A. CAMPBELL.

Anno Ætat. 65.

Affectionately and truly yours
A. Campbell

MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,

EMBRACING

A VIEW OF THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS AND PRINCIPLES
OF THE RELIGIOUS REFORMATION
WHICH HE ADVOCATED.

BY ROBERT RICHARDSON.

More sweet than odors caught by him who sails
Near spicy shores of Araby the blest,
A thousand times more exquisitely sweet,
The freight of holy feeling which we meet,
In thoughtful moments, wafted by the gales
From fields where good men walk, or bow'rs wherein they rest.

WORDSWORTH.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

IT is a praiseworthy curiosity that leads men to scan minutely the lives and characters of distinguished persons. Great men are, for the most part, the discoverers and the dispensers of truth, as the mountains which lift themselves aloft in impressive grandeur receive the first rays of light and reflect them upon the plain beneath. Furthermore, as it is the mountains that hold, within their rocky embrace, those veins of precious metal and those fertilizing materials whose particles are swept down by the torrent to enrich the fields, and men hasten, not in vain, to explore those heights from which the shining sands were gathered, so it is by no means an unprofitable labor to trace to their origin those precious truths which have blessed and enriched mankind, and to investigate the hidden motives and qualities of those eminent men from whom the world has derived such important benefits.

That the subject of the following memoir has been one of the world's benefactors—that his labors have largely contributed to weaken the power of sectarianism, to break the fetters of religious bigotry, and to bring about the present ameliorated condition of religious society, can be denied by no right-minded person who is properly acquainted with the religious movements of the last half century. Although vindictive personal or partisan hostility may withhold its assent, it cannot be truthfully denied that whatever abatement there may be of party spirit, whatever increased respect for the simple and unadulterated truths of tne Bible, whatever grow-

ing tendency to Christian unity there exists in Protestant society, especially in the United States, may be traced more certainly and immediately to the public labors of Mr. Campbell than to those of any of his contemporaries. His eloquent pleadings have been extensively heard indeed, not only in America but in Europe; his writings have been circulated wherever the English language is spoken, and their effects have been too plainly visible not to be at once recognized by every unprejudiced observer. To inquire into the true character of such a man, and the influences by which it was developed and matured, will not, therefore, it is hoped, prove an unprofitable study. In engaging in it, however, it is to be remembered that, as in order to inspect the veins of precious ore that enrich the granite summit of the mountain, we must ascend from the low and narrow valley at its foot to the elevation at which they can alone be found, so it will be necessary for the reader, in order to estimate aright the individual whose history is here related, to lift himself above the groveling and contracted sphere of educational and sectarian prejudice in which he may heretofore have moved, to those purer regions of Christian freedom and of lofty and untrammeled thought for which Mr. Campbell was himself distinguished.

The advantage which, from his boyhood, the author had enjoyed of being intimately acquainted with him, as well as with his father and the family, together with the utility of such a work, first suggested the idea of preparing the following memoirs; and it may be stated, perhaps without violating any principle of propriety, that when, more than thirty years ago, he privately intimated to Mr. Campbell, in the confidence and unreserve of friendship, that such was his intention, it was by him most heartily sanctioned and approved. This purpose, however, from the cares of a busy life and various other hindrances, was long postponed; and might, indeed, never have been executed, had not the death of Mr. Campbell furnished a pressing occasion, and the formal request of his surviving family, together with the entreaties of many friends, furnished motives which could not be resisted. Hence, upon receiving the following letter, written by his excellent lady, and signed by all his surviving children, the author resolved at once to undertake the work:

BETHANY, March 30, 1866.

DR. R. RICHARDSON:

Dear Brother in Christ:

A number of communications have been addressed to me on the subject of the memoirs of my lamented husband, conveying an earnest desire for their early appearance.

Desiring, on my own part, as well as that of my family, that this trust should be confided to one held in warm Christian sympathy and high personal esteem, such as I feel assured he ever felt for you during many years of intimate acquaintance and fellowship, the confident hope is entertained that you will comply with our heart-wishes in this respect. Our only consolation, under the weight of this overwhelming sorrow and affliction, is, that our irreparable loss is his eternal gain.

"Farewell, but not for ever, Hope replies;
Trace but his steps and meet him in the skies;
There, nothing shall renew the parting pain;
Thou shalt not wither, nor I weep again!"

I remain, dear brother, your sister in the blessed hope of eternal life,

SELINA H. CAMPBELL.

In the above request the undersigned earnestly concur.

A. CAMPBELL, Junior,
VIRGINIA C. THOMPSON,
DECIMA C. BARCLAY,
W. P. CAMPBELL.

As a sexagenarian, and afflicted with an amaurosis, which, in a good measure, denies to him the use of his eyes, the writer might well have shrunk from a task of so great magnitude, in despair of ever being able to complete it; but the abundant materials kindly furnished by Mrs. Campbell and numerous friends, to whom this public acknowledgment is due, greatly encouraged and assisted him in his labors; and the aid he has received from his twin-daughter, whose patient services as reader and amanuensis have robbed her girlhood of many sportive hours, has at length enabled him to present to the public these pages, in which he has endeavored, to the best of his ability under the circumstances, to give a faithful narrative of Mr. Campbell's life and labors. These, as is usually the case with those who attempt reforms, have, as it will appear, been greatly

misrepresented by his enemies, and very imperfectly appreciated by many of his friends.

The reader of the following memoirs may rest assured that the utmost pains have been taken to assure the authenticity and the accuracy of the facts detailed, and that nothing has been allowed to form a part of the narrative for which there did not appear to be clear and sufficient evidence. It has been the aim of the author to allow Mr. Campbell, as far as practicable, to speak for himself by his actions and his writings, and to gather from private papers, and the cherished remembrances of personal intimacy, such additional gleams of light as might serve to furnish a view of the inner man, and reveal the struggles of a mighty soul amidst the conflicts of life. Should he be charged with giving, in any case, too much space to natural description, he must plead, as an apology, his desire to place the reader, as much as possible, amidst the very scenes and circumstances by which Mr. Campbell was himself surrounded, so that he may be enabled to form his own estimate as to how far the forms of external nature and the associations of youth exerted their admitted formative power. In regard to the religious influences which surrounded Mr. Campbell in his early life, it has been thought necessary to go into considerable detail, as their effects were marked and permanent.

It seemed, indeed, impossible to place the views and labors of Mr. Campbell in their true light without giving a pretty full account of the state of religious society around him. In endeavoring to do this, the author has preferred to speak of particular religious movements and parties when, in the course of the narrative, Mr. Campbell comes into contact with them, rather than in the form, usually adopted, of a general historical introduction prefixed to the work—a plan which has, doubtless, its advantages, but which, in the present case, seemed less eligible than the one adopted, for reasons which it is unnecessary to specify. It is hoped, therefore, that the sketches given of the state of religious society at different periods will not only supply the facts necessary to a correct judgment, but, at the same time, afford interesting information. For many of the details connected with the Secession Church the author would acknowledge his indebtedness to McKerrow's valuable history, and for those

belonging to the religious movement of the Haldanes, chiefly to the very interesting "Memoirs of Robert and J. A. Haldane, by Alexander Haldane, Esq."

As there were many who co-operated with Mr. Campbell in the work of Reformation, it has been thought expedient to furnish brief notices, at least of those among them who were especially intimate with him, who themselves contributed important additions to the truths developed during the progress of the Reformation, or were particularly instrumental in aiding and extending it. Many of the facts connected with these fellow-laborers have interesting relations to the principal subject, and the names, at least, of those who were thus honored should be preserved from oblivion. It is on account of the discursiveness hence arising, as well as the author's consciousness of the incompleteness of his work, that it is entitled "Memoirs," rather than a biography. And it is in the use of the liberty which this species of writing concedes that, even at the risk of being prolix, he has not hesitated to present all those details which seemed interesting to his own mind, knowing that while he himself could not feel justified in avoiding the labor of their insertion, the reader could or would exercise at his pleasure the privilege of omitting them.

In conclusion, he humbly hopes that the Divine blessing may accompany his work, so as to render it useful to the cause of Bible Christianity. He is aware, that in the offering he brings, many defects may appear to the eye of the critic, but he must, in that case, try to find comfort in the persuasion that imperfection is the lot of every human effort—that of the critic himself, of course, included; and that, under more favorable circumstances, and with more time at his disposal, he could have supplied a more finished production. One who has been largely associated with the persons described, and who has been borne along in the same religious movement, can, however, after all, hardly claim to be so exempt from those natural feelings and prepossessions which affect the judgment as to do much more than provide the materials from which some one more competent may hereafter, with calmer research and clearer philosophical analysis, exhibit the life and character of ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

BETHPHAGE, WEST VA., DECEMBER 27, 1867.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and parentage—Lineage of his mother—His father's ancestry—Character and early life of Thomas Campbell.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, the subject of the following memoir, was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland. His father, Thomas Campbell, having been united in marriage with Jane Corneigle, in June, 1787, their first child, Alexander, was born September 12, 1788, where they then resided, near Ballymena, in the parish of Broughshane, and about one mile from the site of the ancient and once beautiful Shane's Castle, whose mouldering towers, upon the northern shore of Lough Neagh, still attract the notice of the passing traveler.

His mother's ancestors were French Huguenots, who, having fled from their native country upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., sought refuge, it appears, first in Scotland, from whence they subsequently migrated to Ireland. The entire connexion, the Corneigles and Bonners, seem to have moved in a body, and, being pleased with the fertile and gently undulating lands in county Antrim, are said to have purchased conjointly an entire townland upon the bor-

ders of Lough Neagh, where they devoted themselves to agriculture, and established schools in which the Bible was carefully taught, and where they strictly maintained the forms and services of the Presbyterian Church. It was here that Thomas Campbell, while engaged in teaching school, and in preparing himself for the ministry in the Secession Church, became acquainted with the descendants of these exiles, and was subsequently married, in his twenty-fifth year, to Jane, an only daughter of the family of the Corneigles. In personal appearance she was tall, but well proportioned, exceedingly erect and dignified in her carriage, but, at the same time, modest and remarkably retiring in her manners and disposition. Her features were strongly marked, and, in this respect, her son Alexander bore a striking likeness to her. The Roman nose, the expression and color of the eyes, surmounted by prominent frontal developments, the outline of the mouth, and the general form and character of the face, so characteristic of the son, were equally so of the mother, though softened by the greater delicacy of the feminine features. Her complexion was extremely clear and fine, contrasting agreeably with her abundant dark brown hair. She had been left an orphan in her seventh year by the death of her father, and, as the only daughter of a pious mother, had been brought up with tender affection and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord from her early infancy, so that she had become noted for her sincere devotion to religious duties. At the time of her marriage she was in her twenty-fourth year, having been born September, 1763.

Her husband, Thomas Campbell, was of medium stature, compactly built, in form and feature eminently handsome. His forehead was somewhat square and

massive, his complexion fair and ruddy, his soft gray eyes full of intelligence—the whole expression of his countenance indicative of deep reflection and of kindly feeling. His ancestors were originally from the West of Scotland; on this account claiming clanship, if not kindred, with the race of Diarmid, the Campbells of Argyleshire, from whence the family are supposed to have emigrated at some former period. His grandfather, Thomas Campbell, it is known, was born in Ireland, near Dyerlake Wood in county Down, and lived to the great age of one hundred and five years. His own immediate father, Archibald, was in early life a Romanist, and served as a soldier in the British army under Gen. Wolfe. After the capture of Quebec he returned to his native country, and, abjuring Romanism, became a strict member of the Church of England, to which he adhered until his death in his eighty-eighth year. He is said to have been somewhat eccentric, but peculiarly social and genial in his habits and warm in his feelings. He had a fair complexion, with remarkably clear blue eyes, was energetic and brisk in his movements, and, though of a quick and passionate temper, was readily appeased. He lived in county Down, near Newry, and gave to his four sons, Thomas, James, Archibald and Enos, an excellent English education at a military regimental school not far distant. He had also four daughters, who all died in their infancy, and, what is rather unusual, each one of them was, in succession, called Mary.

Of the sons, Thomas, who was the oldest, having been born in county Down, February 1, 1763, seems to have been, from his mild and thoughtful disposition, particularly dear to his father, and to have had considerable influence over him, yet not to have him-

self always escaped the effects of his father's hasty temper.*

Of the remaining brothers, James and Archibald engaged in teaching, along with Thomas, when quite young, near Sheepbridge, two miles from Newry, and both of them became members finally of the Secession Church. James seems afterward to have led rather an unsettled life, emigrating finally to Canada. Archibald and Enos, however, devoted themselves to the business of teaching in the town of Newry—a profession in which they were eminently successful.

As the life and labors of the oldest brother, Thomas, blend themselves so intimately with those of his son Alexander that it is impossible to separate them, it will be necessary to detail, with some minuteness, the earlier history of this remarkable man, and to give a succinct but definite account of those religious struggles which occupied the greater part of his long and laborious career.

It appears that, in his early youth, he became the subject of deep religious impressions, and acquired a most sincere and earnest love for the Scriptures. The cold formality of the Episcopal ritual, and the apparent want of vital piety in the Church to which his father belonged, led him to prefer the society of the more rigid and devotional Covenanters and Seceders, and to attend their religious meetings. As he advanced in years, his religious impressions deepened. He began

* It is related that Thomas, when preparing himself for the ministry, had been permitted to conduct worship in his father's family, and that, on one occasion, when he had prayed unusually long, the old man, whose kneeling posture had become painful to him on account of his rheumatism, was no sooner upon his feet than, in a sudden gust of passion, he began, greatly to the surprise and scandal of all present, to belabor poor Thomas with his cane because he had kept them so long upon their knees.

to experience great concern for his salvation, and the various doubts and misgivings usually presenting themselves when the sense of sin is deep and the conscience tender, pressed very heavily upon his mind. For a long time his distress seemed continually to increase. By earnest and diligent prayer, and the constant use of all the means prescribed by sympathizing and pious friends, he sought, apparently in vain, for those assurances of acceptance and those tokens of forgiveness which were regarded as necessary accompaniments of a true faith and evidence of "effectual calling." While in this state, and when his mental distress had reached its highest point, he was one day walking alone in the fields, when, in the midst of his prayerful anxieties and longings, he felt a divine peace suddenly diffuse itself throughout his soul, and the love of God seemed to be shed abroad in his heart as he had never before realized it. His doubts, anxieties and fears were at once dissipated, as if by enchantment. He was enabled to see and to trust in the merits of a crucified Christ, and to enjoy a divine sense of reconciliation, that filled him with rapture and seemed to determine his destiny for ever. From this moment he recognized himself as consecrated to God, and thought only how he might best appropriate his time and his abilities to his service.

It is unnecessary to pause here in order to consider the nature or the value of such a religious "experience" as is here related, as this subject will hereafter come under review in its appropriate place. The facts, at least, were as above stated; and it is certain that Thomas Campbell believed himself to have been specially "called" at this time, and that he regarded the feelings and the sudden change which he then ex-

perienced as proceeding from a direct divine influence, which imparted to him a saving or justifying faith.

Having a strong desire to devote himself to the ministry in the Secession Church, the matter was broached to his father, who proved by no means favorable to it. He, indeed, had but little sympathy in his son's religious change, being attached to the Church of England, and determined, as he used to say, "to serve God according to act of Parliament." Having also rather extreme views of paternal authority in religious as well as in other matters, it may well be supposed that his son's position was rather embarrassing. So excellent was the young man's character, however, and so exemplary his conduct, that opposition to his fixed purpose could not long continue. Meanwhile, pending any positive decision, filled with ardent desire to benefit his fellow-beings, and hearing sad accounts of the unenlightened condition of the people in certain portions of the south of Ireland, Thomas Campbell resolved to make an effort in their behalf; and having procured the necessary means of introduction, he went down into one of the most benighted parts of the province of Connaught, and established there an English academy. He obtained a large number of pupils, and applied himself to their improvement and elevation, intellectually, morally and religiously, with the greatest assiduity. In the midst of his labors, however, he was suddenly and peremptorily summoned by his father to return; and as soon as he could free himself from his existing engagements, he bade adieu to his friends and pupils, who gave him the parting hand with many tears, so much had he endeared himself to them by his incessant efforts for their education and happiness.

Upon his return to the North, a good school was

obtained for him at Sheepbridge, near Newry, through the influence of Mr. John Kinley,* who resided there, and who conceived so high an opinion of Mr. Campbell's abilities, that, after some time, he urged him to carry out his design of entering the ministry, and kindly proffered the necessary means to defray the expense. His father having finally acquiesced in his purpose, he soon afterwards proceeded to Glasgow, where he became a student in the University. Here, with that exact punctuality and strict attention to method which characterized him through life, he devoted himself to the prescribed studies, which, for students of divinity, then occupied three years. He also, during his stay at the University, attended the medical lectures, it being regarded proper for ministers to have, in addition to a knowledge of their own particular profession, such an acquaintance with medicine as would enable them to render necessary aid to their poorer parishioners who might not have the services of a regular medical attendant.

After having completed his literary course at the University, it became necessary for him to enter the theological school established by that branch of the Secession, the Anti-Burghers, to which he belonged. As the number of those preparing for the ministry was not great, the class usually consisting of from twenty to thirty members at this period, this school was under the

* Mr. Kinley was a Seceder, and married a sister of Thomas Carr, of Newry. Thomas Campbell's brother Archibald afterwards married a daughter of Thomas Carr, and one of James Campbell's sons, also named Archibald, married another daughter, so that the families were thus connected. While Thomas Campbell taught at Sheepbridge, one of Mr. Kinley's daughters was a pupil, and became in the year 1800 the wife of Robert Tener, whose useful labors in promoting the cause of religious reformation may be hereafter noticed.

charge of a single professor, who was appointed by the Synod. In order to admission into Divinity Hall, it was required by the Synod that the candidates should be first examined, as to their proficiency in Latin and Greek, by the Presbytery within whose bounds they resided. They were examined, likewise, on the various branches of philosophy they had studied at the University; and also on personal religion. The appointed course of attendance at the Hall was five annual sessions of eight weeks each, with some exceptions in the case of missions and of a scarcity of preachers.* Mr. Archibald Bruce was at this time the Doctor of Divinity, and the school was at Whitburn, where Mr. Bruce officiated as minister to a congregation, it being then the custom to transfer the Divinity Hall to the place where the professor appointed was living at the time.†

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* The course of business in Divinity Hall was, with occasional variations, as follows: One meeting a day at twelve o'clock. On Monday, a miscellaneous lecture by the Professor. On Tuesday, discourses by the students. On Wednesday, a lecture by the Professor, in Latin, on the system of Theology, using Markii Medulla (a treatise on Systematic Theology by the celebrated Mark of Leyden) as a text-book. On Thursday, examination of the students on the Theology taught. On Friday, discourses by the students. On Saturday a lecture on the Confession of Faith, with conference on some practical subject stated by the Professor. In addition, the students had debating and other societies among themselves, in which theological questions were discussed.

† Mr. Bruce was a professor highly qualified, very pious and amiable, and greatly venerated by the students. He was the second Professor of Divinity since the division of the Seceders into Burghers and Anti-Burghers, having been preceded by Mr. William Moncrief, who was appointed 10th February, 1762, and died 4th August, 1786. Mr. Bruce was appointed September, 1786, and held the office for twenty years, up to 1806, at which time he separated from the General Associate Synod, and superintended the theological class connected with the "Constitutional Presbytery," until February 28, 1816, when he suddenly expired, after the exercises of the pulpit, in his seventieth year. For the number and variety of his publications, he holds a high place among Secession authors. Dr. McCrie says of him: "For solidity and perspicacity of judgment, joined to a lively imagination; for

After having completed the course required, and submitted to the usual examination and trials for license before the Presbytery in Ireland, Thomas Campbell became what is called a probationer, whose office was to preach the Gospel, under the supervision of the Synod,* in such congregations as were destitute of a fixed ministry. So far as can now be ascertained, it was prior to his engaging in these labors, and while passing to and fro to attend his studies in Scotland, or while, during vacations, he occupied himself in teaching, that he became acquainted with the descendants of the Huguenots who had settled on the borders of Lough Neagh, and ultimately married one of them, Miss Jane Corneigle, as already stated in the early part of the present chapter.

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profound acquaintance with the system of Theology, and with all the branches which are subsidiary to it, and which are ornamental as well as useful to the Christian divine; for the power of patient investigation, of careful discrimination between truth and error, and of guarding against extremes, on the right hand as well as on the left; and for the talent of recommending truth to the youthful mind by a rich and flowing style, not to mention the qualities by which his private character was adorned,—Mr. Bruce has been equaled by few, if any, of those who have occupied the chair of Divinity, either in late or in former times."

* The Associate Synod of Ireland was first constituted at Monaghan, October 20, 1779, eight or nine years before. When organized, it consisted of three Presbyteries—those of Monaghan, Down and Derry.

CHAPTER II.

Boyhood—Schooling—Religious training—Influence of his father's character.

AFTER the birth of his son Alexander,* Thomas Campbell remained but a short time in county Antrim. He seems then to have returned to the neighborhood of Sheepbridge, where he resumed the business of teaching school, preaching also for the Seceder congregations in the vicinity. After some years

* It is proper to notice here a slight discrepancy that exists in relation to the age of Alexander Campbell. The records, it appears, were lost in a shipwreck when the family were emigrating to the United States, and long afterward some were inclined to put his birth in the year 1786. Even his father, in an account written about 1847, gives the date 1786. But at this time his father was eighty-four years old, and, with a memory always very defective as to dates and names, could not be regarded as decisive authority. On the other hand, the evidences in favor of his having been born in 1788 are numerous and conclusive: 1. All agree that his father was born February 1, 1763, and that he was in his twenty-fifth year when he married, which could not have been, therefore, until 1787, and Alexander was born the year after, 1788. 2. The birth of Jane is recorded in Thomas Campbell's diary as occurring in 1800, and she (still living) states that it was always the understanding in her father's family that she was about twelve years younger than her brother Alexander: this again gives 1788. 3. James Foster, who is yet living in the full exercise of his faculties, and who has always been remarkable for his power of memory, states that the first time he saw Alexander was at Rich-Hill, and that he was then a mere lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, and engaged in boyish sport, having in his hand a long pole with a net attached, with which he was catching small birds along the eaves of the thatched houses in the outskirts of the town. James Foster himself was, he says, then a young man grown, and he knows he could not have been less than three and a half or four years older than Alexander. James Foster was born March 1, 1785, and adding to this three and a half years, we are brought

spent thus, finding Market Hill, in county Armagh, a more convenient place of residence while engaged in the labors of a probationer, he removed to that town, where he occupied himself, it would appear, for a portion of the time, as a teacher of private classes in families. Meanwhile, another son, James, was born, who died in infancy; and afterward, a daughter, who was called Dorothea, a name which, like the corresponding "Theodore" given to males, and Dieudonne in French, signifies God's gift. About the year 1798 he accepted a call from a church recently established

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to September, 1788. 4. In confirmation of these evidences, there is direct and positive proof from a diary which Alexander kept while in Glasgow. It begins in these words: "I, Alexander Campbell, in the twentieth year of my age, being born on the 12th of September, 1788, do commence a regular diary from the 1st of January, 1809, and intend prosecuting it from this time forward, at least for some time, Deo volente. Glasgow." Now, admitting that the family records were lost in the shipwreck which had occurred but a few weeks previous, it is not likely that he would so soon have forgotten the year of his birth, especially so near majority—a period which young men are wont to mark with accuracy. Besides, his mother and brothers and sisters were all with him, and he had all the means necessary for exact information, had he felt any doubt on the subject. He entered it down carefully, probably because the records had been lost, and the slight error he makes in using the ordinal instead of the cardinal number, only serves to make the case stronger. He says, "in the twentieth year of my age," when he was in fact in his twenty-first. He had been twenty on the 12th of the preceding September, and did not, at the moment, notice that he had passed into his twenty-first. To say that he had been born in 1786 is to suppose that he had come of age more than a year before in Ireland, *without knowing anything at all about it, and with the family records before him;* which is an absurd supposition. From these and various other proofs which might be adduced, there can remain no doubt that he was born in September, 1788, the date which he himself entered down in his own family Bible at Bethany. In this, the following are the entries with respect to his father's family: Thomas Campbell, born in county Down, in 1763; Jane, wife of Thomas Campbell, died at Jane McKeever's, aged seventy-two; Alexander Campbell, born at Ballymena, September, 1788; Dorothea, born July 27, 1793; Nancy, September 18, 1795; Jane, June 18, 1800; Thomas, May 1, 1802; Archibald, April 4, 1804; Alicia, April, 1806.

at Ahorey, four miles from the city of Armagh, to become its pastor, and accordingly removed to a farm near Rich-Hill, which is about ten miles from the flourishing town of Newry. This region is one of the most beautiful portions of Ireland. The soil is rich, the farms are highly improved, and the roads are excellent, though the face of the country is much more broken and diversified than in county Antrim. It is said that William the Third, upon reaching the neighborhood of Belfast, was greatly pleased with the appearance of Ireland; but that when he had advanced to Newry, on his way to the Boyne, he was so delighted with the fertility of this region, with the rich green of the earth, with the beauty of the scenery, and with the bays and rivers so admirably suited to commerce, that he exclaimed to his officers: "This is indeed a country worth fighting for!" The country about Rich-Hill, where Thomas Campbell now settled, is particularly admired. From a high hill near his farm a magnificent prospect presents itself, extending over several counties, and embracing landscapes of the most varied and picturesque character, the beauty of which is enhanced by a distinct view of the waters of Lough Neagh,* which, toward the north, exhibit their silvery brightness in the distance.

It was in this charming region that Thomas Campbell now fixed his abode, and was, in due time, with the usual solemnities, ordained as the pastor of the

* This lough is the largest body of fresh water in Europe, except the Lake of Geneva and one or two of lesser note in Russia, being twenty-two miles long and seven or eight miles wide. A canal, constructed for the first nine miles in the bed of the river Bann, passes from its southern extremity to Newry, and thence to the sea, an entire distance of twenty-four miles. The waters of the lough are celebrated for their power of petrifying wood and other organic substances placed in its waters or buried near its shores.

congregation. It was here, also, that the youthful days of Alexander were chiefly spent. For some time he was continued at an elementary school in Market Hill, where he boarded in the family of a Mr. Gillis, merchant of that place. He spent also some two or three years of his boyhood at school in the town of Newry, where his uncles, Archibald and Enos, had opened an academy. Upon his return home, his father endeavored to superintend and continue his education. He found him, however, so exceedingly devoted to sport and physical exercise that it was difficult to fix his attention upon books. This uncommon activity of disposition seems at this time to have been his most striking trait. There was in his constitution no tendency to precocious mental development, nor did his peculiar intellectual powers begin to manifest themselves strikingly until he had nearly attained his growth. His extreme fondness for sport rendered him so averse to the confinement required in order to acquire learning, that study became to him a drudgery, and the tasks with which his over-anxious father constantly supplied him became dull and wearisome. About his ninth year, the French language was added to his other studies, but in this he appears not to have made a very satisfactory progress, if we may judge from the following anecdote, which he himself, in later life, used to relate amongst his friends with great glee: Having gone out on a warm day to con over his French lesson in "The Adventures of Telemachus," under the shade of a tree, he finally dropped asleep. A cow that was grazing near approached, and seeing the book lying on the grass, seized it, and, before he was sufficiently awake to prevent, actually devoured it. Upon making report of the loss, his father gave him a castigation for his carelessness,

and enforced it by telling him that "the cow had got more French in her stomach than he had in his head," a fact which, of course, he could not deny. Certain it was, at least, that this was the *last* of the Adventures of Telemachus!

On account of his great disinclination to confinement, his father at length concluded to put him to work on the farm along with the laborers, in order to subdue his love of sport, and, as he said, "to break him in to his books." He seems to have found field-labor much more congenial, and to have worked hard for several years, until he had become a stout lad, full of health and vigor. At this time his intellectual nature began to assert its claims. He manifested a love for reading and less inclination to outdoor exercise; and, with his father's approbation, betook himself to his studies again, filled with an ardent desire for literary distinction, and determined, as he said, to be "one of the best scholars in the kingdom."

There can be no doubt that the course pursued by his father in this case was extremely wise. As the plant at a certain period, after seeming repose, rapidly throws up its flower-stalk, whose unfolding buds demand its entire resources, so there is a time in youth when the rapid development of the body demands, and seems to monopolize, all the energies and resources of the brain and nervous system. Nature seems, at this time, to impel to bodily activity, in order to assist in this necessary development and expansion of the muscular system and of the framework of the body, and to deny, for a time, to the brain the capacity for much intellectual labor. It is hard for boys, in this transition state, to fix their attention upon study, or to pursue any train of connected thought, or take pleasure in sober

learning. The memory perhaps suffers less eclipse than any of the other powers of mind, but even this is sluggish; and if this or any other faculty be now artificially forced to exertion, most serious evils are likely to arise, not only in regard to the proper growth and vigor of the body, but to the constitution of the mind itself. It is hence important that parents should allow their children, at this period, to occupy themselves in such labors as tend to unfold and invigorate the bodily powers, and defer intellectual toil until the proper period shall be indicated. It was unquestionably largely due to this prudent foresight on the part of Thomas Campbell that his son Alexander owed his almost uninterrupted future mental and bodily vigor.

