this village, when the army composed so large a proportion of the inhabitants, their influence over society was commanding ; and that influence, instead of elevating the standard of morals, and sustaining the interests of religion, was decidedly of an opposite character. The contagion

of so corrupt an example spread itself among the inhabitants of the town. Of nine lawyers in successful practice at the bar during this period, Judge Burnet states that all but one, and that his own brother, who died of consumption, fell victims to the ruinous habits of the time. These facts, appalling as they are, have been confirmed by other witnesses, and never denied.* We can hardly conceive of a condition of things better adapted to test the principles of a young man, than this. A young man, a lawyer in professional life, of fine talents, and a liberal education, patronized by some, courted by others, solicited by all, afar from his home and early associates, the restraints of society, so necessary at this period of life, not only greatly loosened, but the main force of a public opinion, most powerful on the young, actually urging him to walk in the paths of vice, he yet resists the temptation, and pursues his elevated and even way, as if he

* The late lamented Dr. Drake, in whose decease the medical profession lost one of its brightest ornaments and ablest authors, and the Church a warm-hearted member, thus speaks of the condition and moral habits of the village of Cincinnati at the period of his arrival, and for a season after the year 1800. "Now, the state of society in our olden time was very different from the present. In many respects the contrast between the two is scarcely less than the contrast of the primitive and the present scenery. From the beginning, the military element was predominant, and up to the end of the first era, its influence was still perceptible, not in the generation of ferocious passions and dueling practices, but in fostering indolence, apathy and a love of pleasure; high aims and great enterprises, with intense efforts for their accomplishment, did not belong to their times, even in the older settled portions of the Union, and if they sprang up, as indeed they did, in the minds of some of the pioneers, they had to contend against many adverse and discouraging circumstances. The army, at this time so emulous of civil society, in propriety and purity of manners, was then much farther behind a far worse condition of general society. Drinking to intoxication, public balls, theatrical amusements, horse-racing, billiards, and various games of chance, prevailed to a degree exceedingly unfavorable to habits of study or business. Cards, the most dangerous of all family amusements, were a part of the means of wasting time, in the majority of the houses of the village; and the whisky-bottle was a symbol of hospitality in the whole. Everybody drank, but everybody was not a drunkard; nor must it be supposed that there was no minority of industrious, sober-minded and pious persons, who sought by example, as well as precept, to rectify the morals of the majority."—*Drake's Discourse before the "Cincinnati Medical Library Association,"* page 50.

was in the midst of a community the most moral and religious.

A single incident which he related to me will illustrate the temptation and the deliverance. At one time, while in company with a number of the officers of the army, cards being introduced, he was invited to take a hand. He declined at first, stating that he did not play; that, in fact, he did not know one card from another. They volunteered to teach him. Yielding to their solicitations, for the first time in his life he sat down to a card table. He soon mastered the game, and, before he was aware of it, became deeply interested in play. Money was staked, lost and won; the hours of night flew away under the spell of this new and marvelous excitement; when the morning dawned, and the card party broke up, he found himself the winner of a considerable sum. No sooner, however, had he risen from the table than reflection came, and with it astonishment at the terrible power of an excitement that had so suddenly mastered his deepest convictions and well-settled principles. Mortification, a sense of personal degradation, immediate repentance, took possession of him. He refused to take the sum he had won, and firmly resolved never again to put himself under the power of so demoralizing an influence. That was his first and last game of cards—his first and last experiment in gambling. He saw the fearful precipice before him; he looked down with a clear eye into its black depths; he measured the greatness of the temptation and the hazard of ruin, and ever after avoided an approach to the brink. Happy would it be for all the young men of this city, if thus forewarned they should be forearmed and panoplied against that accursed spirit which, in spite of the law, goes about these streets and enters parlors as well as gambling hells, seeking its victims among all classes of society. Happy would it be if our city authorities, no longer sleeping over known violations of law, should drive from us the vampires that fatten on the blood of the unwary and inexperienced.

It was amidst these and similar temptations that Judge Burnet stood firm, through the abiding power of the princi-

ples of Christian truth and the gracious assistance of Him through whom alone the strongest and the weakest are enabled to stand. During all this period he proclaimed his faith in the inspiration of the Bible, took a deep interest in the support of the gospel and the worship of the sanctuary. No sooner had he a home of his own than he welcomed the ministers of Christ to it. From that time to this no house in this city has been more freely and constantly open to those who preach the gospel of Jesus. He was among the first to welcome the late pastor of the First church, Rev. Dr. Wilson, to the city and to his dwelling; and in spite of not a few differences of opinion on practical subjects adapted to inspire opposite feelings, he never ceased to regard him and speak of him with deep respect as a truly honest Christian minister. The church now worshipping in this edifice was organized in his house; for years the meetings for social prayer were attended there more frequently than elsewhere, and usually he was himself present. He took a decided part in the establishment of the first Sabbath school, encouraging the superintendent and teachers by both his person and eloquence. At that time, I am informed, he was about the only man of his age and standing in society that thus identified himself with the various operations of the Church of Christ. When no minister was present, he not unfrequently read a sermon, and so far assisted to maintain the worship of God. Such was his earnest advocacy of religion, and his efforts to promote it during this first and most trying period of his residence in the West.

It was at this time that he won that position at the bar and that fame as an advocate which placed him in the front rank of his profession. The story of his forensic efforts form part of the early history of the State, and is perpetuated in the traditions of his profession. Few men within the period of twenty years, which was about the extent of his practice at the bar, have been engaged in more important causes or with more success. There were three things which combined to give him this high position as an advocate. (1.) The character of his mental constitution and training prepared him to

lead at the bar—his intellect originally clear, ready and active, had been thoroughly disciplined, seized the main, the effective points of a case rapidly and presented them clearly. He knew what to omit and what to enforce—gifted with a ready elocution, he could present the results of his study in language which expressed precisely what he wished to say. He came directly to the point and urged it with dignified vehemence upon the attention of bench and jury. He dealt little in mere flowers; he chose terse, strong language, in which to clothe his finest conceptions. His temperament was ardent, and gave to his address the earnestness and the fire of a soul alive to the importance of the cause he advocated. His feelings kindled with his subject, and enabled him easily to enter into the feelings of his clients. These active sympathies taking part naturally with those for whom he was engaged, often unconsciously swayed his intellectual convictions, and although he may have entered upon a suit with indifference, he rarely came out of it without being deeply enlisted. This power of becoming one with his client; of viewing his cause as just and true; of identifying himself with all that is fair and good in the side he advocated, while it gave him great advantage in doubtful cases, armed him with uncommon power when right lay on his side. For it is one of the most obvious laws of our nature, that a man really in earnest at his work shall produce effects upon us which no mere trifle can possibly produce. The sincere and hearty advocate has won half the battle, because he has won our sympathies; and it will be strange, if thus commended, his demonstration do not carry it even over the more correct representations of unfeeling and unmoving logic. Entering thus ardently into the cause he advocated, sympathizing thus warmly with his client in what there was of truth and justice on his side, he pressed his suit with all the sincerity of conviction and the earnestness of personal feeling.

(2.) He never relied, except where it was unavoidable, upon talents or genius, or past legal attainments. He gave to each cause the study and attention which its importance required. He prepared himself in the office, by a thorough

analysis, a thorough consultation of authorities, and a faithful delineation of the train of thought he designed to present. In this he pursued the course adopted by the most successful advocates and orators in all ages; a course which, while it insures success when there is leisure for preparation, also prepares the mind to achieve it when obliged to speak on the spur of the moment. The diligence which ordinarily prepares thoroughly is the finest discipline for those occasions when, thrown upon the resources immediately at command, the speaker must meet objections without time for preparation, and on the instant summon all his energies to turn or silence some new position or battery suddenly unmasked upon him. It is *labor* that conquers all things. Cicero never could have delivered that mighty speech which drove Catiline from Rome; Webster never could, at such short notice, have pronounced that great argument which for ever settled the unconstitutionality of nullification; had they not both been men of profound research, of incessant labor, and mature understanding. In this respect the early classical and liberal training of Judge Burnet was of immense advantage. It gave him the habit of study and the ability easily to acquire the knowledge most useful to him. It gave temper and edge to the blade, and skill to use it with greater efficiency. With an intellect thus disciplined, and a preparation for his work most thorough, he moved forward strongly and was rarely disappointed in his efforts.*

* His first cause of much importance was the defense of a person indicted for murder. As this was a very important cause, and the first that really tasked his powers, he thought it necessary to prepare himself with great care; and to make assurance of success doubly sure, he prepared and elaborately wrote out his speech, and then committed it to memory. When he rose up to deliver it, however, with the exception of two or three of the first sentences, he could not recall a word of it. Hesitating, and greatly embarrassed for a few moments in the attempt to recall the written speech, he, at length, losing sight of it entirely, boldly launched out in an unpremeditated effort (so far as the language was concerned), and was entirely successful. He never after attempted to commit a written argument to memory. It was his custom to prepare himself with great care for speaking, noting his authorities, going over the whole case from beginning to end several times in his mind, and even framing the language which he thought most appropriate.

(3.) But there was one other cause of his success as an advocate, which men are not so ready to appreciate, but which often exerts a powerful influence in favor of its possessor. The integrity of Judge Burnet, his superiority to all chicane and trickery, his known advocacy of whatever was noble and pure, and the personal illustration he gave of it in his own life, formed one of the finest preparations for usefulness in his profession. The low, the mean, the tricks of dishonesty, the twisting of technicalities to secure the triumph of fraud, the mere assumption of a virtuous indignation against wrong, the saying professionally for effect, what, outside the court room, was an offense to morals and to justice, were one and all not only foreign to his character, but the object of his loathing. He stooped to pander to no base passions; he sought no victories at the cost of filthy witticisms and indecent allusions; always dignified, courteous, chaste, sincere, he spoke as he felt, he argued as he believed. If he spoke with indignation against the wrong done his client, the jury knew that it was not done for effect. If he stated an opinion as law, they knew that it was not asserted lightly, nor for the purpose of leading them astray. When such a man, with such a character plead, it was not wonderful that honest men listened and seemed to be persuaded that he was right.

These various causes combined to give him a commanding influence in his profession, and a corresponding position in society. Had he possessed more ambition and less diffidence; had he, urged on by the causes which have either driven or drawn other men up to greatness, continued to practice at the bar, his career would have been one of the most splendid ever chronicled in the records of the profession in this land.

In 1816, after a practice of twenty years, in the full maturity of his powers, and with the most brilliant prospects before him, he left the bar. We may find a reason for this, in

When he came to speak, he found himself able to follow the train of thought he had pursued in his study, and often the very language in which the thoughts were clothed, rose spontaneously and in their proper connections. This great care in preparation was, undoubtedly, one secret of his success.

part, in the fact that his fortune was sufficiently ample ; in part, also, in his repeated declaration that "his heart was not in the profession," "that he practiced law from a sense of duty," and when the pressure of duty was removed, he gave up the practice ; in part, also, in the absence of that ambition, and that fondness for public life, which often move men to pursue a successful career long after the necessity for it has passed away. He was not long, however, permitted to remain in private life. In 1821 he was persuaded to accept an appointment from the Governor to the bench of the Supreme Court, and was subsequently elected to the same place by the Legislature. In 1828, he resigned his seat on the bench, and accepted an appointment to the Senate of the United States, for the unexpired term of his old friend, General Harrison, who had been appointed to a foreign mission. He went to the Senate on the condition that, on the expiration of the term, he should not be considered a candidate for reelection, and should be permitted to carry out his long-cherished purpose of retiring to private life. In this connection, I may more properly say a word of his course as a legislator, before, as well as at this period. When, in 1789, the Territory entered upon its second grade of government, Judge Burnet was appointed a member of the legislative council, in which post he continued until the organization of a State government, in the winter of 1802-3. While acting in this capacity, it is said that the most of the important legislation of that period received largely its impress and form from his hand. Subsequently, when for several years in the Legislature of the State, his influence was not only great, but eminently happy. He succeeded, by his researches into the laws of Virginia, and his lucid demonstrations of the same, in settling in favor of Ohio, the right which Kentucky controverted, of arresting criminals on the river between the two States. At a subsequent period, he prepared, and secured the passage through the Congress of the United States, of a bill for the relief of the great mass of early settlers, who found themselves unable to meet the debt due the United States for their lands. This measure was not

only wise and equitable, but its favorable influence upon the prosperity and rapid settlement of the country incalculably great. About the time of his appointment to the Supreme bench, he was elected to fill the Professorship of Law in the University at Lexington, Virginia, and he received from that institution the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws—an honor subsequently also conferred upon him by his own alma mater, Nassau Hall.

Of his course on the bench, and in the Senate of the United States, I can not speak at length. And I pass this period by the more readily, since the bar have elected, to pronounce a eulogy upon him,* one who was his associate in the former position, and who is abundantly able to do full justice to the learning, the ability, and the integrity with which he filled those high offices. In Congress, he was the associate and the friend of Adams, Clay and Webster, and enjoyed their highest respect and confidence. He stood up with such men, as an equal in vigor, and comprehensiveness of intellect, and in that strength, purity and dignity of character, which exalts and adorns the true statesman.

It is now more than twenty years since Judge Burnet retired from public life. He had already passed his threescore years when he sought to spend the evening of his days in the quietude of his family circle. During this long period, while his sun has been slowly and calmly descending in the West, he has not been an indifferent spectator of the progress, and of the changes which have not always amounted to progress, in the State and Church. His interest in the movements and great enterprises of society suffered no abatement. His name stands connected with many of our most interesting and beneficent institutions. He did not soon grow old. His eye was as bright, his form as erect, his spirits as animated, his interest in the young as intense at eighty as at thirty. He moved among the present generation as one of the past, and yet one of the present—a link that connected the life of the pioneers with the mighty march of the populous city. Since his re-

* The Hon. D. K. Este, formerly Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio.

tirement from public service—since he has been an old man in years—he has witnessed the entrance of one hundred and thirty thousand people into this city as their permanent abiding place. Amidst the unceasing roar and restless activity of a great city, he looked back to the time when on the same spot the forest spread forth its giant arms and claimed supremacy. What a change since, fifty-seven years ago, he climbed the steep river bank and found himself among a few cabins in the wide and almost unbroken wilderness!

Permit me now before I conclude, to present together a few points in his character of chief interest, and thus prepare our minds for the lessons of wisdom which such a history is adapted to teach. Such a man, living so long, occupying such a position, impresses the image of himself upon many minds. There are no new points of character to be marked. The life of eighty-three years is long enough and conspicuous enough to be read of all men.

In form he was erect, his countenance animated, his eye at times intensely piercing. His very walk, his first appearance, told the stranger that he was no ordinary man.

In manners he was dignified and courteous to all. Reared in the school of Hamilton and Washington, he had the manners of that age rather than of this. He was affable and unassuming. There was the simplicity of true greatness in his character and tastes. His colloquial powers were uncommonly fine. He conversed with great fluency, and expressed himself in ordinary conversation with the precision, polish and energy of an accomplished orator. In the latter years of his life, when the conversation turned upon the past, upon the men of former times with whom he became acquainted in his youth, he often launched forth in description of scenes and characters, which for brilliancy and power I have rarely heard equaled.

His opinions in respect to most subjects on which he had bestowed thought were clear, sharply defined, and held with great tenacity. His prejudices, like his temperament and character, were decided, deep and strong. Often severe in the

expression of them, he yet cherished no personal animosity, and was never a bitter adversary. When at any time they seemed to stand in the way of the prosperity of the Church or the good of society, no man was more ready to act directly in the face of them, and thus give forth a demonstration of personal control which, according to the declaration of the wisest of men, constitutes a victory greater than of him who taketh a city.

His friendships were ardent and lasting. Time or outward changes made with him no difference. He who once won his friendship, unless proved to be totally unworthy, enjoyed it for life. When Aaron Burr was in this place, seeking to enlist the public men of this region in his treasonable attempt to sever this valley from the East, and with the South-west snatched by violence from its then possessors, form an independent government, he sought an interview with Judge Burnet. The request was peremptorily refused, and when the reason for such a refusal was asked, he declared that he would never shake the hand of the murderer of Hamilton, his father's friend and his own. In integrity and morality he was above suspicion. No man could say that he had intentionally wronged him. No man could bring forth against him the charge of such a public immorality.

Gifted with talents of a high order, and with a temperament that qualified him to use them well, he yet possessed a peculiar sensitiveness to the assumption of public responsibilities, and a shrinking from public display which amounted to diffidence. He was not ambitious of place ; he was driven to accept office by the sense of duty, and not by the impulse of ambition. As soon as that duty was discharged he retired to private life. There was an under current in his spirit which often escaped the superficial observer ; a feeling that dreaded to assume responsibilities he might not be able satisfactorily and fully to discharge ; a native shrinking from much that other men, less delicately organized, would not hesitate to seek. His "Notes on the North-western Territory," while they will remain as a monument of the useful life of the author,

form one of the most valuable contributions to the history of this region ever published. Other writers have detailed more fully the domestic life and the more stirring scenes in the first history of the pioneers. But Judge Burnet, rising above these, has given us the *civil* liberty; the steps by which government was founded, and the men who figured largely in laying the foundations of law, and in the administration of the State. He has rescued from the oblivion to which they were hastening, the names of many of the leaders in the early past of the North-west, and given them their just position before the eyes of posterity. This important work he completed and published six years ago, as his last public labor for this great country.

In religion he was first of all a firm believer in the truth of Christianity and the inspiration of the Bible. He received this book as the only inspired and infallible revelation of the will of God. Modern theorizers, and modern theories, exalting Milton and Plato to the same position with God's word, were his abhorrence. He studied the Bible critically, and whoever will consult the notes to his work on the North-west, will understand the acumen and research which he sometimes brought to solve the difficulties of the sacred word. He read theology as a science, sufficiently to understand the variations which characterize the different systems of the evangelical churches. He held, in the main, to the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly, as the most consistent unfolding in any of the uninspired formularies of the theology of the Bible.

Ecclesiastically he was a Presbyterian both from conviction and preference. He believed that this system harmonized more fully than any other with the power of primitive Christianity in its earliest and purest developments. He loved the simplicity of its services and the republican freedom of its chartered rights. He regarded it as a happy mean between the opposite extremes of Prelacy and Independency; conservative, yet free; as well arranged as any ecclesiastical system could well be to counteract the tendencies of men, on

the one hand, to a rigid and ruinous formalism, and on the other to the exercise of an undefined and all-tolerating liberty; yet with all this decision of preference and conviction, he was far removed from bigotry; he sympathized with the church he loved in the comprehensive catholicity of her standards, and regarded himself as carrying out the the essential spirit of her constitution, when he recognized the ministry of all evangelical denominations as truly a Christian ministry, and saw under all their varying forms and symbols of denominational distinction, the one living and true Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the establishment of the Church, the support and spread of the gospel, he has ever been one of the most liberal contributors. In this church, from its first organization to the day of his death, he took a deep interest. If there was one object of public interest that lay near his heart, it was the prosperity of this society. In its temporal and its spiritual advancement he rejoiced. To his wise counsel, his generous aid, his steady support, we have always looked with confidence, and never been disappointed. This house was emphatically and has been, since its erection, his religious home. In rain and sunshine—in heat and cold—often, indeed, when too feeble to endure the exposure, he was in his seat at the usual time of divine service, one of the most interested and devout of all the worshipers. To see this aged man when fourscore years had past over and beat upon him, refusing the aid of a carriage, yet always present in his seat, morning and afternoon, the whole year round when not absent from the city, was a living sermon, an encouragement to all who loved the sanctuary, and a burning rebuke to the effeminate and slothful, who content themselves with an attendance upon a single service.

It would be to us all, now, a crowning excellence of this long and worthily distinguished life, if it were permitted me to say that in early life he publicly professed his faith in connection with the Church of Christ—that ever since he had fulfilled the duties and borne the responsibilities of a Chris-

tian—that his pious exhortations had blessed and comforted multitudes, and that he had gone down to the grave with all those external marks of the Christian life. But this I can not say. What then can be said, in addition to that testimony which his whole career affords, to warrant in us the assurance that our departed father and friend truly submitted his heart to the humbling truths of the gospel, and embraced Christ penitently and believingly as his only Saviour? We are not his judges; but we can neither be indifferent to such a question as this, nor dismiss it with the common, and, too often, utterly unfounded expression of a hope that all is well. All things earthly; all the moralities and formalities of time; all the graces and talents that refine and adorn a distinguished man in this world, grow dark and worthless at the advent of death. Then nothing should satisfy us that will not satisfy the Judge of the quick and dead; nothing should be permitted to give us support that is not sufficient to support the soul itself in the hour of its trial. No one understood better than our deceased friend the unalterable truth, that except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God. No man knew better than he that, except we repent and believe on the only Saviour, we shall all perish. He admitted this heart-rending truth most fully; and received as the truth of God all the associated doctrines of the cross. Did *he* then repent and believe unto the salvation of his soul? His position, his character, his services, his long life, and our own deep personal esteem and ardent attachment, render us peculiarly solicitous to know that his feet were planted on the rock Christ Jesus.

Now, in attempting to settle this question, I might analyze his whole life, and bring together, in one focus, the scattered rays that shine forth from the past; I might combine his faith in the divine testimony; his long-settled principles of right action; his deep interest in all that pertained to the house of God, and the prosperity of Zion; his conscientious endeavors always to pursue the path of rectitude—and in such a survey, impartially and truly made, we should find many and various indications of the fact, that the truth of God had

actually taken deep and vital hold of his nature, and existed within him as both a law and a quickening power of life. But on this subject, I prefer to give you no suppositions, or inferences, or reasonings of my own, however just and true they might be. It will be far better for me simply to give forth his personal utterances, and leave you to judge how they appear in association with his well-known life. A few months before his death, in several conversations, he unfolded to me the state of his feelings. Breaking through that constitutional reserve, in respect to his religious experience, which not being overcome early, had ripened into all the strength of habit, he gave me a candid statement of his views, his anticipations, and the ground of his hopes. He stated that, although he had for many years endeavored to have a conscience void of offense toward all men, yet that he felt himself to be a sinner, in himself undone and wholly unworthy the divine favor. He embraced heartily the doctrines of the gospel, and as a sinner rested his hopes only on the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ. He stated that he had had for years a critical difficulty in respect to the institution of the Lord's Supper; on which, however, as he differed from the Church generally, and might be in error, he had kept silence, lest he should unnecessarily offend the children of God, and injure feelings that he wished to gratify and improve; that had he entertained the usual views of that ordinance, he never would have thus delayed to become a communicant. He said that, relying only on Christ, his mind was peaceful in view of death; that while his family and all things around him invited him to stay here, yet he had no desire to live; his work was done, and it was better for him to depart and be at rest. These views and feelings he reiterated at different times. During his last illness, when his mind was clear, although he was unable to keep it fixed long on any one point, he repeated with emphasis his confession of sin, his faith in the Saviour, and his desire to bear his testimony to the world, both of the truth, and in his own personal experience, of the sustaining power of the gospel.

At what time he became thus personally interested in religion, he did not—perhaps he could not—inform me. It was certainly not a recent experience. He may have long wrestled in secret ; he may have long been harassed with doubts and fears ; at length, the clouds may have been lifted, and the sunlight of peace rested upon his soul. From the time when he left college, there has been an influence abiding on him, which was not of man or of earth. At various times there have been the manifestations of a quickened religious sensibility, and an unusual interest in the things of eternity ; and could we enter into the past of his life fully, we might see that which would both humble and encourage us. His deliberate and oft-repeated remark, that he practiced law from a sense of duty, and that his heart was never in it ; the remark so often made, that he never could see a young minister enter the pulpit, without almost envying him his work ; his uniform devotedness ; his strict observance of the Sabbath ; his constant study of the word of God, and all things else connected with his public and private life, in harmony with these, reveal a power long operating within him, and powerfully affecting him, that was from above. It is, indeed, a matter of deep regret, that these impulses heavenward had not been fully obeyed. It is the chief mistake of his life, otherwise so noble, and so useful, and so pure, that he did not at the outset, when first hope began to dawn upon his soul, when he first experienced the power of eternal things, come forth and connect himself with the Church of Christ, in the bond of a formal confession. Had he yielded then to these first movings of life in his heart ; had he then overcome the shrinking of his nature from assuming a profession he feared he might not adorn ; had he broken through that reserve which concealed his spiritual exercises from the world, judging after the manner of men, what a bright career would his have been ! Beautiful and rich in instruction, as it is, how much more beautiful and rich would it have been ! What a pillar of light, as well as of strength, would have been planted in the house of God ! How would he himself, from

such decision and such intimacy of Christian association, and such purity of conscience, towards God as well as men, have gathered strength for the performance of the outward and special duties which press upon a professor of the religion of Jesus!

I speak thus for the benefit of the young and the middle aged, who from this example may seek to gather light for their own guidance, and strength for their own encouragement. In this life, amidst these temptations that assault us at every step, with these imperfect hearts, and these weak and often wavering resolutions, it is of immense, yea, of vital importance to most of us, that we avail ourselves of the strength of Christian association, and Christian ordinances, and all the divine arrangements for the promotion of the Christian life. It is for this very purpose of support and comfort; it is to infuse courage into the weak, and vigor into the slothful, and assist the soul in its conflict with the world, the flesh and the devil, that God has graciously bestowed upon us these privileges which attach to a public profession, and which we can not or will not avail ourselves of fully unless we formally identify ourselves with the disciples of Christ. There is scarcely any way to darken whatever evidences we may have of a renewed state, and unnerve ourselves for those Christian acts which stand out in public opposition to the course of the world, so effectual as that of neglecting a public and unmistakable identification of ourselves with the followers of Christ, when we first begin to hope in the personal appropriation of the justifying righteousness of Christ. And sure I am, from his departing testimony, this venerable man, were he now present, would affirm every word I now utter, and urge upon you the same all-important duty.

Were I now to go into the home-life of Judge Burnet, into those quiet scenes of domestic enjoyment where he shone forth in the mingled dignity and affection of a father and friend, of the discipline with which he sought to train his household in the love and practice of all that was virtuous, good and ennobling; were I to describe how he has encouraged the young man struggling with adverse influences, and

has sought to promote those associations and institutions and public enterprises in this city which are adapted to elevate and improve society ; were I to describe him then as the citizen ; as the father ; as the husband who for fifty-three years had walked in the purest and sweetest intercourse with her who, in the decline of life, finds her staff broken, her home solitary, since the warm heart and the strong hand and the sympathizing partner of all her joys and sorrows has gone from her ; were I thus to sketch fully our departed friend, the midnight hour would strike before a fit conclusion could be reached. I have said enough for this occasion ; enough to those on whose memories for half or a quarter of a century this noble character has been silently impressing its form and life. To those who are comparatively strangers to him, I have said enough to show them one of the most remarkable men in the history of this North-west ; one identified with its infancy and youth ; a foremost actor in the scenes which are bringing forth such wide-spread and noble results.

Here is in this life, thus unfolded, encouragement to parents, and instruction for the masses of youth, who, leaving the parental roof, go forth to seek their fortune and spend their days among strangers.

Behold ! the effect of early discipline and religious training, in preparing the mind to meet and resist the temptations of new scenes ! The foundations of character and usefulness in this case, as in almost every other, are laid silently, deeply and strongly, in the nursery, the school-room, and the church. There *men* are formed ; there shape is given to the character, and that development of it begun which after life may hasten or retard, but can never wholly change. The parent is God's molder, and around him are those influences of might, created of Heaven, to clothe him with power, and impart efficiency to all his plannings. Let him not despond if sometimes a hard nature seems unyielding ; a perverse nature rebellious ; a stupid nature unteachable. Patiently let him toil ; with prayer let him water his seed sown ; then let him be assured that in due time he shall return with joy, bringing his sheaves

with him. The richest blessing you can bestow upon your child is a truly religious education. With that, no matter where he may be thrown in after life ; what seas or continents may separate him from those who gave him being, he can never lose the precious legacy ; and in the great majority of instances, it will be to him an anchor to hold him amid the storm, and a preparation for the obtaining of that precious Christian hope, which shall be to him a stronger anchor, to hold him secure amidst the agitated waters of death.

Behold ! illustrated in this life the influence of an enterprising and upright character ! The young man finds himself far from home, tempters on every side of him, seductions to pleasure and to vice, assault him mightily ; but his heart is resolved to follow the path of integrity ; he holds on, amidst the boastings and cavilings of infidelity, to the inspiration of this Holy Book ; he seeks to guide his life by its precepts, and asks for strength of its good Author. Behold the result. The pleasure seeker, the vicious, the man who knows no God, pass away from all their bright prospects, or live only to illustrate the folly of him who makes of this world a god. While he who refused to conform to their customs ; who refused to countenance their orgies, lives to be eminently useful and honored, and dies amidst the richest manifestations of God's love.

Behold here, too, the sustaining power of an humble reliance upon Jesus for salvation. At peace with man and at peace with God, our aged father went to his rest. The world was bright, his family dear to him, all that could enrich of earthly good was at his door, yet he wished not to stay ; but calmly bowed himself to the will of his heavenly Father.

This venerable patriarch of fourscore years we shall see no more on earth. The church will lean on him no more ; society feel no more the influence of his immediate presence. That home where he and his companion have so long abode, and where we have witnessed the calm setting of his sun, will know him no more for ever. This sanctuary which he aided to rear and adorn, where he has so long been one of the most

interested of worshippers, shall see him no more. No more shall he meet his old companions in public life, and rehearse the past, and look forward with hope to the future. The eloquent advocate, the learned judge, the profound statesman, the enterprising and upright citizen—the loving husband—the kind father—the venerated patriarch, at whose feet the old and young delighted to sit and learn lessons of wisdom, has gone from us for ever. Venerable in years, loaded with honors, beloved by multitudes, surrounded by children, and children's children, penitent for sin, and as a sinner reposing in Christ alone for salvation, he has left this transient scene, and ascended to one infinitely grander and nobler. His name and fame are treasured in the records of this vast West ; his influence for good will spread itself further and wider with the progress of our population. We have laid his body in the grave, but he lives, not merely in the spirit which with renovated youth now praises and adores on high ; he lives in the character he has borne, in the life he has manifested ; in the deeds he has worthily performed ; in the results which from his labors and those of his early associates are daily growing wider and vaster. He lives in our memories and in our lives. With gratitude this day do we recognize the goodness of God, whose providence runs through all history, by whom he was prepared for this pioneer life, then guided to this spot, sustained amidst physical and moral perils and trials, and made at length a benefactor to this land.

The fathers one by one are leaving us. The chains that bound us to the colonial and pioneer life of our country are one by one severed. Here one and there another, like aged trees, towering far above the youthful forest, still remain. Let us cherish their memory ; let us imitate all that is just, noble, patriotic and wise in their lives ; let us record their acts, and tell them to our children as part of God's beneficent providence to our country. Above all things else, while we cherish our free institutions, while through the memory of our fathers and the quickening story of the past we seek to form the future generations to such sentiments and disposi-

tions as befit these institutions, yet let us first of all seek the benediction of that God who can raise up for us leaders in the hour of danger, and men of strength to support and guide us in weakness and perplexity ; let us labor at the foundations by seeking for a truly religious culture, and spreading abroad the knowledge of that Book which, the moment its truths are understood and felt in the soul, the chains of slavery fall, and the captive stands forth in the liberty of the sons of God. Let us educate the children of this swelling population in that knowledge which illuminates both mind and heart ; let us seek for them that training which ennobles and exalts ; which alike prepares its possessor to fill a useful sphere on earth, and at length rise to the life of unfading glory in heaven. You must all die. Old age with its decrepitude comes to all who pass manhood's prime. Death comes oftener long before that period is reached. The dead to-day is an exception to the common law of mortality. But soon or late you must die, and then appear before the judgment-seat of Christ. Let it be, then, our first, our daily, our chief concern so to live that while we serve our country as true patriots, we may also serve our Redeemer as true Christians.

“So live that when thy summons comes to join
 The innumerable caravan, that moves
 To that mysterious realm where each shall take
 His chamber in the silent halls of death,
 Thou go not like the quarry slave at night,
 Scourged to his dungeon ; but sustained and soothed
 By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave
 Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
 About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.”—BRYANT.

So live, my hearers, assured that if for you to live is Christ, to die will be gain. Then when the summons comes for your departure, you will welcome it as the voice of love from the Eden where your treasures have long been laid up ; stripped of all his terrors, Death will be the herald of salvation completed ; and while the body is laid aside till the renovation of the resurrection morning, the soul, upborne on angel pinions, ascends to dwell with Christ and the redeemed for ever.

OCCASIONAL SERMONS.

XIII.

CONFLICT AND REST IN THE CHURCH.*

"Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."—ACTS, ix. 31.

THUS ended the first persecution. It had subverted an important purpose in the preparation of the infant Church for its great mission. It had tested the faith of its members. They had experienced that baptism of fire which, from age to age, was destined to fall upon the Church of Jesus. They had begun to enter upon the fellowship of Christ's sufferings. The blood of the first Christian martyr, shed in attestation of the truth, revealed the path of suffering along which the Church must pass, the power of the faith to lift her above the fear of death. And more than this, these Christians scattered abroad, as the flames hidden for a season in a single building, when flung forth by an explosion, spread themselves on all sides, so they went everywhere bearing the holy fire and kindling the flame of divine love in thousands of hearts.

Then came the season of repose. The fiercest of her persecutors, now become the lowliest of her children, was passing through that experience which was to make him the profoundest expositor of Christian theology, the boldest and most successful evangelist to the Gentiles, the grandest and most remarkable figure in the whole college of the apostles. From this retirement, where had been nourished into full strength the great principles of the doctrines of Jesus, he was

* Delivered in Chicago, Ill., May 20, 1858, at the opening of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

soon to issue forth on that holy career which set two continents in a blaze, prepared the way and laid broad the foundation for still mightier triumphs. The Church, now at peace, began to organize and consolidate her forces. Her faith, deepened and strengthened by trial, instinct with a divine life, gave an irresistible momentum to her advance. Looking up to the Captain of her salvation, she entered upon that path of conquest which is to cease only when the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdoms of her Lord. This season of repose was full of blessing. It was needed, lest the young life should be utterly crushed out by the powers of darkness. The eaglet can not at once soar to the sun ; its first battle with the storm tires its young wings, and soon compels it to seek repose. The faith of the Church, while it stood upon the rock Christ Jesus, was not yet buttressed round by a past full of rich experience ; nor consolidated by custom and habit ; nor illuminated by those broad developments of the scheme of redemption which inspiration afterwards from time to time sent forth. The season of peace gave time for the edification of the Church. The Holy Spirit, working ever in harmony with mental laws, then went forth on His special mission of renovation. New churches were organized ; believers multiplied ; Christianity gained a higher and broader position for future conquest. The disciples, a little before weak and trembling, now, filled with the love of Jesus, and sustained and guided by the divine Comforter, went everywhere preaching the Word. Lay preachers, ordained of God, baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, they found thousands prepared to receive the gospel ; and as they walked in the fear of the Lord, and preached under the influence of the Spirit, converts were multiplied, churches organized, and the way prepared for a still wider expansion of the limits of Christianity. This was the second great revival. Thus we have brought out directly in our text the state of rest which the Church enjoyed and the ministrations of the Spirit under which she was edified and multiplied. But as we can not well discuss the subject of rest without also looking at the state of conflict which

is so effectively connected with it, I propose to call your attention first to the conditions of conflict and of rest into which the Church from time to time passes, and then briefly to the ministration of the Spirit, through which alone either of these conditions is made to subserve her highest good. In other words, I wish to show you how the Church advances through a twofold law—a law of conflict and repose ; at the same time, to evince that whatever advantages or disadvantages these conditions may have naturally, it is the Spirit of God alone that can make the one effective for good and counteract the evil of the other.

Conflict rather than rest has been the chief characteristic of an advancing church ; and what has been true for a time will still be, until the conditions which have induced it are largely changed. Side by side with the angelic chorus, "Peace on earth and good will to men," stands that prophetic declaration of the Master, "I come not to send peace, but a sword." The individual Christian represents in himself alike the necessity and the sources of this conflict in which the Church must engage. For as between the old man and the new there is perpetual hostility, "the flesh lusting against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh," so between the principles of Christ embodied in and partially shining forth from the Church, and the principles which now rule in the world, there is a natural hostility. The carnal mind is enmity towards God. From this source spring all the outward trials of Christ's body. Hating the Master, they anathematize the disciple ; nailing the Lord to the cross, they stone the faithful servant.

And as in the individual Christian, through his manifold weakness, there is sometimes seen a sad development of error in thought and worldliness in life, from which he is delivered only by great inward struggles and a baptism of fire, so in the Church at large there is oftentimes a secret growth of error, a gradual assimilation to the world, out of which the Spirit conducts her often through a travail of sorrow like unto that of her Lord.

And as the Christian, advancing in knowledge, learns how more fully to apply the principles of Christianity to practical life, and sees more clearly evils once embraced or tolerated, which now must be renounced, cost what it may, so the Church in her progress reaches a position to which, with a riper judgment, she applies the touchstone of truth to practices adopted in some hour of inexperience, tolerated while the light was increasing, but now seen to be evils—evils to be renounced cost what it may. So at Geneva, Calvin, while in principle giving all spiritual power to the Church, permitted the State to hold a relationship to it which time has demonstrated to be the source of manifold evils. So in the English Reformation, elements of that spiritual despotism out of which the Church had come, were permitted to remain, which have since brought forth only evil. Now from these causes it is that the advance of the Church of Christ hitherto has been marked by conflict. The native hostility of the world, or of spiritual despotisms, Christian only in name, has begotten outward persecution, has watered her path with the tears of confessors and the blood of martyrs. The growth of error and of earthly principles among her own members on the one side, and on the other her progress in knowledge, revealing the evil of practices respecting which her conscience was long untroubled and her mind in darkness, have necessitated inward conflicts. Thus hath it been from the beginning.

This state of conflict has advantages and disadvantages which it is for us to consider.

1. The first of the *happy* results of this condition of things is that which immediately followed this persecution. It was incidental, I might say mechanical, yet none the less mighty in the advancement of religion. It scattered abroad the disciples. It stirred up their quiet nest at Jerusalem. It opened to their minds the breadth of their mission, and taught them, as when all prosperous and happy at home they could not so well have learned, the true meaning of Christ's last command. Naturally enough they would have

supposed that the city of the great King, the religious center of the world, must first be thoroughly subdued to Christ, before the gospel could go forth to other cities. But God had other purposes. Jerusalem is no longer to be the central glory of the earth. Fire shall devour its temple; famine and sword its people; while Titus shall drive his plowshare over Mount Zion. Persecution comes to teach the disciples wisdom; it accomplishes what prophecy and command failed to effect; and so they began to illustrate what Jesus had foretold to the Samaritan, "Woman! the hour cometh, when ye shall, neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father."

The same results have repeatedly followed persecution along the history of the churches. The Huguenot and the Puritan, obeying the spirit of the injunction, "when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another," have erected a kingdom for Jesus in this new world—a kingdom so situated, with such vast resources, its subjects so governed and trained in the truth, its youth so rich in intelligence, enterprise, and strength, that, unless the powers of darkness shall be permitted to corrupt its spirit, its manhood will stretch its arms forth to embrace all the families and tribes of men, and draw them into fellowship with Jesus.

Indirectly, also, persecution often facilitates the triumph of the truth. It gives notoriety to that which is obscure, and forces men to think on truths which had in vain addressed their minds, preoccupied with prejudice and error. There is, too, a secret sympathy, springing from our true humanity, which leads us to side with the unfortunate. Power, again and again finds itself baffled, and its plans miscarry, because it has roused the native instinct against oppression, and the natural fellowship with suffering which only the deepest depravity can extinguish. And thus by a natural law the way is sometimes prepared for the entrance of the truth, on account of which the Christian suffers.

2. A second happy effect of this extreme conflict is seen in its influence upon the experience of the Church. For now

comes the law of action, when principles are to be tested, when the power of faith is to be put forth. The unworthy, loosely attached to the Church by many earthly ties, fall off as the dead leaves and rotten branches are swept from the living trees by the tempest; while those whose faith is vital, like the cedars of Lebanon, rocked by the storm, clasping with their roots the eternal rock, stand firm amidst the fiercest trials. Brought into deepest fellowship with the sufferings of their Lord, the awful power of his resurrection is felt all through the spirit dead to this world, making it alive to the world to come. The love, the faith, the hope of the Church shine at no time with so unearthly a light as in the hours of suffering which darken her history.* While passing through such trials, the people of God work for themselves and for the Church in after times a lasting benediction. Compacted together, deeply rooted in Christ, purged of formalism, animated by one spirit, they emerge from this sea of terror prepared to plant the standard of the cross amidst the darkest places of earth. This spirit, this faith, lives on in the Church. She is but one. The same life derived from Jesus perpetually reveals itself; all the past of her experience helps to shape and mold her future. These hours of suffering, these pyres of her martyrs, these dragonades and Bartholomews, are to her what the Red Sea and the wilderness with the pillar of cloud and flame were to ancient Israel, the time and place in which the seed of after triumphs were planted.

"Flung to the heedless winds,
Or in the waters cast,
Their ashes shall be watchet,
And gathered at the last;

* Says Tertullian: "When is God more trusted but when he is more feared? And when is that but in times of persecution? The Church is struck with amazement. Then faith is more anxious in its undertakings and more regular in its fasts, and watchings, and prayers, and humility, in diligence, in love, in holiness, and in sobriety."

And from that scattered dust
 Around us and abroad,
 Shall rise a plenteous host
 Of witnesses for God."

I have spoken thus far of the influence for good of external trials. But there is one result of the *internal* conflicts of the Church of inestimable value. I refer to the systematic development of the doctrines of Christianity. It is an unquestionable fact that the controversies which have arisen in the bosom of the Church itself, in respect to the great principles of Christian faith, have served to define and settle these principles in opposition to vital error. In the earliest times, the chief conflicts of God's people were with Judaism, paganism, and the power of the State. The writings of the early fathers are mainly apologetical. But when quieter times came, philosophy entered and sought to shape God's truth in accordance with man's thought. Then arose conflicts which, for the time, shook the Church to its center. The old and loose phraseology of the fathers—a merely apologetic Christianity in opposition to heathenism—was of little avail in meeting these new developments of speculative mind in the Church. Men must know what were the true teachings of the Bible on these mooted points. The ancient symbols were born out of this necessity. Creeds which sciolists scoff at as if they were colored spectacles through which men look at the sun, have given a definite, a compact form to the faith of Christians—have expressed their views of the actual teachings of the *word*, and so they have guarded the inexperienced against the miserable glosses with which errorists have sought to conceal the truth. Controversy has given us the noblest defenses of the evangelical doctrines. There is not one of them but that has been the subject of a fierce battle; not one of them but that has enlisted the stalwart knights of the cross to rescue it from the perversions of the sophist. Nay, the Bible itself, the books that compose it, the languages in which it was written, the inspiration of its authors, the meaning of their words, have been the subject of violent and

protracted discussion. Its noblest defenses, its strongest bulwarks, have been reared in troublous times, when, like the builders of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, its champions were obliged to carry the instruments of labor in one hand and of war in the other. It is a common law of this kingdom, that all those questions which respect the stones and timbers and form of the temple, shall be settled, not by some infallible earthly dogmatist farcically enacting its Immaculate Conceptions, but by another process and authority altogether, by the consenting testimony of God's people in different climes and ages, growing up under the keen research, the profound longing for truth of the intellects and hearts of good men. Thus, out of these adventurous explorations on the wide and often wild sea of thought, lashed at times into fury by the winds of controversy, there has sprung into view grand continents of truth, whose lakes and rivers and mountains and prairies have been largely ascertained and marked down for all future ages. Thus have these awakened activities of human thought, stirred by the force of conflict in the bosom of the Church, placed her in a position intellectually and morally far, far in advance of the age of Origen, or Augustine, or Luther. Error may assume new shapes in future; but the Church of to-day is in a vastly more favorable position to meet them than the Church of yesterday. Theology, as a science, is wrought out and compacted together; it has a history full of light, life and power. The weapons of defense may need to be reforged and retempered and reshaped; the bayonet may supplant the battle-ax—the rifle may dispossess the spear; but the arsenal of the Church is full of the means of victory, and within her courts are leaders trained in the spirit of past, and so prepared for future conquests. Yea, even when these inward conflicts have resulted in divisions, the consequences have not been wholly disastrous. At times this result was essential to the purification of the Church; at others it has given signal vitality and prominence to some great principle, which henceforth remains vindicated and established for all time. Then, again, a division occasioned by

the practical assertion of important truth has not only given strength to the part affirming, but has imparted to that truth a vastly increased influence over the part denying it. The protest at Spires not only gave power to Protestantism: it made it certain the Romish church could never be again, while it existed alongside of the Reformed church, what it once was. No Tetzels shall hereafter be seen hawking indulgences in sight of Protestant steeples. The spirit of reform, in spite of themselves, will modify the policy of her ecclesiastics, especially in those lands where the infallible word hath full power to wrestle with the infallible priest. The exodus of the Free Church of Scotland not only developed an unceasing vitality in this church itself, but stimulated to a more Christian activity that from which they came. And in giving such a signal vindication to the independence of the spiritual on the civil, it has clothed this principle with an energy that in time will work out still grander triumphs. Similar examples are visible nearer home—within our own church history. Thus the Church here is largely militant; and her conflicts sometimes weave for her a crown of glory.

But while these conflicts at times work together for good, yet this is not true in all cases. Springing from corruption and ignorance, its *legitimate* results are only evil. Counteracted by the spirit and providence of God, it is often made, as we have seen, the means of blessing. But, for purposes of infinite wisdom, these trials of the Church are sometimes permitted to issue disastrously for the time. The advantages on which I have dwelt have each their counterpart of evil.

1. First, persecution, instead of promoting the immediate spread of true religion, not unfrequently greatly retards its progress, and within certain limits sometimes seems to crush out all vital piety. When power is arrayed against Jesus, when the Scribes and Pharisees combine to dethrone and crucify him, then the timid shrink back, and the time-serving join hands with his opposers. In the minds of multitudes, authority and power are mightier than conscience. Obloquy and reproach, the prospect of losing all things, and the fatal

end of an adherence to the gospel, lead many to compromise with the enemies of their God. "Only swear by the genius of Cæsar," says the proconsul to Polycarp. And many there are in every age who can not withstand this appeal, especially when in the background are the multitudes of Cæsar's friends, and before them the dread instruments of ruin. So when the tide of popular feeling turned at the restoration of Charles II., what a host of apostates swarmed to pay their homage to the rising sun! What a dense black cloud settled on the Church of God in England for more than half a century! We are to take with no small abatement the celebrated maxim, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Naturally this is not so. It is only so when God causes good to spring forth out of evil. Look at Spain! There was a time when the truth was uttered in the streets of Madrid and Cordova. There came a time when the inquisition had accomplished its bloody purposes—when, from the Pyrenees to Gibraltar, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, no man for centuries dared avow the gospel as his infallible guide. Was it not so in Italy and France? Had it not been so before when Huss and Jerome suffered, and the bones of dead Wycliffe were exhumed, burnt and cast into the Severn? True, indeed, God had a great purpose to accomplish in all this. He meant that in these glorious lands the result of crushing his truth should reveal its malignant nature, and that side by side with Protestantism, this great apostacy should unfold its evil genius—seen to be more evil by the contrast. He meant that, when the Philistines had captured the ark of God, and brought Israel to the brink of ruin, the terrible sufferings, the broken Dagon, the black eclipse of faith, the baptisms of blood, consequent on the sacrilege, should flame forth in terror like another Sinai, to warn the oncoming nations, and vindicate his glorious sovereignty. The time will come, is coming, yea, has already come, when the Truth, long crushed to earth, shall rise again; the time will come, is coming, yea, has come, when Error, however guarded by human power, and consecrated by the forms of religion, wounded by the arrows of him whose

mission it is to destroy the works of the devil, writhes in pain and dies amidst his worshipers. All this we believe, we know, we rejoice in ; yet for all this it is a terrible reality that these fair kingdoms have been so long despoiled of the Word of God. It is a terrible thing, a fearful reality, that the Church of Jesus should for centuries have been driven forth like the woman in the apocalyptic vision into the wilderness. And so when we sing our pæans of victory, and rejoice that the blood of the martyrs has sometimes been the seed of the Church, let us not forget that naturally it is not so ; that only through God's special benediction is it ever so ; that still the cry ascends from beneath the altar—the wail of myriads of souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held. “How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them that they should rest yet for a little season, *until their fellow-servants and also their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.*” Thus for a time hath a cloud rested on the altar of religion ; and the blood of martyrs and the tears of confessors have wailed in sadness for the quickening breath of the Holy Ghost.

2. We have seen the happy result of the conflicts of the Church in the clear statement and vindication of the Christian faith. But in this respect also the benefits have not been unmixed with evil. The same influences which, at length, have set forth the truth in its fullness, have often during the progress of the Church to this high position, served to distort and unduly magnify partial truths. Controversy tends to produce an exaggerated estimate, and also an exaggerated statement of the truth. It is perfectly natural that where, from the circumstances of the Church, the experience of Christians is made to circle largely round one or two points, that these should be unduly magnified to the injury of others of equal importance. In times of persecution, it is natural that the *idea of suffering for Jesus* should be exalted into a grand doc-

trine, the sum and perfection of Christian life. The early Church, exposed to the fiercest trial (often called to bear the cross of her Lord in all its terrible reality, witnessing the triumphant attestation of her holy apostles, her godly pastors, her gentle and lovely members, as they wore the cross of martyrdom), dwelt so much on the necessity of suffering for Jesus that the other Christian virtues sunk into insignificance beside it. They aspired to this crown. They made it often their chiefest glory, not so much to fill up life with the quiet daily duties which spring from the humble, loving and believing heart, as to brave unmoved the shouts of the arena and the bloody assaults of beasts of prey. To suffer was to obey. Men went forth under the same influence into voluntary exile from human society. They filled the deserts with their songs of praise. They dwelt in caves and dens of the earth—ascended pillars—plied the scourge, and sought by torture and death to complete their fellowship with the sufferings of their Lord. That which should have been a final necessity was erected into the chief end of a Christian life. Suffering for Christ, instead of being accepted when sent by God as a discipline, was coveted, was sought after, was created, as if it were itself a means of grace to be elected by the will of man.

And if this distortion of truth is sometimes the result of outward conflict, the same thing is equally manifest in the controversies which have sprung up in the bosom of the Church. It belongs to our nature that as a doctrine of our faith is disputed, the feelings gather round it, the enthusiasm kindles over it, the mind concentrates itself upon it, until it stands forth enlarged and colored with our prejudices, magnified through them into a disproportionate greatness. Few minds are large enough or so well balanced as in the heat of controversy to hold all the truths of a system in their just estimation. The point where the battle rages is for the time the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiæ*. That point may be a vital truth, it may be the philosophy of a fact, it may be a mere human explanation of a divine truth or of its relation to other truths, or it may be something which after the heat of

the conflict is over is seen to be wholly unessential to the vitality of the Church, or the completeness of her faith. But if it is made the point of discussion, it swells in the view of the disputants to gigantic proportions.