He now began to display a very active mind, an eager thirst for knowledge, and a remarkably ready and retentive memory. On one occasion he is said to have committed to memory sixty lines of blank verse in fifty-two minutes, so that he could repeat them without missing a word. He was, from this time forward, accustomed to memorize, frequently, select extracts from the best authors, as well in compliance with his father's wishes as from his own appreciation of their merit, so that his mind became stored with the finer passages of the British poets, which he was enabled to retain through life. He was extremely fond of reading, and became gradually quite conversant with many of the standard English authors, especially with such as were of a moral, philosophical or religious cast. As he advanced in age, he learned greatly to admire the character and the works of Locke, whose "Letters on Toleration" seem to have made a lasting impression upon him, and to have fixed his ideas of religious and of civil liberty. The "Essay on the Human Under-

standing" he appears to have thoroughly studied under the direction of his father, who was earnestly desirous that his son should make all possible advancement and preparation, trusting that he would be able, after some time, to send him to the University. Hence he labored to perfect his son's knowledge of the preliminary English branches, to instruct him in Latin and Greek, and, as time wore on, even to anticipate in part the usual college course.

Although thus diligently engaged, under his father's guidance, in literary and grave pursuits, it is not to be supposed that Alexander's natural disposition was so much altered as to render him either very serious or very sedentary. On the contrary, his naturally active and lively temperament, full of vivacity and sportiveness, still demanded a sufficient amount of physical exercise, and he still delighted to engage occasionally in the games and amusements of youth. Having an athletic frame, and a hand unusually large for his years, he soon made himself noted among his companions for the large size of his snow-balls and the force with which they were hurled. For the same reasons he was expert in sowing grain, and loved to practise the art with the neighboring farmers at the proper seasons. He was extremely fond also of frequenting the streams for the purposes of fishing and of bathing, and became, by dint of practice, an excellent swimmer. But his greatest delight was to traverse the fields in search of game, to capture birds with nets, or with dog and gun to rouse them from their secret coverts.* His indulgent parents freely sanctioned such

* He was so fascinated with the sport of gunning, and his ammunition was at times so scanty, that he once conceived the idea of manufacturing gunpowder for himself. Having found out its composition and obtained the

recreations at proper times, believing them conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to health and vigor.

While carefully superintending the literary education of his son, Thomas Campbell was by no means negligent of his religious training. It was made an essential part of his ministerial duty, as it was no less the dictate of his parental affection, to bring up his children "in the nurture and instruction of the Lord," in order that his family might be a pattern to others. To this end, it was prescribed by the Synod that the minister "should worship God in his family by singing, reading and prayer, morning and evening; that he should catechise and instruct them at least once a week in religion; endeavoring to cause every member to pray in secret morning and evening; and that he should remember the Lord's day to keep it holy, and should himself maintain a conversation becoming the gospel." Of all these obligations Thomas Campbell was carefully observant, and in all his regulations and efforts for the improvement and welfare of his family he was earnestly and ably seconded by the estimable woman he had married. Like her ancestors, she had very decided religious convictions, and gladly co-operated with her husband in the moral and religious instruction of the family. It was their rule that every member should memorize, during each day, some portion of the Bible, to be recited at evening worship. Long passages were often thus recited, but if only a single verse was correctly repeated by the smaller children, it was received with encouraging approbation. Attention was

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ingredients, he set to work with his experiments; and finally, while drying the mass he had formed, succeeded in producing an explosion, from which he narrowly escaped personal injury, and which, of course, brought his manufacturing operations to an abrupt conclusion.

usually called to the important facts or truths presented in each recitation, questions were asked in regard to them, and appropriate remarks briefly offered. Finally, the Scriptures repeated during the week were again rehearsed on the evening of the Lord's day. This sacred day also was faithfully observed. Every member of the household was expected to go to meeting, and it was understood that each one was to give, upon returning home, an account not only of the text, but of the discourse itself, embracing its leading points. This was designed to secure, on the part of the young especially, a proper *attention* to the services of public worship, so that the church might not be a place for the observance of cold and lifeless forms, but in reality a house of prayer and of true religious edification. In carrying out these regulations, as in all his family discipline, and indeed the whole conduct of life, Mr. Campbell was most punctual and methodical. He was by no means exacting, but made his appeal, as far as possible, to the heart and conscience, showing the most affectionate interest in the welfare of all the members of his household. When called away, as he frequently was, to assist other ministers at a distance, his pious wife constantly labored to keep up the regular order of religious worship and instruction in the family.

It was under such influences in the domestic circle that Alexander Campbell passed his early years; and it cannot be doubted that they had a most important bearing on his future life. To this fact he himself bore testimony in his declining years, and, long after the death of his mother, paid to her memory the following tribute of affectionate remembrance: "Having a peculiarly ready and retentive memory, she treasured up the Scriptures in early life, and could quote and apply

them with great fluency and pertinency from childhood to old age. She, indeed, also possessed a mental independence which I have rarely seen equaled, and certainly never surpassed, by any woman of my acquaintance. Greatly devoted to her children, and especially to their proper training for public usefulness, and for their own individual and social enjoyment, she was indefatigable in her labors of love, and in her attention to their physical, intellectual, moral and religious training and development. * * * * * She made a nearer approximation to the acknowledged beau ideal of a Christian mother than any one of her sex with whom I have had the pleasure of forming a special acquaintance. I can but gratefully add, that to my mother, as well as to my father, I am indebted for having memorized in early life almost all the writings of King Solomon—his Proverbs, his Ecclesiastes—and many of the Psalms of his father David. They have not only been written on the tablet of my memory, but incorporated with my modes of thinking and speaking."

While the character of Alexander Campbell was thus, in early life, moulded in a large degree by the family training to which he was subjected, an important formative influence was also exerted by various other circumstances which deserve to be considered. Among these, his father's personal character and example, his religious views and his public ministerial life, may be particularly mentioned. This excellent man, though possessed of all the gravity and thoughtfulness becoming his position, was eminently social in his disposition, having much of that genial warmth of temperament so common in the Irish people, and along with it a ready flow of ideas, which rendered his conversation and his

company very agreeable. There was nothing in his deportment forbidding or austere. He preferred, indeed, serious and religious topics of discourse, and constantly contrived to lead the conversation in that direction; and though he seemed to enjoy an occasional polemical discussion with his friends, his favorite themes were the completeness of Christ's salvation and the infinite goodness of God. Nevertheless, he manifested great interest in the secular concerns of his parishioners, and sympathized with them in their cares and labors. He had withal an excellent relish for genuine humor, and was himself not unskilled in the use of jocular pleasantry, with which he sometimes sought to enliven conversation. In his manners he was extremely courteous and refined, blending a perfect self-possession with an easy and graceful affability, and having about him a peculiar attractiveness and dignity which secured the respect of all who approached him.

It is the unanimous testimony of those who were familiar with his labors that, as a pastor, no one could be more faithful or diligent. He was himself "a pattern of good works;" "hospitable, sober, just, holy, temperate," visiting and ministering to the sick and afflicted, and rendering assistance to the poor—duties to which Mrs. Campbell was also particularly devoted. He sought to introduce into all the families of the congregation the same course of regular scriptural instruction and worship which he pursued in his own household. In addition to his ordinary visits, he made a parochial tour regularly twice a year, in company with one or two of the ruling elders, inquiring into the state of religion in every family; catechising the children; examining the older members upon their Bible-read-

ings; praying with them, and giving such admonitions and exhortations as seemed appropriate.

In the character of Thomas Campbell there was no one feature more strongly marked than his exceeding reverence for the Bible. This seems to have made a profound impression upon the mind of his son Alexander, even in his boyhood; for he relates that, when entering his father's study, in which he had a large and well-assorted library, he was wont to wonder on seeing, with a very few exceptions, only *his Bible and Concordance* on the table, with a simple outfit of pen, ink and paper. "Whether," he adds, "he had read all these volumes and cared nothing more for them, or whether he regarded them as wholly useless, I presumed not to inquire and dared not to decide." Fettered as he was by his theology, he was thus accustomed to consult the Bible itself, and to bring his mind into direct communion with its teachings. The bonds of doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority were, doubtless, by this means, to some extent, insensibly relaxed; but he remained conscientiously attached to Presbyterianism, as the simplest and most orthodox form of Christianity. He had, under its banner, taken into one hand the Gospel trumpet, and into the other the lamp of Divine truth, which, however, was enclosed within the earthen pitcher of scholastic theology. The time had not yet come when this pitcher should be broken and the light be displayed abroad. Many hours of darkness were yet to pass, and many trials to be encountered, before, under the guidance of Providence, he was to give the signal for an important religious reformation, based on the Bible alone. It is worthy of record, however, that he had at this time learned to prize the sacred volume so far above all human compositions, and recognized so

fully its supreme authority, as to be extremely jealous of any departure from its exact expressions. Hence it was, that when he found, after some time, the children of the congregation confounding, in their answers, the language of the catechism with that of Scripture, he began to dispense with the catechism, fearing lest they should assign to the latter a degree of authority equal to that of the Bible.

As a preacher, Thomas Campbell was popular with the Seceder denomination. He possessed fine didactic talents, and was much given to generalizing his subjects, so as to refer many particulars to a single head or principle. He was brief and accurate in defining terms, and skilled in making a complete and exhaustive division of his theme. The protracted services of public worship among the Seceders naturally led to a habit of frequent and sometimes tedious recapitulation on the part of their ministers; but Mr. Campbell's sermons, while sufficiently doctrinal and elaborate to suit the taste of the times, were enlivened by many apt though homely illustrations, and he was able, by pointed remarks and occasional changes of manner, to keep the attention of his audience constantly engaged. At the same time, the evident and heartfelt earnestness with which he spoke, and his own personal piety, gave weight and authority to his teachings.

In his intercourse with religious society he manifested the utmost kindness and charity for those who differed with him in their views, often bewailing the unhappy divisions that existed, and striving to promote, as far as practicable, Christian union and peace. He was careful to give cause of offence to no one, to speak evil of no one, and was prompt to repress in others any approach to detraction or tale-bearing. In regard to the

theme of conversation, indeed, as well as to all other matters, the inquiry with him was ever, "What will it profit?" and nothing could receive his sanction that did not at least promise to be of practical utility.

From politics he kept entirely aloof, a position at that time extremely difficult; for his ministry in Ireland extended through all the years of those civil commotions which issued in the rebellion of 1798, and the attempt of Emmet and others in 1803. The society of Orangemen was first formed in 1795 in county Armagh, and seemed to have for its object to drive by threats and nocturnal outrages the entire Catholic peasantry from the country. Great alarm seized upon this unprotected class, who could obtain no redress from the magistrates. Many of them were compelled to abandon their cabins and their all, and seek refuge in the fields, and the utmost consternation was excited throughout the country by threats and exaggerated reports. Various other parties of contending rioters, as the "Defenders," the "Peep-o'day Boys," &c., disturbed different parts of the province of Ulster. Numbers went about in the night searching houses for arms. This becoming generally known, the houses were opened upon the first summons, and this easy mode of admittance was taken advantage of by common robbers, who plundered the people of their property.

In the midst of these troubles, and chiefly through the agency of Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant and lawyer in Dublin, a remarkable secret association, called the "United Irishmen," was formed, having for its object to erect Ireland into a separate and independent republic. By an ingenious ascending scale of representation from decenaries and hundreds, to baronies, to provinces, and thence to the whole kingdom, such a

combination was formed, and such a force prepared, as had never before, in modern times, been accumulated in the face of an existing government. Each member was bound by the sanctity of a solemn oath, and the mysterious workings of the association produced an effect more marked and general than any of those secret tribunals which, for a time, kept a portion of Germany in awe. The Catholics united with it to obtain protection against the Orangemen and a redress of grievances, and the Presbyterians because they were earnestly desirous of effecting a reform in Parliament and securing equal representation and equal taxation. These political objects, however, as well as others, soon became perverted to insurrectionary purposes.

The greater portion of the Presbyterians became connected with this secret organization, and constituted, indeed, its chief moral strength, owing to their superiority in intelligence and social position. In the six northern counties they formed, in fact, a very large part of the population, and it may readily be conceived that Mr. Campbell's utter refusal to take any part in the movement, and his conscientious opposition to secret associations, were well calculated at a period of such excitement and party spirit to bring him into disfavor with his people. On one occasion, during the heated discussion of these subjects, he was requested to deliver a discourse upon the lawfulness of oaths and of secret societies. Having consented to do so, he presented so candidly and earnestly his views in condemnation of them that a large portion of the audience became excited and exasperated. At this crisis, however, a prominent member, fearing lest he should be insulted, courteously took him by the arm and conducted him

safely through the crowd. Such was his character for piety, and such the guardianship of Divine Providence, that, through all the existing troubles, he remained entirely unmolested, retaining the confidence of the community, and in a marked degree securing the esteem of the Governor, Lord Gosford, who had himself labored to check the persecution of the Catholics, and who became so impressed with the propriety of Mr. Campbell's course, and with the excellence of his character, that he importuned him to become the tutor of his family, with a large salary and an elegant residence on his estate. This offer, however, he declined, fearing lest his children should be ensnared and fascinated by the fashions and customs of the nobility, and preferring, on this account, his comparative poverty and his humble ministerial life.

There is no doubt that Mr. Campbell's complete isolation from all political agitation, and his entire devotion to the interests of religion, had a most beneficial influence. The Presbyterians who had become enlisted as "United Irishmen" began themselves to fear, from the great numerical preponderance of the Catholics in the island, and from certain intimations they received—among which may be mentioned the dying declarations of Dickey, a rebel leader executed at Belfast—that if the rebellion should even prove successful, they would as a minority be unable to obtain the liberty and toleration they desired. Hence it was that when the Catholics in Wicklow and Wexford, on the eastern coast, looking for immediate aid from France, were precipitated into insurrection, committing the most shocking barbarities in retaliation for their injuries, the United Irishmen of Ulster, reckoned at 150,000, and organized for rebellion, remained quiet, with the exception of some insig-

nificant risings, which were quelled in a few days. It was at this period of excitement and military violence that Mr. Campbell was one day preaching to a congregation, when the house was suddenly surrounded by a troop of Welsh horse, notorious for their severities and outrages upon those they conceived to be rebels. The captain, conceiving that in this remote place he had come upon a meeting of rebels, dismounted and in a threatening manner marched into the church. It was a moment of awful suspense. The audience were panic-stricken, expecting every moment to be subjected to the fury of the soldiers. Just at this crisis, as the captain stalked up the aisle, casting fierce glances upon all sides, a venerable elder sitting near Mr. Campbell called to him solemnly, "*Pray, sir!*" Whereupon, in response to the call, and in a deep, unfaltering voice, he began in the language of the forty-sixth Psalm: "Thou, O God, art our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea." No sooner was the first verse uttered than the captain paused, and, apparently impressed, bent his head, listened to the close, then bowed, and retracing his steps, mounted his horse and dashed away with the entire troop.

Another incident, which tends to show Mr. Campbell's entire trust in God and submission to his dispensations, occurred some time after his removal to Ahorey. He was just about to enter the meeting-house on the Lord's day to attend to the public services, when a messenger arrived in haste from Newry, to inform him that his youngest brother, Enos, who was greatly beloved, had during the night lost his life by a fall into an open excavation in one of the streets. Humbly

resigning himself to the Divine will, he passed into the church and proceeded with the duties of the day, giving to the sympathizing audience no evidence of his emotions, except in the deeper solemnity of his prayer and the pathetic earnestness of his sermon. For one of feelings so tender, it was no small trial thus to calm all perturbation of mind, and, in view of his ministerial office, to rise superior to earthly affections. Unlike Aaron, who under sudden affliction was unable to fulfill the duties of his station, Mr. Campbell neglected no part of the usual services; but when these were fully completed, he immediately set out for Newry, where he found universal mourning and his father grieving as David over Absalom, and hardly to be comforted. He was already eighty-five, and survived the death of his son Enos only three years. Such constant manifestations of unshaken trust and of exemplary and consistent piety on the part of Thomas Campbell did not fail to fill the mind of his son Alexander with the utmost reverence for him. Nor was he, in common with the entire community, less impressed with his father's wisdom in opposing political agitation and secret societies, when the unhappy results of the rebellion vindicated the correctness of his principles. In regard to *secret* associations, Alexander fully adopted his father's views, and continued through life to oppose everything of this nature, as inconsistent with the Christian profession.

CHAPTER III.

Thomas Campbell—Opens an Academy in Rich-Hill—Alexander as Assistant—Religious awakening—Theological studies.

WHILST Thomas Campbell was thus, amidst civil commotions, devoting himself to the care of his congregation and to the education of his children, his family continued to increase. Soon after his removal to Ahorey, a daughter, Nancy, was born; and about twenty months afterward, June 25, 1800, another, named Jane. To these were added subsequently a son, who was called Thomas, and in process of time another son, named Archibald. Finding his expenses greatly augmented, and the farm he had leased unprofitable, as he had but little knowledge of farming, and his attention was almost entirely engrossed by higher matters, it became necessary for him to adopt some other method of improving his circumstances and making up the deficiencies of his ministerial salary.*

It was his earnest wish that his son Alexander should

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* The salaries of Seceder preachers were usually from thirty to fifty pounds, but in some cases so scanty that the *Regium Donum* became almost the entire source of support for the ministers. This fund originated in the act of that wise and just sovereign, William the Third, who, on his visit to Ireland, in June, 1690, authorized the Collector of Customs at Belfast to pay every year twelve hundred pounds into the hands of some of the principal dissenting ministers of Down and Antrim, who were to be trustees for their brethren. This fund which was afterward increased, when distributed among the ministers of Ulster, yielded to each some fifty or sixty pounds annually.

be well educated, and his sincere hope that he would be led to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel. Finding that, with all his sportiveness, he possessed a marked conscientiousness and a sincere reverence for Divine things, he was the more encouraged in this fond hope, especially when he observed in him, as he grew older, evidences of increasing seriousness. His own time being already considerably occupied in teaching his family, he concluded it would be most advantageous to open a public academy, in which his own children might be pupils; and as Alexander, now in his seventeenth year, had by this time become quite proficient in the ordinary branches, he thought he would be competent to act as assistant. These matters being consequently arranged, and a suitable house procured, the whole family removed to the town of Rich-Hill, two miles distant.

This town is situated upon a very high but fertile hill, and commands on all sides charming and extensive prospects. Upon the broad summit there is a neat public square, around which, upon three sides, the houses of the village are built. Upon the remaining or north-eastern side of the square, appears, surrounded by beautiful shrubbery, an ancient and capacious mansion, at that time the residence of the Hon. William Richardson, M. P., and lord of the manor. These beautiful grounds are separated from the public square by an elegant iron railing, before which at a little distance stand some magnificent trees. On the opposite side of the square, at the corner, Mr. Campbell had found a plain two-story house, which served as a residence for his family, and also afforded room for the academy. His character and his ability as a teacher being well known, he soon had a flourishing school,

which brought him an income approaching two hundred pounds per annum, and was regarded as an important benefit to the town and its neighborhood. To carry on such a school, in connection with his usual pastoral labors, was, indeed, an undertaking of no small magnitude; but his son Alexander entered into the work with so much spirit and success that he proved a most valuable assistant, while with unflagging energy he contrived to pursue, as usual, his own special course of studies under his father's guidance.

While thus engaged, his growing years and the circumstances of his position as a teacher gave to him a more manly character; and, though still full of sportiveness when with his youthful friends, he was observed to be much more thoughtful upon religious subjects and to have a deeper religious feeling. These indications were extremely gratifying to his father, who did not fail to urge upon him, with affectionate solicitude, the importance of his becoming a communicant and member of the church. As he had an excellent knowledge of the Scriptures, and as the chief points in the divine plan of salvation had been long familiar to him, he, in the course of his meditations, became awakened to a livelier consciousness of their importance, and began to feel an unwonted personal and individual interest in them. As his convictions deepened, he underwent much conflict of mind, and experienced great concern in regard to his own salvation, so that he lost for a time his usual vivacity, and sought, in lonely walks in fields and by prayer in secluded spots, to obtain such evidences of Divine acceptance as his pious acquaintances were accustomed to consider requisite; it being universally held by the Seceders that "an assured persuasion of the truth of God's promise in the Gospel, with

respect to one's self in particular, is implied in the very nature of saving faith." Of this particular period in his religious history he himself gave, many years afterward, the following account: "From the time that I could read the Scriptures, I became convinced that Jesus was the Son of God. I was also fully persuaded that I was a sinner, and must obtain pardon through the merits of Christ or be lost for ever. This caused me great distress of soul, and I had much exercise of mind under the awakenings of a guilty conscience. Finally, after many strugglings, I was enabled to put my trust in the Saviour, and to *feel* my reliance on him as the only Saviour of sinners. From the moment I was able to feel this reliance on the Lord Jesus Christ, I obtained and enjoyed peace of mind. It never entered into my head to investigate the subject of baptism or the doctrines of the creed."

Shortly after this he was received as a regular communicant in the church at Ahorey, and being aware of his father's wish that he should devote himself to the ministry, though he had not as yet fully made up his own mind upon this subject, he began to bestow a considerable portion of his attention upon theological studies, and particularly ecclesiastical history. While thus engaged, he was filled with wonder at the strange fortunes of Christianity, and at the numerous divisions or parties in religious society. He found the Catholics, numerous in his own country, for the most part an ignorant, priest-ridden, superstitious people, crushed, as it were, to the earth, as well by their own voluntary submission to an unrestricted spiritual despotism, as by the pressure of the social and political burdens resting upon them, and which were esteemed by the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon part of the population as necessary

safeguards against the repetition of such abuses of power as had occurred during the rule of James the Second and his deputy, Tyrconnel. The young student, in contemplating the whole system of Romanism in its superstitions, its ceremonies, its spirit and its practical effects, conceived for it the utmost abhorrence—a feeling which remained with him through life. On the other hand, the lordly and aristocratic Episcopalians, who looked down upon the dissenters, and seemed, with some exceptions, to have but little piety, and to be fond of enjoying the pleasures, fashions and follies of the world, were, notwithstanding their Protestantism, scarcely less disliked as a religious party. It was, however, when he came to consider the history of the Presbyterian Church, with its numerous divisions, in one of which he was himself a member, that he was enabled to form a clearer conception of the power and prevalency of that party spirit which it became afterward the labor of his life to oppose and overthrow. As his relations to some of these divisions were important, it seems necessary here to take a brief glance at certain points in their history.

The martyrdom at St. Andrew's on 29th of February, 1528, of the youthful friend of Luther and Melancthon, the devoted Patrick Hamilton, who first introduced the Lutheran Reformation into Scotland, followed, in 1545, by that of Wishart, and, in the following year, the assassination of Cardinal Beatoun, were among the earliest of those scenes of violence which marked the progress of the Reformed doctrine, until it was at length, about the year 1560, firmly established through the influence and labors of the intrepid Knox. No sooner, however, had this triumph been attained, than a protracted and almost equally fierce struggle commenced

between the two forms of Protestantism itself—the Presbyterian and the Episcopal. James the First and his successors, the first and second Charles, disregarding the fact that the Scottish people were strongly attached to that form of the Reformation which had been first set up among them, and that the nation had, as was pleaded in their public memorials, "reformed from Popery by presbyters," endeavored repeatedly to impose upon them, in whole or in part, the system of English Episcopacy or Prelacy. For a brief period, during the civil wars with Charles the First, Presbyterianism was predominant; but it was not until the accession of William the Third that the Scottish Estates or Parliament, in 1690, secured the permanent abolition of Prelacy, by placing a clause to this effect in the "Claim of Right" submitted to that monarch as the terms of Scottish allegiance.

When Presbyterianism had thus attained the supremacy it so long had sought, it began, in a short time, to furnish a fresh illustration of the fact that all established *national* religions, whether Greek or Mohammedan, Papal or Protestant, have in them the essence of Popery —the principle of absolutism. Conscious of power, and confident in the possession of glebe and manse, the Parliament as well as the General Assembly managed affairs in so arbitrary a spirit that many, even of their own party, became disaffected, and the minds of a large portion of the community were alienated from the ecclesiastical establishment. Oaths of office and of abjuration were required, which were thought to abridge Christian liberty, and acts were passed which seemed to many to set aside the national covenant* which they

* This famous covenant was entered into by the greater part of the Scottish people in 1560, and engaged its subscribers, by oath, to maintain

regarded as the true constitution of the empire, and for which the forefathers of many of those now connected with the National Church had formerly bravely fought under the name of Covenanters, and for adhering to which they had undergone the most cruel persecutions. A considerable number, indeed, of those stern, uncompromising Presbyterians, who strenuously adhered to the covenant, had refused to consent to the settlement made by King William, or to admit in anywise the right of civil rulers to meddle in religious matters. These were termed Society-men, as, being without a ministry for some time, they formed themselves into societies. They were also termed Cameronians, Mountain-men, Covenanters, &c. After some years a Mr. John McMillan, a minister in the National Church, united with them, for which act he was deposed by the General Assembly. He continued afterward, however, to labor among the Covenanters, who increased in number, and formed congregations in various parts of Scotland, as well as in the north of Ireland. From the worthy pastor who had thus, first after the revolution, gathered the scattered flock into the fold of Churchdom, they were sometimes called McMillanites, but the title they themselves adopt

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their religion free from all innovations. After having been at various periods again and again subscribed, and with unusual unanimity and zeal in 1638, it was afterward, during the civil war with Charles the First, presented to the English Parliament by the then dominant Presbyterian party in Scotland, who insisted on its being signed by the English Parliament as a preliminary to the granting of assistance by Scotland. This was finally acceded to, after some modification in the terms of the covenant, in order to satisfy the Independents, who, under the leadership of Vane and Cromwell, were then rising into power; and it was accordingly, on 25th September, 1643, signed by the members of both Houses, and also by the members of the Assembly of Westminster Divines, then sitting in London. From this time the national covenant of Scotland was known as "The Solemn League and Covenant" of the three kingdoms.

is that of "Reformed Presbyterians." They have, however, become nearly extinct, having in 1819 only sixteen small congregations in Scotland, six in Ireland, and nine in the United States, according to Blackwood.

The National Church, meanwhile continuing its unpopular proceedings, attempted at length, in 1712 and subsequently, to enforce the existing law of patronage, so as to deprive congregations of the privilege of choosing their pastors. It having been settled by the early Reformers, and inserted in the first Book of Discipline, that "no minister should be intruded upon any particular kirk without their consent," this course, and the violent scenes to which it gave rise, naturally occasioned great dissatisfaction amongst pious and conscientious members. Remonstrances and arguments, on the part of several eminent ministers, having been repeatedly presented, with no other effect than to provoke new acts of oppression, four of the ministers, with Alexander Erskine at their head, formally *seceded* from the prevailing party in the Establishment in the year 1733, and, forming themselves into a Presbytery under the designation of the *Associate Presbytery*, became the nucleus of a new party called *Seceders*. They were soon joined by two other ministers, Ralph Erskine and Thomas Mair, and rapidly increased, chiefly by defections from the National Church, until in a short time they numbered more than forty congregations. As there were many Presbyterians in the north of Ireland, and the division extended to them likewise, an application from Lisburn for ministerial aid was sent over to Scotland as early as 1736. It was not, however, until 1742 that the Synod was able to comply with the request, when Mr. Gavin Beugo was sent as a

missionary, through whose labors, and those of others, a number of churches were formed in Ireland.

This secession was the *first* great schism in the Church of Scotland. Soon after its occurrence, however, and for similar reasons, Thomas Boston, author of "The Fourfold State," separated from the National Church, and, uniting with Messrs. Gillespie and Collier, constituted a distinct party and Presbytery, called the "Presbytery of Relief," professedly organized "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges," especially in reference to the violent induction of ministers into parishes. This party differed scarcely at all from the Seceders, except in being more liberal in their views in regard to communion. They increased rapidly, and have since constituted a very respectable body of dissenters.

The "Associate" or Secession Church, previously mentioned, continued in a prosperous condition until 1747, when it became divided into two parties, upon the question whether certain oaths required by the burgesses of towns, binding them to support "the religion presently professed within the realm," did not sanction the very abuses in the National Church against which the seceders had constantly protested. Both divisions of the Synod claimed to be the true Church, but those who considered the oath unlawful came to be called *Anti-Burghers*, the other party being termed Burghers. This division spread at once through the churches in Scotland and Ireland, and the controversy was maintained with considerable bitterness for many years.

These two parties of seceders continued for more than half a century to maintain each its separate "testimony" and its distinct organization. They were

distinguished for the tenacity and zeal with which they maintained the ground they had respectively assumed, for the strictness of their religious life, and for the rigidity of their discipline. That hatred of prelacy which prevailed amongst them in common with all Presbyterian parties was at first intense, and gave rise to some singular decisions;* but it became gradually softened down, and after the lapse of thirty or forty years gave place to the milder spirit of toleration. But the disposition to confound matters of opinion and questions of expediency with the things of faith and conscience still continued to display its power; and in 1795 a question arose among the Burghers as to the power of civil magistrates in religion, as asserted in the twenty-third chapter of the Westminster Confession,

* A case of discipline came under the consideration of the Associate (Burgher) Synod in October, 1750, which shows the sentiment entertained by the Seceders and other Presbyterians in regard to Episcopacy: A stone-mason, Andrew Hunter, who was a Seceder, had undertaken in the exercise of his calling to build an Episcopal chapel in Glasgow. This gave great offence to his brethren, who called him to account for it. As he still persisted, however, the case came at last before the Synod, which decided that the building of an Episcopal meeting-house was at least equal to the building of the "high places" mentioned in the Old Testament; and after rehearsing the judgments denounced against those who assist in setting up a false worship, the "deliverance" of the Synod proceeds as follows: "And further, considering that by the National Covenant of Scotland, and by the Solemn League and Covenant of the three kingdoms, we are bound to reform from Popery, Prelacy, superstition, and whatever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, and to endeavor the preservation of the Reformed religion of the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; and that Seceders, in a particular manner, profess to own these solemn obligations; and the said Andrew Hunter, by his above practice, is so far from endeavoring reformation from Prelacy and superstition, that he is encouraging the same, contrary to his profession and solemn ties, therefore, for all the above reasons, the Synod were unanimously of the judgment that the said Andrew Hunter was highly censurable, and particularly that he ought not to be admitted to any of the seals of the Covenant till he profess his sorrow for the offence and scandal that he has given and been guilty of."

and also in regard to the perpetual obligation of the "Solemn League and Covenant." This controversy had the usual effect to subdivide them into two parties, distinguished from each other as the "Original" or "Old Light Burghers" and the "New Light Burghers." About the same period this controversy prevailed also among the Anti-Burghers, the "Old Light" party being headed by Archibald Bruce, Thomas Campbell's former teacher of theology, who, with some other ministers, organized in August, 1806, a new Presbytery, called the Constitutional Associate Presbytery. There were thus at this time no less than four different bodies of Seceders, each adhering to its own "testimony," but all professing to adopt the Westminster Confession. In addition, there were not wanting various minor defections of those who, during the heated discussions of Synods and Assemblies, flew off like sparks from the iron heated in the forge, but, as these were transient and of little moment, it is unnecessary to detail them.