Athanasius and his co-workers in the great controversy respecting the nature of Christ, often approached as near to tri-theism as to tri-unity. Augustine, whose genius towers up in the past like the pyramid of Cheops over Egypt, gives us at times such statements of fallen humanity as virtually annihilates our distinctive moral manhood. Luther, in his tremendous vindication of justification by faith, uses language that legitimately stamps all good works with the signet of Satan. Nor is this exaggeration of statement the only evil. The exaggerated estimate of the importance of minor truths and practices is equally evil. Controversy takes up, not usually the whole range of Christian truth, but now one and then another doctrine or application of doctrine to the life. Few controversies last over a score of years. But while it lasts, the point in dispute becomes the central pillar of the whole temple of religion. At one time the form of a baptism enlists all the acumen and intellect of the ecclesiastical Samsons. At another, mediate and immediate imputation of the sin of Adam—at another, the philosophy and extent of the atonement, the irresistibility of the Spirit in regeneration, the nature and effect of election, inability and free agency, and thus ranging down from lofty to minute, a man's salvation has been made to depend on whether or no an infant sinned with its first breath, and the whole orthodoxy of the Church, like a pyramid balanced on its apex, is made to rest on an infinitesimal quantity, rather than on the broad facts of God's revelation. Thus the really distinctive and essential gospel of Jesus Christ is thrust aside, and faith becomes not a childlike embracing him in his great offices, but a power of philosophical discrimination, a capacity to hold in the intellect the hard, abstract, extreme dogmas of the schoolmen of the time, but which as men in the mass are not moral ostriches, the body of the Church, after manifold, ineffectual trials, repudiates as be-

yond the power of digestion. Thus, for a time, the just and well-proportioned deliverance of the truth itself, is often prejudiced and kept back by the very conflicts which the advance of error has necessitated.

3. We have seen how outward trials tend to deepen the experience and purify the hearts of the people of God. But we can not affirm this of all kinds of conflict. Internal controversy hath usually an opposite influence. When at peace within itself, the Church may be in conflict with all around it and grow stronger and purer; when at strife within, though it should be at rest in respect to external opposition, it nourishes an element of weakness. Controversies in the Church tend to create a spirit which, imagining that the triumph of a party is the triumph of truth, aims rather at the possession of power and the demonstration of a personal victory, than at the spread of the truth. A large proportion of those controversies which have distracted the disciples of Jesus and turned their minds off from their quiet work to a mere incidental, a minor, and sometimes a doubtful good, have sprung from personal feelings; and when once the strife has commenced, so imperfect are we that, almost unconsciously to ourselves, personal feeling is widely enlisted; local and then mere party interests supplant the simple desire for the advancement of pure religion; we take our position; we magnify whatever seems to favor it, we depreciate whatever is opposed to it; we clothe ourselves at length with the divine prerogative of judgment, and impute sin as well as error to every one who can not pronounce our "Shibboleth." At such times this evil tendency of our imperfect nature is aggravated by the fact that men, highly gifted in the lower, the pugnacious instincts, and not always as highly endowed with the wisdom, the pure, the peaceful, that cometh from above, seize the reins and say, "Come, see my zeal for the Lord." These are the things which create controversy, which turn fraternal discussion into a strife of parties, which destroy the direct influence of truth by sheathing it in personal prejudices and passions. In the early period of the Reformation the truth

went from land to land in its own naked simplicity; it was the calm, direct, immediate voice of God speaking to the conscience. It was a hand to hand wrestle of truth with error; and the truth triumphed. But no sooner had the lines of party been drawn, and organization created for the defense of those arrayed against the authority of Rome; no sooner did it become a conflict of parties, partly religious, partly political; especially when the Reformers themselves divided off in that fierce and bitter controversy, *De Cena*, which separated permanently the Lutheran and Reformed, than the individual conflict largely ceased. To millions the doctrines which had been the truth of God, now became the mere dogmas of a sect, against which they were armed by the native antagonism of their churchly and political pride and prejudice. Conversions ceased, and that great reaction came which rolled again the salt sea of error over many a fair field, once almost entirely reclaimed to Christ. And never will that Reformation be completed and its grandest triumph won, until, not as Protestants, not as politicians, not as partisans, but as sinners redeemed with the love of Jesus, and bearing his pure gospel of peace, we set ourselves down man by man with those wanderers, and cause the truth in its naked force to grapple with their souls. Thus hath controversy, rousing the antagonistical forces, creating prejudice, and quickening feelings that disarm our spiritual discernment, set up mighty barriers, within which error has entrenched itself, and dividing the Church on unessential and often trivial points, exposed her naked and weak to the scorn of her enemies.

Such are some of the evils of conflict which we are to set off against the good it has produced.

Let us now consider briefly the condition of the Church as at rest. I need not say that while in our imperfect state this is not the natural, yet it is the higher and more favored position of the people of God. As in Christian experience true peace is not only a rich fruit of the Spirit, but the point of confluence to which all the other graces tend, so in the Church a high state of spiritual prosperity is ever distinguished

as one of rest. "Pray for the *peace* of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee," is the sentiment that gushes from the Christian heart. "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins," is the description of that state of rest into which the Church passes from a state of conflict.

1. One of the first things most obvious in such a state is its harmony with the most complete growth of a religious character. In a state of conflict the whole stress of the Christian life is thrown upon one or two points. The antagonistic, courageous feelings are fully developed. But these are not the most lovely, nor, in respect to the entire life of man, the most desirable. The gentler, quieter virtues, among which love reigns as queen, grow more vigorously under the culture of rest. The whole circuit of duties in a state of peace is necessary to the fullest and richest development of the life of Christ in the soul. Then not one or two promises, but the entire body of them successively address themselves to us in the various relations of life. Temptations mixed and varied try the reality of our Christian principle. We search the Scripture for guidance in all things. There is opportunity for a deeper and fuller study of it in all its parts, and an application of the truth, wider and more varied, to the wants of the soul, than belong to the state of conflict. And hence this condition of rest is associated in Scripture with the freest, noblest developments of religion in the head and life of the Church. The images which designate such a state are most frequently those of quietness and peace. The growing child of God is "like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season." "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want; he maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies." When the future glory of the Church is unfolded in the wonderful seventy-second Psalm, it is declared that there shall be "abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth." The vast majority

of the Messianic prophecies are characterized by the prominence they give to the outward prosperity of the Church as an index of her inward state, and as in harmony with the more perfect development of the Christian life belonging to those times. One of the most beautiful descriptions of this quiet growth of the Church and her outward condition is given by Hosea. When God turns away his anger from Israel, and heals their backslidings, then he says, "I will be as the dew unto Israel; he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his smell as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine; the scent shall be as the wine of Lebanon." Could any thing more beautifully describe that state of peace and spiritual growth in the Church which fills out most completely the ideal of a religious life? The gentle dew, the quiet, lowly lily, springing up in the valleys, the roots of the cedar grasping strongly the rock, the beautiful and fruitful olive tree, the growing corn, the aroma of the cedar and the wine of Lebanon, describe to us the sweet influence of divine grace upon the Church, and the varied, rich and beautiful life, under it, she reveals to the world. Thus is a state of peace favorable to the completeness of the Christian character.

2. In this state of rest the Church is best able to carry forward a system of thorough culture, and organize those forces which are necessary to her fullest development. For the Church is not an aggregation of loose materials, but in its best state an organic existence, embracing within itself the means of growth and prosperity. She forms herself into various societies, and establishes for them a regular system of spiritual culture. She builds churches within which to worship; organizes the means of instruction for the young; educates her ministry; and combines individual societies into such forms as will best subserve the preservation of her purity, the elevation of her members, and the spread of the gospel. Now this great work of self-organization and self-culture, looking

as it does, first, to the consolidation and perpetuation of the Church through her own children, and second to her increase by additions from without, is a work which a condition of rest greatly facilitates. When intent on her own preservation from the assaults of opposers, or when wrestling with internal foes, this great work advances slowly: Had not the days of fierce trial been intermitted or shortened, she herself had hardly survived a single generation. Where men are intent on guarding their dwellings against a secret or an open foe, it is difficult if not impossible for them to cultivate the ground or establish schools and build churches. The Declaration of Independence befitted a state of war, but the framing of the Constitution, and the full inauguration of our national republic, was the work of peace. David was a warrior king, and won the stronghold of Salem; but it was committed to Solomon, during a reign of peace, to rear the temple on Moriah. Calvin could find no rest in his native France; but God prepared Geneva for his home. And there, within the walls of that young republic, secure alike from the rage of Francis, Charles, and the Duke of Savoy, beneath the awful shadow of Jura, beside the quiet waters of Lake Lemman, he framed and established that ecclesiastical polity, which, restoring the early form of the house of God, has served as the pattern for so large a portion of the Reformed churches; he planted that university which sent forth a ministry to Scotland and Switzerland, and France and Holland; he instituted that simple, spiritual culture which has prevailed so largely and succeeded so admirably in nurturing generations of Christians in the faith and love of Jesus. So in the times of Elizabeth and James, despite the bigotry of the latter and the prudery of the former, the word of God had found a home in England. Had peace continued, that leaven might have leavened the whole lump, and in time the simple institutions of Puritan Christianity have grown up into full vigor on British soil. But the time of conflict came. The Puritan exiled from Scotland, from England, from Holland, from France, here found another home. Here, in peace, he planted his religious institu-

tions. He joined the culture of the intellect and the heart. The Church, divided indeed somewhat in outward form, yet in substance has developed itself along the line of these its chosen institutions, until the handful of corn climbed the very mountain tops and shook them like Lebanon. These glorious institutions, this high and pure culture of the soul within the bosom of the Church, this faithful breaking up of the soil and sowing the seed of heavenly truth, and careful tending of the plants of righteousness as they spring up, are the achievements of a state of peace.

3. In this state of rest the Church is best prepared to carry forward the work of the gospel out of herself, and the world is in the best state to hear the truth. Thus, free from the necessity of concentrating her energies on herself, she can quietly put in motion all the enginery of Christianity for the great conquest. The rivalries, the jealousies, the wranglings which always attend an internal conflict, now distract and enfeeble her no more. She recognizes her great mission ; she feels the impulse of love for souls ; she organizes and sends forth her soldiers to this campaign of peace ; she preaches, she instructs, she prints and scatters abroad the Word in every language. Divinely moved, she enters the wide open portals and seeks to plant the white standard of the cross in the heart of all the kingdoms of this world.

Now, too, she finds all things ready for her coming. The barriers which frowned her back have fallen. The influences which, in a state of conflict, vastly aggravated the native hostility of the heart to the gospel, and often rendered it impossible to obtain even a hearing, are withdrawn. At home and abroad she enters where she pleases and preaches to whom she may the tidings of peace. Then it is, converts are multiplied ; then churches spring into existence beside the temples of Mammon and Baal, and the hand of Jesus pushes these gods of earth from their usurped seats. All the great revivals of religion, all those wonderful transformations which have formed eras in the progress of the religion of Jesus, have occurred when the Church was at rest, and when the minds of

men have been delivered from those agitations which are incident to conflict or which are like unto it. It was so with the great awakening of the last century in Great Britain and the United States. It was so with the great revival which opened this century. It was so with that which spread over the land thirty years ago. It is so with that which is now moving around us in such a wave of redeeming love and peace. It was so with the great reformation in Turkey. It has been so in almost every instance where the Church of God has been either revived at home or has gone forth to preach the gospel to distant nations. A state of quietness, of rest from great worldly agitations and disturbing conflicts and intense earthly excitements, has almost uniformly attended the mighty manifestations of the converting power of God, and the grandest efforts of the Church for the salvation of men. And just as in a lull of the storm after the crucifixion, the first great revival commenced which inaugurated the Christian Church; just as, subsequently, when the Church had rest, multitudes were added unto her, so now it is mainly in the same condition that the same glorious results have been and are brought forth.

But while a state of rest hath in it so much of good to the Church, we are not to forget that it hath also its dangers. "Silence," says one, "is divine." But with equal truth another has said that if "victory is silent, so is defeat." While on the one hand a state of rest may afford to the Church an opportunity for the silent working of those forces which are to gain the victory, yet, if long continued, it may also afford the opportunity for inferior and evil forces, springing from our corruption, to work out her defeat. Behold! how in the 106th and 107th Psalms the experience of Israel in prosperity, as well as in adversity, is described as a warning to us who dwell in this last dispensation. To-day, in their terror, the sword of Pharaoh flashing in their rear, they cry to Jehovah for deliverance. To-morrow, when the danger is past and the sky is bright, circling round their golden calf, they cry, "These be thy gods, O Israel."

1. In this state of outward prosperity, you will notice, among other things, a secret influence hostile to a lofty, a vigorous faith. Faith hath this peculiarity, that as it is the vision and the grasping of the unseen and eternal, so it needs to be often shaken loose from the associations of things seen and temporal, and brought into direct (face to face and hand to hand) communion with its great objects. It must often feel itself sinking in the waters in order to quicken its grasp upon the Saviour. Earthly trials rouse the soul to look upward. Repose, especially when long continued, gives fearful vividness and power to the things of sense. The eye of faith grows dim ; the hand of faith grows weak. It loses much of its uplifting, soul-transforming energy. The celestial glories fade as the earthly glory brightens. David in the noontide splendor of his kingly state is blinded by the attractions of sense to the beauties of holiness. David, stricken of God, beholds again the awful glory of the upper sanctuary, and comes a penitent sinner to the throne of grace. The soul that would exercise a quick, mighty faith, must needs often feel the brink of hell, on which the sinner stands, crumbling beneath it ; must often see the ladder planted by Jesus, down which angels come to minister, and up which the ransomed pass to glory. The things which shock and shatter the world, condense and inspire the vigor of faith. The brilliancy that charms, the ease that delights, the attractions that seduce the heart filled with the sensible, are hostile to that spiritual life which draws its whole strength from the world to come. And so it has happened that the ages of heroic faith have been ages of trial. The times of suffering have developed an unheard of manhood in the Church, while the times of peace have dwarfed the proportions and withered the energy of the Christian soldier. It is wonderful to read in the 11th of Hebrews how the faith of the leaders of the elect host has grown to greatness amidst the furnace of trial rather than in the smooth and open path of rest.

2. Directly connected with this, you are to consider how strong is the tendency in a time of peace to a self-indulgence

in matters of religion, and a surprising activity in matters of worldly interest. We love not self-denial. It crosses the bent of our earthly nature ; nay, it is the mortification unto death of that nature. Only as we look calmly, clearly, steadily at the vast interests at stake ; only as, under the influence of motives drawn from the eternal world, we gird ourselves for the work, do we take up our cross daily and follow Jesus. Yet, does this self-denial, this breaking down of our wills, this abnegation of self, enter vitally into the progress of the Church, as advancing heavenward herself, or as effective in winning souls to her ranks.

Now, when she is in repose, when she is on the flood-tide of worldly prosperity, when her enemies are at peace with her and cast round her their blandishments, then is the time of danger. Influences wonderfully seductive lay her vigilance asleep ; influences all in harmony with her earthly nature, silent, masked, penetrating, soothe her conscience, change the aspect of duty, drug and stupefy into inaction the immortal energies of her spirit.

And if with this you conjoin an overmastering activity in secular avocations, an enterprise that burns along the paths of this world ; a surprising development of mind in pursuits that lead only to earthly aggrandizement—an activity, an enterprise, a development just such as prosperity and peace tend to create, then you need be at no loss to understand how silence is often fruitful in defeat as well as victory ; how your sons, despising a self-denying ministry, rush headlong into the vast game of worldly chances, preferring the prizes and the pleasures of this life to shining as stars in the firmament of God for ever ; how even men ordained to preach the gospel, consecrated as ambassadors of Christ, with the apostolic “ woe is me if I preach not the gospel,” ringing in their ears, can content themselves with an occasional, a cold, perfunctory proclamation of the truth, aye, may even make the ministry a stalking horse to worldly preferment, or a supplement to a secular avocation. These are part of the dangers which beset the Church in the time of peace.

Nor are these the only dangers of peace. Hand in hand with this spirit of self-indulgence and worldly activity, there grows up a looseness of practice and a looseness of belief. The spirit of the world seeks to enter and take possession of the house of God. There is a gradual lowering down of the tone of piety, and a reducing to the minimum the difference between the outward life of believers and unbelievers. The old standards of holiness, the old tests of a life of faith, are one by one laid aside. There is a debasement of Christian practice and an exaltation of church forms. The one has lost all sympathy with lowliness, contrition, self-abnegation, love, and non-conformity to the world; the other has risen into full sympathy with the splendor and excitements and passions of earthly greatness. We have, then, as John Howe says, "golden chalices and wooden priests; the Church a glorious sepulchre, splendid without, but full of rottenness and corruption within."

And along with this degeneracy in the life of the Church, there creeps in the slimy serpents of error. One by one the vital doctrines of the cross are dropped out of the pulpit and out of the heart. The dogmas of a pure faith, enshrined in confessions and liturgies, like flies in amber, have no response and no vitality in the experience of the people. While the very Word of God, subject to the same degradation, is used as a form, juggled with as an enigma, and at length cast down as an imposter.

These are not imaginary dangers of a season of rest. That very reign of Solomon, which raised the worship of the sanctuary to the highest pitch of splendor, prepared the way for the dismemberment of the kingdom and the horrible idolatries of succeeding princes. The event which enthroned Christianity in the Roman empire ushered in the influence under which grew up the fearful apostacy. Moderatism in Scotland; the cotemporary degeneracy of the English church; the abandonment of the Christian faith in Germany, and by a large portion of the New England churches, grew up in the silence of peace. And thus, even that peaceful condition,

which is described in Scripture under so many happy images, which is recognized as rich with the blessing of God, hath its own dangers, dangers often as fatal as those of conflict.

We have now traced out, very imperfectly, it is true, the natural working of this law of conflict and rest in the Church of Christ. We have seen how conflicts that threatened her destruction have within certain limits contributed to her increase; we have seen conditions of rest, seemingly the most favorable, and for a time actually promoting her edification, when continued for a length of time, develop in her bosom the seed of ruin. What then is the great conclusion? Is it that the Church is absolutely dependent upon these alternations of conflict and rest in order to maintain her reign and enlarge her bounds? Doubtless God will use these influences, just as he will use literature, commerce and civil governments, to work out his great purposes in this world. And for a time he may see it needful to subject his people to such variable conditions. But at best they are only natural influences, which may work mischief as well as good, and which in themselves are wholly inadequate to build up the house of God.

No! we must look to another influence. We are brought to recognize directly the mission of the Holy Ghost as the mighty animating power, the true source of life within the Church. It was only when the disciples walked in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, that the rest they enjoyed contributed to their edification and increase. The Church naturally, despite her new-born nature, her holy principles, her divine light, left to herself would lapse into error, would fall into sin, would perish utterly from the earth. Those intermitting states of conflict and repose might be conditions precedent to her progress at certain stages of her growth, but of themselves they would no more secure that growth, than the alternations of wind and calm without the rain and the sunshine would make the corn rise to fruitfulness. It is the Spirit of God which must descend upon her, work in her, and overrule these outward changes to suit her necessities. This is the great promise of the Christian dis-

pensation. Conjoined with the Messianic prophecies, and characteristic of the period over which the reign of Christ is to extend, are the most glowing predictions of the mission of the Spirit. Jesus, our King, hath come, hath suffered, hath ascended His throne. Redemption, on the side of God, is all accomplished ; but on the side of man it is yet only in a small measure accomplished. Now is the reign of the Paraclete ; the Illuminator, the Comforter, the Sanctifier, the quickening Spirit of the Church, and the regenerator of the world. Forms of church government, symbols of doctrine, modes of divine worship, a learned ministry—scriptural and important as they may be—are yet powerless of themselves to renovate the heart, or carry on in the Christian his education for heaven ; with them all, and those too of the purest character, a church may die out. It is the Holy Ghost that must animate the ministry and breathe upon the congregation. Under His quickening presence, the unseen objects of faith become present realities. We live, we move, as on the confines of heaven and hell. This *word* blazes with celestial light. We preach it as if Jesus stood visibly beside us ; we hear it as if it were the voice of God. Its truths become living principles ; they penetrate, transform, exalt the entire life of the soul. Then this soul, become a temple of the Holy Ghost, resounds perpetually with prayer and praise ; the sweet savor of love and hope, of penitence and faith and self-sacrifice fill it in every part. The Spirit moves not upon the Church alone. The dry bones feel His presence ; they come together, they rise up, a great army full of life, and prepared to fight the battles of Immanuel. The scenes of Pentecost are renewed. Conflicts issue in victories. Rest opens still wide the gates of the kingdom to the thronging nations.

And here, fathers and brethren, is the great lesson which this Scripture brings home to us. It is not the outward circumstances of trial or of prosperity that will pull down or build up the Church. For he who sits sovereign over her doth ordain these as the conditions through which for a time she

must pass. It is the divine Spirit alone that can make these things a benediction rather than a curse. If we wait upon the Lord—if we cherish a deep sense of our dependence upon his power—if we magnify and honor the Holy Ghost in all our thoughts and acts—if we seek for this as the grandest gift of Christ's victory, then our trials will be transformed into triumphs, and our rest from conflict will be the flood tide of a wide and glorious success.

Doubtless the Church has yet many a trial to endure, and for a time there will still be these alternations of conflict and repose. But of two things we feel assured. The first is that the times of trial will be shortened until they shall wholly cease, and the other is that there are to be, as the star of Bethlehem flames brighter and higher in the forehead of the millennial morn, wide-spread, more frequent and more wonderful outpourings of the Spirit. Outside of the Church the advance of a material civilization, the binding of the nations together in a brotherhood of commerce and science, the breaking down of barbarous governments, and the diffusion of just ideas of civil liberty, and, more than all, the translation of the Bible into all the languages leading on to clearer ideas of the true and revealed nature of Christianity, are crushing, and under God's overruling providence, will mightily conduce to the introduction of that day when error and idolatry shall no longer entrench themselves behind civil governments, and wield the force of the State against religion, but when kings and queens shall be nursing fathers and mothers to the household of faith.

Within the Church the great experiment in regard to the character and influence of error will be fully made. The corruptions that have warred with the purity and life of the Church will be so known and marked, that they will be driven without her borders. The Church herself will learn how most successfully to apply the truths of the gospel to the destruction of those hybrid monsters which, in Church and State, have lifted their unseemly crests in battle array against the best interests of man.

She will learn, she is now learning how to bring the gospel to bear upon the social condition of the masses of poverty and vice in our crowded cities, until the power of a blessed renovation shall be felt all through them, and the horrible contrast shall no more shock our sensibilities, of the temples of infamy and degradation rising beside the temples of religion ; of vice, in its uttermost depravity and blackest depths of pollution, mighty in its conquests right alongside of the altars of a Christian people.

And in harmony with these things, yea, aiding vitally to produce them, will be the more frequent and wide-spread visitations of the Spirit of God. I need not repeat the familiar and frequent predictions of the advent and progress of the mission of the Holy Ghost. There have been times when it needed a strong faith and unclouded vision to grasp these promises and anticipate their fulfillment—when only such a man as John Howe, preaching to a handful of God's people in Cordwainers' Hall, amidst the blackness of that eclipse of faith which enwrapped the Church after the accession of that incarnation of hypocrisy and lust, Charles II., could see with a tearless eye and portray with a prophet's pencil the glorious state into which the Church of Christ would soon emerge. But these are not the days of faith ; these are the hours of victory ; around us, and far abroad in lands where the false prophet has had his sway, is advancing the wondrous demonstration of the converting power of God's Spirit. This is one of those days of jubilee, symbolized in the constitution of ancient Israel, which have been growing more frequent the last century, and which, while they strike the hosts of darkness with amazement, are to the Church like the sun of Austerlitz to the soldiers of Napoleon, like the Declaration of Independence to our struggling freemen, a vision of glory to cheer them, a clarion voice from the throne of Immanuel stirring the soldiers of the cross to gird themselves for the hours of darkness and the scenes of conflict that may yet intervene, before the Stone cut out without hands shall have smitten

down all the base images of human worship, and filled the whole earth.

Even now before our eyes is that ancient promise betokening a visible reality. "I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys : I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water; I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree ; I will set in the desert the fir tree, and the pine, and the box tree together ; that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it." The hosts of God's elect, diverse as the cedar and the olive in outward form, are striving together, not to pull down each other, but to build up the everlasting temple ; to plant churches in the wilderness, and make the desert bud and blossom as the plain of Sharon or the paradise of God.

Fathers and brethren, ministers and elders, we assemble here amidst the brightness of these scenes of revival—scenes such as the Church of Christ has perhaps never enjoyed so richly before. But as my eye passes over this audience, a shade of sadness steals in upon my heart. There are those who have been wont to sit with us in this high council, whose hearty greeting we miss to-day. Taking exception to the ancient, the uniform, the oft-repeated testimony of our church, as well as to the mode of its utterance, respecting one of the greatest moral and organic evils of the age ; deeming it better to occupy a platform, foreign indeed to the genius of our free, republican institutions, yet adapted, in their view, to the fuller promulgation of the gospel in the section where they dwell, they have preferred to take an independent position, and while we can not coincide with them in their views on this subject ; while we know that this separation has been precipitated upon us, not sought by us ; yet remembering the days when with us they stood shoulder to shoulder against ecclesiastical usurpation and revolution, when in deepest sympathy we have gone to the house of God in company, mingled

our prayers before a common mercy-seat, we can not but pray for their peace and prosperity. We claim no monopoly of wisdom and right. If in our course hitherto we have been moved to acts or deeds unfraternal or unbefitting our mutual relations ; if in the attempt to maintain our ancient principles, and apply the gospel to the heart of this gigantic evil, we have given utterance to language that has tended to exasperate rather than quicken to duty, we claim no exemption from censure, we ask the forgiveness we are equally ready to accord.