Schooled amidst such schisms in his own denomination, and harassed by the triviality of the differences by which they were maintained, it is natural to suppose that one of so catholic a spirit as Thomas Campbell conceived the greatest antipathy to party spirit in all its workings and manifestations, and that his son Alexander fully sympathized with him in these feelings. The existing division between the Burgher and Anti-Burgher Seceders had, indeed, been to him a source of so much regret that he had often urged, as opportunity offered, upon these parties, the duty of attempting a reunion.

Moved by his representations, and those of others favorable to such a measure, an effort was at length made to accomplish this desirable object, and a com-

mittee of consultation having met at Rich-Hill, in October, 1804, a report with propositions of union was prepared by Mr. Campbell, and presented to the Synod at Belfast,* by which it was very favorably received. In March, 1805, a conjoint meeting was held at Lurgan, and there seemed to be a unanimous desire, on both sides, for a coalescence, based particularly on the ground that as the Burgher oath was never required in Ireland, there was therefore nothing in the state of things existing there to warrant any division. The General Associate Synod in Scotland, however, hearing of the incipient movements in reference to union, took occasion to express their dissent in advance of any application, and the measure consequently failed for the time being.

In the following year an application was made to the Scottish Synod, by members of the Provincial Synod of Ireland, requesting them to consider whether it would not be expedient to allow the brethren in Ireland to transact their own business without being in immediate subordination to that court. It appears that Thomas Campbell was deputed to visit Scotland and lay this matter before the General Synod. When he set out on this journey, Alexander seems to have accompanied him as far as Belfast, which he then visited for the first

* The Anti-Burghers had constituted a Synod in Ireland in May, 1788, at which time the Scottish Synod concluded to establish different Synods in subordination to one General Synod, and accordingly arranged the different Presbyteries in connection with the association into four Synods, viz.: three in Scotland and one in Ireland. The Irish Synod was formed of the four Presbyteries of Belfast, of Market Hill, of Derry, and of Temple-Patrick, which, with the usual elders, formed the Associate Synod of Ireland. At that time the Presbytery of Market Hill consisted of the ministers of the congregations of Market Hill, Tyrone's Ditches, Newry and Moyrah, with a ruling elder from each of the sessions. The church at Ahorey was formed at a subsequent period, and Thomas Campbell became its minister in 1798.

time. His father, proceeding to Glasgow, fulfilled the duty assigned him, and presented the case to the Synod with great earnestness and force.* The Synod, however, decided that it was inexpedient to entertain the proposal, and matters were accordingly left as before. These movements, nevertheless, were not without some effect. The question, having been thus brought up, was generally discussed, and the propriety of union gradually became more and more evident, while a greater amount of fraternal intercourse took place between the two parties. Finally, some of the town councils abolished the religious clause of the Burgher oath; and it may be added that on the 5th of September, 1820, long after the Campbells had abandoned all sectarian establishments, and were diligently engaged in the New World in promoting the cause of a universal Christian union, the two Synods, Burgher and Anti-Burgher, formed a cordial reunion amidst general rejoicings and impressive exercises. This event was consummated in Bristo-street church in Edinburgh, in the very house where the division had occurred seventy-three years before.

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* While Alexander was in Glasgow as a student, four years afterward, he was one day returning from church, when he was interrogated as to his parentage by a gentleman who accompanied him. Upon naming his father, the latter said: "I listened to your father in our General Assembly in this city, pleading for a union between the Burghers and Anti-Burghers. But, sir, while in my opinion he out-argued them, they out-voted him."

CHAPTER IV.

Independency—Toleration—Missionary movements.

NATURAL history teaches that there are certain species of polyps which reproduce themselves by a gradual division of their bodies into parts, and that these parts speedily acquire all the deficient organs and become distinct and perfect individuals. There are others among these singular creatures propagating their race by buds, which appear upon the body of the parent, and, after a sufficient degree of development, become separate and complete animals. Speaking analogically, it would appear that religious sects combine both these methods of increase, for not only do they divide themselves frequently into new parties, but likewise produce, occasionally, offsets, which, after adhering to the parent for a time, become so far developed as to be capable of assuming an independent life. Of the first method examples have already been given. Of the second mode, the Puritans or Independents and the Methodists are exemplifications, both having been off-shoots from the Church of England, with which they remained connected long after they were distinctly recognized as new productions of denominational fecundity.

Of the above-named parties, the Independents had a most important influence upon the religious views of both Thomas Campell and his son Alexander. There

was at this time in Rich-Hill a congregation of Independents, with whose pastor, Mr. Gibson, and many of the members, they were on terms of friendly acquaintance. It was not unusual for Thomas Campbell, after his return from the Lord's-day services at the country church of Ahorey, to go to the meeting of the Independents at night. Among the Seceders it was not allowable for any one to neglect his own meetings to attend those of others, but when there was no Seceder meeting within reach at the same hour, it was not particularly objected to that members should go to other meetings. This was called the privilege of "occasional hearing," which was conceded, but by no means encouraged, by the clergy. The members of the Independent Church were always much pleased to see Mr. Campbell come to their meetings, as they had a very high esteem for him as one of the most learned and pious of the Seceder ministers, but as he came only after dark, they were wont to compare him facetiously with Nicodemus, "who came to Jesus by night."

The Independents being more liberal than others in granting the use of their meeting-house to preachers of various kinds, an opportunity was thus also afforded of hearing occasionally persons who were distinguished in the religious world. On one occasion the celebrated Rowland Hill preached with great acceptance. James Alexander Haldane also visited Rich-Hill, and preached during Mr. Campbell's residence there. Alexander Carson, too, who left the Presbyterians and joined the Independents in 1803, preached about this time at Rich-Hill. Another individual who visited and preached at Rich-Hill was John Walker, whose abilities and learning made quite a strong impression on the mind of young Alexander. He had been a fellow and a teacher

in Trinity College, and minister at Bethesda Chapel, Dublin; but becoming grieved with the prevailing religious declension and the worldly conformity of most of the parties of the day, he resigned his fellowship in 1804, threw aside the clerical garb, and formed a separate society in Dublin. He taught that there should be no stated minister, but that all members should exercise their gifts indiscriminately. Baptism he regarded as superfluous, except to those who never before professed Christianity. He was Calvinistic in doctrine, but carried separatism so far that it was a special point with him strictly to prohibit the performance of any religious act without removing to a distance (if in the same room) from every person who refused to obey a precept that could be generally applied; insisting that true worship could be rendered only by those who receive and obey the same truths in common. It may be remarked that views not very dissimilar were held at various times by others. Roger Williams, for instance, the founder of the Baptists in America, held that it was wrong for professors of religion to hold worship with the unconverted, or to sit at the communion table with those who did not perfectly agree with them in religious sentiments. Mr. Walker was accustomed, at his meetings, to give a cordial invitation to all inquirers to call upon him next day at his room for religious conversation, and, as he was extremely affable and communicative, these interviews were usually very agreeable. Thomas Campbell, in company with one of his elders, called upon him, and Alexander also came in during their conversation, in which he became much interested. This singular man sold his carriage and traveled on foot through Ireland, and also through England, and gained here and there a few proselytes to his views,

especially in Plymouth, from whence they have become known as the Plymouth Brethren.*

The origin of the Independents as a religious body may be dated at least as far back as the reign of Elizabeth, when a number of intelligent English, exiled during the preceding reign of Mary, returned from Geneva, imbued with Calvinistic and republican sentiments. In 1566, a number of clergymen and others, who had adopted these principles, repudiated the Book of Common Prayer, and substituted the Geneva Service-Book. It was not, however, until about 1580 that a real separation occurred from the Church of England, under the leadership of Robert Brown, who, with a number of his followers, was compelled to leave England. Being subjected to various disabilities and persecutions, others, at different periods, fled to foreign parts, especially to Amsterdam and Leyden. These, again, under the reign of James the First, were followed by a considerable number, under the guidance of their pastor, Mr. Robinson. A portion of these exiles, under Brewster, Bradford and others, emigrated in 1617 to America, and landing at Plymouth, became the founders of the colony of Massachusetts, and the pioneers to others by whom the chief New England colonies were established. It is a singular fact that these exiles had no sooner obtained possession of power than they began to exercise the very same system of persecution of which they themselves had been victims.

* These "Brethren," however, it is believed, do not accord with all the views held by Walker. They practice immersion, but do not make it a term of communion; have no officers in the church, and conceive that "the unity of the Spirit" is shown by each member rising, as he may be moved, to perform public functions. They have small churches in England at various points, as at Leeds, Liverpool, etc., and the philanthropist Müller, author of the "Life of Faith," was immersed by them.

They whipped, branded, banished or executed Quakers and others who refused to conform to their views, thus affording another proof that a state or national religion is necessarily Popish in its spirit, for at that time, in these Puritan colonies, the Church was essentially the State.*

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* Among other acts of tyranny, they banished from Salem, for the free expression of his opinions, Roger Williams, who was himself a Puritan. This champion of free opinion fled to Rhode Island, where he purchased territory from the Indians; and in 1643, returning to England, obtained a charter of incorporation. After spending some time in England, he came back to Providence, and, having become a Baptist, founded there the first Baptist church in America. In 1662 he obtained a second charter from Charles the Second, in which it was declared that "religion should be wholly and for ever free from all jurisdiction of the civil power;" so that to Roger Williams belongs the high honor of having founded the first political State in Christendom that embraced, in its constitutional provisions, the principle of universal toleration—a noble grant, the germ of civil liberty in the United States.

It is true that the theory of toleration had been advanced by individuals at former periods; and that some degree of religious freedom had at times been practically conceded, as in Bohemia, by the Emperor Rodolph, in 1609. Upon the burning of Servetus at Geneva in 1553 a work was published at Basil, attributed to Sebastian Castalio, denying the expediency of attempting to repress heresy by the civil power. Another publication on the same subject, by James Aconzio, appeared in 1565 at Basil, of which, in 1648, a translation was printed in England by John Goodwin, an Independent minister. These treatises, however, opposed persecution only on the ground of *inexpediency*, not denying the abstract right of the magistrate to punish heretics; and, even as to inexpediency, making an exception of atheists and apostates. The earliest English publication asserting religious freedom in its widest sense was made by Leonard Busher in 1614, in a tract entitled "Religious Peace—a plea for Liberty of Conscience." In this the author advocates the most complete toleration for all opinions and all religions, and would forbid any punishment of those opposed to religion. This was reprinted in 1642, and may have fallen under the notice of Williams, who was in England the year following, and himself published in London, in 1644, his noted tract to the same effect, entitled: "Bloody Tenet of Persecution for cause of Conscience, discussed between Truth and Peace." This bold champion of liberty died in 1683, and it was not till 1691 that Locke published his celebrated "Letters on Toleration"—a right, which, as just stated, had been already, though less ably, advocated by others, and was then actually in practical operation in Rhode Island. Craik's Hist. England, vol. iii. p. 785.

Whatever philosophical explanation may be made of the conduct of the Puritans, on the ground that self-preservation, in their then feeble condition, overrode all other considerations, since to oppose the Church was, in their case, tantamount to sedition against the State, one thing is certain, that the course they pursued was wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principle of Independency, and with not only the practice of their party in England, but with their own course subsequently, so soon as the Church was relieved from its false political position, and human rights became somewhat better understood.

It was this fundamental principle of Independency, the right of private judgment, that seems at this time to have particularly engaged the attention of Alexander Campbell. It was the natural tendency of his mind to seize upon principles, and this doctrine, so consonant with his own native independence of thought, was particularly agreeable to him. He does not appear, however, to have fully or practically adopted this principle, so entirely at variance with that of the denomination to which he belonged, and with the religious authority he had been taught to revere. Before taking this step, it was necessary that he should have a little longer time to observe the working of the religious systems of the time.

All these may be classed as Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational—to the last of which belong the Baptists and all others holding that each congregation is independent. In the Episcopal (including the Romish) and the Presbyterian systems no liberty whatever is granted to the people to interpret the Scriptures, this being entirely confined to the clergy. Hence, among Presbyterians, though the Scripture is

recommended to be read, the reader is carefully informed, as in the Acts of Assembly, "that the charge and office of interpreting the Holy Scriptures is a part of the ministerial calling, which none, howsoever otherwise qualified, should take upon him in any place, but he that is duly called thereunto by God and his kirk." No such thing, in fact, as liberty of private judgment is allowed in the Church of England or in Presbyterianism, any more than in the Church of Rome.

With the Independents, however, the right of every member to judge for himself as to the meaning of Scripture is the great distinguishing feature, and the basis not only of their congregational form of government, and their entire repudiation of the authority claimed by Presbyteries, Synods, Assemblies, Conventions or other church-courts, but also the reason of that tolerant spirit they so strikingly manifested when they attained to political power in England. In the Long Parliament, headed by Sir Henry Vane, they pleaded with the Presbyterian majority for such a degree of toleration as would at least include all holding Protestant doctrines. This, however, was abhorrent to the Presbyterians. "Toleration," cried one of them, "will make the kingdom a chaos, a Babel, another Amsterdam, a Sodom, an Egypt, a Babylon: toleration is the grand work of the devil, his masterpiece and chief engine to uphold his tottering kingdom; it is the most compendious, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having the seed and spawn of all sin in it, so toleration hath all errors in it and all evils."* The Independents, however, having got the control of the

* Craik's History of England, Book vii., c. 2.

army, and, finally, of the government under Cromwell, were enabled to put, to a considerable extent, their views into practice, so that during the Protectorate, for eleven years, a degree of peace, toleration and prosperity was enjoyed by all parties which had before been unknown. Although the toleration then granted was neither complete nor firmly founded, it greatly redounded to the credit of the Independents, and had an important influence upon the world at large. These singular but stern and religious men were, to use the language of Macaulay, "engaged in the great conflict of liberty and despotism, reason and prejudice. That great battle was fought for no single generation, for no single land. The destinies of the human race were staked on the same cast with the freedom of the English people." Opposed as well to Presbytery as to Prelacy and Popery, and regarding each congregation as independent and supreme in its jurisdiction, their views naturally made them republican in civil affairs, while their principle that every one should enjoy the right of private judgment in religion, released them from that spiritual despotism which all the other systems labored to establish.

For, to take the Presbyterian system as an example, their idea of a complete church is not by any means that of a single congregation, but of a number of congregations, with Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods sufficient to constitute a General Assembly. Each member of the congregation is subject, in conversation and doctrine, to the Session; the decisions of the Session to the Presbytery; those of the Presbytery to the Synod, and those of the Synod to the General Assembly. Thus, with them, the Church consists of congregations, with all the required church-courts,

comprising a complete system of absolute clerical domination.

Among these courts, it is the General Assembly which is the true exponent of the nature and animus of the entire system. This supreme court is the eye and ear and efficient head of the whole body. For, to use the vision of Assyria's king, if the Session be the legs of iron, emblem of popular strength, mixed at the feet with the miry clay of the unofficial laity, if the Presbytery be the belly and thighs of brass, and the Synod the breast and arms of silver, it is the General Assembly that constitutes the golden head, which is the crowning glory of the Presbyterian image.

No despotism, indeed, could be more complete than that sought to be established by the Church of Scotland, which exercised, by means of its clerical machinery, a real inquisitorial authority over men's minds and consciences, and, when called into question by the government for usurpations, or for preaching up sedition and rebellion instead of the gospel, would plead the divine commission of its ministry as the proof of its superiority to the civil power, and claim to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts in regard to everything said or done by its ministry in discharging their spiritual functions, whose extent, meanwhile, they asserted the right of determining for themselves.* When to these assumptions, we add the control of the

* When Andrew Melvin, one of those sent by the General Assembly to admonish James the First, proceeded to address the king, he informed him that of Christ's kingdom (which, with him, was only another name for the Presbyterian kirk) he was "neither a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they," he added, "whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over the kirk and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power *from him* so to do, which no Christian king nor prince should control or discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not

sword of the magistrate which they constantly sought indirectly to acquire, and often really exercised, we have a dynasty quite as imperious as any ever main-

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faithful subjects to Christ. Sir when you were in your swaddling clouts Christ reigned freely in this land, in spite of all her enemies."

The same individual, on another occasion, when arraigned before the council for words spoken in a sermon he had delivered at St. Andrew's, at once declined the jurisdiction of the court. "After the giving in of the declination," says Calderwood, "the king and the Earl of Arran, then chancellor, raged. Mr. Andrew, never a whit dashed, said in plain terms that they were too bold, in a constitute Christian kirk, to pass by the pastors, prophets and doctors, and to take upon them to judge the doctrine and to control the ambassadors and messengers of a greater than was here. 'That ye may see your own weakness and rashness, in taking upon you that which ye neither ought nor can do (loosing a little Hebrew Bible from his girdle and laying it down before the king and his chancellor upon the table), there are my instructions and warrant: see if any of you can control me that I have passed my injunctions.' Here we see flaming out the true spirit of Presbytery, which, while opposed to any representation of the clergy in Parliament, had always sought to erect the Church into a power, independent of, and, in its own province, superior to the State—an arrangement which would afford an abundant compensation for the denial of political power of the ordinary kind."

As an illustration of the pertinacity with which the Presbyterians clung to their intolerant measures, and to those church-courts through which they contrived to embarrass and endeavored to control the civil power, it is well known that even Cromwell was unable to establish general toleration in Scotland, or maintain it there "with any chance of an hour's quiet to the country," as the historian remarks, "without putting a gag upon the Church. Accordingly," he continues, "when after many heats the General Assembly had met as usual at Edinburgh, in the summer of 1652, and was about to proceed to business, Lieutenant Colonel Cotterel suddenly came into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, informed them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there but by authority of the Parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, commanded them instantly to withdraw themselves; and then conducted the whole of the reverend body out of the city, by one of the gates called the West-Port, with a troop of horse and a company of foot. The Assembly did not dare to meet again so long as Cromwell lived."

They knew too well the character of this remarkable man, who was intolerant only of intolerance, to try his patience farther. So liberal was he that he allowed the benefices and the pulpits to be occupied by all parties—some by the former Episcopal incumbents, some by Independents, and some even by the minor sects. For some time, indeed, the pulpits were open to

tained by Papal Rome. Happily, the example of the United States, the progress of liberal ideas and the great increase of dissenters had gradually checked the arrogance of the National Churches of Great Britain, and compelled them to hold in abeyance claims which, from their very constitution, it is impossible they should ever relinquish.

Although the spirit of these parties was thus, at this period greatly subdued, and no very arbitrary acts on the part of the Irish Synod had occurred to awaken discontent, the observant mind of Alexander Campbell perceived so much of a grasping spirit and of clerical assumption in the ministry, and such tendencies to a rigid exercise of power, as led him to reflect more seriously upon his future course. He had been repeatedly grieved to find that the occasional earnest overtures of his pious father in regard to various reforms, and especially in relation to a more frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper, then attended to only semi-annually, were treated with indifference, and rejected by the Presbytery and the Synod; and that there seemed no disposition whatever, on the part of those in authority, to admit of any changes or reforms. When he contrasted these things with the freedom of opinion and of

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any of the laity who seemed to have an edifying gift of utterance. To guard against an extreme here, "Cromwell," we are informed, "appointed in March, 1653, a Board of Triers, as they were called, in all thirty-eight in number, of whom part were Presbyterians, part Independents, and a few Baptists, to whom was given, without any limitations or instructions whatever, the power of examining and approving or rejecting all persons that might thereafter be presented, nominated, chosen or appointed to any living in the Church. This was tantamount to dividing the Church among these different religious bodies, or so liberalizing or extending it as to make it comprehend them all. * * * * This Board of Triers continued to sit and to exercise its functions at Whitehall till a short time after the death of Cromwell." Craik's History of England, iii. p. 481.

government enjoyed by the Independents, he was led to examine more carefully into the principles upon which the system of Independency was based. He found that the English Congregationalists differed somewhat from those called Scotch Independents, whose principal champion then was Robert Sandeman. Their rise is attributable to John Glas, an eloquent and able minister of the Church of Scotland, in the parish of Tealing, near Dundee, who abandoned the Establishment about the year 1728, and adopted Independent views, which he derived mainly from the works of John Owen. He formed churches in most of the large towns in Scotland, where his followers were called Glasites. About the year 1755, Robert Sandeman developed and sustained their views, and engaged in a spirited controversy with Hervey in regard to the leading doctrine in his "Theron and Aspasio," the appropriating nature of faith—a controversy which not only greatly promoted the circulation of Hervey's work, but gave celebrity to Sandeman, from whom this particular branch of Independents have, in England, been usually called Sandemanians. He afterwards came to America and founded societies in New England and Nova Scotia.

His doctrines were—that faith is merely a simple assent to the testimony concerning Christ; that the word faith means nothing more than it does in common discourse—a persuasion of the truth of any proposition; and that there is no difference between believing any common testimony and believing the apostolic testimony. He advocated the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper; love-feasts; weekly contributions for the poor; mutual exhortation of members; plurality of elders in a church; conditional community of goods,

etc. He also approved of theatres and public and private diversions, when not connected with circumstances really sinful.

The Independents at Rich-Hill, though in connection with those of Scotland, were Haldanean in sentiment, and did not adopt all the views of Glas or Sandeman. They attended weekly to the Lord's Supper, contributions, etc., but were opposed to going to theatres or such places of public amusements; to the doctrine of community of goods; feet-washing, etc., as advocated by Sandeman. They were also, in a good measure, free from the dogmatic and bitter controversial spirit so characteristic of Sandeman and his followers. It does not appear that Alexander acquired at this time anything more than a general knowledge of the history of these parties. If he became at all acquainted with the peculiar views of Sandeman in regard to faith, it is certain that he was far from adopting them; and that, even after his emigration to the United States, he continued to hold essentially the views of this subject entertained by Presbyterians. He seems, in addition, about this time to have read and to have been much pleased with the works of Archibald McLean, especially his work on "The Commission," of which he was wont ever after to speak in the highest terms.

In order to complete this brief account of the religious influences surrounding Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander at this period, it is necessary to notice a movement then in progress for the promotion of a simpler and, as it was termed, a more "evangelical" style of preaching, with the view of creating a greater general interest in the subject of religion. The reader is doubtless familiar with the history of the great excitement produced in England by the preaching of White-

field and Wesley about the same time at which the Seceders left the Kirk of Scotland, some sixty years previous. By their earnestness and zeal, by the introduction of the custom of field-preaching (unused since the time of the monastic orders, if we except the case of the persecuted Covenanters), as well as by the Wesleyan system of lay-preaching and itinerancy, the existing ecclesiastical establishments were roused from their state of frigid formality and apathy, and an unwonted religious fervor was diffused throughout all classes of the community. The same excitement was introduced also into Scotland, to which Mr. Whitefield was invited by the Seceders through the agency of the Erskines. As he was a Calvinist, they entertained hopes of winning him to their party, or at least of attaining to such doctrinal agreement with him as would justify them in availing themselves of his extraordinary powers. Immediately upon his arrival, therefore, at Dunfermline, they called a Presbytery, and proposed to set him right upon the matter of Church government and of the Solemn League and Covenant. He very properly declining to enter upon any disputes about what he regarded as trivial matters, and determining to adhere to his course of preaching Christ, free from the shackles of any party, the Seceders immediately became hostile and refused to hear him, denouncing him as "an enthusiast who was engaged in doing the work of Satan," while he, on the other hand, charged them with "building a Babel which would soon come down about their ears." Upon this, a number of the ministers of the Church of Scotland espoused Mr. Whitefield's cause and admitted him into their pulpits. Great excitement and extraordinary manifestations of swoonings, convulsions and cataleptic seizures attended Mr.

Whitefield's labors, especially at Cambuslang, near Glasgow, where at one time the assemblage was estimated to consist of at least thirty thousand persons. These singular cases had previously occurred under Mr. Wesley's preaching; and have several times since been noted, as in the revivals under the preachings of Jonathan Edwards in New England, and of James McGready, B. W. Stone and some other Presbyterian preachers in Kentucky, in 1801.

The intense religious interest awakened in Great Britain and Ireland by Wesley, Whitefield and their coadjutors, had, toward the close of the century, given place to a great degree of indifference and worldly conformity. The diffusion of infidel principles from France, political commotions and a variety of circumstances connected with the American and French wars, seem to have been chiefly instrumental in inducing a change which was deeply lamented by pious and earnest men in the different religious communities. It was resolved, accordingly, to make a united effort to arouse the people to greater religious activity, and, for this purpose, to employ those agencies of open-air preaching and itinerancy formerly so successful.

Among those conspicuously engaged in this work were the Haldanes of Scotland. A considerable missionary society, called the Evangelical Society, was formed for the above purpose, consisting in part of members of the Episcopal Church in England. As Thomas Campbell warmly sympathized in the proposed object, he became a member of this Society, and took great pleasure in aiding its operations. Many liberal and earnest preachers were sent out by its means through the country, who were accustomed to convene the people in the most public places in towns, or wher-

ever they could obtain an audience, and to address them with great earnestness upon the subject of religion.

In this species of mission there was something very pleasing, and certainly the position of such laborers was highly favorable to a fair and effective presentation of the general truths of the gospel. Like missionaries in heathen lands, they felt themselves freed, in a good measure, from the sectarian necessities and constraints of party-preachers. They were left, as it were, alone with the Word of God and the souls of men; and as far as it related to the general truths of the scheme of redemption, their addresses were most profitable in rousing the careless and thoughtless to inquiry, and in removing doubts and difficulties from the minds of the ignorant and the skeptical. "The more pure and free," as Neander well observes, "and unmixed with human schemes Christianity is, the more easily it makes its way into the hearts of men, and the more easily can it preserve in undiminished vigor its divine attractive power over human nature." It was, however, impossible for them, consistently with the nature of their mission and their views of religion, to recommend any very definite or particular course to anxious inquirers. The nature of faith; how Christ could be put on by faith; how the sinner could obtain an assurance of justification,—these were questions of the highest practical importance, to which different parties gave conflicting answers, and which, with matters of ecclesiastical organization, constituted the burden of polemical discussions and the ground of party differences. Their work was, however, a favorable omen of the approach of a better era, and served practically to break down the prejudices of religious society and to depreciate the value of those speculative theological dogmas and of

those sectarian distinctions by which pious believers were separated and alienated from each other.

Such, then, during the years of youth and of formative research and observation, were the religious influences which surrounded Alexander Campbell, and such the lessons of instruction which history afforded him. The effect of the whole was to increase his reverence for the Scriptures as the only infallible guide in religion, to weaken the force of educational prejudices, and to deepen his conviction that the existence of sects and parties was one of the greatest hindrances to the success of the gospel.

CHAPTER V.

Alexander Campbell's industry—Close observation—Failure of Thomas Campbell's health—Voyage to America.

IN human life there may be a second childhood, but never a second youth. As, in the natural year, the spring mingles its soft breezes with the chill blasts of winter, and the blue red-breast returns to warble from the leafless branches, and the tiny snowdrop blossoms or the crocus unfolds its gay petals amidst cheerless desolation, so, in wintry age, may childish thoughts and childish sports again delight, and dotage assume the guise of infancy, when the eye is weak and the memory defective, and the step unsteady, not from immaturity, but from decay. But youth, with its unspent energies, its keen perceptions, its earnest hopes, and its unfilled capacities, shall return to man on earth no more. As though deeply impressed with this conviction, it was in this, the seed-time of life, that, with unwearied industry, Alexander Campbell labored to store his mind with useful learning, and to avail himself of every accessible source of knowledge. He was accustomed to pursue his studies to a late hour in the night, and usually rose at four in the morning to resume them. Books were his constant delight, and self-education became with him a passion, as there seemed but little prospect of his being enabled to attend the University, owing to his father's large family, now increased with another daugh-

ter, named Alicia—making seven children living, three others having died in early infancy.

In addition to his duties in the public school, he was induced at this time to become private tutor to the daughters of Hon. William Richardson, giving lessons at certain hours in the day. This caused but little inconvenience, as Mr. Richardson's mansion was near at hand, surrounded with finely-improved grounds, where Alexander's sisters were accustomed often to walk on a pleasant evening to enjoy the beauty of the shrubbery and of the flowers. Amidst all his labors, however, he still found time for an occasional gunning excursion. On one of these expeditions an incident occurred, which, though trifling in itself, may serve to show how acute and introspective were his powers of observation, and how strong his objective tendencies, since, even in the midst of sportive recreation, he could readily make the operations of his own mind the object of analytic scrutiny. Having gone out on a Saturday, with two companions, in search of corn-crakes (a migratory land-rail abundant in Ireland), after a long walk their excursion seemed likely to prove unsuccessful. Upon their return they came into a meadow, and it was proposed that Alexander should take one end and his companions the other. In a little while one of the latter fired and shot a corn-crake. Alexander happened to have a gun with a worn pan, which sometimes allowed the powder to escape. Upon hearing the shot, he examined and found that there remained in the pan only one single grain of powder of large size. Not expecting to see any more game, however, he did not think it worth while to prime, and proceeded on his way; but had gone only a few steps when a hare started out of its form almost at his feet. As he was at

the end of the meadow near to the house of a tenant who had a license to take game, the first thought which struck him was, that he was in full view of the house, and, secondly, that the tenant might regard him as trespassing. He reflected further, that this man was very strict about the game; but it then occurred to him that, as he was a teacher in the family of the lord of the manor, he might be regarded as entitled to the privilege. He then recollected, however, that he had not primed his gun, and that it was not likely to go off, as there was but a single grain of powder in the pan. He perceived further, that the hare had but a very little way to go until it would reach a hedge and be hid from view, and that there was hardly time to take aim. But, lastly, considering that it was a risk all round, he concluded to try the experiment, and accordingly, putting up his gun, fired and killed the hare *before it had gone twenty steps*. He then discovered that at least *eleven* distinct thoughts had successively been present to his mind in that immeasurably brief instant—a circumstance which filled him with wonder as he reflected upon it, and became to him an illustration, which he never afterward forgot, of the inconceivable rapidity of the mind's action.

After several years spent in teaching at Rich-Hill, the excessive labor and confinement to which his father was subjected in fulfilling his duties to the congregation and to the school began seriously to impair his health. He grew extremely pale, dyspeptic and debilitated, and finally, after having for a long time tried various remedies in vain, he was informed by his physician that his life would be the forfeit if he persisted in continuing his unremitting mental toil; and that an absolute change of present pursuits, and such relief as

a protracted sea-voyage might afford, were indispensably necessary to his recovery. This decision was extremely distasteful to him. He could scarcely endure the thought of leaving his position and his family to undertake a voyage across the Atlantic, as was proposed to him by his friends, some of whom were almost constantly emigrating to the New World. At length, Alexander, seeing the critical state of his father's health, resolved to forward earnestly the proposed measure, and he therefore told his father that he would take the entire charge of the school until all existing engagements were fulfilled, and that he thought it highly important for him at once to visit America and see the country. As his father still hesitated, he at length told him that it was his own determination to go to the United States so soon as he came of age, and that all the circumstances seemed to him providentially to indicate the propriety of the course recommended, in order that a suitable location might be found for the entire family. Yielding at length to these representations and to the advice of his warmest friends, and especially of the Acheson family, Thomas Campbell gave his consent, and it was arranged that, in case he should be pleased with the country, he would send for the family; and, if otherwise, he would himself return to Ireland. As Miss Hannah Acheson was desirous of going out to her relatives, who had previously emigrated and settled in Washington, Pennsylvania, she gladly availed herself of the opportunity to place herself under the escort of her esteemed pastor.

Accordingly, a few days afterward, on the first day of April, 1807, Thomas Campbell, having taken an affecting farewell of his congregation, assembled his own family, to the members of which he delivered suit-

able counsels and instructions, after which, amid many prayers and tears, he bade them adieu, and set out with his company for Londonderry, the port from which he had concluded to sail. Hastily viewing the fine harbor, and some other points of interest connected with this ancient city, so celebrated in history for its heroic defence against James the Second, he took occasion, before embarking, to address a letter to his family, the following extract from which will show how highly, above all the things of the present life, he prized their spiritual welfare:

"Come out, my dear son," he wrote, "from the wicked of the world and be separate, and 'touch not the unclean thing,' saith the Lord, 'and I will receive you and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.' My dear children, look to this divine direction and promise, and the Lord will be with you and be your God; and 'if God be for us, who can be against us?' Now, if you attend to this, and do really come to and embrace the Lord Jesus for repentance and reformation, you will have good ground of confidence for all things necessary, in his mercy, for your comfort here and your future felicity, that he will make my journey prosperous for deliverance to you and your friends, and that he will not be wroth with me for your sakes. Live to God; be devoted to him in heart, and in all your undertakings. Be a sincere Christian—*i. e.*, imbibe the doctrines, obey the precepts, copy the example, and believe the promises of the gospel. And that you may do so, read it, study it, pray over it, embrace it as your heritage, your portion. Take Christ for your Master, his Word for your instructor, his Spirit for your assistant, interpreter and guide. Be always conformed in your heart and practice with it. Live by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, both 'for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption.' Above all things, attend to this, for without him you can do nothing, either to the glory of God or your own good."

Such were the affectionate counsels of Thomas Campbell to his family, and especially to his son Alexander, whose appreciation of them may be inferred from the fact that he carefully copied them into his note-book, that he might have them constantly before him. Meanwhile, his father had embarked on the ship Brutus, Captain Craig, master, bound for Philadelphia; and on the eighth of April, 1807, the wind being favorable, the vessel set sail, and passing out of Lough* Foyle, rounded Malin-Head, the most northern point of Ireland, where Thomas Campbell gazed for the last time upon his native shores as they faded from his sight in the dim mists of the eastern sky.

There was at this time a large and constant emigration to the United States. The political troubles; the religious dissensions; the oppressive tyranny of landed proprietors over tenants; the almost hopeless prospects for those with large families, and for the young, as to success in life; together with many other evils existing in this fertile and beautiful, but sadly-misgoverned country, led great numbers to seek a happier home under the free institutions of the New World. Several families of Thomas Campbell's acquaintance in the vicinity of Rich-Hill had, at this time, already made their arrangements to set out for the United States. Among these may be mentioned the family of the Hodgens, of which some of the younger members had been Mr. Campbell's pupils. Thomas Hodgens, having sold out his land for three hundred guineas, resolved to emigrate and purchase land in America; and one of his daughters being married to James Foster, he urged

* The word *lough* has in Ireland and Scotland a wider signification than the word *lake*, embracing not only inland sheets of water, but bays which have a narrow outlet to the sea.

his son-in-law to accompany him. This James Foster was destined to take no unimportant part in Thomas Campbell's future religious movements. He was one of those men who, from a retiring disposition or other circumstances, do not put themselves prominently forward, but who exert, nevertheless, an important influence within a limited sphere, and often make that influence widely felt through other minds.

He was a member and the precentor in the church of the Independents at Rich-Hill, and a young man of more than ordinary piety and religious attainments. Possessed of a remarkably retentive memory, and devoted to the study of the Bible, his mind became a complete treasury of the Word of God, so that he could, with the utmost accuracy, repeat from memory its sacred teachings at his pleasure. Having become convinced that there was no authority in Scripture for the baptism of infants, he would never consent to its administration in the case of his own children; but he was not, on this account, less esteemed among the Independents, with whom considerable latitude of opinion was allowed. His extreme conscientiousness, indeed, was so well known, and his character and religious worth so highly appreciated, that he was one of the most influential members in the church, and was often invited to the house of the pastor, Mr. Gibson, where he met, occasionally, some of those eminent preachers who visited Rich-Hill. At one of his visits he met with John Walker, and heard him discuss with Mr. Gibson various religious topics, on which occasion Mr. Gibson seemed to him to be a mere child in the hands of the learned and acute Walker. He heard Alexander Carson also, and thought him the finest religious teacher to whom he had ever listened. It was his habit not to speak from a text, but

to enter into the train of thought presented in an entire connected portion of Scripture, so as fully to develop the actual meaning of the passage.

When James Foster was urged to go to America, he hesitated to leave his recently widowed mother, until she herself urged his emigration, lest his wife should pine after her relations. Upon this he was induced to consent, and the whole party having made their arrangements, set out about two weeks after the departure of Thomas Campbell, and proceeded to Newry.

This town occupies a part of three counties—Lowth, Armagh and Down. It is connected with Lough Neagh by a canal, chiefly in the bed of the river Bann, and also with Carlingford Bay by a canal, through which vessels reach its fine spacious quay, so that it is a centre of considerable trade. It is built upon the side of a steep hill, at the foot of which is the Narrow Water, an inlet from Carlingford Bay, but not sufficiently capacious for large vessels. Along the margin of this Narrow Water, upon the left, a fine road passes down from Newry, five miles, to Warren Point, which is much resorted to as a watering-place. On the opposite side of this narrow inlet, in the county of Lowth, lofty and precipitous hills arise as out of the very water, presenting a magnificent appearance. Passing down, accordingly, to Warren Point, where the bay is about a mile and a half wide, James Foster and his companions embarked on a vessel bound for Philadelphia.

As though to attract the foreigner and detain the emigrant, Nature seems at this point to have grouped together the most enchanting scenery. Looking seaward, along the shores of the widening bay, high hills of beautiful forms rise up from the water's edge on each side. Two miles below, upon the left, nestling between

two mountains, is the village of Rosstrevor, celebrated for its picturesque beauty and connected with the demesnes of General Ross, who was destined to fall, a few years afterward, in the attack on Baltimore, and in whose honor an elegant monument, in the form of an obelisk, has since been erected a little above the village. Below Rosstrevor a majestic mountain lifts, to a great height above its green and wooded slopes, a bare and rugged peak, upon whose side appears a perpendicular rock of immense size, distinctly visible from Newry, and to which parties frequently resort to enjoy the magnificent view which it affords. On the opposite side of the bay is seen Carlingford Castle, a large and imposing structure, often visited by the tourist, and possessing many interesting historical associations. Still further down, at a distance of about four miles, and on the extreme point where the bay at length opens into the sea, stands the light-house, like a friendly hand stretched out from the shores of civilization and hospitality to "welcome the coming and speed the parting guest." To all these charming scenes, and the cherished associations of their native land, the emigrants were now compelled to bid a final farewell, as the vessel, weighing anchor and steering down the bay, entered the Irish Sea, and taking a southerly course through St. George's Channel, along the coast of Wales, whose lofty mountains became distinctly visible, passed out at length into the broad Atlantic.

A departure to a distant land, with its last farewells to beloved friends and familiar scenes, has in it much of the bitterness of death. It brings, at least, home to the heart, the griefs, uncertainties and fears attendant upon a protracted separation; and the radical idea in death is separation, of which, to the Irish emigrant and

his family, the trackless ocean, with its seemingly boundless extent and unfathomed mysteries, becomes at once the emblem and the instrument. These feelings were most fully realized in the family home-circle at Rich-Hill, in which a once honored seat remained vacant, and the venerated form of a beloved father was seen no more. In all the buoyancy of youthful hope, Alexander Campbell nevertheless addressed himself to his labors, conducting the school energetically according to arrangements, and assisting his mother in the care of the family, managing everything with such vicacity and cheerfulness as to revive the spirits of all, like a pleasant sunshine after a day of gloom.

After some three months had passed away, he received with great joy a letter from his father announcing his safe arrival at Philadelphia, after a prosperous voyage of thirty-five days, which, at that time, was reckoned a speedy trip. It stated that he had been so highly favored as to find the Anti-Burgher Synod* of North America then assembled in the city, and had been very kindly received by the members upon presenting his testimonials from the Presbytery of Market Hill and the church at Ahorey. This letter is dated May 27, 1807, and continues as follows:

"What a debtor am I to the grace of God! and what a debtor are you, my dear Jane, and you, my dear little ones, for whom I am ardently praying to that gracious God that hears and helps and saves all that call upon him in truth! for these kindnesses conferred upon me are also for your sakes, that, through his mercy, we may yet praise him together in the congregation of his people. To call this in question would

* The only Seceders in the United States were attached to this Synod, as the Burghers never had any distinct organization in America.

be to belie his goodness. And you, dear Alexander, upon whom the burden lies at present, and must for some little time longer—I hope not longer than we expected at our parting—be sure you make it your chief study to do all to please and nothing to offend that great God who has raised such friends and conferred such friendships upon your father, both at home and abroad, and especially when he became a stranger in a strange land. But what do I say? A minister or a member of Christ's Church is a citizen of the world, as far as the Church extends. * * * * My dear Jane, let nothing discourage you. Turn to God; make his word and will your constant study, and rely upon it that as 'the days wherein you will have seen and years you grief have had,' so the Lord will make you glad, and satisfy you with his tender mercies. My dear children, let me address you together: if you have any sympathy, any sincere affection for a father who cannot cease to love you and pray for you so long as his heart shall beat or tongue be able to articulate, see that you follow the directions that I gave you at my parting, whether by word or writing. Be a comfort to your mother; love, cherish and pity one another. Love the Lord your God; love his Son Jesus Christ, and pray to the Lord constantly and ardently for me your poor father, who longs after you all, and who cannot rest, if the Lord will, till he has prepared a place of residence for you all, where I trust we shall spend the rest of our days together in his service."

This letter also, together with others breathing the same affectionate and religious spirit, Alexander reverentially copied upon the pages of his note-book, in which he had already numerous selections from Young, Johnson, Buffon, Beattie, and other esteemed authors; for it was his custom to write down, for his future use, and in order to impress them the more upon his memory, those passages in the books he read that particularly pleased him.

CHAPTER VI.

Merited Confidence—Preparations for Departure—Delays—Embarkation.

IT is the sense of what we seem to others that moulds and fashions human character. This may be rough-hewn by Nature, but it is the consciousness of the judgment of others, the praise of those we esteem, the criticism we fear, the model we admire, that will modify its form and determine its features. Hence the opinion which a friend entertains of another's virtues or abilities becomes to him often a standard to which he insensibly labors to conform; and the confidence reposed in him becomes one of the most powerful motives to deserve it. In the education of youth, therefore, encouragement and trust are needed, rather than censure or suspicion; and the "love that believeth all things" and "hopeth all things" will accomplish more than the skepticism which doubts or the austerity that chills the most generous emotions. It was upon this principle—which, indeed is the same which underlies the profound philosophy of the gospel itself—that Thomas Campbell acted both as a parent and as a teacher; and the frank confidence now reposed in Alexander, in committing to him so important a charge as the management of the academy and the family, became to him not only a flattering evidence of his father's high appreciation of his abilities and his principles, but a powerful incentive to him to show that this confidence was not unmerited.

He continued his labors, therefore, with that careful punctuality to which he had been accustomed, and conducted the school successfully to the close of the term.

No other letters being as yet received from America in reference to removal, and his uncle Archibald at this time greatly desiring his assistance, he now went over to Newry and took charge of a number of private classes. Here he continued, frequently seeing the family at Rich-Hill and providing for their comfort, until the month of March, 1808, when a letter was at length received from his father, urging immediate departure, and referring, for general advices, to other letters written in the preceding November, but which, as it now appeared, had failed to reach their destination. It appeared, by the letter now received, that his father had been, at his request, assigned by the Synod at Philadelphia to the Presbytery of Chartiers, embracing Washington county, in Western Pennsylvania, where some of his former neighbors had already settled, and whither James Foster and his party were bound. After spending a short time very pleasantly with the Seceder ministers and the acquaintances he had formed in Philadelphia, he had proceeded over the mountains to Washington, Pennsylvania, from which town the letter was dated, January 1, 1808. James Foster and his friends, it appeared, had landed at Philadelphia five weeks after his arrival there, and, coming on to Washington county, had found him there already engaged in ministerial labor. The following extract from his letter will show how earnest and unceasing were the aspirations of this excellent man for entire consecration of heart and life to the service of God,

"I have been encompassed with mercies from the day I

left you until this day—not the slightest accident by sea or land has befallen me. * * * * My confidence toward God in behalf of you all, to whose gracious providence and merciful protection I have heartily resigned you, keeps my mind in perfect peace. I feel greatly comforted in pouring out my heart's desire to the God of all mercy for the preservation and salvation of my family. I do not know but that I have felt more solemn, elevated pleasure in this grateful exercise since I set my foot in this land of peace, liberty and prosperity, than I could have done in the same time had I remained in the midst of you, all things considered. In those happy exercises I have enjoyed a gracious and triumphant confidence in that unlimited power, wisdom and goodness to which nothing is difficult, much less impossible. I have been enabled to cast all my care upon the Lord, so that I feel neither anxious nor afraid of anything upon earth. I perceive myself in the arms of Almighty Goodness, and am greatly comforted. I hope the receipt of this will find you all in like happy circumstances. If you knew the solid and adequate satisfaction that the clear apprehension of the great gospel of the grace of God is calculated to afford, and does actually afford to all that truly know and embrace it, you would earnestly covet this happiness and spare no pains to acquire it. Neither is it hard to acquire. Only be devoted to God; give up yourselves to the diligent study and practice of his holy word, looking to and leaning upon the promise of his Holy Spirit, which he freely and graciously gives to all them that sincerely and heartily seek it, to enable them to know and to conform to his will in all things; and you shall know the truth of his promise, 'You shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.' You shall know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom he has sent; then shall you feel yourselves impregnable as the Rock of Ages, in whom you put your trust. 'All that know thy name shall put their trust in thee, and they that put their trust in thee shall never be confounded.' Let us rejoice; the Lord reigns! and his servants need fear no evil. Be of good comfort

through his grace, and cautiously avoid danger. Omit no opportunity of removing, as the Lord may graciously permit. The merciful providence of the Lord be with you. Wishing you a happy new year under his gracious auspices, adieu.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL."

Immediately upon receipt of this letter, the family began to make the necessary arrangements for the contemplated voyage. When nearly ready, however, an unlooked-for visitation occasioned further delay. That dreaded disease, the small-pox, happened just at this time to visit Rich-Hill. Alexander, with his accustomed promptitude, at once suggested to his mother the propriety of having inoculation performed upon all the members of the household who had not yet had the disease. This was the method of protection then generally employed, as vaccination had not yet come much into use. The discovery, in fact, had been published by Jenner only in 1798, and it was several years before its efficacy was fully confirmed, the British government not taking it under its protection until 1808. It happened, however, that before the necessary preparation could be made, some of the younger children were found to have caught the infection. Fortunately, most of the cases assumed a mild form, Jane being the only one who had it very severely. She was then in her eighth year, and a beautiful child, extremely fair and blooming, with light flaxen hair; but her beauty was considerably marred and her face deeply marked by the disease.

As soon as all were convalescent, preparations for departure were resumed; but it was August before they were completed. On the 20th of this month Alexander set out on horseback for Londonderry, to make arrangements for their embarkation. The distance being

sixty miles, he was occupied two days in making the trip, greatly admiring, as he passed along, the beauty of the scenery, now enhanced by the contrast of the golden grain-fields with the green meadows and pasture lands. Upon reaching the city, he stopped at an inn belonging to a Mr. William Wilson, merchant, and proceeded to make inquiry in regard to vessels for America. He took this opportunity to visit also those parts of the city and its vicinity which had been rendered interesting by the memorable siege. The place was shown where Lundy, the treacherous governor, who was disposed to surrender the city, let himself down from the wall by the assistance of a pear tree, and made his escape to the enemy, to avoid being torn to pieces by the citizens. Upon his departure, Baker and Walker were elected governors, and the most vigorous measures adopted for defence. For many weeks all the efforts to take the town by storm were gallantly repulsed; upon which the siege was changed into a blockade, and all the avenues of assistance carefully secured. The supplies in the city were short, yet the people manfully held out, even when they had to assuage their hunger by gnawing salted hides, when rats became dainty fare, and dogs, fattened on the blood of the slain, were luxuries that few could purchase—the price of a whelp's paw being, as Macaulay informs us, five shillings and sixpence. At length, at the end of one hundred and five days, the boom stretched across the Foyle, a mile and a half below, was broken by ships bearing provisions, and the city, which by no art could have held out two days longer, was happily saved. Alexander found the walls very high, especially next the sea, and so broad at top that a coach and four could be driven upon them, though,

at the time of the siege, the defences were in a very poor condition. He was pleased with the wide streets, the old-fashioned houses, and particularly with the fine public square, upon which fronted some of the best houses in the city. He visited the place where the great boom had been stretched across the Foyle, and saw the rugged mass of rock to which it had been attached upon the left bank by a cable a foot thick. Near by was also the well from which the besiegers drank, and the burial-ground where they laid their slain, and where the spade of the gardener occasionally still turns up some of their mouldering bones. Having completed his examinations, and visited the vessel in which he expected to sail, he made a conditional engagement with the captain, and returned home after what was to him a very pleasant excursion.

As the vessel was not likely to sail for some time, and some of his acquaintances were about to visit Dublin, he concluded to accompany them, in order to have a better idea of his own country before leaving it, and to be enabled to compare it with other lands. He set off, accordingly, for the metropolis by stage on the 2d of September, and arrived safely at half-past six in the evening. Dublin is a very old city, having been spoken of by Ptolemy, who flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius, about A. D. 140, and who then called it a city—Eblana Civitas.* From the elegance of its architecture, the number of its public buildings, the magnificence of its quays, docks, and many of its streets, Dublin is regarded by tourists of discrimination as one of the finest capitals in Europe. There are few points,

* It is thought by many that in Latinizing the word Dublin, the initial D was accidentally omitted, and that Eblana should be Deblana.

in the approaches by land, which afford a good view of the city; that from Phœnix Park being perhaps the best. The scenery, however, on entering the bay between Howth and Dalkey Island, is extremely fine. Bold promontories, green sloping pastures, neat villas are seen, and especially among the latter, the elegant seat of Lord Charlemont. Several beautiful islands present a picturesque appearance, while, behind them, appear the Rochetown hills, and, still further back a varied prospect of villas, woods and pastures, terminated grandly by the distant Wicklow Mountains. Within the city itself there are some charming prospects, especially that from Carlisle Bridge. On the right is Sackville street, one of the most splendid in the world, terminated by the Rotunda and Rutland Square. On the left, Westmoreland street, with elegant buildings, terminated on one side by Trinity College and on the other by the Bank of Ireland. In front is the river Anna Liffey, which passes through the midst of the city, with its eight beautiful bridges and spacious quays, parapetted with granite, and extending for two miles and a quarter along the wide open space which passes quite through the city, and in the centre of which the river flows with a lively current. In the distance, the Four Courts are seen on Inns-Quay; the Phœnix Park also; while, toward the east, the magnificent Custom-House appears, and the fine harbor, crowded, as far as the eye can reach, with vessels of all descriptions.

The morning after his arrival he sallied forth to view the city. As he kept a journal of his visit, his impressions may perhaps be best learned from his own words:

"The principal things that drew my attention this day were the Linen-Hall, the infirmaries, hospitals and other eleemosynary superstructures. The Linen-Hall is a very ex-

tensive and elegant building, built in long squares, with doors opening into a very wide common hall. In the rooms there are offices and other accommodations for the merchants. * * * * The poor-houses, infirmaries and hospitals are numerous and elegantly conducted. In one of the foundling hospitals I saw about a thousand male and female children dine together in one apartment. Their repast consisted of white bread, with a portion of bursted barley, which is not their usual repast. One of the children, about twelve years old, gave thanks in a small pulpit before and after dinner; and before they dispersed the female part sang a part of a hymn. * * * * From the whole I observed the good and happy effects of economy, regularity and good discipline. The next thing that engaged my attention was the cradle, where I admired the care that was taken of the infants of a hundred parents—poor children whose hearts shall never glow with filial affection, who shall never feel the benign effects of parental love, and whose souls shall never be knit together by the ties of brotherly affection or tender regard. Yet even these are not forgotten by the Almighty Father. They have been snatched from the hand of cruel parents, whose awful wickedness might have led them (were not this means appointed for their preservation) to imbrue their hands in their innocent blood.

"Next day, being the Sabbath, we went to Back-lane and heard the Rev. Samuel Craig deliver a very elegant discourse from these words: 'Fear not, little flock; it is my Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom.' Monday I spent walking up and down for amusement, viewing the canals, bridges, etc., and going out of the city a few miles to where I might have a good prospect. I also visited the Royal Exchange, and saw the most respectable part of the merchants of Dublin assembled to do business.

"Tuesday I went with a party to the Botanic Gardens, where we saw the vegetable world in miniature. The Gardens contain about sixteen acres. Here are the productions of the torrid zone, reared by the most assiduous care under

glass—the herbs of sandy Africa and all the plants of the Indies. Here are themes sufficient for the naturalist, the horticulturist and the botanist. Wednesday, I paid a visit to the Museum, where I was greatly delighted with the elegance of the appearance, the vast variety of curiosities that presented themselves to my view. Birds of every species, preserved in full form, drew my attention on one hand ; on the other, the beasts of the forest and the tenants of the main. Add to these, the great variety of terrene and marine productions; the works of nature and of art; the whole tribe of insects; the medals and coins of other years, and specimens from the mines and minerals of many nations. * * * * Same day, I took a walk round the College and the College Green, and conversed with one of the students. The College is one superb square, and the Green delightful. The public buildings in Dublin are elegantly magnificent: the most superb street is Sackville street, where there was a monument erecting in memory of Lord Nelson. Dublin is a little world in itself. The inhabitants are numerous, and in general hospitable and generous. During my stay, I stopped at the house of Mr. Lukey, a respectable and worthy gentleman."

On Thursday he returned home and continued his preparations for the voyage, which being completed by the 20th of September, the whole family set out that day for Londonderry, where they arrived safely in four days. Their ship, the Hibernia, was, however, not yet ready to sail, and they were detained here eight days waiting upon it. At length, on the 28th of September, the vessel weighed anchor in Lough Foyle, with the design of putting out to sea, but, the wind soon proving adverse, cast anchor again. On the 1st of October (1808), wind and tide being favorable, she hoisted sail and took her departure, firing off, by way of adieu, the ten pieces of cannon with which she was armed. Toward evening, when near the mouth of the Lough,

the wind failed and the anchor was cast for the night. Next morning, which was the Lord's day, the wind again favoring, they passed out into the Atlantic, but came to anchor again not far from Innishowen, from which place some of the passengers desired to obtain their supply of whisky. It began now to appear that the ship, though strongly built and a good sailer, was very poorly manned and managed. The captain, Jacob Jumer, was self-willed and given withal to drink. The sailors were mostly young and inexperienced. The mate, Mr. Ryan, was evidently the only good seaman on board, and he and a Dutchman, who was a good hand, seemed to be equal to the half of the crew, which consisted of twelve, including the cook's mate and cabin-boy. A large number of passengers had been taken on board, many of whom were Catholics, having a priest along with them. Comfortable quarters had been obtained, somewhat apart, for Mrs. Campbell and her family, where they read books, conversed with each other, attended to their usual family duties, and where Alexander conducted their worship regularly morning and evening. He had now just entered upon his twenty-first year. He was tall, athletic and well-proportioned, with much of that bloom and freshness in his complexion so common in the youth of Ireland. He had an air of frankness about him, blended with decision and self-reliance, which at once inspired respect; yet he was affable and fond of conversing with others and eliciting information. The next in age, his sister Dorothy, now in her sixteenth year, was somewhat tall and slender, but erect in carriage, with regular features, having an intelligent and thoughtful expression. She was well versed in the Scriptures, having a fine memory and a strong, masculine understanding,

resembling in this respect her brother Alexander more than any of the family. Next to her was her sister Nancy, about thirteen, more like her father in figure, and of a very quiet and retiring disposition. Jane was the next in age, and now in her ninth year, had just recovered from her tedious confinement with the small-pox, which, though it had destroyed the beauty of her complexion, left still a very engaging face, with handsome features and bright, expressive eyes. Thomas, a boy of over six years, of an extremely active and restless temperament, with the two younger, Archibald and Alicia, of four and two years respectively, as yet mere children, were their mother's especial care to guard them from the unaccustomed dangers of the ship. All of them, in the novel circumstances in which they were now placed, realized more fully than ever the family and social ties that bound them to each other, and endeavored to make each other as happy as possible, in the expectation of soon reaching Philadelphia, to which port the ship was bound. But a very different destination awaited her.

CHAPTER VII.

At Sea—Scottish Coast—Imminent Peril—Determinations—Rescue—Views of Prayer.

TO abandon for ever one's native land, with all its endearing associations, naturally gives rise to emotions of sadness. Such were the feelings of Thomas Campbell's family when the vessel, setting sail again on the following morning, gradually left the shores of green Erin in the dim and misty distance. But the remembrance of a beloved husband and father waiting to receive them in the Western World, the hopeful buoyancy of youth, and the strange groups and ever-shifting scenes on board the vessel, soon gave rise to other and more cheerful thoughts.

The wind in the early part of the day was fair, but toward evening, off Malin Head, it became adverse, and increased so much in force that the ship was unable to make head against it, even when close-hauled. It became necessary, therefore, to take in sail and run before the wind all night. Next morning they found themselves near the coast of Scotland, which, from their position on the previous day, lay only about thirty miles to the north-east. As they approached the shore, it appeared very rocky and dangerous, but the captain succeeded in running the vessel into a very crooked bay which happened to be near. Neither he nor the sailors appeared to know precisely on what part of the

coast they were; but some time after daybreak pilots came on board and informed them that they were in Lochin-Daal Bay, on the coast of the island of Islay; adding that this part of the bay was very unsafe, many vessels having been wrecked there. They therefore advised the captain to proceed on further, to a better harbor near a small village called Bowmore, which was the chief town of the island. The captain, however, being resolved to go out to sea again as soon as ever the wind would permit, concluded to remain for the present where he was, and accordingly cast anchor.

Here they remained for three entire days, the wind continuing still unfavorable. During this period, Alexander occupied himself in observing the motley crowd of passengers, in conversing occasionally with the more intelligent, and in reading some of the books he had selected for the voyage. Some of the Catholics on board, having heard him engage in prayer with the family at morning and evening worship, seemed inclined to show their contempt for Protestants by occasionally requesting him, in a bantering tone, to pray for them. To such jeers, however, he paid no attention, knowing well the ignorance and the bigotry by which they were dictated.