Taking our position far above the feelings of the hour, we see the same great sovereignty which through dark conflicts hath conducted the Church up to a position of wide influence, preparing the way for the noble triumphs of our common Christianity. For more than twenty years we have been subject to a strange discipline, sometimes to a baptism of fire. It was necessary for us to suffer, in order that we might triumph. He who in every age hath seen fit thus to settle his Church upon the rock, and then crown her steadfast adherents to truth with victory, hath brought us forth more compact, more vigorous, better prepared in simple dependence upon his power to build up his kingdom. Never before have we occupied so commanding a position—a position so truly in sympathy with the great heart of Christianity abroad and at home, a position from which we can send forth so wide and far-reaching an influence. We have a vast field to cultivate. We may have to adjust our machinery to our advanced condition. The methods which were wise in one generation are not always wise in another. Churches develop themselves inevitably, if they develop at all, in harmony with the circumstances around them. He who attempts to resist this law must die. All foreign churches on our soil are bound to become American in genius, in power, in manifestation, or perish. We must develop ourselves in the line of God's providence. What is a General Assembly worth, what are ecclesiastical councils worth, if they only stereotype the past, while they refuse to recognize a new, a grand, a nobler present? It

is the remark of a very profound writer, in substance, that the force of any one great movement in the Church is limited to some thirty or forty years. Then a new era must commence, if the Church advances. Let us see to it that we wisely adapt ourselves to the field we have open to us ; that we seek, in the catholic spirit towards other branches of the Church of Jesus, which has been one of our noblest characteristics, to develop our resources in harmony with the true genius of our constitution and discipline. But while we do this, let us not forget that peace hath her defeats as well as her victories. Let us remember that it is only as we walk in the fear of the Lord, in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, that we can expect our churches to be built up in the faith, and converts multiplied. And let us all unite in the prayer, "Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel ; thou that leadest Joseph like a flock, thou that dwellest between the cherubim, shine forth. Before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh stir up thy strength. Let thy priests be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in goodness."

XIV.

PRESBYTERY.*

"But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."—EPHESIANS, iv. 15, 16.

IN the human body, far more strikingly than among the brutes, the *head* occupies the chief seat of dignity. Here is the wonderful organism of thought; here the source of those vital currents that traverse the entire system and flow to the extremities. From this comes forth the clear view, the profound understanding, the energetic purpose, the vigorous will. It is this dome of the ever-thinking soul that proclaims man's supremacy above brute nature. With this erect he treads the earth, its acknowledged lord. The *body*, dependent on, and so subordinate to, this intelligent chief, has its own work and its own characteristics. It is constructed of many parts, adapted to diverse operations, bearing various forms. It has its limbs without, as the executives of the will of the indwelling spirit; while within, it is furnished with that wonderful mechanism which, independently of the volitions, elaborates the blood, and diffuses and maintains the animal vitality through the entire system. To this human form the apostle in our text compares the Christian Church. Christ is the head, occupying the position of highest dignity, containing in himself the fullness of that spiritual life which flows in vital currents to the extremities of the Church; while, as the possessor of in-

* A sermon preached at the opening of the Synod of Cincinnati, at Oxford, Ohio, October 18, 1850.

fallible wisdom, he presides over all her movements, and as the inheritor of all power, he secures to her protection and blessing. The Church itself is the body, dependent on him for vital communications, and wholly subordinate to his rule. This Church is not, in form, distinguished by some single feature. Like the body, it has its trunk and limbs. The diversity of gifts, of offices, and operations which belong to the former, are employed by the apostles as a fine illustration of the diverse offices and operations characteristic of the latter. Instead of all being under obligation to minister in the same manner to the edification of the brethren, there is everywhere inculcated a striking diversity both of original gifts and ecclesiastical offices, which are to be exercised and filled for the good of all. Some are set apart to this work, others to that; some minister at tables; some rule with authority; some work miracles; some preach the truth; some declare the future; some, with infallible certainty, settle the foundations of the Christian faith, and complete the canon of the inspired Word. "For the body is not *one* member, but many." "If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members, every one of them, in the body as it hath pleased him. Now, ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set some in the Church: first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? Are all workers of miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret?"

The Church, thus impressively placed before us, was not, like a prairie, a dead, monotonous level, unbroken by hill and vale, unvariegated by lofty mountains and far-sounding cataract; nor was it like a village built thereon, in which every house bore the same outward form, was limited to precisely the same dimensions, in which no Parthenon lifted itself above humbler dwellings, and no vast temple or palace stood forth

in singular majesty. It is not a Church of a single office, a membership undistinguished by orders, governors, and diversities of offices. It is indeed a Church in its outward form, fitted to the undeveloped and elementary state of youth; furnished with some gifts and offices that either ceased by necessity with the death of their possessors, or ceased from the passing away of the emergency which gave them existence. It possessed officers who, by the very nature of their office, were incapacitated from having successors. It had its apostles, its prophets, its miracle workers; a mighty enginery through which the divine energy wrought out the establishment of Christianity in ways the most splendid, and manifestly supernatural; and at length brought forth that greatest miracle on which the eyes of all coming generations might rest, even the New Testament Scriptures—an enginery, however, too cumbrous for Christianity when once established, and destined, with all its magnificence, to take its place beside the splendid ritual of the economy of Moses. Just as that Moses, a single, mighty mind, a general of despotic power, was essential to the establishment of that tabernacle and priestly service, that dispensation which was to educate the people of God till Shiloh came; so was the apostolic hierarchy, and the outflaming splendor of miracles, essential to the establishment of Christianity. And just as that despotism fell to the ground, when the exigency that had created it passed away, leaving to Israel a government of simple republicanism, so did the apostles and prophets and workers of miracles retire from the stage for ever when the necessity which gave them to the Church had ceased. They who saw Christ on earth; they who penetrated into the future and brought forth its mysteries; they who spake with tongues and suspended the laws of nature, that through them divine wisdom might gather about the cross the convictions of the world, left for future generations their testimony embalmed in the Word of God. Their extraordinary mission ended, the Church is committed to this inspired volume for her guidance and defense; while through the offices and gifts that remain to her she seeks to train the world for heaven.

It is the doctrine of the text that each part of the Church of Christ has its own appropriate work, in the performance of which, not only itself, but the whole body is vitally and happily affected. This work is not here divided off and distinguished. In other parts of Scripture, the leading offices and departments of labor are marked out ; but, in the main, it is left to the members of the household of faith, in the exercise of an intelligent piety, to discern and perform that which belongs to them individually and collectively. It is not proposed in this discourse to enumerate the various duties that rise out of the relations of Christians to each other and the world. I wish rather to limit the discussion to those more prominent works and offices which give form to the Church before the world—the outward machinery through which her power manifests itself in the view of men. In doing this, you will permit me to reverse the usual process, and instead of proceeding from results back to causes, to advance from causes to results. Let us seek to determine, from the known principles of man's nature and the truth of God, what will be a truly spiritual and healthy development of the body of Christ; what will be the various offices and operations essential to its most perfect form in the ordinary state of Christianity ; let us descend to its original elements, and keeping in our view the mixed and imperfect nature to be molded, and the character of the truth through which that nature is to be changed into the fullness of the divine image, let us proceed thence to trace out its unfolding according to the condition and necessities of a life on earth.

The word "church" is originally a term which, as Hooker well observes, "art hath devised, thereby to sever and distinguish that society of men which professthe true religion, from the rest which profess it not." The "ecclesia" of Scripture points to the assemblage of those whom God hath elected out of the world to be his disciples. When, then, a number of such persons are found together, as either are, or suppose

* "Ecclesia," or church, the elect, the called out of, the separate.

they are renewed by the grace of God, and receive the Saviour as their Redeemer, and the word of God as their infallible rule of life, their first want will be some *outward* union, enabling them to enjoy the means of grace, and the ordinances of the gospel, the materials for individual improvement, such as mere isolation never can bestow. Christianity, indeed, while it is individual and personal in its commencement, yet is social and general in the sympathies and tendencies it creates ; while in its origin it begins in the single heart, shut up to itself and God, yet in its progress it creates an expansive affection that, like the sunlight, seeks objects on which to pour itself, and around which it may shed the fullness of its own joy ; so that he who yesterday felt isolated from the world, a guilty sinner, stricken by the arrow of justice, and flying from the sight of men to the solitude of his chamber, or to the recesses of the forest ; to-day a penitent believer pants for the communion of saints, the comfort of their sympathy, the joy of their affection, the instruction of their experience, the quickening influence of their prayers, and the exaltation and guidance of their public worship. By a law of sympathy and affection and interest, as true, as certain as that which urges the drops trickling from the mountain sides to unite in rivulets, and from rivulets to form rivers, do individual Christians flow together into Christian assemblies for mutual edification, and the more rapid increase and perfection of the body of Christ. There is a law of Christian union and unity which springs into existence contemporaneously with the birth of a soul into the kingdom of God, and instantly begins to attract together the scattered members of the visible Church. The outward necessity of combining to maintain the ordinances of the gospel, and promote the advancement of religion among men, is based upon a secret law of affection and sympathy, which thus admirably secures spiritual harmony and unity long before the mere necessities of the Christian life have originated a visible and formal organization. "Behold how these Christians love one another," antedates the form and regimen of the visible Church, and

insures their existence. This primary assembly, without organization, without government, holds the elements of a Church of Christ. It is not, indeed, a perfectly formed Church, fitted for the most successful action; but it is the beginning of such a Church. The company of believers who thus assemble to worship God, and administer the ordinances of the gospel, and assist each other to spread the knowledge of Christ among men, although they have not attained the form of a well-developed and fitly-organized Christian Church, are yet a portion of the body of Christ, and the materials of such a church gathered together for a healthful adjustment.

One of the first wants felt by such an assemblage will be the *terms of communion*. For as truth, doctrine, principles are ultimately the source of feeling, and so of harmony, it must first be determined what truths these individuals recognize as the platform on which they shall all stand. As the object of such a union is Christian communion, Christian worship, Christian ordinances, and the advancement of Christian interests, it must first be settled what this communion and worship, these ordinances and interests involve as essential. Hence, from the necessities of the human mind, from a necessity inherent in the organization of a Church of Christ, from the necessity of distinguishing it from the church of the devil,* and for the mutual understanding and communion of its members, the *creed*, or the expression of that which forms the bond of such union, arises. We freely admit and rest upon the opinion that the word of God is the only infallible rule of faith and practice, the ultimate standard and final test of all doctrines that affect the salvation of men. But when it is said the Bible, and that alone, is our creed, we wish to know what, in your opinion, that book teaches. If it contained merely a collection of abstract, colorless, passionless propositions; a series of axioms, of lines and angles, about which there could be no mistake, and of which there could be no perversion and misrepresentation, then for one man to

* Revelations, ii. 9.

profess to receive it, would be as plain to another as the professed reception of the axioms of geometry. Instead of this, the Bible is addressed to the *whole* man, not merely to his reason and intuitive perceptions, but through them to his affections, his hopes, and his fears. Yea, it rises far above reason, and brings forth the openings of deep mysteries, the beginnings of vast truths, to us visible only in part, while the rest stretches far away into the profoundness of the being and eternity of God. It staggers reason by its amazing communications ; it appeals to faith to bear up the burden of its lofty teachings ; it crosses the earthly passions at the very outset of its announcements ; it overrides all human authority, prostrates all human dignity, and seeks not to save a man till it has convinced him that he is lost ; or to exalt him to riches and purity, till it has made him poor and vile, and utterly without strength. Such a Bible as this, in such a world as this, uttering itself in figures, in allegories, in all the forms of human language, molded by all the different powers of the intellect and the heart, becomes itself a discipline to the mind of the world, and its partial or full reception by the intellect and affections, as much a matter of trial as the exercise of faith in the Son of God, with which it ultimately unites. It is a book whose teachings may be wrested, by those who are so purposed, to their own destruction ; it is a book that wickedness may distort, and prejudice pervert. They have thus wrested it in every age. In proportion to its excellence ; its adaptation to the human mind ; its glory, transcendent above all other writings ; its variety, and condensation, and directness, and superhuman power, is its capability of perversion and misinterpretation by men of an evil spirit. To make, therefore, a professed reception of the Bible the term of communion, is to leave the door open for the widest and wildest extremes of opinion ; it would throw the vital bond of a Christian church around those whose views and sympathies and feelings on the most fundamental of all questions, as experience has long since demonstrated, might be in direct opposition ; it would sweep together Hume and Wilberforce, Priestly and

Payson, Pelagius and Augustine, Luther and Gregory, a heterogeneous mass of elements too hard to be molded, too active to be restrained, too discordant for harmonious development or efficient coöperation.

If now the attempt should be made to avoid this difficulty, by recognizing only such as truly and fully received the Bible, according to the most common-sense interpretation, yet this very attempt must be preceded by a settlement of the question, *What is this common-sense interpretation? What does this book teach?* In other words, by the formation of a creed. On the other hand, if Christian experience be constituted the term of Christian fellowship, yet the same difficulty meets us at the threshold; what constitutes Christian experience? What are its elements? By what is it measured, and how shall it be tested? But this is to form a creed. Besides, Christian experience is but the counterpart of Christian doctrine; it is doctrine incarnated, living, acting. The heart is molded by the truth. The views entertained of the subject by a Christian, or a purely worldly experience, will stamp themselves upon that experience. As the parent prints the lineaments of his face upon his offspring, so will they upon their offspring. What is thought of God, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost—of sin and atonement, of justification, and works, and faith, and prayer, will as surely be revealed in the experience, as the character of the mold is declared by the casting. In these vital questions, God hath bound the intellect and the heart so closely together, that all who are born into his kingdom, are said to have been born again by the truth. The *word* occupies no subordinate position in the origin of the Christian life, and all true experience in a believer is, necessarily, the feeling which that truth, when received, has wrought in the soul. It follows, therefore, that, in order to the perfect organization of a Christian church, the terms of communion, involving the fundamental principles of the gospel received into the intellect, and, as far as man can judge, into the heart, will first be settled. And be the expression of this longer or shorter,

written or understood, it will constitute a *creed, or confession of their faith*.*

This congregation of believers have now attained the terms of communion. But meeting in mass, they are without officers, without an executive or administrative organization. They have, as yet, no government. They are all equal in right, in privilege, in obligation. They are agreed as to what they *believe*; but not as to what they will *do*; nor as to the manner in which they shall seek to realize the purposes for which they assemble. They have only determined *who* shall be permitted to belong to their communion; *how* that communion will best be preserved and promoted, is yet unsettled. No sooner do they meet for worship, than difficulties arise, wants reveal themselves. Are all to pray? Can all teach? Are all obligated to administer the ordinances? Such an assembly is a mob, without "decency," and without "order." It is found essential to their edification to appoint officers; to set apart some to special duties, clothe them with special privileges and powers; in short, to organize a government, and frame the regimen of public worship. In doing this, it is found necessary, in the first place, that some one should be set apart to lead in the devotions of the assembly, and stand responsible for its order and wise conduct. It is necessary that some one should administer the sacraments in an orderly and impressive manner; that there should be some one, of sufficient wisdom and knowledge of the word, to visit the sick and the dying, and exercise a care for all the congregation. The Bible being such a book as it is, so full, so rich, so various, written originally in other, and those dead languages, in another land, colored by customs, and manners, and scenes foreign to most of the world, and replete with profound doctrines, remote from the popular apprehension: the mind of man being what it is, so easily blinded to the truth; and the life of man being so full of care and business of time, rendering it needful that clear and stirring views of truth should often be presented to it; and more than all, the

* Romans, xvi. 17. Galatians, i. 7. Matthew, xxiv. 4, 5.

world being indifferent or hostile, and demanding that the principles of the gospel should be clearly unfolded, proved, defended against objections, and urged home upon the souls of men, to win them to Christ; these things being so, it is found necessary that some one should be set apart to the special work of preaching the gospel, of defending its doctrines, and presenting its various truths according to the wants and circumstances of the congregation. As these duties are of the most difficult character, as they demand study and time, and learning, tasking the highest powers of the intellect, so a person must be selected, best qualified for such a work, by the ripeness of his mental powers, and especially by that spiritual discipline through which the grace of God most manifestly sets men apart for these high duties. As the position is one of great responsibility, so it should be clothed with great dignity; as it is one of continued labor, of the incessant devotion of all the powers of the man to the spiritual interests and eternal well-being of the Church and world, so its incumbent, lifted above all anxiety about temporal wants, should be upheld by an ample and generous support. Hence springs the ministry of reconciliation and edification. It belongs to the fallen and impure state of man, and the imperfect condition of the Church. It rises naturally out of those very necessities which originally constrained the union of the people of God in religious assemblies. In the form in which it now exists, it is peculiar to Christianity. Neither Paganism, Judaism nor Mohammedanism brought forth the simple and original idea of a Christian ministry—a ministry “not appointed like the priests of Pagan antiquity, for the performance of ceremonies, but for the inculcation of truth; not to conduct the pomp of lustrations and sacrifices, but to *watch for souls as they that must give account.*” It arises out of the simple structure of Christianity itself, seeking, by the power of truth, to impress the reason, quicken the conscience, and purify the heart; out of the divine purpose to bring religion home to the bosoms of men, through the frequent unfolding of the truth by human lips, rather than by

an impressive and a formal ceremonial. The design of God and the intent of the Saviour thus harmonize with our necessities. The same causes which impel a Christian people to unite at all, will oblige them to go farther, to institute and maintain for the more perfect accomplishment of all the great objects of their association, the ministry of the gospel.*

Having thus elected and set apart one to act as their minister, pastor, or bishop, they have next to determine the order of public worship. In doing this, they would naturally be guided by three principles. They will seek a style of worship in harmony with the simplicity of the Christian dispensation—best adapted to promote the purest spirituality, and bring the heart most directly into contact with God—and one that will most fully meet the varying wants of a congregation.

First, it will be their aim to arrange their worship in harmony with the simplicity of Christianity. The age of rites, and types, and impressive ceremonial, was closed by the advent of Christ. The temple, with its elaborate arrangements and successive passages of deepening solemnity, from the court of the Gentiles to the holiest of holies; the altar, with its round of sacrifices, its lustrations, and incense, and blood; the priests, with their distinctive and gorgeous vestments; and the Levites, with their various service, all passed away when *He* appeared. There was a propriety in this splendid and diversified regimen of God's house, at the time of its institution. The holding up on high the mighty fact of atonement by blood, as yet revealed only in prophecy, and, therefore, easy to be misapprehended and lost; the gathering together of Israel around the altar, for the express purpose of isolating them from all other nations, as the matrix in which the Christian Church was to be formed for its glorious birth—these are considerations that obviously justify the ecclesiastical constitution of Moses. But when Jesus came, these reasons existed no longer. The cross was planted, the gospel written, and the truth of redemption was set up in his-

* Matthew, xxviii. 19, 20. Acts, xx. 28. Jeremiah, iii. 15. 1 Peter, v. 2, 4. 1 Corinthians, iv. 1. 2 Corinthians, iii. 6.

tory, amid the most stupendous transactions of human and divine power, where the world could not help see it through all future time. That which rites and types once taught, now was proclaimed by apostles and ministers, and unfolded in the New Testament; no longer isolated in Judea, it was prepared and destined to speak to the heart of universal man. That which once bore the stamp of a divinely impressed propriety, in this new and simple dispensation, where circumcision availeth nothing, and Moses gives place to Jesus, bears upon its front the impress of an obvious impropriety—as a reversal of the intent of God—an attempt to cast the swathing bands of infancy around the expanding form of youth, and dwarf the stature of the soul into the diminitiveness of a perpetual childhood.

In harmony with this sweeping away of the old, the formal, the typical, the ritual, the intricate, the outwardly splendid; in harmony with the rent veil, and the openness of the divine revelation, and the directness of its appeals, and the entire simplicity of the new dispensation, this congregation of believers will have as little of art and form about their worship as is consistent with a just order, variety, and uniformity. The preaching of the gospel, the reading of the holy Scriptures, the offering of prayer, and the singing of psalms and hymns, constituting the elements of public worship, will follow each other according to the simplest arrangement, so as to relieve alike both pastor and people from undue fatigue, and secure the utmost depth and unity of impression. They will not seek to work these things together as a piece of art, an elaborate Mosaic service, in which the hand of invention shall be perpetually visible; to understand which, requires study and practice; involving a long-drawn succession of changes of posture, of erections and prostrations, of addresses and responses, so complicated as to demand a directory, and bewilder even the intelligent stranger, who, for the first time, witnesses it, and lead him to imagine himself in the presence of some pantomimic representation. They will seek rather to have the number of changes in their service as

few as is consistent with a just variety, and so open and simple in their order, as to commend themselves to the piety and intelligence of all the followers of Jesus. They will not clothe their ministers in priestly vestments, bringing back into Christian assemblies the Mosaic idea of a formal and outward holiness, in opposition to the New Testament idea, that all Christians are now a royal priesthood,* and attracting to the mere man that attention which should be given to the *truth*. Standing upon the higher platform of this Christian dispensation, they will conform the style of their worship to its noble simplicity.

Second, they will seek a kind of service best adapted to promote the highest spirituality of mind, and bring the heart into the most intelligent communion with God. In the service of the sanctuary, there are two principal objects. The first is instruction; the second, the awakening and expression of devotion: the first involves the communication of just views of the divine character, and our relations and duties; the second, the expression of our affections, and the training of the heart to intimate and direct communion with the Redeemer. The first is essential to the second; it is the foundation for the edifice, it is the condition indispensable to all true devotion. Correct views must precede correct emotions; and the soul can never grow in grace save as it grows in the knowledge of Christ. Ignorance is the mother of vice, and can never be associated as an ally in man's spiritual progress. The very illuminations of the divine Spirit honor the truth, by being always associated with it.

It is the glory of this Christian dispensation, that the *gospel is preached*; that the priesthood and the rite-performer have given place to the ministry of reconciliation—sent forth primarily not to baptize,† but to preach the word of life in season and out of season, reproving, exhorting, instructing, that the man of God may be thoroughly furnished unto all good works. A Christian church will have a care,

* 1 Peter, ii. 9.

† 1 Corinthians, i. 17.

therefore, that in the ordering of their public worship, they give the chief place to the preaching of the truth ; that they put foremost that which Jesus and his apostles have placed foremost ; that they adopt no ritual by which this noblest, this most characteristic power of the Christian dispensation, is prevented from having its fullest development, and putting forth its highest energy. The faithful preaching of the word, more than all things else, is connected with the spirituality of the Church ; and no matter how orthodox and correct may be the other parts of the divine service, yet, if this be absent, or if it be degraded to an incidental and an inferior position, or if the *pulpit* contradict the *desk*, and that which is the expression of devotion find nothing in the instructions of the sanctuary by which it may gain new life and strength, then piety will decline, and the form of religion will alone remain, as the shell within which the kernel is withered.

But when they have made thus prominent the preaching of the word, it will be necessary for them to determine in what manner the other parts of divine service, especially that of prayer, shall be conducted. Here, in these last days, two ways present themselves. The one is the printed form ; the other, the spontaneous offering of the heart, guided by the intellect, and receiving its shape in the utterance of the minister. The first selects the prayers of good men, and repeats them, without variation, from Sabbath to Sabbath, and from year to year. The second supposes that the pastor, if he have intelligence and piety enough to *preach*, ought to have enough to lead the devotions of the people in *prayer*.

Without entering into a protracted discussion of this subject, it will be sufficient, for my present purpose, to present a single train of thought. True prayer, let it be borne in mind, is the most intimate, direct, and unvailed communion with God. It is most perfect when the heart is brought most immediately into the presence of God, is most entirely isolated from all things else, and is most fully absorbed in directly addressing Jehovah. Supposing always that the views of the worshiper respecting the being worshiped are correct, prayer

involves a direct application to an invisible Jehovah, a summoning of the whole man to the most abstract and spiritual of all works, a retirement from the world of sense to the world of spirit, a bringing up from the depths of the soul all its wants and all its emotions, and a spreading them forth before the eye of an omniscient and an ever-present Lord. And that mode of prayer will demonstrably be the best, which most effectually accomplishes these objects ; not that which produces a vague present impression, not that which most easily seizes hold of the senses, not that which does away with the necessity for a personal application of the mind and heart to the work before it ; but that which shuts up the man to this one business, which compels isolation from worldly objects, and casts out worldly thoughts, which obliges the *heart* and *mind* to engage in it, which most effectually *trains* them for this highest and purest work of an intelligent spirit.

To effect this training, and accustom the spirit to rise, as on eagle's wings, heavenward, and hold most intimate converse with Jehovah, and open to him all the inmost man, we are well assured, from a wide and protracted experience of the Church in different ages, the habit of extempore prayer is greatly more powerful than the constant use of a printed form. In the former case, the eyes are closed to all external objects of attraction, and the mind stimulated to apply itself exclusively to the one great business of supplication. And though, at the first, as a child, learning to walk, will have many a fall, the Christian will find the law of mental association exposes him to the intrusion of unwelcome and diverting thoughts ; yet, as he carries forward this spiritual discipline, he will attain a more perfect command of his intellect, and an ability to abstract himself from all earthly concerns. There is, in this habit of extempore prayer, a far greater power of isolation—of gathering about the soul, in the midst of a multitude, the conscious presence of Jehovah, and the awful realities of another world, than can be attained in any other way. With but one sense open to the world, and that fully occupied with the voice of prayer, the suppliant follows the gen-

eral course of the petition, rising with it, adding to it, and applying it to his own case, as his feelings and conscious wants dictate. If new emotions rise, if new objects present themselves, he learns how to incorporate them into the more public supplications, and bear them before the mercy-seat in the chariot of his mute petition. Quickened by the living voice, uttering the spontaneous emotions of the heart, in language shaped by feeling, and penetrated with it to an extent rarely attained in the use of a stereotyped form, he pours forth the fullness of his own heart. He prays as did Paul on the sea and amid the tempest, as did Christ in Gethsemane, as, without a question, did the whole company of apostles and early Christians ; in secret, he presents his own petitions as they rise in his soul ; in public, he uses the prayer and voice of the pastor as an assistant and guide, but not as a substitute.

When, however, we use a *form*, and that is repeated by many voices, and is also broken up, so as to involve frequent changes of posture, then we multiply the sources of distraction ; we open the eyes to read, the most unnatural mode of prayer, giving the world another inlet to the soul ; we bring a work of art between us and God ; we accustom ourselves to *lean* on it. It is ultimately far more difficult for the soul to isolate itself, and hold perfect spiritual communion with the Invisible, than when the senses are closed to all without, and spirit with spirit holds its unseen and silent converse. The form aggravates the tendency, always strong in the human heart, to descend from the spiritual to the formal. Nothing can permanently hold back the spirit from this degeneracy, aside from the influence of the Holy Ghost, so well as the inwrought habit of spiritual, and isolated, and extempore prayer.