On the evening of the 7th October, the ship still riding at anchor in the bay, and no appearance of any threatening danger, a singular circumstance occurred to him. After having attended to family worship and Scripture recitation as usual, he had reclined upon one of the sofas, and was reading aloud to his sister Dorothea in "Boston's Fourfold State." Finding, after some time, that she was becoming drowsy, he ceased reading, and soon afterward himself fell into a somewhat uneasy slumber. At length he started up with evident

marks of alarm, and told his mother and sisters that he was confident a great danger was impending, and that he feared they were about to be shipwrecked. He said he had just had a most vivid dream, in which he thought the ship had struck upon a rock, and that the water came rushing in and nearly filled the vessel. He thought he had been making the most strenuous exertions to save the family and secure their luggage; and so strong was the impression made upon his mind that he said, "I will not undress to-night. I will lay my shoes within my reach, and be ready to rise at a moment's warning; and I would advise you all to be prepared for an emergency."

All having at length retired to their berths, the decks and cabins became quiet, and no noise was heard but the dull sound of the waves as they dashed against the sides of the vessel, the whistling of the wind through the rigging, or the creaking of the cables as the ship began to strain upon them more and more. Finally, about ten o'clock, the wind, veering toward the south, increased rapidly to a severe gale, blowing directly into the bay. In a few moments the passengers were suddenly aroused by a violent shock, accompanied with the crashing sound of breaking timbers and the rushing of water into the main hold of the vessel. Instantly all was commotion and terror. The ship, it appeared, had dragged her anchors, and had been dashed upon a sunken rock, which had penetrated her bottom, while the force of the wind and waves had thrown her almost upon her beam-ends. As the passengers scrambled to the upper deck, they found the captain calling up all hands to cut away the masts. In the confusion, however, but a single axe could be found. With this the sailors commenced to hew at the masts, while some of

the passengers who had broadswords assisted with these in cutting away the stays. The masts being at length cut and falling overboard, the ship righted to some extent, fortunately still remaining upon the rock, upon which she seemed to settle more firmly as she gradually filled with water. All the passengers, with whatever baggage they could rescue, were now crowded upon the upper deck, exposed to the fury of the elements, as wave after wave of immense size approached and broke upon the vessel, sweeping the deck and threatening instant destruction. The captain now ordered minute-guns to be fired in token of distress, but such was the noise of winds and waves that it seemed impossible that they could be heard on shore. The situation, indeed, appeared to all to be desperate —the violence of the storm continuing, the long and dreary night before them, and no prospect of any human help.

It was now that Alexander, having done all that was possible for the present safety of his charge, abandoned himself to reflection as he sat on the stump of the broken mast, and, in the near prospect of death, felt, as never before, the vanity of the aims and ambitions of human life. The world now seemed to him a worthless void, and all its attractions a vain, delusive show. Kingdoms, thrones and sceptres could not, he thought, if offered, excite one wish for their possession. The true objects of human desire and the true purposes of man's creation now appeared to him in all their excellence and glory. He thought of his father's noble life, devoted to God and to the salvation of his fellow-beings, and felt that such a calling, consecrated to the elevation and everlasting happiness of mankind, was, indeed, the highest and most worthy sphere of action

in which any human being could engage. It was then, in that solemn hour, that he gave himself up wholly to God, and resolved that, if saved from the present peril, he would certainly spend his entire life in the ministry of the gospel. It was at this moment that he, for the first time, fully decided upon adopting the ministry as his profession.

Calmly submitting himself to the dispensations of Heaven, he now began to observe the conduct of the other passengers. Most of them presented the aspect of extreme terror, as they hopelessly gazed at the careering clouds above or into the surrounding gloom, or shrank away from the fury of the dashing waves. The Catholics, especially, manifested the most abject fear, and now, no longer in a jeering tone, but in all sincerity and humility, besought him to pray for them. Some of them were telling their beads and muttering prayers to the saints; others were calling aloud on the Virgin Mary and the angels to "fall the winds and save our bodies;" strangely enough, never offering a petition for the salvation of their souls. Others were busy confessing their sins to the priest, who was granting them absolution and endeavoring to prepare them for what seemed their inevitable fate.

Among the passengers, however, there was one unknown female, who, amidst all the dreadful noise and turmoil of the elements and the contagious sympathy of fear, sat quietly by herself, nursing her babe. This, under the circumstances, appeared to the Campbells very singular, and it indicates their comparative calmness that they noticed her particularly, as she sat apparently unconscious of the raging winds and waves and the imminence of the danger, sheltering, as best she could, her helpless infant.

Meanwhile, upon the ill-fated Hibernia, the rushing waves and the pitiless tempest continued to beat with unabated fury, and the dismal hours of the long and dreary night passed slowly away. About five o'clock, the captain, with the Catholic priest and some of the crew, resolved to make an effort to get ashore in the long-boat. They succeeded in launching the boat and getting clear of the ship, but upon nearing the shore the boat upset in the surf, and it was with great difficulty that, by swimming and wading, they at length succeeded in reaching the land. But the captain and most of the sailors had become so much intoxicated by the time they reached the nearest houses that they acted in a rude and boisterous manner, and were unable to represent properly the exigency of the case, so that it was not until daylight revealed the situation of the vessel that a few inhabitants began to collect upon the beach.

At first, the passengers doubted whether the people who appeared on the barren and rocky coast were disposed to befriend them, or, as is often the case, to act the part of common wreckers, who plunder the unfortunate. It soon became evident, however, from the signals they made, and their strenuous efforts to launch the boats they gathered from various quarters, that their intentions were to rescue the passengers and crew. All their efforts to board the vessel by means of their boats proving abortive, in consequence of the force of the wind and waves driving shoreward, the passengers were instructed by signals to tie a rope to an empty cask and allow it to drift on shore, while they retained the other end. The cask being caught on shore, its rope was immediately transferred to the prow of one of the boats, which, by the assistance of those on board

the ship, was then successfully dragged through the surf, and finally, to their great joy, brought alongside. It was now decided that the women and children should be taken first ashore, but some men seeming resolved to accompany their families, the more resolute passengers, drawing their swords, stood at the gangway, and threatened to cut down any man that dared to go until all the weaker portion of the passengers were landed. The arrangement was then carried out, and as each boat-load reached the shore, the boat was drawn back as before for others.

Alexander concluded to remain for the last boat, and while the others were going ashore, perceiving that there was now but little danger of loss of life, he began to think about the property they had on board. Their trunks and boxes, he found, were floating about between-decks, and among them a large cask in which he had packed the books. He at once determined to save these if possible, but as there was now no tackle or means of hoisting the cask to the upper deck, he managed, with great difficulty and at the imminent risk of his life, to break it open with the axe and throw the books upon the deck. After all, however, he found it was impossible to convey them ashore at that time, and as he left the ship with the last of the passengers, he was reluctantly compelled to leave them to the mercy of the elements. It was now about two o'clock, and the tide was at the ebb, so that the boat ran upon a rock a good distance from land, and Alexander, with the rest, had to wade ashore with no little difficulty and danger through the surf. He immediately sought out his mother and the family, and found them assembled safely upon a large rock, where they all rejoiced together at their merciful deliverance, while the rest of

the passengers, gathered around in groups, were congratulating each other with the liveliest demonstrations of joy. The people of the island were extremely kind, supplying food and drink to warm and refresh the benumbed and exhausted, and bringing carts to convey to the village the luggage which was from time to time brought ashore, and which they safely deposited in the store-room of a Mr. Hector Simpson, a merchant of the town.

Every arrangement having been made to secure as much as possible of the property from the wreck, the passengers began to disperse to look for lodgings. Alexander repaired with the family to the nearest and most respectable house he saw, and all were very warmly received by the owner, a widow lady possessed of a respectable fortune, and having a family of grown-up daughters. Her hnsband had been a clergyman, and was said to have translated from the Gaelic many of the fragments regarded as the poems of Ossian. This lady's maiden name was Campbell; and when it was discovered that her guests were of that name, she, as well as all the rest of the people, seemed to redouble their attentions, for as it now appeared, instead of going to America, they had been thrown directly among the Campbells of Argyleshire, from whom they deduced their lineage. Having, in this hospitable mansion, got themselves warmed, dried and refreshed, along with many others of the passengers they proceeded to the town, which was about two miles off, where they obtained lodgings in the house of a Mr. McCallister. Here they meditated with grateful hearts upon the eventful scenes through which they had just passed, and recalling the premonition given by Alexander, were assured by him that the reality, as it

occurred, was precisely what appeared to him in the forewarning. The appearances of things in his fancy had been verified in the facts, and he had done the very things he supposed himself to have done in his singular dream. He was a very firm believer in special providences, and was the more impressed on this occasion as, in his previous history, he had found his presentiments several times strangely verified. With him, these were simply facts which he did not pretend to explain upon natural principles, but regarded as indications of God's watchful care and interest in the affairs of his people.

He was busily occupied for some days afterward in obtaining from the wreck, as the weather would permit, such books, clothing and other property as had not been washed overboard or otherwise destroyed, and in drying his books and preparing them to be repacked. Laird Campbell, of Shawfield, chief owner of the island and member of Parliament, observing his books, invited him very cordially to his house, and treated him more like a relative than a stranger. Here he spent many pleasant hours, as well as at the house of Mr. Simpson, whose wife was possessed of much intelligence and piety, and for whom he conceived a very high respect. She was very fond of reading religious books, and seemed to feel a deep interest in the prosperity of Christ's kingdom. Laird Campbell had appointed Mr. Simpson to take charge of the wreck and secure the property of the passengers, to whom he endeavored to render every service in his power. Alexander got acquainted also with a Mr. Fulton, a very godly man, who taught the principal school, and also kept a Sunday-school for the benefit of the people.

A portion of his time he spent in viewing the island,

which is, in some parts, hilly, but contains a considerable amount of arable land, which had been improved by the energetic and skillful management of Laird Campbell. Islay has, indeed, been always noted as the most fertile of all the Hebrides, or Isles of the Gael. These extend along nearly the whole western coast of Scotland, and are about two hundred in number, of which at least thirty of the more southern appertain to Argyleshire. Of these latter, Islay is by far the most important. In former times it was the chief abode of the "Lords of the Isles," who often maintained an authority independent of the Scottish Crown, and the ruins of whose castles and strongholds, situated generally on cliffs overhanging the ocean, are seen at various points, as along the coast of Mull and Ardnamurchan. In the centre of Islay there is a lake about three miles in circumference, called Loch Finlagan, from an island situated in it, in which the great McDonald, King of the Isles, formerly had his residence. Here also was held, we are told, the high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen members, to which there was an appeal from all the courts of the isles, the chief judge receiving, as his fee, the eleventh part of the sum in dispute. The ruins of the ancient edifices, and the traditions of celebrated chieftains who had lived in Islay, as lords of Innisgael,* such as "good John of Islay" and "Ronald of the Isles," who, in his castle of Dunnaverty, protected Bruce in his distress, could not but excite a deep interest in the mind of a youthful traveler, himself not unrelated to the people among whom these relics and histories were fondly cherished.

* Isles of the Gael. They also ruled over Ross-shire and other parts of the adjacent mainland.

On the second Lord's day after the shipwreck, the first having been necessarily occupied in attending to the property at the wreck, he visited early in the morning the Sunday-school taught by Mr. Fulton. The children read the Scriptures, repeated psalms and the catechism, after which Mr. Fulton gave an exposition of some Scripture, sung, prayed and dismissed with a benediction. Afterward, he went to hear the Rev. Mr. McIntosh, the Scots' Church minister of the parish. He seems at this time to have been growing more and more doubtful in regard to the claims of the clergy, and more careful and critical in observing their proceedings. "He was entertained," he remarks, "with a specimen of good old Scotch divinity," and was pleased with the "aspect, pronunciation and gravity of the venerable parson." He preached from the text "Let us come boldly to the throne of grace" in the forenoon, and in the afternoon addressed his audience in Gaelic. At the morning service the laird and his family were present in their pew, situated in the most conspicuous place in the church, and Alexander noticed that the minister made a particular mention of them all in his prayer, with earnest petitions on their behalf. On the following Lord's day they were absent, as the laird was about to take his seat in Parliament, and Alexander noticed that they were equally absent from the prayers of the parson. This made quite a forcible impression on his mind, and, as he remarked afterward in his Christian Baptist, "became a subject of curious reflection."

"I had not, however," he adds, "traveled very far till I found it was a general practice in all parish churches, when the patron was present, to give him a large portion of the opening prayer, but always when absent he was forgotten. Being

but just arrived at the period of reflection, and determined to study men as well as things, I became very attentive to the prayers of not only the parish clergy, but of all others. I observed it to be a general rule that when two or three ministers of the same party happened to be present in the same pulpit, whichever one prayed he made particular supplications for his ministering brethren. Thus the parson A prayed very ardently for his brothers, parsons B and C, when they were present; but when B and C were absent, A asked for no blessings for them. I do not know that I ever saw it otherwise in any sect or in any country. I noted this fact in my pocket-book of memorandums, and placed it under the same head with those of the parish ministers for their patrons. I think I headed this chapter, in my juvenile fancy, with the words 'COMPLIMENTARY PRAYERS, or *prayers addressed to human beings not yet deified.*'"

In the same article he goes on to detail a subsequent similar experience. "In process of time," he remarks, "I happened to make a tour with a very devout divine, and as he always spent the night in the house of some of his 'lay brethren,' in offering up his evening sacrifice, or what is more commonly called 'leading in family worship,' he never forgot to pray in an especial manner for his host, earnestly desiring that the family among whom he spent the night might be peculiarly blessed. During fourteen days and nights which I spent in his company, he never once forgot to pray for the proprietor of the house that gave him his supper and bed. In justice to his devotion, I should remark that one evening was spent at an inn, where he asked the liberty of attending upon family worship, and there he also prayed as fervently for his landlord and landlady as if in a private family. In justice to the landlord, too, I should observe that he remitted to him his bill in the morning, with an invitation to give him a call when convenient. * * * * This I also noted down under the head of '*complimentary prayers.*'" In order, however, to prevent misunderstanding, he adds: "I would not be understood as censuring the practice of one Christian praying for

another when it is by request, or when, from any consideration, it becomes necessary, or of a whole church praying for another church, or for one member or for those that are not members, either in their presence or absence. But this is quite a different thing from those prayers which we call *complimentary*, which, if not intended as a mere compliment, most certainly appear so in the above instances at least, and in many others which might be adduced. * * * *

"It is usually allowed that it is one of the greatest and best of blessings that we should be admitted to lift up our voices to the throne of the Universe. But if ever there be a moment in a Christian's life when humility and sincerity become him well, this is the moment, when he is speaking to that glorious and mighty One, before whose throne 'seraphs veil their faces and angels prostrate fall.' Our words, assuredly, should be few and well ordered—no pomp of language, no vain parade of words, no compliment to men when we claim the audience of our Almighty Maker."

He always thought it incongruous for any one leading in prayer with others to offer special petitions for one or more of those who are supposed to unite in the prayer, while he uses at the same time the first person plural, "we ask," "we pray," etc., thus including the person prayed for in the terms employed, while in point of fact he is necessarily excluded from the address offered by others on his behalf. He therefore carefully avoided the practice which he condemned, and neither he nor his father were in the habit of offering up special petitions for any who, at the time, united in the prayer. By both of them, prayer was regarded as a sacred privilege, to be exercised with a very strict regard to the proprieties of the occasion. As to their style, it may be well to observe here, while the subject of prayer is under consideration, that Alexander generally used great plainness and directness of expression, while his

thanksgivings and petitions were comprehensive, scriptural and appropriate to the circumstances. His father went more into detail, was more diffuse, and his thoughts, as well as his sentences, were sometimes involved. He was disposed to make rather a redundant use of adjectives, both in his prayers and sermons, and when quoting Scripture, as he constantly did in both, he could not in some cases forbear adding epithets, in order, if possible, to enhance the force of the language. Thus, when at the close of his prayer he would sometimes embody in it what is commonly called the Lord's Prayer, instead of the simple words, "thy will be done," he would say, "thy *blessed* and *holy* will be done." Again, instead of asking for "mercy" and "grace," he would pray for "sin-pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace." With the exception, however, of those cases in which his feelings led him thus to endeavor to exalt and magnify the Divine perfections, he was careful to quote the exact language of Scripture. Alexander, on the other hand, seemed often to prefer a paraphrase, though he was fond of using a new version if it rendered the sense more clear. Thus, instead of saying, "Lead us not into temptation," he would say "Abandon us not to temptation;" instead of "Deliver us from evil," "Deliver us from the Evil One." With regard to the Lord's Prayer, both regarded it as a model rather than a prescribed formula, and thought it, at least in regard to one of its petitions, as being specially designed for the time at which it was given. At that time Christ's kingdom had not yet been fully set up on earth, and there was a propriety then in the petition "thy kingdom come." But when the kingdom had come, and had been publicly set up and established, as recorded in the second chapter of Acts, this petition

ceased to be appropriate, at least in its original application. If, then, the expression "thy kingdom come" happened to be used by Thomas Campbell, he was careful to apply it to the second coming of Christ in his kingdom, and to say, "thy kingdom come, in its ultimate fullness and glory;" while Alexander perhaps would say, "May thy kingdom be established in the hearts of the children of men." Both were given to amplification. The father was disposed to enlarge the expression; the son to amplify the thought. The former would enforce by means of epithets and repetition; the latter by extending the idea in connecting it with its antecedents or its results. Both were characterized by fluency, solemnity, fervency and manifest sincerity. In neither was there any tendency to ornate or pompous diction, or to a loud and boisterous delivery. To some, indeed, Alexander's style of prayer might at first appear too composed and calm; but his manner was the natural expression of a high intellectual nature, necessarily undemonstrative, as holding the feelings in abeyance, but not on that account less deep, fervid and sincere. In a word, his manner was reverential without being abject; deliberate, but not frigid; earnest, but not impassioned; while his dignified and solemn bearing, the distinct intonations of his clear and silvery voice, his forcible emphasis, his truly scriptural petitions, his evident realization of his true position, and his self-posed consciousness of the nature of the duty in which he was engaged, all contributed to render his prayers most edifying and impressive.

CHAPTER VIII.

Journeyings—Jura—Iona—Account of Columban—Glasgow—Kind reception by Greville Ewing.

SPECIAL providences are seldom properly comprehended at the time of their occurrence. Events which are afterward recognized as blessings are, at the time, often thought to be disasters; and seeming blessings are found subsequently to prove the greatest evils. When Simeon was detained in Egypt, the patriarch Jacob said: "Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me." But these apparent privations were only the appointed means through which he himself and his house were to be reunited and preserved. Rachel thought the possession of a child would be the highest joy on earth; but when Benjamin was born, she found occasion to call him Benoni, "son of my sorrow." The shipwreck which Thomas Campbell's family had suffered seemed to be a complete disappointment of all their hopes, as it was an entire frustration of their plans and purposes. But there was an important work for Alexander to accomplish, needing special preparation both of heart and mind; and this seeming calamity was afterward seen to be one of the most important of that train of events by which that preparation was secured. Already had it led him to a final determination as to his proper field of labor; and the circum-

stances in which it directly involved him were those precisely adapted to qualify and guide him in that future life-work.

While the family were engaged in securing, drying and packing up whatever portion of their property could be recovered from the wreck, it became an important question with them what course to pursue. Their passage-money had been at once honorably refunded by the owners of the vessel, and by going to some shipping-port they might have renewed their attempt to cross the ocean. But the season was now far advanced, and even if new preparations had been made, which would have required some weeks, Mrs. Campbell and her daughters were unwilling to tempt again so soon the dangers from which they had just escaped. It became evident, therefore, that their embarkation for America would have to be postponed until, at least, the stormy winter months were past, and they thought it best to remain, in the mean while, in some suitable place in Scotland. The selection of such a place was not difficult, for, as Alexander felt an ardent desire to spend some time at the University where his father had been educated, it was at once determined that they would all proceed to Glasgow.

From Bowmore, it was necessary to travel about one hundred and thirty miles by land and water in order to reach Glasgow, owing to the somewhat circuitous nature of the route. Accordingly, all things being in readiness, on Monday, October 24, the most of the baggage was forwarded to Greenock by the Bowmore and Greenock packet, the family concluding to go by a more comfortable and direct way. Before starting, Alexander obtained a letter of introduction from Mr. George Fulton to Rev. Greville Ewing; one from Mr.

Hector Simpson, merchant, to Mr. William Harley, manufacturer; and one from the Rev. Mr. McIntosh, the parish minister, to Rev. Mr. McKenzie of Glasgow. A conveyance being obtained for his mother and the younger children, with the remainder of the baggage, he sent them forward to Port Askeg, about ten miles distant, on the eastern side of the island, from which place all were to take a boat to Tarbet. He, himself, with a companion, walked down in the evening and found all safely arrived, though his mother and one of his sisters had been greatly endangered by a fall from the vehicle on their way. Port Askeg is a small harbor in the narrow sound between Islay and Jura. Near the edge of the high bluff which here forms the coast of Islay, a large building had been erected for the accommodation of passengers, and from this point a boat sailed, usually twice a week, for Tarbet, about thirty-five miles distant on the way to Glasgow.

On the opposite side of the sound lay the island of Jura, whose shore is shelving and less steep than that of Islay, but the interior of the island seemed to present nothing except great mountains and rocky cliffs. Having waited in vain, on the following day, for the packet, which was detained by contrary winds, and finding that on the morning of the 26th there was still no sign of it, Alexander, pleased with the majestic aspect of the mountains of Jura, determined to cross over the sound to visit them. He found the island wild, rude and almost uncultivated, there being but few houses and very little arable land. He ascended some of the lofty peaks called the "Paps of Jura," and was greatly delighted with the bold and romantic scenery presented to his view. Covered mostly with heath, these lofty elevations and rugged slopes furnished a

scanty pasturage for a species of coarse-wooled sheep recently introduced with great advantage into the Highlands. He admired greatly the flocks of these animals, so clean and white and marked with black spots upon their foreheads, grazing like herds of deer amidst the wild scenery. He viewed with a degree of awe the precipitous cliffs which presented themselves as he toiled up the steep ascent, and contemplated with delight the rills of limpid water which, issuing near the summits, fell from rock to rock like tiny streams of liquid silver, until they disappeared in the deep and silent glens.

Alexander had an excellent appreciation of the beautiful, and especially of the grand, in Nature, and was always pleased with extensive prospects and fine landscapes. In these respects he differed much from his father, who seemed to pay little or no attention to anything of this kind. If he were called to see a fine view, he would readily acquiesce in the admiration of those who had directed his attention to it, but the next moment he would be found engaged in what seemed constantly to occupy his mind—the goodness of God and the salvation of men. Upon Nature around him he seemed ever to look with the eye of a utilitarian, and if directed to the beauty of a flower, would begin to inquire respecting the uses of the plant, and especially if it possessed medical qualities. To cure or alleviate the evils, both physical and spiritual, to which man is subject, to fear God and keep his commandments, seemed to be his whole concern. The æsthetics which claimed his attention were, so to speak, those of the human soul—the beauty of virtue—the charms of godliness and the attributes of the Creator, glorious in holiness and infinite in all his perfections. But Alex-

ander, while he was impressed, perhaps as profoundly as his father, with spiritual excellence and beauty, and the sublime revelations of Deity, seemed to superadd to this, from a wider range of thought and feeling, and his more acute perception of the resemblances of things and of their relations, a considerable taste for the beauties of Nature and of Art. With him, these gave rise, however, to a calm feeling of enjoyment, rather than to enthusiastic admiration, nor was their contemplation usually unmingled with considerations economical and practical. In regard to the strictly imitative arts, as painting and sculpture, his taste had received no culture, and he made no pretensions to a critical judgment. In music, especially sacred music, he took great pleasure, and was visibly affected by it, often calling, when the occasion permitted, for the singing of psalms and hymns, and, though unable to carry the air alone, uniting in the singing with a clear, musical voice and evident enjoyment. In regard to poetry, to which he had already paid considerable attention, his taste was more developed, and his judgment even critical, though he was more disposed to exercise it upon the *sentiment*, which in poetry is secondary, than upon the *expression*, which is primary, and much more sensible of defective imagery than of defective rhythm.

He was, at this time, quite an admirer of the poems of Ossian. Whether or not, with Drs. Blair, Gregory and many other Scotch critics, he believed in the genuineness of these poems, he was at least much taken with the tenderness and sublimity so characteristic of them, and had been at the pains of copying into his common-place book extended extracts from them. As much of the beauty of these poems is derived from local associations, it were easier to imagine than to

describe his feelings now, when, upon the summit of one of the lofty peaks of Jura, he found himself amidst the very scenes described by the poet, where "the mountains showed their gray heads," "the blue face of ocean smiled," and "the white wave was seen tumbling round the distant rock." In fancy, he might almost hear the "murmur of the streams of Lora," or see in the distance the "halls of Selma" and the groves of "woody Morven," for it was but a few leagues across the arm of the sea which washes the northern shore of Jura to the isle of Mull, with its towering Bein Vore visible to the distant islands, and but a few miles further to the narrow sound, where, upon the mainland toward the right, a district of Argyleshire still retains the name of Morven, and where, amidst the finest and most romantic natural scenery of the Western Isles, and the ruins of ancient castles upon the rocky cliffs, both history and tradition serve to enhance the enjoyment of the present through the associations of the past.

But we cannot suppose his thoughts confined to themes of mere scenic or poetic interest or to those of legendary lore, for close to the isle of Mull, off its western coast, lay the isle of Staffa, with its basaltic pillars and its celebrated Cave of Fingal, and directly opposite the opening of this cave, at a distance of some seven miles, the island of Iona, most of all likely to awaken the reflections and to enchain the attention of the youthful and religious student. This, as Dr. Johnson observes, is "that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavored, and would be foolish, if it were

possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of *Marathon*, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of *Iona*." Here are still to be seen the ruins of an august monastery and cathedral, and of three royal chapels, with extensive cemeteries, filled with numerous graves of those now unknown, but who, as Dr. Johnson observes, "did not expect to be so soon forgotten." For it is in this hallowed earth, to use the language of Scott,

"Where rest from mortal coil the mighty of the isles;"

and tradition makes it also the place of sepulture for the kings of Scotland, and even for the monarchs of other lands, brought hither to rest in the consecrated soil of the Holy Isle.

There is not a more charming or interesting portion of history than that which records the life and labors of Columban, who, in the sixth century, rendered the little island of Iona a brilliant centre of learning and of pure religion amidst the darkness and idolatry that then brooded over Great Britain, when an imperfect and Popish Christianity, mingling itself with the barbarous superstitions of Scandinavian mythology, led Redwald, King of East Anglia, to place a Christian altar by the side of the statue of Woden. Intelligent and noble youths here assembled from various regions; some, like Oswald, to be educated for the discharge of

kingly duties; others to be prepared, by a course of discipline and study, usually of eighteen years' duration, to be ordained as missionaries and instructors, not only to enlighten their own country, but to labor in other fields both dangerous and remote. After all the controversies that have been waged in reference to the history of these Culdees of Iona, it is generally admitted that their doctrines and their lives were pure and simple; that they rejected the Romish ceremonies, doctrines and traditions; that, as even Bede admits, though himself indignant at their repudiation of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical and apostolic writings;" that they boldly asserted the exclusive authority of the Scriptures, and that their modes of worship and their forms of church government were primitive and simple.*

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* The labors of that remarkable missionary, Patrick, had prepared the way for those of Columban. Patrick was a Scotchman, born in the fourth century, in the village of Boneven (since called in honor of his memory Kilpatrick), between Dumbarton and Glasgow. He led a wild, thoughtless life till about seventeen, when, with many others, he was carried off to Ireland by pirates, and sold to an Irish chieftain. While herding his cattle he became deeply impressed with religion, and the spirit of devotion glowed within him. Making his escape after six years, he returned home to Scotland; but meditating upon the unenlightened and barbarous state of the people in Ireland, he found no rest in his spirit, but experienced an irresistible desire to carry the message of salvation to those among whom he had passed so many years of his youth. "Whence did I receive," he says, "so great and blessed a gift, to know and love God, to leave native land and parents, although many gifts were offered to me with tears if I would remain there? And against my wishes I was forced to offend my relations and many of my well-wishers. But, according to God's guidance, I did not yield to them at all; not by my own power, but it was God who conquered in me, and withstood them all; so that I went to the people of Ireland to publish the gospel to them, and suffered many insults from unbelievers and many persecutions, even unto bonds, resigning my liberty for the good of others.

Columban was an Irishman, born in the village of Garten, in county Donegal, about A. D. 565. It was while at the monastery of Bangor, which contained three

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And if I am found worthy, I am ready to give up my life with joy for His name's sake."

He is supposed to have gone to Ireland about 431, and for the rest of his life continued to preach Christ amidst many persecutions and trials throughout Ireland, reclaiming the people from idolatry and barbarism, and establishing monasteries distinguished for strict Christian discipline, for industry, for a knowledge of the Scriptures and the best learning of the age, so that Ireland became, for a time, under these influences, the most enlightened country of Europe, and acquired the title of the "Isle of Saints." Patrick himself, afterward, when Popery became fully developed, was canonized and became the tutelar saint of Ireland with the Catholics.