To the correctness of this reasoning, the world often bears its unwilling testimony. In the formal style of worship, we see men of earth joining as if they rendered an acceptable service ; while, in the other, they find brought home to them a spirituality to which they are conscious of being strangers,

and with which they surely have no sympathy. It is a work too high, too spiritual, to isolate themselves for the direct work of prayer, and bring their spirits individually to the throne of grace. It offends them not to join with a multitude of voices in the responses of a liturgy, since this obliges them to undertake no work of personal communion with Jehovah, and permits them readily to sink their individual responsibility in the general excitement and distracting influence of the multitude. And thus, however admirably a liturgy may be arranged, and however beautiful and truly excellent may be its parts, and however it may assist the devotions of some who are already spiritual; yet, as a means of training men to appreciate the worship of the heart rather than of the lips, of forcing home upon the unregenerate their lost and irreligious condition, of imparting to Christians the power of abstraction from the world, and command over their own thoughts, and the most entire isolation of the soul, it is not to be compared with the more natural and simple method of extempore prayer.

Third, in arranging their mode of divine service, they will make it such as will best adapt it to the varying wants of a congregation. They will not predetermine just what hymns shall be sung, what portions of Scripture shall be read, or what objects shall alone be presented in prayer. To do this, is to destroy one object in having a pastor; it is to reduce him, so far as these services are concerned, to a mere reading machine; it is to take away all judgment, and consideration, and will on these points, and oblige him to follow an iron rule, fixed with no reference to the particular condition of the congregation; it derogates from the high idea of an apostolic pastor—of one who, from his own knowledge of the flock, is best prepared to select subjects of discourse adapted to their state, portions of the word, hymns, and psalms corresponding therewith, while he so shapes his prayers as to bring into view the different and peculiar circumstances of his charge. In public prayer, as in the preaching of the word, there are some subjects always appropriate, yet there is a wide range of other

subjects, which demand either attention, or greater or less prominence, according to the varying circumstances of the congregation. There are times of sorrow and of joy, times of worldliness and of deep solemnity, of health and wide-spread sickness, of peace and war, which, as they occur, should receive a special attention, and modify the services of God's house.

In arranging their mode of worship, that it may most effectually accomplish the object of its institution, this Christian Church will not prescribe for the pastor such an order of things as to forestall his judgment, and prevent him from selecting the means best adapted to render his preaching effectual, and the service in harmony with the condition of the people. Influenced by these and kindred reasons, seeing that, with some temporary advantages, an elaborate liturgy has so many disadvantages, and so strong a tendency to formalism—they reject it, and choose the simpler form and order of the primitive Church.

In the beginning of such a Church, it is obvious that an involved and artistically wrought service is unnatural and inappropriate. Guided by the dictates of a pure and simple Christianity, not yet aspiring to the inventions of the theater, and the contrivances of art, they will adopt the more unartificial and obvious arrangements of the divine service. Having one abundantly able to lead their devotions, and preach the word of God, they feel not the want of the prayers or discourses of other men, however wise, and good, and distinguished they may have been.*

* In these remarks it is the author's design briefly to justify our own preference for the simple form of worship, characteristic of our church, in common with most of the other evangelical churches. It is, however, a matter worthy of the serious reflection of those excellent men in the Episcopal church, who mourn over the prevalence of a semi-Papacy in large portions of the church of their honest preference and filial love, whether the tendency thus manifested to adopt the spirit, and often the form, of Popery, is not due, in part, to the *liturgical* training of the people, as well as to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, in the Prayer-book; whether, had England adopted the simpler form, we should have seen, in the very face of the Reformation, and to the scandal of our common Protestantism, such a return to the practices of the Mother of Abominations;

We have now traced the progress of this company of believers, in the organization of a visible church, until we find them possessed of a creed, a pastor, and a definite order of divine worship. But as they increase, the necessities of their condition will oblige the creation of other offices. The time will come, when a house of worship must be erected, and the secular concerns of the church will demand the special attention of individuals qualified to manage them. Provision must be made for the administration of the ordinances and the temporal support of the pastor. Meanwhile, as numbers increase, there will rise up within the church itself those who stand in need of its support and guidance ; those whom sickness, and bereavement, and the reverses of business, have deprived of the ability to sustain themselves ; widows and orphans to be nourished with fraternal tenderness, and guided with parental wisdom, and cared for as members of the body of Christ.

To attend to all these interests systematically and thoroughly ; to deliver the pastor from the weight of secular concerns, and the church from the odium of not caring for her own membership, it is found necessary to choose good and able men, accustomed to such things, to act for the church as its stewards, to collect and disburse the offerings of the people, and maintain thus a system of relief and support, befitting brethren bound to bear each other's burdens, and look not on their own things alone, but on those of others. Thus will the order of *Deacons*, or secular ministers, arise—an order not instituted to preach, nor to be a stepping-stone to the pastoral office ; not an order of mere licentiates, the heirs-expectant of a priestly office, or a prelate's seat—but an exclusively secular order, elected and instituted to manage finances, and care for widows and orphans, and minister to

whether, in short, the Liturgy does not train the people to a style of worship which prepares many minds for the ascendancy of Popery itself. It is not in the spirit of controversy, but as a subject worthy at least of examination by the friends of the Redeemer in that branch of the Church of Christ, that this suggestion is made.

the poor, and supply for the church that department of its internal police without which it would be obviously defective, but with which it becomes the most efficient organization in the world, for the relief of the distressed and the elevation of the poor.*

If, now, we could suppose this company of professed disciples to be, in the main, perfect in the exercise of Christian feeling, and the exhibition of Christian character, we might leave them to live and grow, and spread abroad their influence in the world. But, instead of this, it is a confessed fact that these men are *all* imperfect; that some of them, in all probability, are not at heart true disciples; that no external organization can wholly prevent the occurrence of offenses against the purity of the Church and the law of Christ. Amid the temptations of the world, and the still unvanquished corruptions that cling to our fallen nature, the professed Christian lives; and it will not be strange if occasionally not only the bounds of Christian propriety, but the clear and stern commands of Jesus, should be overleaped. But when the offense arises; when the law that upholds the purity and life of the Church is broken; when the name of Jesus is openly dishonored by his avowed disciples, a question at once arises, most serious in its character, and large in its influence for good or evil, as it is answered.

Not to regard the offense at all, to neglect all discipline, is to throw down the walls of the visible Church, to make the outward and formal body of Christ the abode of demons; and as men are greatly influenced by that which is visible—by the sight of a visibly pure church—to recognize the reality of religion, so, to destroy that visibility, is, with the multitude, to destroy religion, and nullify one of the strongest influences for the conversion of men. How, then, and by whom shall discipline be conducted, and the offender tried? Shall the *pastor* be judge and jury? But this is to make the ministry a despotism and the minister a despot; it is to intrust a power to an individual which he is very liable to abuse.

* Philippians, i. 1; 1 Timothy, iii. 13-15; Acts, vi. 1-6.

All power is open to abuse ; but the experience of the world has shown that, in these cases of public concern, there is a peculiar liability to such abuse, when it is centered in a single individual. Besides, the offense may respect the pastor himself, or those for whom he feels a special sympathy ; so that he is apparently incapacitated, by his position and relations, from sitting as sole judge in the case. For, however honest and upright he may be, yet, sharing in the imperfection of all Christians, he is, like them, not insensible to temptation, nor above all unhappy bias. Theoretically there is no more beautiful system of law than that which combines all the attributes of sovereignty in the single man ; but in this world, and among the imperfect, none has proved more thoroughly opposite to the highest welfare of the race.

Shall, then, the members of the church, in full assembly, resolve themselves into a court, and administer discipline ? To this there are strong objections. If the one man is liable to be swayed by feelings, and blinded by prejudice, this is equally true of a multitude. A popular assembly, unaccustomed to judge of evidence, impatient of that slow and careful process indispensable oftentimes to the full elucidation of the facts, is, besides, peculiarly susceptible to false impressions from the plausible and ingenious advocate, and greatly exposed to be swayed by impulse and momentary feeling. Not unfrequently the process of a public trial before such a court engenders deep and lasting divisions, arrays the members of it in a partisan struggle, and breathes into them a spirit of strife infinitely worse than the original offense. There are cases where it is essential to the interests of justice and righteousness, that long, minute and painful examinations should be gone through ; where many witnesses must be examined, and the law of evidence studied and applied most carefully, before a just conclusion can be reached. There are cases involving scenes wholly *unfit* for a public investigation, on which none but those who are compelled by duty should attempt to look. As a trial proceeds before a popular assembly, if it be much protracted, it will often hap-

pen that all can not be present through its continuance, and the question may come at last to be decided by many who have heard only a portion of the evidence, or by a part only of the body.

Now, when you consider that a true church of Christ will embrace minds of every variety of intelligence, here and there one admirably prepared to grapple with the difficulties of discipline, while the mass, by their previous pursuits are unfitted for this important work ; when you consider the ease with which a popular body may be swayed, and its passions appealed to, and decisions the most unjust attained ; when you see how easily the most trifling offense may give rise to parties, and destroy the peace of the church ; when you know how difficult it is to bring a large number of persons, engaged in their own pressing pursuits, to give the time and attention necessary to master a difficult case ; when you are sure that some of these offenses are of a nature the details of which it is a temptation and a shame to spread before a public assembly—when you consider all these aspects of a purely congregational discipline, you will not wonder if this church of which we are speaking should seek for some other mode of trying offenses, and securing general purity and order. She might be told, indeed, that her members must be supposed to be honest, though imperfect ; that by this process, they would be trained to intelligent action and a just judgment. In answer she might say : “ The very necessity of discipline shows our liability not only to err, but to sin ; while our honesty of purpose does not secure us either the requisite intelligence, the freedom from the impulses of passion, or insensibility to the sight of corruption ; while, as a church, we are in a state too variable, and the responsibility is too generally diffused, ever to lead us to indulge the utopian anticipation of seeing the multitude fully qualified for such a work as this.”

Wherever true freedom has advanced in the world, it has fled alike from the despot and the town meeting, as judge and jury ; it has created, as its chief triumph and mightiest bulwark of human rights, a tribunal combining the intelligent

understanding of law, the practical sense that judges of matters of fact with as much cool independence and impartiality of feeling as can well be attained by any system which fallible men are to work. That tribunal, in all states where true freedom exists, is not the public assembly, however it may be distinguished for honesty and patriotism ; it is not the *single* judge or the solitary monarch, however incorruptible and wise he may be supposed to be. It is the judge and the select jury, set apart for a special work, sworn to administer the law and judge of the evidence according to truth and righteousness. This tribunal combines the highest qualities for the best administration of justice. It is the result of the experience of ages ; is the noblest jewel wrenched from the hand of absolute power, and set in the coronal of freedom. Yea, it is more than a jewel, an ornament of splendor ; it is the strongest barrier against the encroachments of the sovereign on the one side, and the licentiousness of the popular assembly on the other ; against the intolerance, and the ambition, and the pride of the first, and the prejudice, and passion, and haste of the second.

Now, the body of brethren before us see open to them one of three courses. They may retain all discipline in their own hands, or commit it to the pastor, or select a few of their own number, known to be intelligent, devoted, impartial and active, who, in conjunction with the pastor as their chairman, shall be solemnly bound to administer it according to the rules which the church shall adopt—rules framed to secure the rights of individuals, and guard against oppression. Aside from the difficulties attending the first two methods of discipline, they find in this third body a tribunal, approved by the experience of ages ; by which, without noise, or confusion, or party strife, the necessary arrangements can readily be made, and the case patiently tried. They know that men thus selected will usually be less subject to the impulses of passion and sympathy than a popular assembly ; that they will become accustomed to judge of evidence, and acquire a facility in the dispatch of business ; that as it is their appro-

priate business, they will be far more likely to see that discipline is duly administered than when it is left to every member of the church ; that they can more easily heal difficulties in their origin, and bring back the wandering by the very quietness with which they proceed ; that they will be able to conduct trials which, if made public, will contaminate rather than purify, in a manner to save the church from an offense greater than the original ; that they can give a more patient and protracted attention to difficult cases, demanding nice discrimination and a knowledge of the law of evidence than could possibly be given in a crowd of church members. Moreover, they know that a popular assembly is only in a loose sense a government, and that all such bodies must, in any case, provide executive officers who shall prepare the business, and afterwards supervise the execution of their decrees. It is a matter of fact that, when the discipline is retained in such an assembly, yet to render it effectual, the principal part of it is often delegated to individuals and committees selected for the purpose.

With these views, they resolve to elect a board of elders for the administration of discipline and government, as the tribunal, above all others, most conservative of their liberties, and best adapted to promote the peace and prosperity of the church. In this body, the pastor sits simply as moderator and expounder of the law, on a perfect equality, in respect to discipline, with all the other members—all are overseers, bishops, presbyters, elders ; combining the intelligence of the ministry with the intelligence and practical tact and general knowledge of the laity. To this body the church commits, not only the general discipline of the house of God, but the admission of new members, and all such other matters as to them may seem best. In the absence of the pastor, it is usually incumbent on them to see that his place is properly filled, by appointing either one of their own number or some other person to that duty.* In this manner, the general arrangements for

* 1 Timothy, v. 17 ; Acts, xv. 25 ; xx. 28 ; Romans, xii. 7, 8 ; 1 Corinthians, xii. 28 ; Hebrews, xiii. 17 ; 1 Thessalonians, v. 12.

worship and discipline are most effectually secured ; and we see the visible church rising before us in the order and harmony of the human form, with an erect and healthful trunk, and limbs to execute its purposes, while Christ is its glorious Head. It is neither body alone, nor feet, nor hands alone ; but, by the proper casting of parts and division of offices, every member hath some special work assigned him, in the performance of which the whole body maketh increase unto the edifying itself in all Christian graces. Here is a company of believers, who thus, advancing step by step in the path of mutual edification, at length perfect their organization, with direct reference to their felt wants, and stand forth before the world a full-grown church of Christ.

We have thus seen the rise of a single church. We view it attaining as complete an organization for the great purposes designed as could well be while standing by itself. We are now to take it out of this isolation, and introduce it to other churches which, in like manner, have sprung up around it. Now, very much the same causes which operated to form a single church will impel these churches, as their numbers multiply, to unite for the accomplishment of certain objects, and the prevention of certain evils, for which, while independent, they are not fully adequate. The presence of other churches alters the position of the church whose progress we have thus far traced, and obliges it to determine in what way they are to be treated. As yet, they are comparatively ignorant of each other ; they feel, however, a common want—the want of general fellowship and combination against the world ; they feel that, in the operation of their independent organizations, there are some evils and defects which a more general union might remove or supply. Impelled by these views, the churches within a convenient distance agree to a mutual conference for the adjustment of some plan by which, while their individual efficiency is promoted, they may be able unitedly to accomplish what surpasses their individual capacity. By chosen delegates, they meet together. The *first* great principle which they adopt is that which lies at the basis of all constitutional

freedom, the principle of representation. Instead of having an association of pastors alone to devise and act for the churches, they resolve that it is important the *churches* should be associated as well as the pastors; and to secure this object, that every church shall be entitled to send a representative to the contemplated body. While the pastor may have *his* seat, the church, through her representative, must also have *her* seat. If measures are to be adopted and plans laid that are to affect the interests of all the churches; if a union is to be formed available for the purposes desired; if it is to be any thing more than a loose, irresponsible body, without efficiency, and without consideration, then it is a fundamental principle that each church, however few in number or weak in influence, shall not only have her pastor present, but also her elder, through whom she may speak; by whom her rights may be maintained, her interests promoted, and her views declared. This principle is fundamental to Christian liberty in ecclesiastical organizations. Neither the ministry alone nor the laity alone can form the ablest, freest, and most efficient organization. There is in the ministry often a tendency to dogmatism, and in the laity, sometimes, an equally strong disposition toward the opposite extreme. The union of the two in an ecclesiastical body combines the elements of healthy progress and a stable union. The two modify each other, and minister to the strength of the whole fabric, and adapt it more perfectly to its noble purpose.

Having thus, by a simple rule, settled the composition of the body that is to serve as their bond of union; they proceed to define its functions and powers. First, each of these churches has a distinct creed of its own. But, in order to harmonious action, it is essential that there should be entire confidence in the rectitude of each other's religious views. The same necessity which compels the adoption of a creed in the individual church operates here with equal force. They agree, therefore, upon the terms of communion, they adopt the same general confession of faith. This at once creates uniformity of belief throughout the entire circle of associated

churches. Members may pass from one to the other without hesitation ; and the fellowship of a Christian household be felt and cherished by all. As these churches, when isolated, are liable to suffer from the efforts of crafty and designing men, who privily would bring in damnable heresies, lead astray the weak, and cause multitudes to swerve from the faith, so, to assist them in resisting such efforts, these churches grant to their own representatives, in presbytery assembled, a supervisory power—a right to inspect their state, and admonish them of the wrong, and correct such evils of this kind as may exist. They do not in this create a tyranny, but a legitimate government, in which they are all represented, in which the finest elements of freedom are happily combined. They unite in presenting a broader front to the advances of error, and repelling those who seek to destroy their original terms of communion, and so turn them from the faith.

Second, it is found that their mode of ordaining the ministry of the gospel, however legitimate in itself, is yet connected with many and great inconveniences. Ordination is the recognition of certain qualifications, given by Christ for the ministry, and the solemn setting apart of an individual thus gifted to that high office. It has in it no “opus operatum”—it does not bestow the grace and sanctity necessary to the discharge of this office ; it recognizes them as already, in a good measure, possessed ; it beholds a man whom *Christ* has set apart to the ministry, and it gives the sanction of the ordaining power to the exercise of these ministerial gifts, in all the appropriate duties of this great work. Now, it is obvious that, while a church may ordain a man for itself, and recognize him as a minister of Christ, and clothe him with authority for that purpose, so far as *she* is concerned, yet the validity and authority of his ordination, beyond her pale, will be in exact proportion to the estimate in which she is held as a church, and to the qualifications which manifestly exist in the person she has set apart to the work of the ministry. In other words, it is only so far as *her authority* to ordain is recognized, that such an ordination will be respected and held

as valid. But the independent church is, perhaps, weak and small, composed of those who are not particularly qualified to pronounce upon the qualifications of a candidate for the ministry. Unaccustomed to the work, and with no special or known qualifications for it, she selects the future preacher of the gospel, and ordains him to that office, and sends him forth to preach. Now, who is to recognize this man as a minister, beyond the church that has commissioned him? Of this church little has gone abroad, and what is known is far from inspiring confidence in any ordination of hers. It follows, therefore, that out of her bounds her regularly ordained minister derives no authority from his ordination, ceases to be regarded as a minister, just as truly as a Presbyterian or an Episcopal bishop is not recognized as such in the Vatican. His influence is, consequently, limited; and it may be long before he will be able, amid such disheartening circumstances, to commend himself to the Church at large, by the actual demonstration of the existence in him of the sterling qualifications of a minister of Christ. Besides, an individual church, in addition to her want of a wide-spread influence and a power to commend her ordinations to those without her limits, may not find among her own number one whom she thinks really called of God to this ministry; while another church may have a dozen endowed preëminently with all the gifts and graces essential to this high office. It is, therefore, exceedingly desirable that the authority to ordain ministers of the gospel should be vested in a body of such character and influence, and in such relation to a considerable body of churches, as will enable them to select the most suitable candidates, and cause their ordination to be generally recognized and respected among them and the world. For this purpose, it is determined that this representative body of their pastors and elders shall take upon themselves the responsibility of selecting and licensing such men as, in their own judgment, possess the chief qualifications for the work of the ministry. But in order to secure the judgment of the Church at large upon their qualifications, except in rare cases, they

are not at once ordained. They are sent forth to preach as probationers, to be proved in the pulpit, to be tested in the actual work of the ministry; and when the churches have borne their testimony to the fitness of these candidates for this office, or when individual churches shall desire their services, they are then solemnly ordained as ministers of the gospel. But should it be ascertained that, through infirmities of spirit, or great deficiency in ministerial gifts, they were not acceptable to the people, and not adapted to be useful in that sphere of labor, then their licensure is recalled, and they fall back into another department of Christian duty. In this manner, these confederated churches propose to secure for themselves an able, devoted and successful ministry—a ministry that shall bear the commendation of their united wisdom, and command the recognition and respect of those who are without. Meanwhile, as learning is to be associated with piety, in order to prepare men most successfully to preach the word of life, they avail themselves of their united strength to establish academies, colleges, and seminaries of theological science. Associated, they thus effect what is beyond the power of isolated churches, and see rising among them a ministry, resplendent in its learning and ripe in piety, useful at home, respected abroad, and prepared to extend the religion of Jesus into the distant and dark places of the earth.*

Having thus provided for the increase, the ordination, and perpetuity of the ministry, these churches proceed to consider the subject of a mutual discipline. They lay down, as fundamental to their union, these two principles: First, that every member of their body, be he minister, elder, deacon, or private Christian, shall be accounted innocent until he is proved guilty, and never be cut off from his connection with the church, *except after a fair trial*. Second, that in order to secure such a trial, all proper means of defense shall be allowed, and the case conducted according to known rules, designed to secure the unfolding of the truth in the fullest manner. These principles underlie all their disciplinary

* 1 Timothy, iv. 14; Acts, xv. 2, 3, 4, 6, 22.

arrangements; they are the foundations for the strongest ramparts around individual right and liberty—foundations such as the freest civil governments have laid, on which to erect the noble fabric of political freedom. In order to give the fullest effect to these principles, this confederated church, jealous of power, knowing that the best men may err, and the coolest sometimes be partial, resolve that, if any of her members feel aggrieved by the decision of a session; if he feels that, through ignorance, or partiality, or mistake, he has been unjustly dealt with, then he may enjoy the privilege of appeal to this representative body of ministers and elders, in presbytery assembled, for a review of his case. Nay, so large and full is this liberty, so solicitous is she that none of her children may wrongfully suffer, that she permits a second and a third appeal from the judgment of a local body to a larger gathering of representatives, convened in synod or assembly. But while she concedes to him this privilege, for the more perfect attainment of justice, she declares that he shall be solemnly bound by the final decision—that he shall not put his brethren to the trouble of giving him a full and impartial trial, and then treat the decision as mere advice, and so make a farce of ecclesiastical discipline before the world. In this way the privilege of appeal from acts of prejudice, or passion, or mistake, is granted in the Church as well as in the State; and a person is not compelled to suffer wrong through the unhappy decision of a single church, or pastor, or session.* He may carry his cause

* We once heard an esteemed clergyman publicly argue in favor of discipline by single churches, because, "when a thing was done, then it *was* done"—an argument as strong in favor of despotism as the Neros and Napoleons of absolute monarchy could desire. This very fact, that when discipline is thus *done*, there is no retreat for injured innocence, no appeal to a less prejudiced tribunal, from the acts of haste, or passion, or ignorance, is the strong argument alike against the decisions of a Judge Lynch or a Judge Nero, of an assembled multitude or a single man. A despotism, whether of the king or the people, is the simplest government in the world. Liberty seeks for checks and balances, for the machinery of courts, and forms, and rules, and appeals—for the utmost license of investigation and review, and argument, that at length the right may stand forth in the

from this lower tribunal before his brethren at large, who, removed from the scene, may investigate it with all the coolness of an unbiassed judgment, and decide it in circumstances as favorable for the attainment of justice as ever exist in this world.

In like manner, should a pastor ever be chargeable with crime, or difficulties of a serious character arise between him and the church of which he has charge, then is it part of the same general policy, that he shall be tried, or the causes of trouble investigated, not by the church itself, nor by the session, who, from their relation to him, may be in a position the least favorable for a correct decision ; but by the body that holds the ordaining power by the churches in their associated capacity, by the presbytery of which he is a member. According to that old and just maxim of common law, he is to be judged by his peers, and the same privilege of appeal granted, as his protection against an unjust and a hasty decision, which is given to the humblest member of the church.

I have thus, in brief, reviewed some of the leading principles and modes of discipline, according to which these Christian societies seek to aid each other in maintaining, unimpaired, the faith and liberties of the household of faith. Thus associated together, they regard it as a binding duty they owe to each other and the world, by united efforts to spread the gospel at home and abroad ; to organize new churches, and supply them in their infancy with the preaching of the word ; to guard against the efforts of designing men, who seek to introduce among them turmoil and strife ; to give the influence of their union to all wholesome reforms ; and in all appropriate ways to promote each other's peace,

clear sunshine, and the wrong may reveal its hideous features. And though, at times, ingenious wickedness may double and twist, and seek to escape through these salutary forms, yet, in the main, true freedom is maintained, and innocence vindicated, and crime punished. It is the glory of Presbyterianism that it not only gives an accused member a trial, but that, by a most admirable set of rules, it seeks to make that a *fair* trial ; and then, by the right of appeal, it multiplies the means for vindicating the right, and securing the innocent against all wrong.

and build each other up in the faith and love and practice of the religion of Jesus. For such objects, these churches agree to this intimate, fraternal, and apostolic plan of union. As independent states, each church has its own rights, its own territory, its own government; as a federal union, they are so connected together as to form one larger state, united in its aims, its discipline, its influence, in opposition to all that is evil, and in favor of all that is good. They present to the world the vision of a true republican union, constituted not for the aggrandizement of the few, but solely for the edification and usefulness of the many, that thus we may more effectually realize the spirit of a Christian unity, and work at greater advantage in fulfilling the command of our ascended Master, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*

Such, in its outlines, is the form of that church under whose broad constitution it is our privilege to live, to constitute one of whose higher courts we are this day assembled. Behold, first, its order! See how, in this system, provision is most fully made for the regular and quiet progress of the people of God; for the orderly development of the church, the ministrations and ordinances of the gospel, the training up and ordination of an efficient ministry, the regular discipline of the house of the Lord, the planting of new churches among the destitute, and the onward progress of a Christian people in all good works; how to each individual there may be some work assigned; and thus, as the several parts of the body, all work together in promoting one end.