Although the devotion and purity of purpose of the eminent men to whom Ireland owed this distinction can hardly be exaggerated, the effects produced by their labors was great, not so much in itself as in contrast with the darkness and degradation that prevailed among the people; and, though their influence undoubtedly enlightened and civilized many, it never pervaded the mass of the population, who remained barbarous and uneducated, and soon afterward fell an easy prey to the superstitions of the Church of Rome. On this point, Southey remarks, in his Life of Wesley: "Melancholy and anomalous as the civil history of Ireland is, its religious history is equally mournful and not less strange. Even at the time when it was called the Island of Saints, and men went forth from its monasteries to be missionaries, not of monachism alone, but of literature and civilization, the mass of the people continued savage, and was something worse than heathen. They accommodated their new religion to their own propensities with a perverted ingenuity at once humorous and detestable, and altogether peculiar to themselves. Thus, when a child was immersed in baptism, it was customary not to dip the right arm, to the intent that he might strike a more deadly and ungracious blow therewith, and under an opinion, no doubt, that the rest of the body would not be responsible, at the resurrection, for anything that had been committed by the unbaptized hand. Thus, too, at the baptism, the father took the wolves for his gossips, and thought that, by this profanation, he was forming an alliance, both for himself and his boy, with the fiercest beasts of the woods. The son of a chief was baptized in milk; water was not thought good enough, and whisky had not then been invented. They used to rob in the beginning of the year, as a point of devotion, for the purpose of laying up a good stock of plunder against Easter; and he whose spoils enabled him to furnish the best entertainment at that time was looked upon as the best Christian."

thousand monks, that Columban became impressed with the earnest desire to go out amidst difficulties and dangers to publish the gospel and to establish Christian discipline among savage nations."

"O that God would grant," said he, as quoted by Neander "(since, insignificant as I am, still I am his servant), that he would awaken me out of the sleep of indolence, and so kindle that fire of Divine love that this Divine flame may always burn within me! O that I had the wood with which that fire might be continually nourished, that it might never more be quenched, but always increase within me! O Lord, give me I beseech thee, in the name of Jesus Christ thy Son, my God, that love which can never cease, that will kindle my lamp, but not extinguish it, that it may burn in me and enlighten others. Do thou, O Christ, our dearest Saviour, thyself kindle our lamps, that they may evermore shine in thy temple; that they may receive unquenchable light from thee—the unquenchable light that will enlighten our darkness, and lessen by us the darkness of the world! My Jesus, I pray thee, give thy light to my lamp, that in its light the most holy place may be revealed to me, in which thou dwellest as the eternal Priest, that I may always behold thee, desire thee, look upon thee in love, and long after thee. It belongs to thee to show thyself to us thy suppliants, O Saviour full of love, that we may know thee, love thee alone, think of thee alone day and night, that thy love may fill our souls, and that this love so great may never more be quenched by the many waters of this earth; as it is written, 'many waters cannot quench love.'"

Permission having been granted by the abbot, Columban first fixed upon the island of Iona as a suitable place of retirement and seclusion, and with twelve companions established there a monastery and school, which soon became widely celebrated. Though monastic rules were adopted, and Columban inculcated strict obedience to them as evidence of Christian hu-

mility, he seems to have encouraged individual freedom, and to have directed the thoughts of the brotherhood to the greatest attainment of the Christian life—the surrender of the will to God.

"We must willingly surrender," says he, "for Christ's sake, what we love out of Christ. First of all, if it is necessary, our bodily life must be surrendered by martyrdom for Christ. Or, if the opportunity be wanting for such blessedness, the mortification of the will must not fail, so that they who live henceforth live not unto themselves, but unto him who died for them. Let us therefore live to him who, though he died for us, is the life. Let us die unto ourselves, that we may live to Christ. For we cannot live to him, if we do not first die ourselves, that is, our own wills. Let us be Christ's, not our own; we are bought at a dear price, truly so; for the Master gave himself for the servant, the King for his attendants, God for man. What ought we to give in return when the Creator of the universe died for us sinners, who yet were his creatures? Believest thou that it is not necessary to die to sin? Certainly thou must do that. Let us therefore die; let us die for life, since he who is the life, died for the dead; that we may be able to say with Paul, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, who died for me;' for this is the language of the chosen. No one can die to himself, if Christ does not live in him. But if Christ be in him, he cannot live to himself. Live in Christ, that Christ may live in thee."

Such were his sweet lessons in relation to a true union with Christ, nor were his warnings against speculations in religion less remarkable. Speaking against idle subtleties about the Trinity, he says:

"Who can speak of the essence of God? How he is everywhere present and invisible, or how he fills heaven and earth and all creatures, according to these words, 'Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord?' Jeremiah xxiii. 24.

The universe is full of the Spirit of the Lord. 'Heaven is my throne and earth is my footstool.' God therefore is everywhere in his own infinity; everywhere altogether nigh, according to his own testimony of himself. 'Am I not a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off?' We therefore seek after God not as one who is far from us, since we can apprehend him in our own inward souls, for he dwells in us as the soul in the body, if we are not dead in the service of sin. If we are susceptible of this, that he is in us, then we are truly made alive by him, as his living members. 'In him,' says the apostle, 'we live and move and have our being.' Who shall search out the Most High according to this his unutterable and inconceivable essence? Who shall fathom the depths of the Godhead? Who shall boast that he knows the infinite God, who fills and surrounds all things; who penetrates all things, and is exalted above all; whom no man has seen as he is? Let no one then venture to inquire into the unsearchable essence of God; only believe, simply but firmly, that God is and will be what he was, since he is the unchangeable God. God is perceived by the pious faith of a pure heart, and not by an impure heart and vain discourse. Art thou disposed to investigate the unutterable with thy subtleties? Then wisdom will be further from thee than it was. Ecclesiastes vii. 24. Dost thou, on the contrary, apprehend him by faith? Then wisdom will stand before thy doors."

Thus many of the important things that have distinguished the Lutheran and other great religious reformations were taught and practised in this lonely isle, under the influence of that Divine light which, at sundry times and in various modes, and in different places, has strangely and unexpectedly shone forth amidst the darkness of the nations. This light, however, has long since departed from Iona. When Dr. Johnson visited the island in 1773, he found its fertile but limited area of scarcely three square miles in-

habited by a dense but gross and neglected population, without a school for education or a temple for worship, with but two among them who could speak English, and not one who could read or write. But that light of truth has shone forth in turn in other lands, and the youth who now, from the mountains of Jura, gazed upon the surrounding scenes and thought of former times, was himself destined in a few years, like his countryman Columban, to establish, in a secluded valley of the far-off Western World, a religious reformation based exclusively upon the Bible, and embracing the same striking points of personal trust in Christ and opposition to human speculations which characterized the teachings of Columban; and to found there, likewise, a literary institution free from the perverting influences of a sectarian theology, and from which youthful and devoted missionaries have already borne a pure apostolic gospel, even to the shores of California and to the distant regions of Australia.

After spending most of the day upon the rugged mountains of Jura, Alexander rambled over other parts of the island, and called at the residence of the proprietor, whose name was Campbell, where he was very kindly and hospitably received. As evening approached, he recrossed the sound and returned to the inn, where, though greatly fatigued, he slept but little during the ensuing night. Next morning, about ten o'clock, the packet arrived, and soon after the family embarked with the other passengers who were waiting, and, sailing down the sound with a side wind, arrived, after a rough passage of twenty-four hours, at Art-Patrick, ten miles from Tarbet. Here, the wind being ahead, they had to cast anchor. Laird Campbell had a very handsome seat at this place, and his family, who

were there at this time, learning that some of the shipwrecked passengers had arrived in the packet, and were detained by a contrary wind, very kindly sent a large row-boat to convey them to Tarbet. As the boat was very heavily laden, having in it twenty-four passengers with their luggage, Alexander found it necessary to row without intermission for the whole ten miles, in order to assist its progress. From the place of landing there was a land carriage of two miles across the peninsula of Cantyre, in order to reach the packet. In assisting the passengers out with their luggage, he happened, by a sudden movement of the boat, to be thrown into the water, but got out without any other inconvenience than a complete wetting, which, however, might have proved very injurious had he not possessed a vigorous constitution, for, as there was not a sufficient number of conveyances to take all the passengers and their baggage, he, in courteously giving place to others, was finally obliged to remain himself, wet as he was, with his own baggage, very uncomfortably upon the lone and rocky shore, until a conveyance could return from Tarbet. He often, in after life, referred to the hours thus spent, when, chilled with the ocean breeze, he paced alone the deserted strand, as among the most dreary he ever passed. But the conveyance having at length arrived, he was carried to Tarbet, where he got himself dried, and, having obtained some supper, went to bed and slept soundly.

The next day, being the Lord's day, October 30th, he spent chiefly in family duties and in reading, and on the following morning they all set out from "the small, uncouth village of Tarbet," as he styles it, in a packet bound for Greenock. The wind being fair, they made about half the distance in eighteen hours; but the wind

now failing, and the captain and sailors becoming drunk, there was a very uncomfortable delay. A Captain Campbell, who was on board with his sisters, growing uneasy, ordered some of the best of the sailors to ferry him ashore. While they were gone the wind rose and was favorable, but having to await the return of the boat, which was long detained, no advantage could be taken of it; and as it soon after failed again, they had to remain in the same position all night. Next morning all the male passengers went ashore, having resolved to walk to Greenock, five miles distant. Here Alexander engaged lodgings, and immediately returned in a boat for his mother and the family; and after much fatigue and trouble, owing chiefly to the drunken captain, succeeded in getting them all with their luggage safe to Greenock. This he found to be a considerable town, with an excellent harbor filled with ships from foreign ports, as the greater part of the commerce of Scotland was carried on from Greenock and from Glasgow Port, three miles above. Here, too, ended the harassing difficulties of their transportation, which contrast so strongly with the speed and comfort now enjoyed through the agency of steam vessels, first introduced upon the Clyde in 1812, little more than three years afterward.*

* It was a native of Greenock, James Watt, who, in 1764, while instrument-maker to the University of Glasgow, there first gave to mankind the steam engine as an effective motive power. This noble invention seems to have been first successfully applied to navigation in the United States by John Fitch, upon the Delaware, 12th of October, 1788, in the "Perseverance," which made a trip from Philadelphia to Burlington, and attained a speed of six and one-third miles per hour against the current. Fulton's successful experiment on the Hudson did not occur until 1807. Fitch used paddles moved by steam, but Fulton introduced the paddle *wheel*, which is said to have been previously invented by Mr. Miller of Dalswinton, Dumfrieshire. Scotland.

Deeming it advisable to reach Glasgow in advance of his mother and sisters, in order to have suitable lodgings in readiness, Alexander, on the 3d of November, after having made arrangements for the passage of the family, next day, on the fly-boat plying on the Clyde between Greenock and Glasgow, set out on foot for Glasgow, twenty-three miles distant, where he arrived in the afterpart of the day. After obtaining some refreshments at an inn, he concluded to present his letter of introduction to Mr. Ewing, in order to obtain his advice as to a suitable place of lodging. Calling, therefore, at his house, No. 4 Carlton place, he was most kindly received and hospitably entertained. Next morning, having received Mr. Ewing's advice and a note from him to the Rev. Mr. John Mitchel, he called and breakfasted with Mr. Mitchel, who rendered him some assistance in finding lodgings, which were at length obtained in Broad street, Hutchinsontown, ready furnished. Here the family, who arrived safely next morning, were duly installed, designing here to spend the winter, while Alexander would attend the classes at the University, and happy in being once more quietly settled after the dangers, fatigues and trials of the past month.

CHAPTER IX.

Glasgow University Classes—Essays—Religious Life—Scripture Meditations.

GLASGOW, in which the Campbell family were now to reside for a time, is the chief city of Scotland as regards wealth, commerce and population. It then contained about one hundred and fourteen thousand inhabitants, and was noted for its extensive manufactures, for which it possessed great facilities, being placed in the midst of a coal deposit averaging fifteen feet in thickness and extending over one hundred and ten square miles. It is adorned with many public buildings and churches, and its venerable cathedral, the only one that escaped the iconoclastic rage of Knox and his adherents, is regarded as the finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Scotland. The college extends along the High street more than three hundred feet, and occupies an area of more than two acres. In an elegant building is contained the Hunterian Museum,* a very valuable collection of specimens in natural history, anatomical preparations and medals. The Town Hall is another fine building, much admired for its magnificent front. South-east of the city, on the banks of the river Clyde,

* Dr. William Hunter was a native of Kilbride in Lanarkshire, a pupil of Dr. Cullen, and elder brother of the celebrated John Hunter. He spent a large fortune upon the collection of this splendid Museum, which now enriches the University of Glasgow. Died in 1783, ten years before his brother John.

the "winding Clutha" of Ossian, there is a fine park of about one hundred and eight acres, adorned with trees, and with more than three miles of graveled walks for the recreation of the citizens. Many interesting personal and historical associations cluster around this ancient city, which is supposed to have existed for more than twelve centuries.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Ewing, Alexander was introduced to the different professors of the University, and on the 8th of November, immediately after the "town sacrament," the time at which the course commenced, he entered his classes. He had but fairly begun, however, when Mr. Ewing, who seems to have taken a special interest in the family, ascertaining that their place of lodging was incommodious, sought out, of his own accord, a more eligible situation in Youngsland, Broad street, Hutchinsontown, to which they all removed in the latter part of November. Here they remained during their stay in Glasgow, spending the time very agreeably, forming a very pleasant acquaintance with many persons of respectability, and experiencing the kindest attentions from a number of choice friends. One of Alexander's first cares, after the family were fairly settled, was to look to the preservation of the books which had been damaged in the shipwreck. A great many of them he found it necessary to have re-bound; and, from the list which he made out of them, it appears that they were volumes of the Greek and Latin classics and English literature, but chiefly works on theology.

As the University was attended by a large class, often numbering fifteen hundred students, many of whom were from Ireland, Alexander, who was of an eminently social disposition, formed a very extensive ac-

quaintance among them, and some warm friendships. Of those with whom he was specially intimate may be mentioned Mr. Moffit, Mr. McFarlane, Mr. Beard, Mr. Dymock, Mr. Cuthbertson, of Scotland; Mr. Whinning and Mr. Gourley, of Ireland; and Mr. Crisp, Mr. Redford, Mr. Cluney, Mr. Grive, Mr. Burder and Mr. Hooper, of England, who were among his classmates.

The classes he had entered were those of Professor Young, both public and private, in Greek; those of Professor Jardine, public and private, in Logic and Belles Lettres, and Dr. Ure's class in Experimental Philosophy. The necessary preparation for these classes, and the various exercises required, kept him extremely busy, and he devoted himself with uncommon zeal and indefatigable industry to his studies during the session. In addition to the above regular classes, he resumed the study of the French, and gave considerable time to English reading and composition. Retiring to bed at ten o'clock P.M., he rose regularly at four in the morning. At six, he attended his class in French; from seven to eight, a class in the Greek Testament; and from eight to ten, his Latin classes, returning to bathe and breakfast at ten. In the afternoon he recited in a more advanced Greek class and in Logic, attending also several lectures per week delivered by Dr. Ure, and accompanied with experiments in natural science, in which he was very much interested. Professors Young and Jardine had been his father's teachers upward of twenty-five years before, and had been also favorite professors with the poet Campbell, who had finished his course at Glasgow, his native city, in May, 1796, and who speaks of Jardine in his letters, as the "amiable," the "benign," the "philosophic Jardine." Professor Young, too, the profound grammarian and

master of elocution, had taken great interest in the youthful poet, and used to read to his class, with enthusiasm, the elegant metrical versions of the Greek poets presented by his pupil, which constantly received the highest prizes. With these and other renowned professors Alexander was greatly pleased, and the devoted attention which he gave to their instructions is amply attested by the large number of closely-written volumes which he filled during the session with copious notes of their lectures, and with his own translations from the Iliad of Homer, the Œdipus Tyranus of Sophocles, etc., together with numerous essays and exercises in prose and verse, handed in to the professors in his various classes as regular exercises.

A number of juvenile poems, some of which he had composed in Ireland, also appear in one of these volumes, having been written, as he states, "for his own improvement, and that he might be enabled to judge of the poetic compositions of others." These, however, do not possess sufficient merit for publication, nor did he himself ever esteem them worthy of it. They are deficient in rhythm and expression, and "want fire," as was said of some of the early verses of the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" by his elder brother Daniel, to whom he had submitted them for criticism; and who, suiting the action to the word, twisted up the manuscript and thrust it between the bars of the grate! There is scarcely any one, of even ordinary taste and education, who does not, in the ardent period of youth, experience something of the "*afflatus poeticus*." With most, this is, however, but a transient influence, springing from the exuberance of youthful feeling; and though it may have its use in refining that feeling and creating a love for poetry, it usually subsides amidst the sober pursuits

of life. To what measure of success Alexander Campbell might have attained in this species of composition, had he devoted himself to it, it is not easy to say; but, though some subsequent attempts at versification seem more promising, it is not likely he would have excelled in it, as the natural tendency of his mind was to wide and general views, rather than to that delicate analysis and minute descriptive detail so necessary in poetry; and his conscientious reverence for truth and fact, prohibited any lofty flights of fancy or of bold invention. For fiction, indeed, he had no taste whatever; and though he conceded, in this respect, a certain license to the distinguished poets, he used in after years often to express his wonder that any one could take an interest in works of mere invention, such as romances, when they knew, perfectly well, that not one of the things related had ever happened.

That he himself possessed a good degree of the imaginative faculty is unquestionable; but in him the understanding and the judgment largely predominated, and his imagination displayed itself, not in poetic creations, but in the far-reaching grasp by which, as an *orator*, he seized upon principles, facts, illustrations and analogies, and so modified and combined them as to render them all tributary to his main design. It was in the choice of arguments, in unexpected applications of familiar facts, in comprehensive generalizations, widening the horizon of human thought and revealing new and striking relations, that this faculty manifested itself; subservient always, however, to the proof of some logical proposition or to the development of some important truth. His deficiency in the musical faculty, as well as the preponderance of the reasoning powers and of the practical understanding, would, doubtless,

have inhibited the attainment of any poetic distinction. It is true, indeed, that a man of even ordinary talents, sensibility and reading, may, by application and labor, produce works dignified by the name of poems; but it is little else than a mechanical process, where the ear arranges words, and the fancy selects imagery to exhibit and to adorn prosaic thoughts in a poetic dress. The true poet must possess, by nature, the most delicate perceptions of beauty and of harmony, and that vivid imagination to which these are allied, and which not only creates, but gives unity and life and action to its productions, so as to make "things that are not" seem "things that are." It is by no means to be regretted, however, that Alexander Campbell did not devote himself to poetry. He chose the more congenial pursuit of truth, and a nobler and far more important field of labor, where success was to be rewarded not by mere human applause or the fading garland of the poet, but by the praise of God and the crown of immortality.

Since he became afterward distinguished as a prose writer, it may not be uninteresting to the reader to place before him one of his prose essays, written during his stay in Glasgow, that a proper comparison may be made in regard to his style at different periods. The following essay is selected from among those required by Professor Jardine in Belles Lettres, as it is brief. In a note prefixed to the manuscript volume in which they are contained, it is said that the reason for writing them out thus was to preserve them "for retrospection, that at any future period the author may look back at former states of mind and habits of composition, and may, from thence, judge of improvement, etc." Criticism is also strongly deprecated, if the book should happen to fall into the hands of a critic, who is re-

minded that these essays are the imperfect attempts of a mere student, and that the critic himself was once similarly inexperienced, and should not look with scorn on such efforts for improvement; and the note closes with the remark "that perhaps in circling months, the day may come that the author will bid defiance to him who should demean himself to criticise the attempts of youth." From this last sentence he seems to have been conscious of the possession of that undeveloped power which became afterward so conspicuous, and to have anticipated the high distinction to which he would one day attain:

"ON THE PURPOSES SERVED IN OUR CONSTITUTION BY THE REFLEX SENSE OF BEAUTY.

"Doubtless the wise Author of our nature has not endowed us with any faculties of mind or body that are not useful to us, and conferred on us for good and wise ends, that we might be capable of admiring the works of creation, and therein behold the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Author; that we might be enabled to observe the grandness, sublimity and beauty of all his works, and receive pleasure in contemplating his goodness in thus preparing an habitation for us. He has endowed us with powers of receiving pleasures from the beauties of nature and art: these powers are called natural. Each particular sense differs from another in itself, in the qualities of external objects that make an impression on it, in the emotions produced in the mind, and in the final cause; but as we are to confine ourselves to the purposes served in our constitution by the external sense of beauty, we shall proceed to point them out.

"That as man is destined for the enjoyment of perfect beauty hereafter, it was wise and kind in the wise Author of nature to give him a taste for it and a sense to feel it.

"The objects that man in his future state of happiness is destined to behold are represented to us in divine revelation

as perfectly beautiful both in color, proportion and variety: not only the objects man has to behold, but the sounds which he is to hear, are to be harmonious and beautiful to the ear. Were he then entirely unacquainted with what is beautiful in sight or sound, had he no sense to feel it, nor taste for it, all those descriptions would be of no avail, no inducement to him to excite to virtuous actions, that he might enjoy this happiness for ever; but that we might be excited by these representations to seek for this happiness, our present constitution is so organized as to receive pleasure from the various qualities called the beautiful in external objects, insomuch that the eye is not satisfied with seeing nor the ear with hearing. No qualities in objects make such an impression upon the mind, nor excite such a desire for the possession, as the beautiful.

"It tends to make this present state more pleasing. From none of the internal senses do we receive so much pleasure as from beauty; no qualities in objects interest us so much as the beautiful. The very variety of beautiful qualities in the works of creation and of art have given rise to the definition of taste, that it is the power of receiving pleasure from the beauties of nature and of art.

"It produces the most refined pleasure. To prove this let us suppose man to have no sensation of beauty, and then where is his pleasure? If he have any, it must be of the most gross kind, sensual, and only pleasing as good or evil. Where would be the beauties of the rising and setting sun, of the radiance of risen day, and all the variety of color in the speckled clouds that stand proportionate on the face of the vast concave of heaven? Where would be the pleasing trains of imagination that would naturally be associated with such a beautiful scene? Not possessed of a sense of beauty, we must behold this otherwise beautiful scene with as much coldness and indifference as we would the dark night or the irregular motions of some ill-shapen object. Not the harmony of human voices nor the warbling melody of the grove would excite one more pleasing emotion than the most ungrateful

sounds or the solemn silence of the moonless night. It proves an incentive to the study of nature, when, delighted with the exterior appearances of the works of nature, we are incited to study the causes and to trace the effects of this beauty; and in our studies we are lightened by the beauties interspersed, and our mind is everywhere relieved by the occurrence of what is beautiful, and filled with the most pleasing sensations.

"The desire for beauty is not lessened by new gratifications: in short, without it all the beauties of spring and of the blooming year, with all the variegated beauties of nature and art, would excite in us no more pleasing emotions than were all nature a mere jargon of discordances and a chaos of confusion. Whereas, on the other hand, we find more refined pleasure in the contemplation of the color, proportion and harmony of all the works of creation and the beauties of art than in any other power or capacity with which we are endowed."

During his studies he still found time to indulge his love of reading. He was constantly adding to his store of books as circumstances permitted, and devoting spare moments to perusing them and writing down from them in his commonplace book such passages as he desired particularly to remember. Thus there is a memorandum that from May 1, 1809, he read Dr. Beattie's "Minstrel," "Life and Poems of James Hay Beattie." A work of Stuart's, MacKenzie's "Man of Feeling," Buffon's "Natural History," Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," four volumes, Dr. Beattie's "Ethics," and one volume of Goldsmith's "Animated Nature." Many extracts appear from Johnson's "Lives of the Poets," and still more from Dr. Beattie's "Ethics." Among these, we have much upon the principles of Law and Civil Government, Right, Obligation, Justice, etc.; also upon Reasoning and Evidence, and style of composition, his-

torical, rhetorical, etc. Under the latter head he was particular to record the following qualifications, "as necessary to attain excellence in the composing and pronouncing of sermons:"

"1. The preacher must be a man of piety, and one who has the instruction and salvation of mankind sincerely at heart.

"2. A man of modest and simple manners, and in his public performances and general behavior must conduct himself so as to make his people sensible that he has their temporal and eternal welfare more at heart than anything else.

"3. He must be well instructed in morality and religion, and in the original tongues in which the Scriptures are written, for without them he can hardly be qualified to explain Scripture or to teach religion and morality.

"4. He must be such a proficient in his own language, as to be able to express every doctrine and precept with the utmost simplicity, and without anything in his diction either finical on the one hand or vulgar on the other.

"5. A sermon should be composed with regularity and unity of design, so that all its parts may have a mutual and natural connection, and it should not consist of many heads, neither should it be very long.

"6. A sermon ought to be pronounced with gravity, modesty and meekness, and so as to be distinctly heard by all the audience.

"Let the preacher, therefore, accustom himself to articulate slowly and deliver the words with a distinct voice, and without artificial attitudes or motions or any other affectation."

These rules are here inserted, because he seems to have been impressed by their justness, and to have modeled himself by them in his future course as a preacher.

In addition to his various classes and literary exercises, he seems also to have been engaged in teaching

some private classes, as the poet Campbell had done, and as was the usual resort of those who were not otherwise able to defray their expenses. He had a class in Latin, one in English grammar and reading, and one in writing and arithmetic, composed of youths from several families in the city, as those of Mr. Monteith, Wardlaw, Burns, etc. While thus diligently engaged, however, in literary pursuits, he by no means neglected his religious interests. On the contrary, he seems to have been unusually atttentive to the state of his own religious convictions and feelings. He was strict in his daily devotions and readings of the Scripture; and seems, from various records, to have cherished constantly a devotional frame of mind and a habit of self-examination. On the last evening of December, as he sat in his apartment, he resolved to occupy himself in writing and reflecting upon religious subjects until the old year should be closed. When the New Year (1809) had come in, he then determined that he would keep a religious diary or record of the results of daily self-examination.

This sort of religious discipline had formerly been practised by his father, and was at this time very common with religious persons. Wesley began to keep a diary while at Oxford, but his private diary was not so much a record of self-examination as of the events of the day, and of his own reflections upon men and things, interspersed with views of his own religious condition and changes at different periods. This work, which has been published, is perhaps the best and most valuable autobiography extant, containing, in addition, valuable material for history. The diary, however, which he commenced in connection with Hervey, Morgan, Whitefield and other members of the so-

called "Godly Club" at Oxford, was really a record of self-examinations of the most searching character, extending to thoughts, words, motives and actions, in reference both to God and man, and, in the elaborate scheme drawn out by Mr. Wesley himself, endeavoring to bring under scrutiny every thought and imagination of the human heart. Other members of the "Godly Club" continued the practice after they left college; and Hervey, who became a very popular writer, earnestly recommended religious persons, each for himself, thus to "compile a secret history of his heart and conduct."

That such a practice may be useful to certain minds and in particular circumstances is probable, but it may well be doubted whether its evils would not, in a majority of cases, outweigh its advantages. That the power of self-superintendence and self-examination ought to be daily exercised by all is unquestionable, but so minute a scrutiny into the workings of the human soul, and so elaborate a record of the suggestions, vain and frivolous thoughts and imaginations which flit across the mind, is likely to induce an utter despair of human nature with some, and, with others of a different temperament, to foster the pride of self-knowledge, or a presumptuous confidence in man's power of self-renovation. It does not seem designed, nor is it enjoined by the Creator, that man should thus, as it were, apply the microscope to certain parts of his moral nature, and distort these into such unnatural disproportion as would, upon a similar scale of magnitude, convert even the most beautiful physical form into a monster. As there is a certain distance at which a portrait must be viewed in order to have a true conception of it, so is it with human character, where causes must be considered

along with their results; motives with actions and the general tenor of life, rather than special moods and casual caprices, which often spring from a physical rather than a moral source. Man can never know himself aright until he shall be enabled to comprehend the delicate relations which God has established between the various parts of his own nature, as well as between him and exterior things; and, in default of this knowledge, he must be content to remain ignorant of much that lies beyond the field of ordinary observation, just as men breathe the life-giving air and conceive it to be pure, forgetful that in the sunbeam they saw it filled with an infinite number of motes and particles, of whose nature or use they could form no conception. In fact, those minute inquisitions to which reference is made are at all possible only to a few, and therefore can never constitute an imperative religious duty, which must of necessity be of universal obligation.

The diary kept by Alexander, partly in short-hand, but chiefly in Latin, records the usual deficiencies in spiritual-mindedness, self-consecration and attention to duty, and the usual longings after a higher spiritual life. It seems also to have resulted in the conviction of the impossibility of maintaining or of conducting such a scrutiny to a practical or useful end, and to have led him to the appropriate inquiry of the Psalmist, "Who can understand his errors?" and to his equally appropriate prayer to God, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults"—a prayer which is entirely in harmony with the spirit of the New Testament, where the self-examination enjoined presumes not to separate the minute filaments which compose the varied web of human motives and feelings, but confines itself to faith as connected with obedience. Such a scrutiny, while

it must reveal to every Christian his own inability, and that he offends in many things, will lead him neither to despair of the perfection which God requires, nor to flatter himself with any assurances of self-sufficiency; but will lead him rather, by prayer, to seek assistance from Him who can "work in him both to will and to do of his own good pleasure," and whose strength is made perfect in human weakness. He will be induced to hope not in self-righteousness, but in the merits of Christ, and to look off to Him whom God has made to him wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. It was in harmony with such reflections that the minute inquiries of the earlier portions of his diary gradually gave place to broader and more elevated views, and to appropriate meditations upon certain portions of Scripture. Thus we have, under date of January 15:

"Thoughts on these words: 'The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?' Man is composed of two parts—a body and a soul; the body visible, material, mortal, divisible; the soul invisible, immaterial, indivisible and immortal. Their union is an impenetrable arcanum. The heart of man is put here for the mind, or thoughts, as the heart is the seat of life, and is thought by some to be the seat of intellect and will. The soul of man is unfathomable. The human mind is an emanation of the Divine Mind. The soul was first made after the image of God in knowledge, righteousness and true holiness; was perfectly able, in its first state, to keep the commands of God, but is now fallen by a breach of God's command well known. That heart, once so perfect as to have communion with God, and to enjoy communion with him, is now so depraved, so awfully depraved, as to be the habitation of every unclean thought, the spring of all filthy communication, the source of every sinful action.