God loves not confusion. "*Let all things be done decently and in order,*" is a rule no less essential in the church than in the family and the state. Behold, then, the order of our house! how beautiful! how appropriate! how simple, yet how comprehensive!

Second. Behold how admirably this system conserves religious liberty! It hath two great principles which are fundamental to the highest style of constitutional and republican freedom. 1. The principle of representation. All

power goes up from the churches. In hierarchical and other systems hostile to liberty, the power descends from the ministry to the churches. In ours it ascends. The churches choose *all* their own officers, elect their own representatives, and have a voice in all laws and rules by which they are to be affected. The republican principle of representation prevails in the constitution of *all* our ecclesiastical bodies above the original ordinary church meeting. 2. The principle, that every person is entitled to a fair trial according to the form of liberty which the churches themselves have adopted. No man can rightly, or constitutionally, or legally be condemned and cast out until after a fair trial, in due form, before his peers, and after the full privilege of appeal has been allowed him, and all the means of a legitimate defense have been exhausted. The poorest and the lowliest member of this church has here precisely the same rights with the most powerful. Be the offender a poor son of Africa, with the brand of centuries of oppression and degradation upon his body, he has a right to stand up here, with the descendant of princes, and enjoy the privilege of the same rules, and avail himself of the same bulwarks of defense, and call to his aid the same eloquence and force of argument granted to his more favored brothers. This strong refuge of liberty is inwrought into the constitution of our church. Without it, liberty would be a name, not a fact, both in Church and State. These two principles of representation and trial by their own chosen jury, covering the rights of all our membership, form the abutments of our ecclesiastical system. Let either one be removed, and its integrity is destroyed; it remains one-sided, inconsistent, and unable to sustain the glorious arch of religious liberty. This is the finest discipline for the education of freemen. A true Presbyterian will never suffer himself to be defrauded of the rights of his manhood. He learns here the great principles of liberty; they have pervaded the Church and breathed around the fireside from his childhood. He has learnt to bow to no ecclesiastical despotism; he has learnt that neither priest nor monarch has a

right to tyrannize over his conscience ; that power comes immediately from the Church, and not from the officers of the Church alone ; that it is not a company of pastors or deacons, or any mere officials that constitute the Church, save as they may be selected to represent and maintain her interests, but that as the members of the body are essential to its perfectness, so the entire Church, in its most perfect state, embraces all the members of Christ's house with those whom they have set forth as their executives. Cherishing such views, they will not brook either ecclesiastical or civil despotism ; they will go forth a noble army of confessors without the camp of the oppressor ; and, as did Scotland's chosen hosts when they trod beneath their feet the jeweled coronet of Victoria as the emblem of a spiritual sovereignty, and disowned the authority of the State in the house of God as the lord of their conscience, so will their true brethren, the world over, while respecting authority in its legitimate sphere, and loyal as any others to the constitution and the law, resist an ecclesiastical or a civil dictatorship, and proclaim war against it as the enemy of God and man.

Third. Behold its efficiency ! Its order and its freedom are not merely a theory. They do much to form the character for active labor, for large enterprise, for intelligent, steady progress. They ally it with all the elements of strength, and reform, and purity. The general order of the house of Christ is essential to the most effective working of its members. A system such as ours does not forestall individual action, and throw the labor which should be borne by many upon the shoulders of the few. Instead of this, while it secures general order, and provides specifically for more general wants, it yet leaves the mass free to operate in all the various modes open to them, and for which special gifts and graces may give them a peculiar fitness. It is no more essential to the development of the energy and life and greatest efficiency of a church, that all its members should act as elders and governors, than that they should all be pastors and deacons ; and the same argument which would commit the *discipline* of God's house to

the entire body of the people, in order to oblige them to labor and increase their efficiency, and deepen their interest in the church and its operations, would abolish the ministry of the deacon and the pastor, and so constitute the church a body without limbs and executive powers. Aside from the work properly belonging to these officers, there is a wide field for individual action in the social meetings, in Sabbath schools and Bible classes, in direct efforts for the conversion of men, in the visiting of the distressed and the sick, and in all the various ways in which an active piety will seek to walk. The committing of the discipline of the church to a board of elders is a great relief to the body of the church from a business little adapted to promote their spirituality, and which, by absorbing their time, diverts the mind and heart from other labors more directly connected with the upbuilding of the kingdom of Jesus. And thus they are left free to enter into the harvest as reapers, and stimulated to fill up their measure of labor for the ingathering of souls. There is in this our system as much of stimulus to individual labor, as much throwing the burden of responsibility for the onward progress of religion upon the entire membership, as wide an opening for such action as is best adapted to promote the spirituality of the church and the salvation of men, as in any other known ecclesiastical constitution. All churches, whatever be their general system of operation, are found practically to depend much, for their efficiency, upon the character of the pastor and other officers; but, setting aside this great element of power, we have yet to find the system that, *as a system*, combines more elements of real efficiency and power of orderly development, and liberty of profitable action and tendencies to build up the people in an intelligent, progressive piety than our own.

Methodism owes its power, as a system, to its popular worship, free to the extremest license, and the stern discipline of its ministry—the principles of freedom and of despotism, both in excess, yet combining so as in a measure to balance each other. John Wesley was the most wonderful

master of ecclesiastical strategy, Loyola not excepted, the world has ever seen. Confessedly, his was not the strategy of that elder John whom the Lord so loved. Yet, with all its antagonistic ultraisms, and its commingling of opposites, I rejoice in the work which it has accomplished; and while I can not regard it as the system which best suits the highest state of the Church, or which is best adapted to build up the people in the intelligent understanding of God's word, and lift them to the noblest position in social life, I yet see before it a great work, and bid it God speed in its accomplishment. The prelatival and liturgical churches owe their power, so far as the outward form is concerned, on the one hand, to the fiction of antiquity and official holiness and apostolical authority; on the other, to their missals and liturgies, beautiful as mere works of art, but not full of the highest power to unfold the Christian life and promote the spiritual efficiency of the membership; the products not of apostolic simplicity, and spontaneous, deep-breathing, soul-subduing Christianity, in the fullness and life of its youth, but confessedly created, in the main, by those ages when art reared cathedrals, and the Gregorians developed the science of music—when the liturgy, and the choir, and the cathedral, and the mass, and the elaborate and gorgeous ritual had all had their grand development. But our efficiency is not of these elements; it is not of these outward and elaborate works of art; nor do we believe that, under such systems, the Church of Christ can ever attain its highest efficiency or its finest development. With us there is a simple worship, designed to train the soul to a close walk with God, and give it the power of spiritual communion; an order of offices and arrangement of duties that spring from the elements of freedom, yet form the best guard against its excess, and open the largest field for individual labor; an intelligent ministry, selected, not to serve tables, but to preach the gospel as its chief work: these are the elements of our ecclesiastical system. We rely most upon the faithful, intelligent preaching of the gospel; we rear a platform where the most intelligent may meet with the hum-

blest and most illiterate—where the learned shall find that which will purify and refine his spirit, the unlearned that which will elevate him to the same position. We seek, in all the arrangements of God's house, to level *upward*; to make all our children both sincere and clear-minded Christians, thoroughly instructed in the faith; to make all men feel their true nobility, their true liberty, the heirship to which they may attain on earth, and the inheritance to which they may attain in heaven. We claim not for the discipline of our church an energy that will render its professors superior to all the infirmities of the age in which they may live; it is not the prerogative of any mere system to do this. But we do claim for it an adaptation to the most advanced state of society, and a fitness for elevating man and spreading abroad the gospel of Christ, equal, to say the least, to any form of church government the world has yet seen. Its labors for the good of man stand forth, and its victories in behalf of all that is good have sounded abroad over the earth. Behold what Presbytery hath done for the world! What battles she hath fought for liberty of conscience! for Christianity against a rampant infidelity! for truth against the combined forces of error! for order against the tumultuous impulses of popular passion! for the crown and cause of Christ against the world! Let her sons understand their position, their privilege and their power; let them avail themselves of all the advantages which so admirable a system has placed within their reach; let them realize the strength of their organization, and its noble tendencies towards a steady progress, and its varied capacity of adaptation to all states of society; let them see in it a mighty bulwark for the Christian faith, resisting, on the one side, the shock of a wild and stormy Independency, that in its licentiousness would open wide all the doors of error; and on the other, the marshaled and trained array of a Papal despotism, that would cover the earth with ignorance and spiritual bondage; let them look to it, not as in itself powerful, but as that which allows and enables *them* to put forth the highest degree of power in the service of their

glorious Lord ; let them heed not the false prophets and evil diviners who cry, Lo, here ! lo, there ! but studying more deeply the simplicity and freedom of their ecclesiastical constitution, let them give to its development, in the increase of the Church of Christ, that energy of heart and mind, which the condition of our land and our position among the other evangelical churches imperatively require. Then shall we see results most hallowed and noble attending our ministry, and our beloved church shall hold the foremost position among the hosts of the Lord, and lead the van in the assault upon the kingdom of darkness ; and to her shall be gathered the fervor of humble piety, the might of a thoroughly educated membership, the refinement of a noble literature, the spirituality of a simple-hearted faith in the Redeemer ; and millions, in all parts of the globe, shall look up to her with affection, and rejoice in her as the mother of blessings, rich as heaven, and lasting as eternity.*

* The progress of the Presbyterian church in this country has been great, and the work it has accomplished in behalf of liberty, of education, and all the elements of a Christian civilization, has been greater even than its success in the acquisition of numbers. Beginning late, in Philadelphia and New York, with all the South and West opening before it, assisted, in part, by devoted men from New England, it has spread abroad through the Union, gathering into its congregations a mass of intelligent and stable piety, maintaining everywhere the character of the ministry for sound learning and simple-hearted religion, holding in check the opposite tendencies to radicalism and perpetual stagnation of Methodism and prelacy, thus rendering them both more efficient in evangelizing men, building up colleges, and academies, and schools with a strong hand, leading the way in all genuine reforms, without loosening itself from those great principles which, although old, are yet true, and essential to the final success of all just changes ; and so presenting itself in harmony with American republicanism, as more than any other identified with American institutions, and a fair representative of the best elements of American character.

XV.

BACCALAUREATE DISCOURSE.*

"For the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."—ROMANS, i. 20.

"All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."—2 TIMOTHY, iii. 16, 17.

"Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?"

"For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."—1 CORINTHIANS, i. 20, 21.

HERE then are two creations, both absolute, both revealing the invisible God. One expresses the divine thought in material forms and forces; the other in human language. The first precedes the second and is essential to it; we advance from what God has done, to what he has said. The intellect that first speaks through the material, then speaks through man's spiritual nature. The second completes the first; it carries the knowledge of the Creator out into a larger sphere; as a revelation it is more definite and clear on those very points to which the material creation testifies; but beyond this it opens to us phases of the divine character and purpose which no processes of human thought could possibly attain.

Now as these two revelations proceed from the same infinite intellect and are given to the same beings, it is probable they will bear a special likeness to each other; while as the

* Delivered before the Senior Class of Hamilton College, July 17, 1859.

second is given to supplement the first and enlarge the limits within which it reveals the Infinite, so it will bear on its face the evidences of this wider, grander and more definite knowledge of the Creator.

These are the two lines of thought I propose to develop on this occasion.

The works of God all bear the divine impress ; the grain of sand, the clod of earth, when taken in connection with the whole system of creation, are full of him ; the meanest as well as the noblest ; the insect that floats in the air for a day, with man, made a little lower than the angels, testifies to the wisdom and power of the Creator. It is not to be supposed that the higher revelations of God in his word would not also bear some of the same peculiarities which reveal themselves so clearly in the material creation. As we pass from the material to the spiritual—from that order and law into which the divine Spirit brought the chaotic elements of the world, out upon that higher system which the same Spirit brought forth out of the darkness of human intellects, it will be found that the impress of the same mind, revealing itself much in the same way, is upon them both.

This argument from analogy, so well developed by Butler, remains ever fresh and productive. I do not design to travel in his footsteps. I wish rather to place in your minds two or three lines of thought of a kindred nature. Nor is it necessary that these should be unfolded with great minuteness of detail. It is better for you to take them as seed-thoughts, to germinate hereafter in the well-cultivated soil of your mature intellect—thoughts which entering now will abide with you, and which in after life will lead you out into a vast field of study, every part of it lustrous with the footprints of Jehovah ; every part of it univocal, so that from the study of nature and revelation you shall behold one grand system, proceeding from an infinitely wise intellect.

I wish also to make this first line of thought introductory to the second ; from that which is analogous in nature, to lead you up to that which transcends nature ; to that point

of thought where the human reason, however profoundly it may have studied this material world, confesses itself utterly at a loss ; where the wisdom of man is seen to be foolishness beside the wisdom of God.

In developing this subject, I ask your attention, first, *to the analogy which exists between the method of creating the world for man and the method of preparing the Bible for man.* Whatever interpretation you may give to the first chapter of Genesis, it is obvious that creation was not a single, nor an instantaneous act. The divine idea of creation was in the mind of God, had been from all eternity, perfect in its minutest details. But the unfolding of this idea through the material form, was a process more or less protracted. There was an advance from the lower to the higher ; there were steps, distinct and clear, by which the creative energy ascended from the origination of mere chaotic elements, until it crowned the series by the formation of man. To affirm this, we need not endorse the speculations of the geologist or the astronomer. Long before science in its human form was born, the process of creation had been traced in brief outline by the pen of inspiration. And it is only one of the ten thousand wonders which, to the thoughtful mind, crowd the sacred volume, that man should at this late day be able to read in the material record, substantially the same process of creation described by the Jewish legislator thousands of years before. Without pronouncing at all upon the various subordinate explanations of this process, it is enough for our present purpose to know that it was not a single act, but a series of acts, stretching on through periods of time, involving great changes, all of which bore directly upon the full preparation of the earth for the abode of an immortal intelligence. The hollowing out the caverns of the deep, the lifting up of the mountains on their granite pillars ; the channeling the river courses ; the formation of those mysterious stores of fuel which were to replace the forests and become subsidiary to the highest style of civilization ; the fitting of the valleys and prairies for the sustenance of a vast population, the bring-

ing forth of vegetable and then of animal life in all their affluence of productiveness, with the grander mystery of that light which flames from the sun and stars ; all this was the product not of an instant, nor of a single act, but of time and various acts perfecting the great work until it came forth in its consummate goodness from the plastic hand of the infinite Creator. How variously God wrought above, below, and around ; what forces he quickened into existence and commissioned to do his work ; how silently, yet sublimely he laid the foundation stones, and reared the visible edifice upon them, we in part only understand. We see distinctly the divine method of procedure ; we mark the process of creation ; means, various and new ; forces, agencies, instruments of all sorts working together in harmony with one all comprehending mind and mighty will, through periods of time, to bring forth a complete creation.

Now mark how like to this is the process by which the same divine intellect prepares *his word*. He might have written it with his own hand. He might have commissioned an angel to record his will. He might have inspired an Enoch in the infancy of the race to unfold the revelation in all its parts. And then it would have borne one character ; the style, like that of the Koran, would have been uniform ; it would have been a book of principles without their illustrations ; a statement of truth, without a living and varied experience. But instead of this, he began his work by occasional revelations ; these, for a time, may have been preserved in traditions and partial records. Then, as the world advanced, these separate rills were brought into one stream ; the Church, in its organic form, was instituted, and the record entrusted to it. Revelations followed each other to meet the varying wants of the Church ; they sprang out of the necessities of a fallen race ; they partook in their character of the experience of this race. At length Jesus appears ; and with the filling out of the substantive parts of redemption, and the instauration of the Church in its noblest form, the great revelation received its fullest development.

Now here, in the very method of revelation, in the history, the poetry, the prophecy, the annunciation of doctrines, behold the same mind that built up the world for the abode of man—building up this spiritual edifice, with all its various apartments, for the indwelling of the human spirit !

The subordinate processes differ because they are designed for different ends ; the one class has primary reference to the body, and therefore it deals with the material. The other has chief reference to the soul, and therefore it deals wholly with the intellectual. But in both cases you see the same general method of procedure, the same beginning with elements, the same advancement by successive and well-ordered steps, according to the logic of infinite wisdom, until at last both reveal themselves in their completed fitness, beauty and glory. Well may the apostle open his epistle to the Hebrews with this sublime utterance, “ God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the worlds.” For the same mind flashes through creation and revelation, and in the very method of their construction indicates the presence of the infinite intelligence.

This thought leads us directly to another of larger scope and richer meaning. We pass from the *method of creation to this creation itself*—and here you perceive two things, characteristic alike of the material and of the spiritual revelation. They are both distinguished as more directly subservient to the immediate wants of man ; secondarily and ultimately to his advancement in science. The world is made for man in the infancy as well as the maturity of his intellect. It is constructed to meet those wants which first press upon us, and which are found in men of all degrees of intellectual culture. The necessity for sustenance—the means of supporting this physical life are our first want. And to supply these the world opens itself bounteously on every side. The soil, teeming with vegetation, and answering generously to the hand that seeks for food ; the fruits that nature garners ;

the animals that rove at will ; the very air and water teeming with a life destined largely to maintain our life, are all man's kindly helpers. These nourish and feed his body ; these minister the materials for his earthly life. It requires but small development of mind to gather the fruits of God's garden. The world did not need to wait for a Liebig to write a vegetable chemistry before it could plow and sow and reap. Everywhere, amid the frozen North, where the dwarfed Laplander drives his deer, or the luxuriant tropics, where the hand of indolence plucks subsistence from the trees which rise spontaneously, men find the material which supports life. And this is God's primary design in creation. He constructed the world so that the yet uncultivated mind might readily find support for the body. He did not build it first for the man of enlarged mind, leaving a ragged corner of it for him who is ignorant of the higher truths of science. He made it with all its beauty and its bounty, for *man* in all stages of culture. The wild Indian may plant his corn, and hunt his deer ; the Esquimaux may strike the walrus and the seal ; "for God opens his bountiful hand and supplieth the wants of every living creature. Sing unto the Lord with thanksgiving ; sing praise upon the harp unto our God ; who covereth the heavens with clouds, who prepareth rain for the earth, who maketh grass to grow upon the mountains. He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry."

So the world addresses directly our sense of the beautiful and the sublime. The flowers and the waving trees, and the green earth with its varied outline, and the dome of blue above us, inlaid with God's jewels or hung in the drapery of clouds, are made not for the botanist or the poet alone ; they appeal to all men and waken new emotions in the breasts of millions to whom science is a mere name. Now when you turn to the inspired revelation, you see the same design. God wrote this book for the multitude. The truths essential to salvation are the simplest possible. They reveal themselves everywhere through these pages. In history, in poetry, in

precept, the Bible speaks to the mind and heart of humanity. It has a thousand voices for the unlearned. A man need not master conic sections, or study a dead language, or be proficient in logic to become wise unto salvation. The elements of life are scattered so broadly over the Scriptures, that the wayfaring man, however weak his intellect, can easily master them. Just as in the material world, the facts of creation may seem to be without order, a chaos, yet the means of life be enjoyed to the full extent of man's earthly wants ; so in the *word*, the grand powers that save men are all open, visible, easily enjoyed. No matter how unable we may be to bring forth the great system in its consummate order. The gospel is glad tidings for the poor. It is meant for man as man with all his passions and emotions, not for man as learned or refined. God's first thought in the material world is for our earthly life ; his first thought in this written word is for the life of his soul. And so you see the creation and the revelation bearing the impress, in their primary design and structure, of the same infinite intellect.

At this point, however, we discern another striking analogy between creation and revelation. *The way in which the fuller knowledge of both is attained is the same.* God has made the world according to a plan of his own, and science is nothing but the discovery of this plan. Yet he has not made this a patent, open thing. It runs all through creation, revealing itself at ten thousand different points ; and still it is hidden from the superficial observer. Heaven and earth in all their parts are its development. It connects the tree with the blade of grass, animal with vegetable life, the crystal of the rock with the flowers and the sunlight ; it binds together the earth and the planets ; and this whole system of ours it allies to the universe. But this plan of the Creator reveals itself only to protracted investigation, to far-reaching thought, to minds matured and long disciplined to classify and reduce the separate parts to the laws which control them. The beautiful appeals directly to our nature ; but to tell what it is that constitutes the beautiful, to determine its laws and

arrange its forms, this is the reward of the office of only ripe study. Light and colors are visible and full of joy ; but the world had to wait for the consummate intellect of Newton to analyze the sunbeam, and detect the relation of light and color. So the world is built up without any seeming regard to scientific arrangement. Trees, plants, animals, are distributed everywhere in apparent confusion. The very strata of the earth oftentimes are broken up, chronology is apparently set at defiance. There is a wonderful disarray, a strange confusion that perplexes and confounds the first thought of him who seeks to ascend to the science of creation. But wait awhile ; study awhile ; let mind busy itself to gather into one kindred facts ; carry on the process ; let the point to which one intellect by vast toil has attained be the starting point of another, and then at length, here and there, a law will be discovered ; here and there order begins to break forth ; some one great principle like that of gravitation is seized—a thousand chaotic facts at its command wheel into line as the servitors of science. And thus science begins—advances—triumphs. It may take the contribution of ages of thought to reach one grand discovery ; it may take a hundred lives toiling upward in succession to reach the point from which the order is visible. But once reached, it remains for ever a point of departure for grander discoveries ; a base line from which to survey loftier heights of the creative wisdom. And thus it must be that the doctrine of a Cosmos—the vast plan of creation—shall result from the profounder study of the finest intellects reaching on through ages.

Now it is singular that one of the objections to the Bible among men of learning, has been that it is not scientific in its arrangements. They have acted towards it in the spirit of the mathematician who threw down Milton's "Paradise Lost" with the contemptuous expression, "it proves nothing." We admit that according to our limited notions it is unscientific in its statements ; we admit that it is not such a book as a *man* of science would have written. On the other hand, it is such a book as only the God of creation would

write. It is thrown together just as the world is—history, and poetry, and prophecy intermingling; sometimes without regard to chronology; at others with no attention to the ordinary rules of fine writing. Paul never writes as if he were Demosthenes composing an oration; John does not discuss the deeper truths of Christian philosophy like Plato; Moses does not chronicle the history of the world and the progress of the Jews like Aristotle or Prescott. There is nothing like this in the Bible. Truth is given here with wonderful condensation and simplicity of statement; thrown out in grand masses like the Alps and the Himalayas, and then again is spread out in the quiet form of history; here it bursts forth in the bird-like song of David, and there it thunders in Habakkuk and the revelations of the seer of Patmos. There is no science in it to the first thought of the explorer. But let him wait awhile; let him study it profoundly; let age after age contribute its treasure of illustration from history; let stalwart intellects gather together its facts; and soon the outlines of the wonderful plan begin to appear; we reach a higher and then a still loftier point of vision. Light breaks in on all sides; we seize hold of the great principle which underlies it, and instantly chaos resolves itself into order, and the intellect of infinite wisdom begins to flame forth in unapproachable grandeur.

Place a man ignorant of machinery in a vast factory, and what a puzzling, confounding scene is all that varied motion. But let a mechanic enter, at once from the single power that impels, down to the tiniest spindle in its rapid whirl, the order of the whole reveals itself. So is it in the world of nature and of revelation. God made them both. The invisible things of him are seen in creation; breathed through revelation to the mind of him who is prepared to see and hear. "Nature considered rationally," says Humboldt, "is a unity in diversity of phenomena," and with the same truth we say, the Bible considered rationally, is a unity in diversity of expression.

Perhaps one of the most senseless objections to this book

is derived from the fact, that in its *treatment of natural phenomena, it adopts the popular and not the scientific form of statement*. But, aside from the fact that it is not designed to be to any extent a treatise on natural science beyond the presentation of a few general facts essential to the knowledge of God, it is obvious that a series of scientific statements would constitute the most formidable obstacle to its reception. For if these were given as absolute truth, then it would be impossible to verify them until the whole Cosmos of creation had been fully mastered. The science to which the human mind had attained in the age of the Ptolemies would pronounce all that lay beyond, or was in opposition to its principles, false. The science of each age would set itself necessarily in opposition to the science of the Bible. If now, that only a few general outlines of nature have been given, there has to be a battle fought at every new advance into the regions of natural laws, what would have been the case had the field of conflict been vastly enlarged so as to embrace a great variety of subjects? The science of this age sets itself up to measure God's truth; the science of the next age proves that the measure then used was imperfect; the science of the age beyond that proves that all previous measures were too short to reach their object. And thus God's Word, instead of fulfilling its great end as a light to the soul into the method of salvation for sinners, would necessarily become an element of discord in the entire field of natural science. No! If any man complains of revelation for being defective in statement, either in regard to the laws of nature or of religion, his complaint lies with greater force against creation; and so he must carry his impious assumption as an accusation into the court of infinite wisdom. There let us leave the fool whom science fails to enlighten and reason to control.

I have time to allude on this part of our subject to only one other analogy between creation and revelation. *They both present points beyond the reach of the finite reason in this world*. This is true of the Bible; in the range of its revelations it ascends above the loftiest heights of intelligence ever

reached in this world. If this were not so, then after a time some minds would get beyond it, would exhaust it, just as the school boy gets beyond his first lessons ; or the college youth beyond his Euclid ; or as a *spiritual* friend of mine, not at all remarkable for his knowledge of the book, once remarked to me, that he had got beyond the Bible itself. Well, this very fact would condemn the Bible and reduce it to the grade of merely human compositions. It would be unlike any of the other works of God. For wherever his hand is seen, there is always an unmistakable impress of greatness, of vastness, of profundity passing comprehension. Man's intellect is finite ; God's infinite. And in his creation, you always find something, and that the very secret power of all others most vital, that you can not master. You may push your researches in any direction, and the further you go you will find that which is beyond you : a principle of order, of law, of life, that you can not grasp.

Science only gives us a knowledge of the outer forms, the sensible qualities of things. You pick a flower ; how delicate ! how harmoniously the colors are blended ! with what exquisite taste and skill is it all constructed ! you take it to the botanist—what is this ? how is it put together ? Well, he picks it to pieces and says it has so many stamens and pistils, and its leaves are of such a form ; it belongs to such a class. But how does it get its form ? how are the colors mixed ? what is the principle, back of all others, that out of the same earth and gases and colors makes this a flower rather than a turnip ? And your botanical professor turns from you in utter perplexity. Here is a man of science, par excellence—a *very* scientific man, who knows all about fishes and clams and oysters. He can tell you the difference, to a hair line, between each sub—subdivision of molluscs. But when his eloquent lecture is over, you quietly ask him what originates the difference ? what is the life in one clam that gives it this form, the life in the other which gives it that ? He will be as much puzzled and as much astonished as was the king of Israel when the leprous captain of

the king of Syria came to him to be healed ! Am I God to tell you this ?

And just so it is with God's Word ; you can not exhaust it ; you can not get all around it ; the higher your intelligence the profounder grows the truth ; the more you search it, with the keenest and most cultivated intellect, the more fully you learn to appreciate its unapproachable greatness and glory. When a child, you thought the next hill top the end of the world, and your horizon shut it on all sides. You grew older and traveled further. But still the horizon extended indefinitely, and you were no nearer the end than you were before. So it is ever with God's word ; advance as we may, rise in intelligence as we can, its limits expand before us ; new forms of truth reveal themselves to us ; and God is seen to be in them all the principle of life. You catch a glimpse to-day of some great thought ; it seems near to you, as the distant mountains seem near to those far, far away. You travel on ; but instead of fully overtaking that thought, it rises higher, higher still, till its top pierces the heavens, and you can only wonder and adore.

I have endeavored thus to give you two or three lines of thought illustrating the authorship of revelation from the actual work of the author of creation. It need occupy us but a little while longer to consider the second part of our subject, the fact that the teachings of the Bible transcend those of nature, and that the wisdom of man is foolishness in respect to the attainment of the great object of life. The apostle asserts the broad fact that mere earthly wisdom or science had failed to save men, and that the gospel alone could effect this great work.

This fact must be based on one or both of two suppositions. It must result from the insufficiency of the teachings of nature when that nature is most wisely interpreted, or it must result from the utter failure of man to interpret it rightly. In point of fact, both these suppositions are true. In the first place, it is true that earthly science, however far it may advance, and however just it may be, is not sufficient

to meet the wants of man as he is now, a fallen and sinful creature. In saying this, I am far from affirming that this science is in any respect opposed to that of Revelation. On the contrary, just as I have shown you some of the analogies which exist between them, so it can be shown that all true science is in full and perfect harmony with the lessons of God's word. But when we have said this, we have not said that this word does not carry us beyond all that nature and providence unfold, into the will of God respecting the highest interests of man. Let a mind, the acutest and most profound, bring forth the results of its study into the whole field of nature; let it classify all its phenomena, seize hold of the laws which give unity to the seeming diversity, and enter into the great plan according to which all that is visible has been constructed; then let it ascend by the most comprehensive deduction until the eternal power and Godhead reveal themselves in all their sublime reality; let it accomplish this work—a work which as yet no human mind has been able to accomplish; let it carry its light from nature up to nature's God, and what have we gained? We have gained a knowledge of law, and the being and character of God so far as these are related to a being placed under mere law; but we have not gained a single ray of light on the chief problem of human life; we have not heard the first whisper in answer to that question of all others most vital to the interests of the race, "How shall a man be just with God?" The immortality of the soul, the method by which a sinner, mortal and evil, can obtain reconciliation with his sovereign, escape from the stern reign of law into that of mercy, and rise superior to all the power of sin, above its disorder and its degeneracy, into the serene atmosphere and life of the divine favor;—on these points of vital interest nature sheds no light. We find order everywhere; we find law everywhere; we see God rising in the grandeur of an infinite Creator, and the sublimity of a moral sovereign; but no voice comes forth from the depths of nature to soothe the distressed conscience; no unmistakable tokens of compassion waken the hope of for-

givenness. Far down in the depths of man's heart there is a turbid fountain for which nature brings no purification ; far down in his moral being there is a terror and a darkness which the clearest deductions of science with reference to the character of God fail to remove. It is here where nature, though an angel unfallen were the questioner, refuses to answer, that the word, divinely inspired, sheds new light on the soul. Jesus *brings life and immortality to light*. He speaks, and the doors of the unknown eternity open. We look in, and lo ! a throne, in the midst of which is a Lamb, as it had been slain, while round it, day and night, circle a company clothed in white robes, with palms in their hands ; and this is the burden of their praise, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory and blessing."

Thus does the gospel reveal a future unknown to nature ; thus does it enter the region of our deepest sorrows and darkness, and reveal the method of escape ; thus does it unfold a heaven where sinners, redeemed and purified, may dwell for ever. Thus does it shine into darkness the speculations of the philosopher, and open a new, a living pathway to the oppressed sons of time—a path all radiant with celestial light, along which the ransomed of the Lord pass to glory with songs and everlasting joy.

But not only is it true that the highest wisdom of nature is inferior to the wisdom of the gospel in itself considered ; it is wholly inferior to it from *the difficulties which attend the acquisition of it*. These difficulties arise, first, from the fallibility of reason, and second, from the disturbed action of our moral nature.

They spring first from the fallibility of reason. This is true, whether you take into view the philosophers or the multitude. The mass of mankind never reason very far. They avoid abstract questions. They find it difficult to pass beyond particulars so as to master universal truths. To gather, arrange, combine, and then deduce from the phenomena of life the law which is impressed upon them, is practically be-

yond their stage of mental development. But this is a process which must be gone through with in order to educe the teachings of nature. This to the great majority of mankind is so difficult that it is not ordinarily effected. Hence, the religion of man outside the Bible is generally based upon tradition. They are born into it. They accept with little or no inquiry the knowledge, the methods of worship, and the precepts of religion which have been handed down to them. If these are pure it is well. If these are corrupt it is well. They never advance upon them. But as I shall show you presently, they inevitably degenerate and lower the purest teachings of the past. That man has read history and humanity to little purpose, who imagines that men will as a body succeed of themselves in attaining a full knowledge of all that creation and providence teach of the ways and character of the Infinite God.

Nor is this true alone of the multitude. The best and purest of the philosophers have signally failed in this direction. Their conceptions of the divine character have been exceedingly defective. And of the relations of man to God, and a future life, they have entertained views very erroneous and evil.

When, however, you take into view, in addition to the weakness and fallibility of the reason, the disordered state of our moral nature, you will see how the difficulties in the way of natural religion enlarge. The moral nature has a most intimate connection with our judgments on all those questions which concern the soul and God. If pure, it mightily aids the reason; its intuitions harmonize with and enforce its conclusions. But if it be impure, if sin reigns in it, if it is alienated from God and debased by wicked works, then it is equally mighty in debauching the reason. This is the chief source of the errors which have overspread the world. One great, appalling fact meets the student of history. It is, that however men may advance in mere literature and science, the progress of the world outside the Bible has ever been downward. Paul has traced this history, and painted it in lurid

colors in the first chapter of the Romans. The whole theory of modern Pantheism, in respect to a secret law of spiritual progress upward, is a lie ; false in its premises and false in its facts. No nation without the Bible has ever advanced from a corrupt to a pure faith. The traditions, the pure truths of an earlier and happier faith are gradually corrupted. Men never advance upon them. They go down from pure Deism to Polytheism, and then to the most horrible corruptions of their new faith. Even philosophy itself partakes of these impure influences ; it rises ; it falls ; it has no sure foothold ; it stumbles at noonday ; it retreats to Deism, to Atheism, to utter skepticism. It roars—it raves like the blind Cyclops in search of an entrance out of its dark cavern, and only penetrates into darker depths. Hear the testimony from one of its hierophants : “ I have consulted our philosophers, I have perused their books, I have examined their several opinions, I have found them all proud, positive, and dogmatising, even in their pretended skepticism, knowing every thing, proving nothing, and ridiculing one another ; and this is the only point in which they concur and in which they are right. If you count their number, each one is reduced to himself ; they never unite but to dispute. I conceived that the insufficiency of the human understanding was the first cause of this prodigious diversity of sentiment, and that pride was the second. If our philosophers were able to discover truth, which of them would interest himself about it ? Where is the philosopher who for his own glory would not willingly deceive the whole human race ? Where is he who in the secret of his heart professes any other object than his own distinction ? The great thing for him is to think differently from other people. Under pretense of being themselves the only people enlightened, they imperiously subject us to their magisterial decisions, and would fain palm upon us, for the true cause of things, the unintelligible systems they have erected in their own heads ; while they overturn, destroy and trample under foot all that mankind reveres ; snatch from the afflicted the only comfort left them in their misery ; from the rich and

great the only curb that can restrain their passions ; tear from the heart all remorse of vice, all hopes of virtue, and still boast themselves the benefactors of mankind.”

Thus speaks Rousseau ; what a remarkable illustration of what Paul long before asserted, that professing themselves to be wise they became fools ? Thus everywhere among the multitude you find those evil influences at work, which darken the reason, corrupt religion, and destroy the soul ; well may we repeat that man by wisdom knew not God.

Turning from this scene of darkness and despair, where hope dies and religion passes into superstition or doubt, we open the Bible. Here the grand truths that bless and save are written out broadly. The law is here in plain, unmistakable characters. We need no long process of reasoning, we wait not for the deductions of philosophy. It is here, shining out as the sun in his glory—surrounded by the presence and confirmed by the manifest authority of God. All the truths most essential for such a fallen race to know are here, not in obscure oracles, not in mere symbols, but in characters of light and glory. Nay, more, these truths are brought out and illustrated in the lives of individuals and nations. They are built up amidst the assaults of all forms of error, as from age to age they encounter the passions of the sensual and the pride of the intellectual. They stand forth in contrast to the delusions of error, and demonstrate their unmistakable divinity amidst the corruptions which encompass them, and, as if to give to the world their sublimest illustration, we behold him who was in the form of God, assuming our form, illustrating the nature of true religion, revealing the power of a holy law in his own life, and lifting up before the world that character to which we may all attain. Nor is this all. While it flashes light upon the character of God as holy, and down into the depths of our polluted natures, it does not mock us with the terrible contrast ; it does not make a Tantalus of us, chaining us to the rock in sight of deliverance, but with no power to reach it. It clothes God with compassion ; it incarnates him as the suffering Re-

deemer ; it builds a pathway to heaven for us ; it institutes a power which, entering our hearts, enlightens, transforms and exalts. It communicates to him who seeks for life, that faith which overcomes the world. And so it reveals to us a glorious Captain of salvation made perfect through suffering, who is everywhere leading up to the heights of glory a vast multitude of ransomed souls. Oh ! glorious and blessed wisdom of the Infinite, shining from these blessed pages, whose calm light penetrates the dark heart, and with divine power creates anew our fallen nature—imparts peace amidst the war of passion—gives strength in conscious weakness, joy in the hour of deepest sorrow, and hope triumphant when the earth and all it contains is slipping from beneath, and eternity waits for our coming.

And now, before I close, let me bring before you two examples, two names illustrious in the annals of the world, partially illustrating the opposite positions on which we have just dwelt. It is but yesterday that Humboldt died. For more than sixty years his name has been associated with science. For sixty years he has been one of the most industrious students of nature. Enjoying royal resources for the prosecution of his work, he has employed these resources with an indomitable will, an enthusiasm ever fresh, an industry that never wearied, a purpose ever erect and fixed. He sought to penetrate the arcana of creation, and from out of its infinite phenomena to educe the ultimate force that gave unity, form and life to all things visible. To effect this object, he read, he studied, he mastered all that the human mind had brought forth and recorded in the entire history of the past and the present. To effect this, he crossed oceans, scaled mountains, traversed deserts ; he looked up into the heavens amid the profound depths of the Cordilleras ; and from the leafless forests of the frozen north. He scrutinized the forms and the forces of nature in climes torrid and temperate, and over all the continents of the earth. He pushed his adventurous researches into the starry universe, and followed in his thought the grandest speculations of those who have pene-

trated farthest into this infinite and peopled expanse that embraces our planetary system as a point in its vastness. He added fact to fact, form to form, force to force. In the immense gyrations of his ascending flight he sought a position from which, penetrating all nature, the diversity should become unity—the discord harmony, the exceptions confirmations and parts of law, while the one grand force that rules and subdues all things to itself, that creates and moves and fills creation with life, should stand revealed to his finite intellect. His own profound passion; the absorbing aspiration of his soul was not to rule as a statesman, nor conquer as a general, nor lift off the burdens of society as a philanthropist, nor pour the redeeming love of Christ into the sorrowing heart of humanity as a Christian minister; it was to solve the problem of creation; to hold it in all its magnificent harmony in his thought as God does in his. He was a man of a genial and kindly nature. The great did homage to his intellect; science sent her devotees to his study as to Mecca—to Jerusalem—to her wisest hierophant and her holiest shrine.

What now in respect to the great end is the conclusion of all this vast research? To what high object is this intrepid pursuit of nature, this reduction of all her forms to one great law, made subservient? What is the final and substantive advantage which man is to reap from this gathering together of the universe into one finite thought? Listen—“Its noblest and most important result is a knowledge of the chain of connection by which all natural forces are linked together, and made mutually dependent upon each other; it is the perception of these relations that exalts our views and ennobles our enjoyment.” Not one word here of God; not a single step beyond the chain of blind force into the august temple of the Infinite Spirit; not a single glance at that great Being in whose thought the idea of the universe ever was; through whose power creation became a living fact. It is all nature—“nature,” in the language of another, which he adopts—“revealing herself as the creative force of the uni-

verse—before all time, eternal, ever active, calling to life all things, whether perishable or imperishable.” Call you this the chief end of philosophy—to ennoble the soul by the contemplation of a vast harmony, a gigantic organ with all its numberless pipes well tuned, while the Infinite Mind, that built and voiced it, whose fingers move it, and whose Spirit breathes through its dead form tones that from the deep bass of the earthquake to the soft alto of the music of the spheres, goes sounding forth through all the depths, and heights, the solitudes and the peopled spaces of His universe, while this Infinite Mind, enthroned in eternity, is utterly forgotten! Why, oh why did this mind, imperial in the realm of science, with all the riches of creation at his feet, as the result of this three-score years of thinking and reading and reasoning, stultify itself with a conclusion so ineffably stupid? Why did it descend from a height so sublime to a position so ridiculous? Why did it arrest its progress and introvert its thoughts, when at the threshold of the celestial city; when another step, and that step demanded by all that is immortal and noble in man, would have brought it into the very presence of the Infinite, and unveiled to it the one great object of thought and feeling that alone can ennoble either the intellect or the heart? The answer, the one solemn and fearful answer, comes to us borne on all the winds that sweep down the course of history, swelling wildly above the riot and the roar of degenerate humanity through all the halls and palaces and academies of time; wailing sadly through the vaults of the charnel houses, the mausoleums where wait the buried dead for judgment. *Man by wisdom knows not God.* If in the darkness and the utter solitude of a desert the tones of a bell should strike upon the ear of the traveler, would he imagine, in the wildness of his fancy, that no hand guided by intelligence had struck that bell? If, instead of this, strains of ravishing harmony, as of an innumerable company of angels, should break upon him, bearing the burden of high and holy thoughts right into his awakened soul, would he, could he arrest the instinctive conclusion that high intelligences were greeting him?

And when the universal harmony begins its wondrous music, all creation, with her ten thousand times ten thousand voices, rings in his ear the thoughts of an Infinite intelligence, shall he, will he, can he, without a blindness and a stupidity passing understanding, suffer his mind to rest in the product, and never lift his thought to the great Producer? I wonder not that Humboldt wrote to a friend, shortly before life closed, "*I live a joyless life;*" I wonder not that, worried and disturbed by the attentions which his fame created, he should join in the same sad chorus which the sublime and tragic muse of Greece so often utters on the borders of the grave; the same sad chorus which from the graves of Cicero, and Seneca, and millions more, perpetually resound through the temples where the wisdom of this world has reared its altars, and in which it has shrined all its hopes for time and eternity. As for me, I had rather have been the author of Cowper's "Fountain filled with Blood," or Kirke White's "Star of Bethlehem," than to be liveried in the gorgeous robes and adorned with the glittering trophies of scientific achievement of the author of *Cosmos*.

I turn to another name—a name often mentioned on these occasions, and justly too; for, of all men who have ever lived, Newton has won a fame in the field of natural science, the most stable and commanding. Yet this man, whose hand had been laid upon those secret principles which constitute the bass chords of the harmony of nature; who saw further into its mysteries, and did more to reduce its discord to harmony, than all who had gone before him. This man turns from the truths of natural science as from the pebbles that strew the shores of the great ocean of truth, to fill his soul with that higher wisdom which comes to us through the inspired revelation. Here he stood amid the Alps, the Niagara of thought, and felt the awful presence of a holy God. Thither he turned from the rude conflicts into which envious rivals had dragged him, to listen to the words of Jesus speaking to him of pardon and life. Here, when the infirmities of age gathered about him, and the grave stood with opening portal

for his coming, he drank in those inspiring hopes which made life's close calm and peaceful, took the sting from death and the victory from the grave. And so he added another illustrious testimony to that of millions—testimony to the fact that when by the wisdom of earthly science he had failed to know God, then the gospel became the wisdom and the power of God unto salvation.

YOUNG GENTLEMEN OF THE SENIOR CLASS :

It has seemed fitting that as I began my instructions to you by the installation of God's Word as our great text book, so in these my parting counsels I should trace out a few of those various lines of thought which, while they evince the harmony of nature and revelation, yet illustrate the insufficiency of the one to meet our highest wants and the adaptation of the other fully to ennoble and save the soul. You know well that we do not undervalue science ; that we love and rejoice in it. But science without God, like a soul without religion, is a house without foundations ; an absurdity ; an enormity in the realm of truth. It is because earthly science is not all science, not even the grandest part of it, that I point you to the higher wisdom. It is because deceived by the glitter of lofty reputations and the noisy demonstrations that attend the successful aspirants for the honors of time, you may be seduced into the pursuit of these flaming phantoms as if they were full of divine virtue, that I would demonstrate to you the exalted position of the gospel of Christ. Here are treasured the elements of all true success. The hopes, the joys of time find here their fullest fountain. Here are crowns imperial that shall never fade ; of which no adventurous usurper can dispossess you. Here God comes down to you as a father ; his incarnate Son reveals himself your suffering brother and redeemer ; his blessed Spirit visits you to renovate, guide and console. Therefore have I sought to commend to you this volume ; since whatever of earthly honor may illustrate your name in the annals of time, if you take not this truth

to your heart, "*mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*" will be written on your forehead never to be erased.

You are now about to enter more immediately the world of active life. You live in an age full of great events. The world is not what it was when this century opened. Science has blazed forth in the glory of a thousand victories ; while the Church of God, intent upon the final triumph of Messiah, has appropriated all those victories as the servitors of Jesus ; has gone forth and is going forth to open the prison doors, to lift the burdens from the neck of the oppressed, to scatter the darkness of error, to purge away the gross pollutions of sin and install everywhere the anointed Redeemer. You are to bear your part in these opening triumphs. It is not as soldiers with garments rolled in blood ; but as men, high-minded men, of disciplined minds and sound Christian principles, anchored in the Word of God, you are to use the truth and the eloquence and the power of argument already gained and hereafter to be increased, for the right. You will not be deceived by the speciousness of error, even when it glitters in the gilded robes of truth. Eloquent sciolists and learned fools are yet to be found. All motion is not progress ; the struggling, drowning man agitates the water and fills the air with his cries ; while the stout, bold swimmer, using his muscles skillfully, noiselessly buffets the waves, and gains the shore. In this world, God has made all greatness in results follow conflict. You must be tried. Temptations to sloth, to pleasure, to vice, to infidel opinions, to a worldly and time-serving policy will surely assail you. Whatever achievements shall reflect honor on this your Alma Mater ; whatever of high morality and public virtue ; whatever of noble deeds in the advancement of society ; whatever of profound science in any of the fields in which you may labor ; whatever of solid Christian character that shall make you a pillar of light in your generation ; whatever of all these you may gain, you will reach them only through the most persistent conflict with the adverse influences that are within and around you. These influences, hostile to your manhood, to your usefulness and to

your crown of life eternal, have slain thousands of those who with disciplined minds have gone forth from college halls anticipating the brightest future. Ye must suffer if ye would rejoice ; ye must fight if ye would reign. When vice shall present to you her sparkling cup, remember that at last it will strike you with an adder's sting. When ambition, unscrupulous and reckless, shall bid you walk in the paths of deceitful policy, then remember the dust and ashes into which her garnered fruits will turn in your grasp. When error, wily, proud, deceitful, shall flatter you, then remember that behind these lofty pretensions follow death and hell. Onward, then, ye young and strong brothers in this great battlefield of life ! Let your watchword be, "*the cross and the crown.*" Let not trials damp your ardor ; let not opposition stay your advocacy of the right. The unfading glory of the eternal city lies before you. On every side you will find warm hearts and strong hands linked in with yours in generous sympathy. And the God of battles will not suffer you to fail.

To-day I bear to you the warm and hearty commendations of those who have for these years watched and rejoiced over your progress with paternal solicitude. And as you now pass from their guidance they give you their cordial wishes for a happy future.

As for myself, peculiar feelings agitate me, as we are about to sunder the link that binds us together as teacher and scholar. You met me, on my entrance into the arduous and responsible duties of this office, with most cordial greetings. You have given yourselves to the work of preparation for the future with rare diligence and fidelity. Week after week your unmistakable progress has been an encouragement and a joy. When oppressed with care and burdened with the responsibilities of an office at all times great, and peculiarly so to me in my inexperience of its duties, your earnest and careful discharge of the work of the class-room has never failed to cheer and strengthen. You are to testify in your after lives to this my first work. You will never be forgotten. I shall follow

you while life lasts with deepest interest. What may be your future is known only to Him who sees the end from the beginning. Some of you have a good hope that Christ is your friend. Some of you since you entered this institution have entered upon a new life. Some of you have yet to seek and find the pearl of price unspeakable. Let me entreat you all to make God's word your light and Jesus your confidence and trust. Then the future, though for a time clouds may darken it, will at length brighten into the glory of an eternal day. Some of your number may fall early; the tears of parents may be shed over your early grave and the hopes of life for this world perish. Some may rise to stations of great influence and your names be heard far and wide. Some may struggle on amidst obscurity, knowing little of the world's greatness. But if you are faithful to the great principle here inculcated your path will be beneath the smiles of God, and at its end you will be crowned with glory and immortal life.

In a few hours we separate. But we shall all meet again. We are yet to graduate from God's university and take our degree from His hand. Teachers and class-mates must all appear in that great day when the trump of the archangel shall call the sleeping dead to judgment. Yes! we shall meet again. May we so meet, sinners forgiven and saved, as to separate no more for ever. Grant this, Lord Jesus!

XVI.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS.*

"Forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel (complaint) against any; even as I forgive you, so also do ye."—COLOSSIANS, iii. 18.

"A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity." (In connection with Acts, xxvii. 41.)—PROVERBS, xvii. 17.

MY friends, when we are involved in a great calamity, the first duty that presses upon us is that of aiding each other to bear it, to mitigate its pressure, and, as far as in us lies, to rise entirely above it. Our next duty is that of searching into its causes, and, if it be possible, adopting a course which will prevent its recurrence. We are now in the midst of great financial troubles. Since the ever memorable 1837, when bankruptcy swept, like a devouring flame amid the dry grass of a prairie, all over the land, there has been no such crisis in the business of the country as that through which we are now passing. At such a time there are peculiar obligations which rest upon all classes of the community, and special duties which, as patriots, as citizens, and as Christians, they owe to each other. There is a primary obligation to help each other to resist the storm which takes precedence of any other, and which is associated with and springs out of the feelings which such a crisis is adapted to awaken in respect to our heavenly Father.

I know, indeed, that there may be those who think it is our first duty to investigate the causes of these troubles, and they ring the changes on speculation and overtrading, while

* A sermon preached in the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 12, 1864.

their neighbor is drowning before their eyes. Others there may be whose conduct says, now we shall see who really are honest men and who are knaves ; who are sound and who are rotten ; while they put forth not an effort of brotherly kindness to save those who are in trouble. Others there are still whose motto is, "save himself who can," and who, in the rush of frenzied efforts at self-preservation, augment the danger they seek to escape, and involve themselves and others in wide-spread ruin. When the ship stranded where two seas met, the soldiers were for killing the prisoners, lest they should escape ; but among those prisoners was the heroic Paul, one of the best and bravest men who ever trod the earth. The sailors were about to forsake the ship and leave the rest to their fate, just as the coward crew of the Arctic left the passengers to perish without an effort on their part to save them. But Paul, lifting up his voice, declared that unless they remained faithful at their post the rest could not be saved. And at such a time as this it is not fair for any class of our citizens, much less the old tried seamen, the men who are used to weather the storm, to leave the ship—to stand far off in selfish security while one after another goes down before them. As a minister of the gospel, it is not my duty to enter into the subject of political economy, or to address you on those laws which are essential to a healthy and successful commerce. There are those to whom these things are familiar, as subjects of a protracted experience and profound study, who are bound to write and speak for the instruction of the community at large. But there are special duties which we owe to each other as fellow-citizens, and to God as his dependent creatures, at such a time, on which it is both my duty and privilege to discourse. I hold it to be every man's duty to contribute according to his ability, whether that ability be in the direction of moral influence or material resources, to alleviate the present distress, and in the restoration of that prosperity which has hitherto so greatly distinguished us ; and so far as it is in my power in this place to effect any thing toward the accomplishment of that object, I should deem my-

self unworthy of my office, were I not to make the attempt to exert that influence. Far be it from me on this occasion to join in a rude and often unjust condemnation of my fellow-men, for results over which they may not have had control. When my neighbor is struggling in the water it would be the part of a cynic and an unfeeling monster to ask him how he got there, instead of doing the utmost to fling him a plank or a rope to save him from drowning. It is in the spirit of him who came to rescue the lost, and enjoined it upon all men to do unto others as they would have others do unto them, that I would speak to you to-night.