"The tongue is said, by a beloved apostle, to be a fire, a world of iniquity; it defiles the whole body and setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of hell. But, alas! sure 'tis the heart, 'tis by the will, the tongue is lifted up; 'tis then the heart that is the cause of this evil, this awful iniquity. But how is the heart so deceitful? how is it so unknown? It is so dreadfully deceitful as to shun all good. When we essay to do good, the heart rebels; when, with our tongue, we attempt to praise our Maker, our deceitful heart wanders off to vanity, to a thousand vanities. We cannot command it; it escapes our closest watch, our deepest ken, and deceives us.

"It is pleased with the vanities of a present, evil world, and naturally shuns the precious truths of God. It fondly drinks in the draughts of iniquity and loathes the healthful cordials of God's word. It is fond of its bitterest enemy and hates its best friend. It is dull, it is languid to that which is good; it is lively, it is active to every evil work. It is in its element when in the service of Satan, but out of it in the service of God. This is the true state of the natural heart; it loves death and hates life; it chooses the former and rejects the latter. How unhappy, then, would this carnal heart be in the everlasting company of God, of angels and of glorified saints! Yea, heaven would be no heaven to it; it prefers the company of the damned (if it could avoid their punishment), rather than union and communion with God and the fellowship of angels and of glorified saints. Let us pray, then, to God to be merciful and change these hard and deceitful hearts."

Again, on the 29th of January: "'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.' * * * *

"The word of God, which is contained in the Old and New Testaments, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy him. 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the

simple. * * * * Moreover, by them is thy servant warned, and in keeping of them there is great reward.' Psalm xix. Here is sufficient proof of the authority of the Scriptures, so that, from their holiness and superlative dignified majesty, they are the powerful words that can convert the soul that lies in iniquity; they can convince the most obstinate sinner; they can humble the most haughty and high-minded, and turn those far from righteousness from the power of Satan to the living God.

"In them we have the blessing of Christ bequeathed unto us fully, freely, earnestly, and particularly to all and every individual sinful man. See 2 Peter i. 4: 'Whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might be partakers of the Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.' And again, Luke xxii. 29: 'And I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father appointed unto me.' These are the inestimable purchases and legacies of our new covenant head; such purchases as all creation could not produce or such a gift; all this, and freely without money and without price. From all this we may learn that the Scripture is the true and only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy Him.

"But that the Scriptures may have the desired effect, we are to read them for this end and in this manner. For this end, that, by the blessing of God and the influence of the Holy Spirit, we may be rendered thereby holy, humble and wise unto salvation; that we may know of the grand concerns of an eternal scene, and be put in the way to escape eternal wrath and to gain eternal happiness. And in this manner are we to read them: First, to understand them by a diligent comparing of them, one with another, observing the regularity, strength and consistency of each part; and, second, to receive any benefit from them, we must earnestly pray for the Spirit to apply them and to explain them to our hearts. Acts xvii. 11: 'They searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so;' and John v. 37: 'Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and these are they which

testify of me.' Hence the Word of God, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the only rule to direct us how we may glorify and enjoy God here and hereafter."

So full, indeed, was he of religious thought that he could not forbear giving expression to it, even in those manuscript volumes which he had reserved for merely literary purposes. Thus, in one consisting of extracts, juvenile poems, etc., we have, under date of March 13, first, a sentence from Luther: "Three things make a minister—faith, meditation and temptation." Then follows this comparison, which was a favorite one with his father: "A man may enter a garden for three purposes: First, to learn the art of gardening; second, for pleasure; third, to gather fruit. So may a man read the Bible for three things: First, to learn to read it or dispute about it; second, read the historical parts for pleasure; third, to gather fruit; this last is the true way." After these, he writes down the following reflections:

"Whatever our conduct may have been, if, convinced by his word of our sad misconduct, we, returning to him, confess our sin, sincerely supplicating mercy through the priesthood of Jesus, heartily adopting his word as the rule of our practice, and constantly calling upon him, by prayer, to enable us by his Holy Spirit, to fulfill it in all things, he will surely pardon all our past sins, give us his Holy Spirit, and graciously forgive our daily shortcomings. Whilst we thus go on in a daily and diligent study of his holy word, endeavoring to do better and better every day, not at all making our own endeavors the ground of our confidence, but merely and only the mercy of God, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, constantly looking for pardon and acceptance only through his blood; this is true religion, this is true Christianity; anything otherwise, anything less or more than this, is delusion."

In reference to family religion, he notes elsewhere:

"Do you think that religion is a mere way of talking or educational art, received by tradition from our forefathers? God forbid! It is a substantial thing, solid as the adamant, lasting as eternity, bright and glorious as the Divine Author and object of it. It is the social knowledge of God, the social love of Jesus, social holiness, meekness, humility, charity, patience, submission, delight in God, that is only worthy to be wished for in a family."

These cherished sentiments, private meditations and personal details of daily life, show how deeply his heart and mind had been impressed by religion, and how his naturally strong and independent judgment began to assert its power to guide his thoughts and determine his convictions. In this latter respect, however, the circumstances around him had so marked an influence, and contributed so largely to modify his religious views and decide his future course, that they well deserve particular consideration.

CHAPTER X.

Religious Movement of the Haldanes—State of Religious Society in Scotland—Effects upon Alexander Campbell.

IN natural science, it is admitted as an axiom that all effects have their proportionate causes. Some have thought this untrue in moral affairs, from the difficulty of making any calculations in reference to the actions of voluntary beings, who appear to be governed often by caprice, rather than by reason. The difficulty of tracing human actions to adequate causes is not, however, an argument against the existence of such causes, any more than the difficulty of accounting for the changes in the weather is a proof that such changes are not due to sufficient causes. Our inability may arise, not from the absence of such causes in human affairs, but from our imperfect knowledge of human nature, and from the complexity and abstruseness of the subject. It is certain that, in most cases, human actions *can* be traced to motives entirely sufficient to account for them; and it is not to be doubted that if we were perfectly familiar with all the springs of human action, and all the influences, physical, moral and spiritual, which act upon man's complex organism, we should be able to reduce to the rule of some fixed law, effects which now seem the result of some inconsistent whim or unaccountable and passing fancy.

The power of surrounding circumstances to mould

human character is familiar to all, and it is one of the most interesting points in the lives of those who have become distinguished in any particular field of labor to note the methods by which Divine Providence has thus often prepared their hearts and minds for the sphere for which they were designed, and changed or modified their own purposes and plans until these were in harmony with their appointed life-work. It was, as formerly stated, the cherished desire of Thomas Campbell that his son Alexander should become a minister of the gospel in the Seceder denomination, to which he belonged; and in this arrangement Alexander seems to have acquiesced, rather from respect to his father's wishes than from any original purpose of his own. It was not until he encountered the perils of the shipwreck that, as formerly stated, he finally resolved, from his own convictions of duty, to devote himself to the ministry, in pursuance of which determination he was now attending his preliminary course at the University. Thus far, everything seemed tending toward the end so much desired by Thomas Campbell, who, having received intelligence of the shipwreck, and the consequent delay of the family at Glasgow, had written to them a letter full of affectionate solicitude and consolation, and highly commending all their proposed arrangements. But Alexander's stay at Glasgow, while it left his main purpose unaltered, was destined to work an entire revolution in his views and feelings in respect to the existing denominations, and to disengage his sympathies entirely from the Seceder denomination and every other form of Presbyterianism.

This change seems to have been occasioned chiefly through his intimacy with Greville Ewing. This gentleman seemed to take a special interest in Alexander

and in the family, and performed so many kind offices in their behalf that he became greatly endeared to them. Alexander was frequently at Mr. Ewing's to dinner or to tea, where he formed many agreeable intimacies with the guests at his hospitable board, and acquired, during this intercourse, an intimate knowledge of Mr. Ewing's previous religious history, and that of his coadjutors, the Haldanes and others. As the facts thus presented to Mr. Campbell produced a lasting effect upon his mind, it will be necessary to present a brief sketch of them, and of the eminent men concerned in the reformatory movement then progressing in Scotland—a movement from which Mr. Campbell received his first impulse as a religious reformer, and which may be justly regarded, indeed, as the *first phase* of that religious reformation which he subsequently carried out so successfully to its legitimate issues.

Among those connected with the Haldanes, Mr. Ewing himself stood deservedly high. He possessed very fine personal qualities; was a man of deep and fervent piety, and of varied and extensive learning. He was particularly well acquainted with biblical criticism, and was regarded as a skillful expositor of the Sacred Volume. He was a native of Edinburgh, and had been destined by his father for the mercantile business; but as soon as his apprenticeship expired, having a strong predilection for the ministry, he applied himself with great assiduity to the preparatory studies necessary for obtaining license in the Church of Scotland. After passing his examinations with great credit, he was licensed to preach at twenty-five years of age, and in 1793 accepted a call from the worshipers in Lady Glenorchy's chapel in Edinburgh, and was

ordained as the colleague of Mr. Jones, in connection with whom he preached for some years to an immense concourse of hearers. It was about this time that the brothers Haldane commenced those enterprises which produced such important religious changes in Scotland, and greatly influenced the course of Mr. Ewing's future labors.

These two brothers, Robert and James A. Haldane, were of a distinguished Scottish ancestry, and sons of a very pious mother, who was the sister of the celebrated Admiral Duncan of the British navy. Both were thus naturally led, from this relationship, to look to the sea as the theatre of their future achievements. In due time, Robert, the elder, obtained a situation in the navy, and served with honor in the war with France, on board of the Monarch, under his uncle, and afterward in the Foudroyant, under Admiral Jervis. In the action of the Foudroyant with the Pegase, he was sent on board the captured vessel in a very stormy sea, in which two boats had been previously lost; and he so much distinguished himself by his prudence and decision in bringing the French commander on board the British vessel that he received the highest commendation from his brother officers and from Admiral Jervis. Peace being made in 1783, he relinquished the naval profession, and retired to his fine estate near Stirling, called Airthrey, to the improvement of which he devoted himself, with his accustomed energy, for ten years. But amid these peaceful pursuits the early religious impressions received from his mother revived with unwonted force. He became a daily student of the Scriptures, and devoted himself, with great earnestness, to a thorough examination of the evidences of Christianity, from which he derived great benefit. About this time,

Dr. Innes, the minister of the kirk in Stirling, induced him to commence family worship, and it was his delight to converse with Dr. Innes and other preachers on religious themes. It was, however, to a conversation with a pious stone-mason, with whom he once walked some miles through the woods of Airthrey, that he attributed his first clear conceptions of the plan of justification, and of the important truth that faith must cast away all reliance on frames and feelings, and rest only upon Christ. He no sooner thus learned to rely upon him alone, than he was relieved from all the doubts and uncertainties which had perplexed his mind amidst conflicting religious theories, and came to realize his personal interest in the salvation of the gospel. From this moment he determined to devote his life and his property to the promotion of the interests of religion—a resolution in which his amiable and pious wife heartily concurred. "Christianity," he well observed, "is everything or nothing. If it be true, it warrants and commands every sacrifice to promote its influence. If it be not, then let us lay aside the hypocrisy of believing it." "It immediately struck me," he says in his narrative, "that I was spending my time in the country to little profit, whilst, from the command of property, which, through the goodness of God, I possessed, I might be somewhere extensively useful."

Greatly impressed with the importance of the missionary work in India, then commenced by Mr. Carey, his first idea was to go, with some companions, in order to introduce Christianity among the natives of Bengal. Having induced the amiable Dr. Innes, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy, to be one of the number, he was persuaded by him to propose the matter also to Greville Ewing, the doctor's brother-in-law,

whose consent having been also obtained, as well as that of Doctor Bogue, of Gosport, England, an old and valued friend of Robert Haldane, he proceeded at once to make arrangements for the enterprise. For each of his coadjutors Mr. Haldane was to supply the necessary outfit and passage-money, and also to provide an independent competence for those whose co-operation involved the loss of their means of subsistence; and he engaged, furthermore, to bestow the sum of thirty-five hundred pounds upon any one of them who might be compelled to return home. He accordingly determined to sell his beautiful estate of Airthrey, in the cultivation and embellishment of which he had taken so much pleasure, and proceeded to engage a printing establishment and all necessary assistants; but, upon application to the East India Company for permission to establish the mission among the Hindoos, this was positively and unexpectedly refused. The most earnest appeals having been made in vain to induce the Company to revoke their decision, Mr. Haldane was compelled, in the course of this year, 1797, to relinquish the enterprise, after having disposed of his estate. But this disappointment only served to direct his beneficence into other channels.

During the previous year Mr. Ewing had become the editor of a periodical called the "Missionary Magazine," published under the auspices of Doctor Charles Stuart, of Edinburgh, who had once been a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, but had resigned his charge, become a Baptist, and was then engaged in the practice of medicine. He was a man of high birth, being a lineal descendant of the Regent Murray, and had renounced worldly distinction, seeking only to promote Christian and benevolent enterprises. The object of

the Missionary Magazine was to awaken the churches to the importance of missions to the heathen world; and it was conducted with marked ability by Mr. Ewing, and caused no little stir throughout Scotland, not only from the novelty of the subject, but from certain leanings toward Independency, which soon awakened the jealousy and hostility of the Kirk. Religion was at this time at a very low ebb in Scotland. The open infidelity of Hume, Adam Smith and others had infected all ranks, beginning with the classes at the University and penetrating the Church itself. The eminent Professor Playfair had actually renounced Christianity, and many others who continued to officiate as ministers were imbued with skepticism or Socinianism,* while religious apathy seemed to brood over the entire Church, with a few brilliant exceptions. This became strikingly

* This condition of affairs may be exemplified by the fact that Doctor McGill, minister of the Established Church in Ayr, published in 1786 a book entitled "A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ," in which he taught, in the most undisguised and offensive manner, sentiments totally at variance with the Scriptures and with the standards of his own Church. He taught "that Christ was a person of our own order, and that, although he was invested with a very extraordinary office, and endued with extraordinary powers, yet he was not God, equal with the Father. He endeavored to explain away the doctrine of the atonement, by affirming that Christ did not die as the substitute of sinners; that his priesthood and sacrifice were merely figurative; that his errand into the world was not to purchase salvation for men, but to make a clear and distinct revelation of the rule of our obedience, to exemplify it in his holy life, and to assure sinners of their obtaining pardon upon their repentance, and of their being accepted upon their sincere obedience," etc. It is particularly worthy of note, that this book was permitted to circulate extensively, for at least two or three years, without any judicial cognizance being taken of its author, either by the Presbytery or Synod to which he belonged, or by the General Assembly; and that when a complaint was made in 1789, at the meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, after various postponements and appeals, the whole affair was finally hushed up upon certain vague explanations and apologies made by Doctor McGill, who continued to officiate in the National Church as before—McKERROW'S "*History of the Secession Church*," p. 359.

evident by the fact that when, at length, the subject of missions was brought up in the General Assembly, upon the resolution offered, "That it is the duty of Christians to send the gospel to the heathen world," this, after debate, was voted down by a large majority—a favorite argument of the opposing party being that there was plenty of ignorance, unbelief and immorality at home to occupy the efforts of all.

This remark struck with great force the mind of James Alexander Haldane, who was present at the discussion, and was well aware that no adequate efforts were made, or were likely to be made, by the Church to remedy the evil. This remarkable man had, like his brother Robert, entered upon a seafaring life in the East India trade, in which the family had already an interest. After making several voyages to India, in which he greatly distinguished himself by his courage, seamanship and enterprising spirit, and during which, like the Rev. John Newton, he experienced many remarkable providential deliverances, he at length became captain of the East India vessel called the Mellville Castle. About this time he married a Miss Joass, niece of Sir Robert Abercrombie, and made all necessary preparation for sailing with a large East India fleet, which was expected to start from the Downs, under convoy, in December, 1793. The fleet, however, being unexpectedly detained until the month of May, he became, during this interval of leisure, much impressed with the subject of religion. He read religious books and a portion of the Scripture every day, and began to form a habit of prayer. He thought also of becoming a communicant in the Church, and experienced a strong inclination to abandon the sea in order to devote himself to religious matters, which had now become much

more congenial to his feelings. Receiving from his brother Robert a letter earnestly recommending this step, he decided to adopt it, and selling out his interest in "The Mellville Castle" for fifteen thousand pounds, he returned with his wife to Scotland, and finally settled in Edinburgh. Here his religious impressions continued to deepen. He sought the society of religious persons and continued to read religious books, but was, we are told, particularly devoted to the Scripture, which he considered a certain authority; and whenever he found it against any of his opinions, he readily gave them up. Continuing his investigations, he began to read the Bible in a still more child-like spirit, without seeking for any interpretation that should agree with his own ideas. But his own account of his progress is so interesting, that it is here given in his own words:

"I now saw more of the freeness of the grace of the gospel, and the necessity of being born again, and was daily looking for satisfactory evidence of this change. My desire was now set upon frames and feelings, instead of building on the sure foundation. I got no comfort in this way. Gradually becoming more dissatisfied with myself, being convinced especially of the sin of unbelief, I wearied myself with looking for some wonderful change to take place, some inward feeling by which I might know that I was born again. The method of resting simply on the promises of God, which are yea and amen in Jesus Christ, was too plain and easy; and like Naaman, the Syrian, instead of bathing in the waters of Jordan and being clean, I would have some great work in my mind to substitute in place of Jesus Christ. The Lord gradually opened my eyes. He always dealt with me in the tenderest manner, and kept me from those horrors of mind which, in my ignorance and pride, I had often desired as a proof of my conversion. The dispensations of his providence toward me much favored the teaching which he

has vouchsafed to afford. The conversations of some of the Lord's people with whom I was acquainted were helpful to my soul; and, in particular, I may here add that the knowledge of the Scriptures that I had acquired in early life was very useful to me when my views were directed to the great concerns of eternity. Many things were then brought to my remembrance which I had learned when young, although they seemed wholly to have escaped while I was living in forgetfulness of God. Instead of those deep convictions which are experienced by some with much horror of mind, the Lord has rather shown me the evils of sin in the suffering of his dear Son, and in the manifestation of that love which, whilst it condemns the past ingratitude, seals the pardon of the believing sinner. In short, I now desire to feel, and hope in some measure that I do feel, as a sinner who looks for salvation freely by grace; who prefers this method of salvation to every other, because thereby God is glorified through Jesus Christ, and the pride of human glory stained. I desire daily to see more of my own unworthiness, and that Jesus Christ may be more precious to my soul. I depend on him for sanctification as well as for deliverance from wrath; and am in some measure (would it were more!) convinced of my own weakness and his all-sufficiency. When I have most comfort, then does sin appear most hateful; and I am in some measure made to rejoice in the hope of being completely delivered from it by seeing, in all his beauty, Him who was dead and is alive, and liveth for evermore. Amen."

Thus it was that both the brothers had been, by a careful study of the Scriptures and a gradual enlightenment, and not by any sudden impulse or external influence, brought under deep religious convictions, and, in both, this occurred about the same time, though it seems to have been developed a little earlier in James. Both the brothers were strongly attached to each other, and sympathized with each other in their religious changes and undertakings. After the failure

of the Bengal mission, and while J. A. Haldane was residing at Edinburgh, he was greatly benefited by his intercourse with the pious Mr. John Aikman, who was then attending the divinity lectures with a view to the ministry. Much was also due to his intimacy with Mr. John Campbell, a man of singular piety, and of remarkable practical and executive powers in benevolent and Christian enterprises. The mental changes he had undergone closely resembled those of the brothers Haldane, in whose memoirs, by a son of J. A. Haldane, Alexander Haldane, Esq., the following brief but interesting notice of Mr. Campbell occurs:

"For many years he had known and believed the truth; but his views of Christ had been rather sought in the reflection of the inward work of the Holy Spirit in his heart than in the finished righteousness of Christ; and he had neither peace nor joy in believing. It was a subjective rather than an objective faith. Doubts, fears and actual backslidings had often shaken his hope, and driven him almost to despair, even at the time he was esteemed by other Christians and regarded as a pattern. At last, to use his own earnest words in a letter published by Mr. Newton, 'the cloud which covered the mercy-seat fled away—Jesus appeared as he is! My eyes were not turned *inward* but *outward*. The gospel was the glass in which I beheld him. In the time of my affliction, the doctrine of election appeared irritating and confounding; now it appears truly glorious and truly humbling. * * * I now stand upon a shore of comparative rest. Believing, I rejoice. When in search of comfort, I resort to the testimony of God. This is the field which contains the pearl of great price. Frames and feelings are, like other created comforts, passing away. What an unutterable source of consolation it is that the foundation of our hope is ever immutably the same!—the sacrifice of Jesus as acceptable as ever it was! To this sacrifice I desire ever to direct my eye,

especially at the first approach of any gloom or mental change.'

"After my deliverance," continues Mr. Campbell, "my ideas of many things were much altered, especially about faith. I perceived that this principle in the mind arises from no exertion in the man, but the constraint of evidence without. The Spirit takes the things of Christ, and discovers their reality and glory in such a manner to the mind of man that it is not in his power to refuse his belief. It is no mighty matter, nor is it any way meritorious, to believe the sun is shining when our eyes are dazzled with its beams. The internal evidences of the truth of revelation had ten thousand times more effect upon my mind than all its external evidence. There is a divineness, a glory and excellence in the Scriptures, perceived by enlightened minds, which they cannot so describe as to make it intelligible to an unregenerate person. Formerly the major part of my thoughts centred upon either the darkness I felt or the lightness I enjoyed. Now they are mainly directed to Jesus—what he hath done, suffered and promised."

This John Campbell had a large iron-monger shop, overlooking the Grass-Market of Edinburgh; and is described as "a little man, active, with an intelligent, benevolent countenance, a quick, dark eye, and a mind far superior to his position." Earnest, single-hearted, prayerful and devoted to his heavenly Master, this indefatigable and laborious man was eminently distinguished for his successful efforts in behalf of religion and humanity.

"He became in Edinburgh," continues the biographer whose sketch we here condense, "the living model of a city missionary, a district visitor, a Scripture reader, a tract distributor, a Sabbath-school teacher, and a Sabbath-school founder, long before Christians had learned to unite themselves together in societies to promote these objects. His warehouse

was then the only depository in Edinburgh for religious tracts and periodicals, and became a sort of house of call, or point of reunion, for all who took an interest in the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Campbell was the chief founder of the first tract society in the world, at Edinburgh. In 1797 he formed there a Sabbath-school society, independent of clerical superintendence, and opened a number of Sabbath evening schools, which were so successful that, in company with James A. Haldane, he visited Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, and other places, to set before the friends of religion the duty and advantages of adopting the same plan. A week's journey led to the establishment of sixty Sabbath-schools; and no long time elapsed till there was not a single town in Scotland which was not provided with those most useful seminaries.* He was also one of the first directors of the Scottish Missionary Society; the founder of the Magdalen Asylum for the reformation of unfortunate females; and a stated visitor of the jail and Bridewell, whose unhappy inmates, though abandoned by almost every one else, he endeavored to awaken to a consideration of the one thing needful. In a large village of colliers, called Gilmerton, near Edinburgh, he found so much ignorance and irreligion that he endeavored to induce

* Sunday-schools had been first introduced at Gloucester, by Robert Raikes, some twenty years previously, and had been extended to many other towns in England; and he is justly regarded as the founder of the general system of Sunday-school instruction. It is related, however, by Dr. Fahnestock, in his history of the German Seventh-day Baptists in the United States, that Ludwig Hœcker, who taught the common school at their village of Ephrata, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, soon after his arrival in 1739, projected the plan of holding a school in the afternoons of the Sabbath, and commenced it, in connection with some of the other brethren, in order to give instruction to the indigent children who were kept from regular school by employments which their necessities obliged them to be engaged in during the week, as well as to give religious instruction to those of better circumstances. This continued for more than thirty years, until the battle of Brandywine, when the school-room was given up for a hospital for a considerable time, and the school was not afterward resumed. According to this account, the first Sabbath-school had been established in the United States about forty years before Raikes opened his school in Gloucester.

preachers of different denominations to visit it, but without effect. Not being as yet himself in the habit of public speaking, he at length induced a young preacher, Mr. Rate, from Dr. Bogue's academy at Gosport, to preach a few times. The interest produced was so great, and Mr. Aikman and J. A. Haldane were so much impressed with the importance of continuing the meeting after Mr. Rate's departure, that they both finally consented to address the people."

It was here at Gilmerton that James A. Haldane delivered his first sermon on the sixth of May, 1797, greatly to the satisfaction and edification of those present. Large crowds continued for some time to flock to these meetings to hear Mr. Aikman and the sea-captain, and great good resulted from their earnest and affectionate appeals. The clergy, however, soon began to manifest their hostility to lay-preaching; and the parish minister took means to deprive them of the house in which the meetings were held. A spacious loft was then obtained, which proving too small, the meetings were then held in a large barn.

Shortly after this, the two preachers becoming greatly impressed with what they heard of the coldness and immorality of many of the ministers in the north of Scotland, resolved to travel through this region and preach to the people in the streets of the towns and villages. They based their right to preach to the people, as they announced in a printed notice of their design, "upon the indispensable duty of every Christian to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and to point out Jesus as the way, the truth and the life. Whether a man," they continued, "declare those important truths to two or two hundred, he is, in our opinion a preacher of the gospel, or one who declares the glad tidings of salvation, which is the precise meaning

of the word preach. In harmony with this view, we find that, in the beginning, when the members of the Church at Jerusalem, numbering then from eight to ten thousand, were all scattered abroad except the apostles, they went everywhere preaching the Word."

Setting out, accordingly, on their tour in a light open carriage, accompanied a part of the way by Mr. Rate, they visited almost every place in the north of Scotland and the Orkney Islands, distributing tracts, preaching in the open air to great multitudes, and producing a very remarkable awakening, both among preachers and people. From the success of this remarkable tour, and the abundant evidence he met with of the truth of the declaration made in the debate on foreign missions in the General Assembly, and with which his mind had been so much impressed at the time, that "there were enough of heathen at home," J. A. Haldane, with some others, established at Edinburgh a society for propagating the gospel at home, January 11, 1798. In their first address they declare:

"It is not our desire to form or to extend the influence of any sect. Our whole intention is, to make known the evangelical gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In employing itinerants, schoolmasters or others, we do not consider ourselves as conferring ordination upon them or appointing them to the pastoral office. We only propose, by sending them out, to supply the means of grace wherever we perceive a deficiency."

The funds needed for the operations of the society were chiefly supplied by Robert Haldane, and its principles and plans were earnestly and ably recommended through the pages of the "Missionary Magazine." Mr. A. Haldane, the biographer, remarks:

"Of that publication, the editor, Mr. Ewing, had not then

left the Established Church, although his position was becoming every day more untenable. On the 24th December, 1797, he delivered an eloquent and powerful sermon in defence of field-preaching, which produced a great sensation, and served still more to alarm the Moderates. The occasion of this sermon was a request to preach on behalf of the Edinburgh Sabbath-evening schools, which had been rapidly increasing under the influence of the new impulse. Mr. Ewing undertook to prove that the unfettered preaching of the gospel was one of those characters of universality which distinguish the Christian from the Jewish dispensation; and he ably contended that, in the closing words of the Apocalypse, the whole system of revelation and the whole mystery of God seem to be resolved into the provision made for the universal propagation of the gospel. The Holy Spirit and the Church unite their voice and continually cry to sinners, Come. This precious invitation is so necessary to be known, and known without a moment's delay, that every one that heareth is commanded to repeat it. Like a multiplying and never-dying echo, 'the joyful sound' must be on all sides transmitted from one to another, and in this accepted time, in this day of salvation, he that is athirst may come, and whosoever will may take the water of life freely."

In the spring of 1798, Mr. Rate was sent out by the society to itinerate in Fifeshire, and Mr. Cleghorn and William Ballantyne, who had been Seceders and had studied theology under Dr. Bogue, were sent to the North to labor, where the great awakening had taken place during the recent tour of J. A. Haldane and Mr. Aikman. During the summer Mr. J. A. Haldane and Mr. Aikman, who did not depend on the society, but acted independently, made a preaching tour in the south and west of Scotland, attended with much opposition on the part of the clergy and the magistrates, with many striking incidents and great effect in arousing many souls to the importance of religion. While

at Langholm, in the county of Roxburgh, they were taking a walk along the banks of the Esk, when they observed an English clergyman conversing with the minister of the parish, and were much struck with his appearance. He was of a tall, commanding figure, had a piercing eye, an aquiline nose, and a countenance beaming with intelligence, and with an expression denoting a natural vein of humor. After their return to their inn, they were surprised by a call from this gentleman, who, having heard of them, was desirous of making their acquaintance. He proved to be the celebrated Rowland Hill, who was now on his first visit to Scotland, having been invited by Robert Haldane to come and make a tour in Scotland, and especially for the purpose of opening the religious services in a large building called the Circus, lately rented by Robert Haldane, in Edinburgh. Next morning, while the two friends remained to prosecute their tour, Mr. Hill proceeded to Edinburgh, to the residence of James A. Haldane, in George street, adjoining the house, No. 14, in which Henry Brougham, the future Lord Chancellor, then resided. He preached in the Circus July 29, and subsequently at several points in the open air, near Edinburgh, and also at Stirling, Crief, Dundee, Perth and Kinross, whither he was accompanied by Robert Haldane, greatly adding to the religious excitement which existed. Returning to the capital, he preached again in the Circus, and set off on Monday morning with Robert Haldane to preach in the church-yard of the old Cathedral at Glasgow.* Going back to Edin-

* In the account of his tour which Mr. Hill afterward published, he speaks thus of the meeting at Glasgow: "The scene was solemn. The old Cathedral stands *externally* in perfectly good repair, and much is it to the honor of the city that it should so stand, as it is the only one left in a perfect

burgh, he preached again in the Circus and on Calton Hill to some fifteen or twenty thousand persons; and afterward made another short tour through Fifeshire, accompanied this time by James A. Haldane, who had returned from his itineracy. Coming back to Edinburgh, Mr. Hill preached there again to immense audiences twice on 2d September, soon after which he set out for home, accompanied by Robert Haldane, who went with him to Gloucestershire on his way to Gosport to visit his old friend Dr. Bogue.