In the outset, it is an obvious remark that *faith in each other* is the great principle which, more than any other, constitutes the cement of human society. It enters into almost every transaction of business; it reveals itself in every form of associated action. It is the mutual confidence of husband and wife, parents and children, that binds the family together. The State exists by virtue of the confidence which men have in those who are sent to frame and execute the laws. Society, in all its parts and in all its arrangements, does homage to this principle, and acknowledges it as an indispensable element of its existence. Not a boat is sent forth upon the river or the ocean which does not require faith in its officers on the part of those who commit to it themselves or their property. Not a car starts on the railroad in which men are not compelled to have confidence in the engineer and conductor. Not a co-partnership, nor a company for any good purpose, is ever organized which does not require, as one of its first conditions, some degree of faith in its members. The manufacturer must, to a certain extent, trust his hands, and they, in turn, must have confidence in their employer; the merchant must, within certain limits, confide in his clerks, and they in him. Those who buy, and those who sell, and those who use, are compelled, by the simple fact that they are none of them omniscient, to have faith in each other. The reader of a newspaper must confide in the accuracy and the fidelity of the editor. The client must confide in his lawyer, and the citizen at large

in both judge and jury. A church must have faith in their pastor, and a pastor in his people.

The principle antagonistic to this, the principle of selfishness, which has so deep a root and so vigorous a growth in every heart, and which is perpetually working to undermine this faith in each other, and separate society into individual and hostile elements, must be met by a power far-reaching and mighty, in order to be effectually counteracted, or so far counteracted as to enable men to live in association with each other; for the moment faith falls out of the human heart selfishness reveals its accursed nature and its terrific influence. Then every man instinctively obeys the cry "save himself who can;" then every one trusts to himself for defense and for support. Men glare at each other with green and frenzied eyes. Friends no longer recognize the claims of friendship. Society, except in the lowest form, becomes an impossibility. Individual action takes the place of associated; all the arts of civilization, the refinements of life and the progress of the human mind, are at once arrested. Without faith the earth would become a pandemonium, where incarnate fiends rioted at midday, and selfishness held its jubilee over the wreck of all that is most fair and noble. Benevolence, which is the prop of faith, would vanish away, while in such a chaos selfishness and unbelief would combine to destroy all that renders life lovely and hopeful.

Now, the same results follow, in a less degree, it is true, when confidence fails in any direction. When confidence in magistrates fails us, crime develops itself with fearful rapidity; good citizens fortify their dwellings and arm themselves to resist the lawless when the ministers of justice fail to arrest and punish. The whole process of lynch law, with which we have become so familiar, is nothing more than the protest of society against the faithlessness and the inefficiency of its magistrates—a demonstration of their want of faith in the appointed ministers of justice.

And so when confidence in the pecuniary ability or honesty of those engaged in business is largely broken, then just

in proportion to the extent of this want of confidence and the numbers involved in it, do we see results flowing from it most disastrous to society, distressing to multitudes. In a commercial and manufacturing population, where of necessity there is an immense amount of credit given and taken every day, where, in the ordinary transactions of business, millions change hands in a few hours, not by the transfer of gold and silver, but by certified checks, the whole virtue of which consists in the signature of individuals, it must be the case that a failure of confidence inevitably results in wide-spread overthrow and distress. It generates suspicions that attach to the sound as well as unsound. It contracts the hand of the capitalist, who has the means of assisting those who are in more immediate want, in order that he may be enabled to stand himself amid the storm and save that which he has hoarded from destruction. It produces, as a part of its results, occasional panics, in which the unthinking multitude, eager to save each one his own, rush for the deposited treasure, and by the very suddenness and greatness of their demands, incapacitate at once the safest and best houses in the land from meeting them. Then as the stream flows on it widens and deepens. Merchants can not make collections; manufacturers, unable to command the means to pay their expenses, pay off their hands. Thousands of men, with dependent families, their little store of earnings placed beyond their reach, without resources, are turned adrift to shift as best they may. Nor is this all. Men of acknowledged ability and integrity, men whose property may be double that of all their liabilities, find themselves unable to meet at once their engagements. The impetuous stream flows on, heeding not honesty nor integrity any more than dishonesty. Business men are so bound together, and so dependent upon one another, and all rest so fully upon the maintenance of public confidence, that when this gives way in one quarter no man whose means are in the hands of others is secure. You know not where to go or to whom to look for aid. In the mutual interest and the interlocking relations of men of business, it comes

to pass that the best and ablest men are sometimes forced into positions where they can only extricate themselves by the sacrifice of all their means. And thus it happens that failure of confidence in business circles draws after it results the most disastrous to the entire community. Thus the wheels of commerce are for a time arrested; the hammer of the artizan lies silent by the anvil; the hum of a joyous and busy people gives way to the tears of sorrow and the listlessness of a forced idleness; trouble sits upon the faces of multitudes, as in the presence of some great bereavement; the mighty heart of the city throbs fearfully; while the future looks so dark and gloomy that the depressed spirit seeks in vain therein the consolation of hope.

My friends, have I drawn an unreal picture? Thousands in this city have sat for this portrait, and can attest the fidelity of the likeness. Never since we were a city has there been so extensive a breaking down of public confidence in the business relations of this community as we have witnessed in the last few weeks. The storm of '37, I am assured, only touched with its outer circle this then young city; but this has burst upon us in all its fury, and, if God arrest it not, it will not stop until it has struck a blow at our prosperity the sad effects of which a score of years can hardly repair.

The question which presses upon us is just this: What can we do to mitigate the evil, or arrest its further progress?

It is obvious you can not by any mere resolutions create public confidence. It is not a thing to be forced. The failure of it is the result of causes various and combined, acting for a long period.

It is not merely speculation, nor over-trading, nor over-importation, nor extravagant living, nor the fearful drouth of the last season, nor usury, nor bad legislation alone that has produced so wide-spread a destruction of confidence, and prepared the way for so many and so disastrous failures. It is rather the combination of these things, which, helping each other, have at length issued in this sad result. The Ohio is never lifted to a flood height by the rise of a single one of its

tributaries. There must be a combination of these, a general swelling in them all, to raise its waters over its banks. You can not by any process at once arrest it or bank it in. And you can not, in any way that I know of, at once arrest the failure of confidence, and at once inspire it again in the community. But must we therefore do nothing? Let us see:

1. It is in your power to judge charitably and not to aggravate the general distress by general denunciations. Benevolence, the handmaid of all true public confidence, condemns the harsh and censorious judgment which, in the visitation of a personal loss, or the general excitement attending such a state of things, men are forced to pass upon each other. The most scrupulous honesty is often not proof against the assaults of indiscriminating passion. The longest career of integrity fortified by time, and an example singularly blameless if it happens to be arrayed for the time in seeming opposition to their interest, is not sufficient to lift its possessor above the most unjust, most libelous accusations of those who suffer the loss.

Now, we are to bear in mind that the adoption of an erroneous policy is far from arguing a bad nature; that the ablest financiers are subject to mistakes, simply because they are not infallible, and that with the firmest integrity there may be error in policy. It does not become us in the hour of suffering to condemn one man or set of men for that which in the times of prosperity almost all engaged in, or to which we ourselves contributed as really as those whom we condemn. We hear men just at this time loud in their condemnation of the principle of paying depositors interest, and attributing to this evil root a vast deal of the mischief which has come upon us. Well, if you condemn the principle did you never accept the interest? And have you not made it a condition of the employment of your means, and so forced the adoption of it and helped to maintain the thing you now deprecate? Thou that judgest another, dost thou the same? I mention this solely for the purpose of illustrating the readiness with which

men are apt to condemn in others the things which they themselves approbate in other circumstances.

We are not to forget that it sometimes happens, in times like these, that men fall, not from any fault of theirs, nor from any wrong judgment, but in consequence of that general failure of public confidence which surrounds them like the deadly simoon of the desert. They fall because others fall ; they fall because in the conduct of business they must be in connection with others who in their ruin drag them down ; and it ill becomes any in such case to indulge in harsh judgments, in suspicions of bad motives, and in those denunciations which only aggravate the public excitement and enhance the failure of public confidence. Far be it from me to apologize for dishonesty, to shield the fraudulent, to extenuate manifest guilt. But, before you launch your thunders, be sure your victim is not simply unfortunate, lest injured innocence accuse you at a higher bar, in an hour when you yourself will need to ask for divine mercy.

If ever men should sympathize together and judge charitably of each other it is at such a time as this. It is for you to make all needful allowance for the circumstances in which business men are placed. It is for you to exercise that brotherly kindness which in times of adversity mitigates half its severity, and wonderfully assists in banishing altogether its hateful presence.

2. It is the injunction of religion as well as the dictate of a truly sound policy (they are never, indeed, to be separated) that creditors should exercise forbearance toward their debtors. It may be that there are men in the community so selfish, so base as to plead the hardness of the times against their creditors, when the only reason for their non-fulfillment of their engagements is the hardness of their hearts—whose means are amply sufficient, but whose avarice catches at every plausible excuse for deferring a just settlement. Of such men I do not now speak. Such men are strangers not merely to religious, but the common honesty and justice ; but there are multitudes who can not at once meet their engage-

ments without an enormous sacrifice—a sacrifice which often is equivalent to their temporary ruin. There are those men whose honesty is proverbial, whose characters are of shining excellence, whose means are double their liabilities, or fully sufficient to meet them when time is allowed them rightly to arrange them, who yet find themselves utterly unable at once to meet their acknowledged indebtedness. In this wide-spread trouble their debtors have failed them, and they, in turn, are for the time compelled to sacrifice all they possess, or fail to meet their engagements at the set time. Now, what will be the course of creditors in such a case? We know what one man did in the parable which is recorded in Luke: when his master had forgiven him his debt he went out and found one of his fellow-servants which owed him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, “Pay me that thou owest.” And his fellow-servant fell down at his feet and besought him, saying, have *patience* with me and I will pay thee all; and he would not, but went and cast him into prison till he should pay the debt. This is one way of exacting the debt, but it is a way to which, I am persuaded, you will not readily resort. Have *patience* and I will pay thee all, is the urgent answer of many a debtor. At these times a generous extension is the best policy for all. It enables men to look about them. It gives them an opportunity to render their real means available. It maintains their position in business, and prepares them to take advantage of the returning prosperity. By such Christian forbearance, in these cases, creditors will not usually be losers, while in many cases men of great probity are saved from commercial ruin. Indeed, at such times, so urgent and necessary as this policy seems to be, that the State has occasionally seen fit to authorize it in the case of its own banks, in order to save them from ruin and the community from wide-spread disaster.

3. At such a time as this much may be done by those to whom God has intrusted riches to alleviate the pressure and mitigate the severity of financial trials. Men to whom God

has intrusted large possessions are charged by him to hold them for the good of men. Wealth was never given to bless us alone, or to develop a huge selfishness, or set us apart from all sympathy with the sorrows and trials of our fellow-men ; and there are few things in this world more truly pitiable than that of a man gloating over treasures he can never use for himself, and never expects to use for any direct objects of public beneficence ; all the while insensible to those around him, and hardening his heart against the claims of suffering humanity. Wealth was given for noble purposes, and it must be used for such purposes, or it becomes a far deeper curse than poverty ever can be ; and especially in times like these, when credit is every thing ; a credit based upon actual possessions ; it is in the power of such men to use their credit to lift up the burdened and assist in carrying the whole community through such a crisis as is now upon us. There are men in this city a dozen of whom, if they should set themselves about it, could give public confidence to our banking institutions, and enable them to give a real and yet safe assistance to the whole suffering community. I do not pretend to dictate the ways in which this may be done. The suggestion may seem absurd, or absurdly philanthropical to some, but sure I am that where there is a will there is a way ; sure I am that men whose credit is good for hundreds of thousands, if they would now realize how noble a thing it is to use it so as to help their fellow-men in this time of their distress, yea, if they did but feel as when they stand before the bar of God, I doubt not but that they would bestir themselves to effect so admirable a work. When, a few months ago, a steamer on our southern coast was in distress and peril, one vessel after another hove in sight, but soon left her to her fate. At length a captain of another sort laid his vessel alongside of her, and though the wind whistled and the storm beat upon them, and prevented immediate approach, yet, above the sound of the waves and the roar of the tempest, his voice was heard cheering the inmates of the vessel, and assuring them that he would remain by them till all were

saved. And when he had accomplished that object how did the generous and heroic deed waken the praise of a grateful nation. And must the sea alone be the scene of noble self-sacrifices in behalf of our distressed humanity? Are there no men among us able to lay themselves alongside some of our storm-tossed vessels, and give relief to their suffering inmates? I know, indeed, that in all this I go against the ordinary maxims of trade, but for all that, I believe the philosophy of the Bible is better than all such maxims; that where it rebukes the profane spirit which cries, "am I my brother's keeper?" where it commends the good Samaritan for his act of kindness to the unfortunate; where it gives us an example of self-sacrifice for the good of the world, in the person of our Redeemer, it inculcates the only spirit and practice which, in the family or on 'Change, in social or commercial life, is at all adequate to alleviate the sins of mankind and meet the responsibilities which press upon us in regard to our fellow-men. And when I say that, at a time like this, men of large resources and credit have great responsibilities resting upon them to use them not so as to swell their coffers with the wrecks of others' fortunes and prey upon the misfortunes of their fellows, but to aid wisely and effectually the honest and the faithful who need it. I do but reiterate the great principles of practical benevolence which are everywhere inculcated in this book, and by which at length you and I will be tried before the great tribunal.

4. At such a time as this it is especially important that business men sympathize with and stand by each other. The principle of association is one of tremendous influence. It carries our elections—it builds up railroads—it combines the resources and energies of thousands in some one great work. It distinguishes the Church, which is merely an association of Christians—it characterizes the State as being an association for still another object. Now I am greatly mistaken if this same principle ought not to be brought to bear upon the state of things in which we now find ourselves. Instead of standing alone, why do not our merchants, manufacturers,

and men of business meet and consult together, and lay their plans to sustain, as far as in them lies, every one of their number who can show an actual solvency? Is it possible that in a body of men so large as this, distinguished by enterprise, by talent, by comprehensive views to a degree unsurpassed in our country, there can not be found practical wisdom enough to devise some measure of relief, or unity of feeling enough to adopt such measures, or energy of purpose sufficient to carry them into execution? Let every man feel that his sympathies are worth something, that his forbearance and good will are of value, that his mind will give aid that will be a light in the midst of darkness. If, instead of struggling each one for himself, you come together as men whose interests are one and whose sympathies are one, if those who feel strong will lend a helping hand to the weak, to receive the same help when their time of weakness comes, if when a brother's sail begins to shake in the wind you should give him a helping hand, then might you greatly assist in alleviating the pressure of commercial embarrassments, and fulfill that right royal law, "Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you." If there should be those who seek to grow rich out of the misfortunes of their fellow-men—those who rejoice in the earthquake that shatters the dwellings of others, because out of the fallen stones they may construct their own, then would you rebuke a selfishness so marked and vile, and hold up a pattern of another spirit.

5. There is no little responsibility at all times resting on the conductors of the public press; but when there is suspicion abroad and the ear of thousands ready to hear the least whisper of an evil report, it becomes them to weigh well their sentences, and beware lest in sheer thoughtlessness they aggravate this fearful evil. The man, who uses his power to create causeless suspicions, scatters firebrands, arrows, and death. The press is instinct with life and power, and, wisely conducted, it may do much to restore confidence and heal the wounds of which society so freely bleeds.

6. It becomes us to be hopeful respecting the future. God

has given us a wonderful land, embosoming all the varied material resources which are at all essential to national prosperity. He has given us free institutions, which admit the fullest and largest development. We are not where we are compelled to lick the dust under the imperious tread of a fellow man. Our chains are only those which are spiritual and mental. Our troubles can have but one lower source, and that is depravity. Our embarrassments spring from our folly and the direct visitation of God. But to make us wise he has given us the Bible and Christian institutions. He has planted the Sabbath and the ministry and the Church on the soil. He means not to destroy us, but to purify us; he designs not to curse us, but to bless us, in rectifying our errors and giving a better direction to our energies. Our business and commercial relations are, of necessity, in a sense self-adjusting. The evil that is in our course works itself out at length, and at a large cost of feeling teaches us a lesson we would otherwise be slow to learn. We are, as a nation and as a city, necessarily experimenters in many things. The failure of one scheme is but a transient embarrassment. The energy, the enterprise, the vital power, the magic skill, are still here, destined to work on and triumph over every obstacle but one, and that one is vice. Vice will ruin us. Vice—unbelief, which is its father—reckless living, which is its step-father, may eat out the heart of our Saxon and Christian energy. But as yet this is not fully the case. There is virtue and morality and religion here, although I shall soon show you that there are processes going on which, unchecked, would destroy them utterly. There is skill and science and enterprise here in large combinations. We are the heart of one of the finest countries the sun shines upon—we are in communication, commercial, religious and scientific, with every part of our country. We have, I verily believe, a great, a glorious destiny to fulfill. These financial troubles will force our energies into some new channels. They may modify our plans and modes of action; but they can not long retard or depress the enterprise and material prosperity of this city. There will be distress this winter among all classes, and

it is specially our duty to organize for the relief of the poor, or put new life into already existing organizations. But, with all this before us, brighter days are coming. Sorrow endureth for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. Many a merchant—many a young man, is learning a lesson now that will prepare him to go forward in a different spirit and lay the foundations more securely for a competency of this world's goods. It has been said that no man ultimately succeeds in business who has not failed once. And although, taken in its largest meaning, it is false, yet it is true in its spirit—it is true that trials and adversity in business often make individuals and communities wise and cautious, and so guides them to ultimate success. Look up, then, ye who have been cast down! Hope on—hope ever!

I have thus far dwelt upon the duties which this crisis devolves upon us in respect to each other. I have sought to speak a word of hope and encouragement, knowing well how often we need each other's kindly sympathy and generous forbearance; how often a word fitly spoken will raise the courage of the desponding, and nerve him to unwonted efforts in overcoming difficulties. But I should be untrue to you, and faithless to my own high trust as God's minister, if I were to stop here, if I were not to attempt to carry your mind away from this scene of earthly trial to that infinite One who ruleth among the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of earth. Adversity comes not upon us without a purpose. It falls upon nations and upon individuals by the divine direction, with the intent of working in us those moral changes through which alone, as individuals, we can be truly happy, or as a nation, permanently and healthfully prosperous. Adversity is designed of God to teach us our dependence and our guilt. In prosperity, the spirit of pride is often wonderfully developed. We seem to think all things possible to us, because as yet we have carried our plans into successful execution. We feel as if we had our hand upon the very springs of fortune. We glory in our might, in our wisdom, in our prospects. Then we forget God; we exclaim, is not this great Babylon that I

have built by the might of my power, and for the glory of my majesty ! We make our prosperity an excuse for self-indulgence and extravagance. We learn to contemn the poor, and disregard the cries of the oppressed. We are too delicate and too privileged to bear the cross for Christ. We grow madly in love with the vanities of time, and count the treasures of this life, the glory and the renown that comes from man, as higher in value than the favor and love of the great Jehovah. Then comes the stern, yet no less blessed teacher, *adversity*. It dries up the sources of our power ; it withers the "gourd" of our pride ; it demonstrates our utter feebleness ; it compels us to recognize our dependence upon the infinite Lord.

Then, too, we are taught our guilt as well as our dependence. How monstrous a thing it is that the creature should swell with pride, should cast off the fear of God and restrain prayer ! How wicked it is for him to despise the divine favor and the divine mercy in Jesus Christ ! Adversity forces reflection ; it brings us face to face with our Maker ; it compels us to feel that we are little, and God alone is truly great—that we are sinful, and God alone is truly good. As individuals and as a people we are very guilty. If you enter the Church, what worldly conformity without scruple do you find among those whose Master has expressly enjoined upon them, "Be not conformed to this world !" How much is lavished in dress and luxury and midnight follies ; how little is really consecrated to Jesus and his cause ! What eagerness is there to gain this world for themselves and children, how little are they concerned to gain heaven and Christ ! How easily are enormous sums lavished in building and public enterprises for time ; how hardly are a few hundred, gathered to plant new churches, and carry forward the evangelization of the multitudes that know not the gospel ! Look at the profanation of the Sabbath ! Go, stand at the post office of a Sabbath morning, and witness the crowd thronging there. Who are they ? It shames me to hear, and it makes me blush to speak the fact, that the Church of Christ is largely represented there.

See how intemperance marches forward, unchecked, unrebuked! Magistrates, faithless to their trust, suffer the laws to be trampled under foot. Money enough is yearly worse than lost in this horrible traffic, this direct demoralization of society, this undermining of the virtue and strength and intelligence of the body politic, this fountain of wretchedness and degradation and death in families—money enough is expended yearly in this dreadful work to have carried this whole business community safely through the crisis of suffering now upon it, and brought it forth erect and healthful. Think you, my friends, God will not avenge these ignorant, debased, brutalized children, these weeping wives, these parents' hearts torn with anguish over sons debauched and ruined by the trafficker in alcohol, aided by the connivance of magistrates, and abetted by unscrupulous and unprincipled politicians?

See how unblushingly infidelity enters our public lecture rooms, and even goes up into the pulpits of churches at least nominally Christian! The subtle poison of unbelief is thrown into the atmosphere which multitudes breathe; newspapers carry it to our very firesides; literary associations, under the pretense of liberality, invite hither the most skillful assailants of Christianity, to give them a position from which they may with greatest effect attempt the destruction of that simple faith in God's truth which alone is able to cheer us in life, give a solid foundation to public faith, purify public morals, and bless men with the hope of immortal life.

The youth of our city, amid the seductions of our past prosperity, are trained in all the dissipation of fashionable life; wealth, luxury, pleasure, are made the chief end of man; the true glory and nobility of man are lost sight of in the round of nightly gayety; the service of God, a Christian's hope, are counted worthless beside the gewgaws of the hour.

Meanwhile religion languishes; the cross ceases to be borne, and the crown ceases to attract; here and there a blessed Sabbath school teacher seeks to penetrate the mass of ignorance that envelops multitudes; here and there a Christian cries unto God for his Spirit to bless the people.

Attending all this, crime multiplies, and enormous taxes pay the price of our ungodliness and neglect.

Verily there is guilt in the palace and guilt in the hovel—guilt in the banqueting hall and guilt in the petty bar-room—guilt in the public lecture room and guilt in the church—guilt in the family and guilt in society. We have made haste to be rich, but we thought not of the snare; we have nourished our hearts as in the day of slaughter, but we have thought not of the end. And now God has come and demonstrated to us how that which men most set their hearts upon, that root of all evil, may vanish in an hour. Five years ago the pestilence alighted among us and decimated the population of this city. Then thousands vowed to live a new life; then, in their terror and distress, multitudes resolved, if they were spared, they would forsake their sins. But when the hand of God was lifted off from us and the monster had ceased to devour, the young inebriate went back to the wine cup, the frightened maiden resorted again to the dance and the revel, the startled politician gave himself up to the pursuit of popular favor, the worldly professor forgot his transient seriousness, the matron again plunged into display and the frippery of earthly adornment, while the men of business rushed after this world as if death were a dream, and silver and gold were life's only treasure.

And now God has come in another form; he has touched the apple of your eye—he has made the city stagger and reel like a drunken man; he has shown us how thoroughly we have been intoxicated with the Circean cup; he has troubled hearts and made faces pale that the march of pestilence neither troubled nor changed. He has come to us, combining all these various causes of commercial embarrassment, and launching them in one bolt upon the nation and upon us.

What wilt thou do, O, man of the world, when God takes away thy jewels? What wilt thou do, O, young man, when God reveals to thee the uncertainty of earthly possessions? What wilt thou do, O, infidel, when God takes away thy only sources of hope and consolation? O, ye thoughtless crowd,

who hurry with such infatuated eagerness along the broad road to perdition, will ye not recognize the hand of God? will ye not see your guilt in despising his laws? will ye not now begin to seek for those treasures which will not fail you, that inheritance which will never fade away?

And if ever there was a time for Christians to work and pray in hope for the souls of men, this is that time. Ye who are afflicted come and give yourselves afresh to Him, and go forth to commend your Saviour to your lost fellow-men. Now is the time for prayer—this is the time for God's people to show the world, even when their possessions are swept from them, the preciousness of a religion priceless as the blood of Jesus, and fadeless as eternity itself. Let not your heads be bowed down, except as they are bowed down in penitence and prayer.

Weep not for the joys that fade,
Like evening lights, away;
For hopes, that, like the stars decayed,
Have left thy mortal day;
For clouds of sorrow will depart,
And brilliant skies be given;
And tho' on earth the tear may start,
Yet bliss awaits the holy heart,
Amid the bowers of heaven.

Weep not for earthly pleasures vanished, but weep that you have served Christ no better; weep that you have been so conformed to the world as to encourage it in its reckless and mad pursuit of folly; weep for those who, amid all God's calls, still remain in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. Show yourselves indeed Christians—brothers and friends, born for adversity. Comfort the comfortless; cheer the desponding; visit the poor and the distressed; carry the gospel of peace to all around you. Then, as religion revives and advances, will a true prosperity come to our city. For although these pecuniary embarrassments may soon pass away, and pecuniary prosperity again return to us, yet we never can be truly prosperous—we never can have a just foundation for

public faith—we never will have a broad and pure morality among us, until the Bible goes into every family, until the youth are trained to believe its doctrines and practise its precepts, until pure Christianity has made men feel themselves to be something more than brute machines, and destined to something higher than merely earthly enjoyment.

These clouds which hang over our city so dense and dark, my friends, will soon pass away; but there is coming on another scene of greater terror and grandeur, when the heavens shall be rolled up like a scroll, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and Christ shall spread his throne upon the clouds, and you and I, and all the innumerable hosts of Adam's sons, will be summoned to judgment.

O! on that day, that wrathful day,
When man to judgment wakes from clay,
Be thou, O, Christ, the sinner's stay,
Tho' heaven and earth should pass away.

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