Shortly before this, Robert Haldane had taken hold of a project, which originated with John Campbell, to obtain from Africa thirty or thirty-five children, and, after educating them in Great Britain, to send them back to their native country as missionaries. They were to be children of the chiefs or principal men among the tribes, and of sufficient age to be able to retain their native language. For the accomplishment of this enterprise, Robert Haldane pledged the sum of seven thousand pounds. Accordingly, in June, 1799, Mr. Macaulay, the Governor of Sierra Leone, arrived with twenty boys and four girls, and John Campbell was immediately despatched to London to bring them to Edinburgh, where Mr. Haldane had already pre-

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state of preservation in that part of the kingdom. Underneath were the remains, I may venture to say, of millions, waiting for the resurrection. Here I stood on a widely extended space, covered or nearly covered with the living —all immortals; five thousand, I should suppose, at least. What solemn work to address such multitudes! Who is sufficient for these things? I attempted to illustrate that passage Isaiah lx. 19: 'Thy God, thy glory.' Could we but explain to sinners and make them feel that God, a God in Christ, is their glory, and that it is their privilege to glorify God in return, we should have more than abundant recompense for all our little toil in a work so glorious." It may be here added that, near the spot where Mr. Hill then preached, is the vault, within the walls of the Cathedral, where the mortal remains of Robert Haldane now repose.

pared, for their reception, a large house in the King's Park, afterward used as the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and described by Walter Scott in his "Heart of Mid-Lothian," as that of the "Laird of Dumbiedykes." Being detained, however, in order to be inoculated for the small pox, Mr. Macaulay, with some other Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, began to hesitate about placing the children under Mr. Haldane's exclusive care, on account, as was believed, of the liberality of his religious views. Mr. Haldane, however, very properly refusing to consent to any change in the original arrangement, and the children having created great interest in London, funds were at length otherwise provided, and the children were, after some years, sent back to Africa, carrying with them many of the arts of civilized life, though, unfortunately, their training had not been that which Mr. Haldane proposed to give, far more attention having been paid to their secular than to their religious education. The whole affair, however, serves to place in a strong light the Christian enterprise and munificent liberality of Robert Haldane.

It was during the progress of this affair, that he became interested in several other important enterprises. He had already found it difficult to obtain a regular supply of ministers to preach at the Circus building he had rented in Edinburgh; and he had conceived the idea of having a number of pious young men educated for the ministry. He had also, during his travels with Mr. Hill, determined to erect, in the chief towns of Scotland, large buildings for preaching, after the Whitefield model, called Tabernacles. Upon his return to Edinburgh, he conferred with his brother, and the matter was broached to Mr. Innes and Mr. Ewing. The latter entered fully into his plans; and

on 29th November, delivering his last discourse in Lady Glenorchy's chapel, he, on 1st December, resigned his charge and left the Church of Scotland. A few days afterward, about twelve of those chiefly interested in the preaching at the Circus, and in the Society for propagating the gospel at home, including the two Haldanes, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Aikman, Mr. John Campbell, George Gibson and John Richie, met for consultation, and after prayer and deliberation, resolved to form themselves into a Congregational Church. Mr. Ewing drew out a plan for its government, and J. A. Haldane was invited to become the pastor. His earnest, faithful and successful labors hitherto in the evangelical field which he had chosen; the remarkable scriptural knowledge he had acquired, and his prayerfulness, kindly and unwearied attention to the sick, and eminent social and personal qualities, rendered him admirably fitted for this position; and although he modestly regarded himself as better suited to mere evangelical labor, he nevertheless, when the call was persisted in, yielded to it as the voice of Providence.

The avowed object in forming this church was to enjoy the benefit of Christian fellowship on a scriptural plan, to observe the ordinances, and avoid that contracted spirit which would exclude from the pulpit, or from occasional communion, any faithful preacher of the gospel or sincere lover of Christ. It was constituted in January, 1799, and about three hundred and ten persons at once united in it, consisting not only of those who had become awakened under the preaching of J. A. Haldane, Rowland Hill and others, but of many old members of the Established Church. J. A. Haldane was duly ordained on 3d February, 1799, the service being conducted by Messrs Taylor of York-

shire, Garie of Perth, and Greville Ewing. Mr. Haldane answered at length to the questions propounded, giving an interesting account of the views and motives which had led him to engage in preaching, and accepting the charge in dependence on the grace of Jesus Christ, though stipulating that he might still occasionally labor as an itinerant, to which he thought he had been especially called. James A. Haldane thus became the first minister of the first church formed among the new Congregationalists of Scotland; and continued most faithfully and successfully to discharge the duties then assumed, for fifty-two years, up to the time of his triumphant death, February 8, 1851, in his eighty-third year.

As soon as J. A. Haldane had consented to officiate at Edinburgh, his brother Robert, in furtherance of his plans, proceeded to Glasgow, and purchasing, at a cost of three thousand pounds, a very large building in Jamaica street, which had been used as a circus, converted it into a tabernacle for a congregation, over which Mr. Ewing was to preside. From Glasgow he went in company with Mr. Ewing to Stirling, to propose to Mr. Innes a similar arrangement with regard to Dundee. To this Mr. Innes finally consented,* and accordingly broke off his connection with the Church of Scotland. A number of students for the ministry having been by this time collected, the first class was placed under the care of Mr. Ewing, who remained in Edinburgh during the winter, and removed to Glasgow in May following. The class commenced with twenty-four, all of whom were Presbyterians.

* It is related by the biographer of the Haldanes, that the hesitation of Mr. Innes to leave the Church of Scotland terminated when he was ordered to assist personally in the ordination of a minister who was a profane swearer, and charged as such in the open congregation.

"Some of us," says Mr. Monroe, one of the number, "belonged to the National Establishment, others to the Relief, and not a few were Burghers and Anti-Burghers. The only qualifications for admission to the seminary were genuine piety, talents susceptible of cultivation, and a desire to be useful to our fellow-sinners by preaching and teaching the words of eternal life. The grand object proposed by the zealous originators of the scheme was, to qualify pious young men for going out literally to the highways and hedges to preach the gospel, unconnected with the peculiarities of any denomination."* "The students were all maintained," remarks Mr. Haldane's biographer, "at Mr. Haldane's expense, according to the scale, for each married and unmarried student, drawn up at the time by those well acquainted with such matters. Before their admission, they underwent a strict examination as to their abilities and qualifications. But next to the importance of engaging in the work on purely Christian principles, nothing was more strongly impressed upon their minds than the assurance that there was no design to elevate them in their social position, and that it was not intended to make gentlemen of such among them as were mechanics, but catechists and preachers; and that after their term of study was over, they must not look to their patron for support, but to their own exertions and the leadings of Providence."†

In June, 1800, J. A. Haldane took another tour in company with John Campbell, visiting Ayr, Port-Patrick, Aran and Kintyre, preaching every day in the open air to large numbers. On this trip they were

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* Mr. Maclay, who went out afterward as a missionary to America, and became a popular Baptist minister in New York, was one of this first class.

† The Dundee Tabernacle was not opened till the 19th of October, 1800, but, during the interval, Robert Haldane collected another class of about forty missionary students and catechists, whom he placed under Dr. Innes, to be transferred in the second year of their studies to Mr. Ewing at Glasgow. Another class of students was placed under Dr. Bogue at Gosport.

held for some time under arrest by the Highland chiefs, at the instigation of the clergy. But notwithstanding the opposition, great good was effected, and a marked religious reformation was accomplished, especially in Kintyre.

With regard to Robert Haldane, he not only largely maintained the religious enterprises previously spoken of, but published at his own expense myriads of religious tracts, and distributed Bibles and Testaments, when as yet there were no tract or Bible societies. He had formed, also, many Sabbath-schools; and inviting Andrew Fuller to Scotland, aided largely, by his own liberality, example and influence, in promoting the Serampore translation of the Scriptures. He also sometimes labored in preaching, until he was compelled to refrain from public-speaking on account of a spitting of blood. Soon after his brother became pastor of the Circus Church, he erected, at the head of Leith Walk in Edinburgh, a spacious place of worship called the Tabernacle, capable of holding four thousand persons, entirely at his own expense. Not long afterward, owing to the vast size of the congregation, Mr. Aikman, co-pastor with J. A. Haldane, concluded to build, at his own cost, a chapel, in the old town of Edinburgh, where he continued to preach to a part of the congregation.

In May, 1801, James A. Haldane made a trip to the south, and preached in Dumfries and the neighboring towns and villages. He then crossed over to Ireland, in September, where he was very kindly received, being allowed to preach in the parish church of Portadown. At Coleraine, he first became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Carson, who had been a classmate of Greville Ewing in Scotland, and had lately left the

Presbyterians, and become an Independent. At Omagh, he was kindly received by James Buchanan, who, afterward coming to America, was, for many years, British Consul at New York, and became one of Alexander Campbell's warmest personal friends, and an earnest advocate of the religious reformation urged by the latter. It was during this tour that J. A. Haldane visited and preached at Rich-Hill, as formerly related.*

It was about this time (1802) that the studies of the

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* From Mr. A. Haldane's memoir the following notice of a trip to the Highlands is here condensed, for the sake of certain facts which it presents:

"In the summer of 1802 he visited Derbyshire, England, preaching with much acceptance at many points. In the summer of 1803 he made a tour into the Highlands. About this time some of the students from the seminaries who had been sent out as missionaries began to produce considerable effect in Ireland and elsewhere. Among them, a Mr. Farquharson, a young man of zeal and piety, but whose natural capacity seemed hardly to warrant his continuing in academical studies, was sent away from Dundee to Breadalbane, at the end of his first six months, to see if he could not be of use as a Scripture-reader in that district, where the poor uneducated Highlanders had neither Bibles nor the preaching of the gospel. At first, he experienced great opposition, and but three families would receive him. But he went from village to village during the winter, reading the Bible and speaking a few words to all who would listen. At length, in 1802, through the efforts of this humble youth, a remarkable awakening occurred, showing what may be accomplished by the Divine word, read or spoken, even by those least gifted, if they possess true piety and zeal. To this point James Haldane first directed his course, in company with John Campbell.

"At this time many persons in the district were sick with a contagious fever, but Mr. Haldane did not hesitate to visit and pray with them. Among others he visited a Mrs. Sinclair, whose husband, though much opposed to any departure from the Established Church, was so much impressed with Mr. Haldane's piety and kindness, that he became quite favorable, and his son, Donald Sinclair, after his father's death, always opened his house to Mr. Haldane and other ministers of the connection, when they were in that part of the country. Preaching for some time through the Highlands, where Mr. Haldane's name was ever after regarded with veneration, they proceeded to John O'Groat's house, from whence they passed again into the Orkneys, and thence returned to Edinburgh. Soon after he undertook another tour with Mr. Campbell to the north of England, preaching on his return at Greenock, Paisley and at Glasgow."

second class of Mr. Ewing's missionary students ended. The Glasgow Seminary was then closed, and another one was opened in Edinburgh, on a larger scale, under the instruction of Mr. Aikman and John Campbell in theology, and Thomas Wemyss as classical tutor, the whole being under the immediate superintendence of the brothers Haldane. Subsequently, John Campbell retired, and was succeeded by William Stevens, once an actor, but then a popular and powerful preacher. He came from Aberdeen to assist in the tabernacle at Edinburgh, and remained there until he became a Baptist, upon which he removed to Rochdale in England, where he continued to preach for many years until his death.*

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* The course of study of these classes generally extended over two years, with a vacation of six weeks in every year, and embraced the English grammar and rhetoric, the elements of Greek and Hebrew, Latin (in the case of the last three classes), lectures on systematic theology, and essays upon prescribed subjects. Each student, in rotation, delivered sermons before the class, the tutor making his remarks. One day in each week each student was required to speak, in rotation, from a passage of Scripture appointed for that purpose, the tutor making concluding observations. The students were supported, had medical attendance when needed, their education and class books were given them, and they had access to a large and well-selected library—all at the expense of Mr. Robert Haldane. In addition to the seminaries already mentioned, others were established. One at Elgin under Mr. Ballantyne, one at Granton under Mr. McIntosh, and one under Rev. Mr. Hamilton at Armagh in Ireland; subsequently there was another at Paris under the care of MM. Francois and Henri Olivier. Both the Haldanes also contributed afterward to the support of theological students taught by Mr. Carson of Tubbermore in Ireland, many of whose theological works were published at the expense of Robert Haldane. He made efforts also to introduce Bibles and tracts into Italy and Germany, but was unable to succeed. In all, about three hundred young men were educated and sent out from the seminaries, and, though many of them were sent out with rather meagre attainments, owing to the urgent demand for laborers, there were choice spirits among them, who pushed on their private studies with vigor, and made attainments in actual scholarship superior to many students of the University, and became eminently useful, both as preachers and as writers.

In the summer of 1804 James A. Haldane again visited England, and passed from thence over to Dublin, and preached a number of times at the Bethesda Episcopal Chapel, where Mr. Mathies and the learned John Walker of Trinity College then officiated. Mr. Walker had not left the Church of England at this time, but sympathized largely in the efforts of the Haldanes and concurred to a considerable extent in their religious views.

Thus it was that, during this eventful period, many individuals, not altogether coinciding in their views upon all points, were nevertheless co-operating with each other in the effort to spread simpler views of the gospel, and awaken men to a true sense of religion. Through the intercourse, personal or epistolary, which existed among them, their knowledge of the Bible, which was practically regarded by them all as the only true guide in religion, was greatly increased, and their views of many questions were changed or modified. Among all these efforts, however, none were so scriptural, so simple, and so consistent as those of the brothers Haldane; and it was mainly in consequence of this that theirs were most successful, It is not to be doubted, however, that without the liberality of Robert Haldane, the views and principles he endeavored to promote would have required many more years to obtain the circulation and influence they then possessed. Before Alexander Campbell's visit to Glasgow, Robert Haldane had already expended about sixty thousand pounds for the spread of the gospel at home; and the innumerable ministries thus set on foot, together with the incessant and effective labors of his brother James Alexander, added to his own personal efforts, all brought to bear within a few years upon religious society, pro-

duced a most powerful impression, which was felt throughout almost the whole Protestant world.*

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* Among the results of the personal labors of Robert Haldane, none were more remarkable than those which proceeded from his visit to Geneva a few years later, and immediately after the peace in 1816. He had long desired to do something for the effective promotion of the gospel in France, and left home for this purpose, but, finding no opening at Paris, he was, from what he heard of the state of religion at Geneva, induced to visit that city. The love of doctrinal speculation, engendered by the Calvinian system, had here issued in an almost complete abandonment of those simpler evangelical truths with which Calvin himself began his reformation. The pastors and the professors of the divinity-school had, indeed, with scarcely an exception become Arians and Socinians. "They taught," says Mr. Haldane in his letter to Mr. Bickersteth, "neither law nor gospel fully, and their doctrine did not seem to affect the consciences of their hearers." A few exceptions there were among them, and especially a Mr. Moulinié, who held the divinity of Christ, but was otherwise poorly informed in the gospel, and with whom Mr. Haldane could make but little progress. Discouraged, he visited the other cantons, and, at Berne, succeeded in awakening the mind of a young minister, M. Galland. At Lausanne, he was induced to return to Geneva, through the persuasion of a zealous English lady, a Miss Grant, whom he met there, and in order that he might see a young minister six miles from Geneva, M. Gaussen, of whom he had heard a favorable account. Finding still no apparent opening at Geneva, he was about to proceed to Montauban, when he was providentially brought into communication with a student who had been deputed by Mr. Moulinié to show Mrs. Haldane a model of the mountains. "With this student, Mr. James," says Mr. Haldane, "I immediately entered into conversation respecting the gospel, of which I found him profoundly ignorant, although in a state of mind that showed he was willing to receive information. Next morning he came with another student, Charles Rieu, equally in darkness with himself. I questioned them respecting their personal hope of salvation, and the foundation of that hope. Had they been trained in the schools of Socrates or Plato, and enjoyed no other means of instruction, they could scarcely have been more ignorant of the doctrines of the gospel. They had, in fact, learned more of the opinions of the heathen philosophers than of the doctrines of the Saviour and his apostles. To the Bible and its contents their studies had never been directed. After some conversation, they became convinced of their ignorance of the Scriptures, and exceedingly desirous of information. I therefore postponed my intended departure from Geneva."

The two students above named soon brought six others, with whom Mr. Haldane had frequent and long conversations. Others continuing to come, Mr. Haldane agreed to meet them regularly three times a week for religious

Notwithstanding his unbounded liberality, however, Robert Haldane was not permitted to escape the slanderous insinuations by which Satan usually tries to impair the influence of those who seek to promote the interests of the kingdom of God. Thus he was charged with making money by renting the seats in the tabernacles. But the truth was, the income arising from the rent of the seats in the tabernacles went to the support of the preachers and of the seminaries. Thus Mr. Ewing was to have two hundred pounds annually, Mr. Haldane agreeing to make up this amount if there should be any deficiency in the amount derived from seat-rents, and allowing him two hundred pounds ad-

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instruction; and taking up the Epistle to the Romans, he expounded to them this important portion of the word of God during the whole winter, and until the close of the session in the following summer, having in his class nearly all the students of theology, and instructing in the evening, and often till late at night, other students attending at Geneva, as well as a number of the resident citizens of the place, of both sexes, who desired to be informed respecting the gospel. Meanwhile, the pastors and professors in the Faculty began to preach openly against Mr. Haldane's views, and to insist upon their own. They taught that the Saviour was the first of created beings; that the gospel was useful, but not indispensable to salvation, and various other speculations, Arian, Socinian and Arminian. Mr. Haldane, on the other hand, collecting their arguments, proved to the students their fallaciousness, and showed that their tenets were entirely inconsistent with the Scriptures. The controversies thus maintained naturally gave rise to great excitement, and to sundry persecutions on the part of the clergy. Notwithstanding all these oppositions, however, great good was effected. Many of the students, and among them, M. Malan, F. Monod, Henri Pytt, and Merle D'Aubigné, were called not only to comprehend the true nature of Christ's salvation, but to suffer for his name such privations and indignities as the clergy could inflict; the latter, D'Aubigné, being refused ordination and compelled to leave his native city, in order to finish his studies at Berlin; and it is largely to these labors of Robert Haldane at Geneva that the continent of Europe was blessed with that religious awakening by which, through the subsequent ministrations of the above-named students, with those of Adolphe Monod, Tholuck, Julius Müller and others, a mighty barrier has been erected against that flood of Rationalism which threatened to obliterate all the teachings of the Lutheran Reformation.

ditional while he was teacher of the seminary. Notwithstanding all, however, groundless complaints were not wanting on the part even of some who co-operated with Mr. Haldane in his religious enterprises. Thus even *Mr. Ewing*, with his large and wealthy congregation, seemed to think that Mr. Haldane should make a present of the Glasgow Tabernacle to the church, and both were quite dissatisfied when he, who had his own views with regard to the best appropriation of his means, would only agree to give one thousand pounds of the purchase-money, desiring to devote the other two thousand pounds to the printing and circulation of the Scriptures. It was during Mr. Campbell's residence at Glasgow that the unhappy difficulty between Robert Haldane and Mr. Ewing, arising partly from this affair, created a good deal of public excitement. After hearing the matter, however, at Mr. Ewing's, Mr. Campbell was very decided in his conviction that Mr. Ewing was in the wrong. The latter had previously become dissatisfied because Mr. Haldane, being not well pleased with certain divergencies from his views of religious reform which began to be entertained by Mr. Ewing, had removed the Glasgow Seminary from under his care to Edinburgh; yet on Mr. Haldane's part, these divergencies, which had respect chiefly to church order and church ordinances, seemed to occasion no diminution of Christian regard for Mr. Ewing, with whom he still desired to remain on terms of religious fellowship.

CHAPTER XI.

Reformatory views of the Haldanes—Division—Religious influences at Glasgow—Abandonment of Presbyterianism—Helensburgh—Embarkation.

THE knowledge which he obtained during his intimacy with Mr. Ewing, in regard to the religious reformation then progressing in Scotland, made a deep impression on the mind of Alexander Campbell. That devotion to the Bible by which the movement was characterized was entirely consonant with his own cherished feelings; and that independence of spirit which led the Haldanes to establish a system of lay-preaching and itineracy, and to endeavor to carry the gospel into every town and hamlet in spite of clerical opposition, was most congenial to his own character and disposition. Such, indeed, was the contrast between the unselfish and liberal proceedings of the Haldanes and their coadjutors, and the course which the clergy pursued under the influence of their narrow policies and bigoted sectarianism, that it is not surprising to find him stating, as he did in after years, that he "imbibed disgust at the popular schemes, chiefly while a student at Glasgow." Nor is it strange that the munificent liberality of the elder brother, Robert, and the earnest and abundant labors of the younger, James A. Haldane, filled him with admiration. He felt his own devotion to the cause of human salvation and advancement strengthened, and, while without means

to imitate the example of the former, he felt that he might, at least, follow that of the latter in preaching the gospel without charge. Hence it was that, when he commenced his public ministry, he resolved that he would preach the gospel without fee or reward. To the purpose then formed he steadfastly adhered throughout his subsequent life, not only demanding nothing for his services as a preacher, but defraying his own traveling expenses, in all his many tours through the greater part of the United States, as well as in Canada and in Europe.

As it respects the doctrines taught by the Haldanes, he found that they did not fully approve the views of Glas, Sandeman and of Walker, which were at that time much discussed, and with which he had himself become somewhat acquainted. The Haldanes regarded the writings of Glas and Sandeman as exhibiting, here and there, noble views of the freeness of the gospel and the simplicity of faith; but to their system, as a whole, and especially to the intolerant spirit manifested by them and their followers, both the brothers were always strongly opposed. With regard to faith, they regarded Sandeman's view, that it was the mere assent of the understanding to testimony, and that faith in Christ did not differ from faith in any other historical personage, as frigid and defective. They regarded it as resting, indeed, upon the evidence furnished by the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures, but as embracing not only the understanding but the heart; and both of them have remarked that "trust or confidence in Christ seemed substantially to express the meaning of the term." This simple and comprehensive view was that which Mr. Campbell, in his subsequent religious history, himself adopted, and continued to advocate during his

entire life. Amidst his numerous controversies, indeed, he was often obliged, in contending against the popular errors upon the subject, to insist upon the absolute necessity of evidence, and to assert, most truthfully, that where there was no evidence, there could be no faith; yet he ever regarded true faith in Christ as implying a willingness to submit to his authority, and as consisting in a heartfelt, personal trust in Him as the Son of God and the appointed Saviour of mankind.

The object of the Haldanes had not been the inculcation of new tenets. They wished rather to awaken the community from their apathy to greater religious zeal, and had no idea, in the beginning, of separating from the Church of Scotland, with whose doctrines, as exhibited in the Westminster Confession, they substantially agreed. They had, however, simpler views of the gospel, and labored especially to impress upon men the divinity, dignity and the glory of Christ, and the all-sufficiency of the work of salvation which he accomplished; and to enforce the great principle of justification by faith. Thus far, their reformation was a revival of that of Luther and Calvin, from whose spirit and teaching Protestants in general had at that time greatly departed. When finally compelled, through the opposition and intractability of the clergy, to form a separate congregation, they were unexpectedly led to enter upon a new chapter of church reform, and from the teaching of the Scriptures, to which they were accustomed to refer as the only authority, to adopt the independent or congregational form of church government. It was to Mr. Ewing, whose mind was much engaged with this particular subject, that this change was mainly due. He had advocated it before in the Missionary Magazine, and in his religious sentiments

generally he was much more favorable to the views of Glas and Sandeman than were the Haldanes. Indeed, his introduction of the works of Sandeman into the seminary at Glasgow gave umbrage to the Haldanes, who protested against it, and it was one of the reasons for the transfer of the seminary to Edinburgh. When the new churches were first formed, it was adopted as a principle that ecclesiastical usages should be conformed to the practice of the apostolic churches. Hence, while the Scottish National Church attended to the Lord's Supper only twice a year, Mr. Ewing first introduced, at Glasgow, the practice of celebrating it every Lord's Day. This was soon after adopted by the Edinburgh church, and the rest of the new churches. Mr. Ewing next proposed a weekly church-meeting, besides the Lord's Day meeting, which was to be for social worship and mutual exhortation. Various publications were at this time made upon the subject of church order, as Mr. Ewing's "Rules of Church Government;" "Reasons for separating from the Church of Scotland," by Dr. Innes; a pamphlet by Alexander Carson, containing his reasons for separating from the Presbyterians, and a volume by James A. Haldane, published in 1805, entitled "Views of the Social Worship of the First Churches," which quickly ran through two editions. To these publications, replies were made by the Rev. Mr. Brown of Langton and others, which occasioned other pamphlets from J. A. Haldane, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Carson. Thus the subject of church order came to occupy a large share of attention, and gave rise to much discussion and disagreement among the members of the churches. It was about this time that William Ballantyne published his "Treatise on the Elder's Office," which brought matters to a crisis, and

was the means of producing a widespread division in the new churches. In this treatise he insisted upon a plurality of elders in every church, and upon the great importance of mutual exhortation on the Lord's Day, as the means of obtaining them. Mr. Ballantyne had first been officiating in Thurso, but afterward in the Tabernacle at Elgin, where he had under his charge one of the classes of missionary students supported by Robert Haldane. The adoption of his views by the Haldanes, and the debates which they occasioned, caused great disaffection amongst the churches; and when J. A. Haldane, during the spring previous to Alexander Campbell's visit to Glasgow, informed his congregation at Edinburgh that he could no longer conscientiously baptize children, and, in the month of April, was himself immersed, the division, which had been for some time imminent, immediately occurred in the church at Edinburgh. Some of the members went back to the Established Church; some to Mr. Aikman's church in College street, while a considerable number concluded to become a separate church, and rented a room to meet in. The remainder, about two hundred in number, remained with J. A. Haldane, agreeing to make the question of baptism a matter of forbearance. It was not, indeed, so much the change in J. A. Haldane's views of baptism, as the doctrine urged by Ballantyne and others that it was not only the privilege but the duty of the members in general to speak in the church on the Lord's Day, that was the real cause of division. This practice, which had been introduced several years before, under the title of "church order," had been found largely productive of church *dis*order, and threatened to destroy completely the pastoral office. Many debates and dissensions, and some local schisms,

as at New Castle and London, had, indeed, already been produced by thus allowing incompetent members (for in these cases the most ignorant are generally the most forward) to undertake the office of public teachers and exhorters—an office which, in the primitive Church, could safely be exercised, under apostolic direction, only by those possessed of spiritual gifts.

These dissensions, and the division which took place immediately after J. A. Haldane's immersion, were earnestly deprecated by both the brothers, and sincerely regretted by many pious men in all the religious parties, who regarded, approvingly, the remarkable success, thus far, of the effort to awaken a deeper religious interest among the people. The division spread rapidly from Edinburgh through all the churches of the connection; and, as the pecuniary assistance of Robert Haldane could no longer be consistently continued to those who were opposed to his views of church reform, and who, with Mr. Ewing and the leaders of the seceding party, refused to have visible communion any longer with those who adhered to the Haldanes, this great effort to establish Congregationalism in Scotland was deprived of that support which had hitherto so largely contributed to its success. Accordingly, the cause of Independency from this time languished, whilst the prominent religious parties, who had, at length, become awakened to more correct views of the gospel, and to greater earnestness, began to exert a better influence; and, under the leadership of Chalmers and others, to preach the gospel in greater purity, and to adopt various successful methods of promoting religious knowledge.

This disruption among the Independents connected with the Haldanes had taken place during the year

preceding Mr. Campbell's attendance at the Glasgow University, and the questions involved were still frequent subjects of discussion at Mr. Ewing's. The Haldanes, who regarded the preaching of Christ crucified as the great essential matter, and wished all differences about church order and church ordinances to be matters of forbearance, continued to persevere in the course they had adopted. Believing that there should be a plurality of qualified elders in every church, Robert Haldane had consented to act for a time, with his brother James, in the church at Edinburgh. In the course of a few months, he himself abandoned pedobaptist views, and was immersed. The same change took place also with various other leading men in the connection. John Campbell had long since been immersed, and was now acting as pastor at Kingsland Chapel, near London, where he continued to labor for thirty-six years, with the exception of five years which he spent as a missionary and explorer in Africa. Mr. Innes, also, who came to Edinburgh, soon after the disruption, to preach for a portion of the members who had broken off from the Tabernacle, in a few months, likewise, changed his views on the subject of baptism, and was immersed.* The same change had occurred

* The incident which hastened the decision of Dr. Innes, who was already unsettled on the subject of baptism, is thus related by one familiar with the facts: "While he was pastor of the church at Barnard's rooms, one of the deacons, having occasion to be on the top of a building, fell to the ground and was taken up dead. The widow of this man made application to Dr. Innes to have her child sprinkled. The woman, however, was not a Christian, and Dr. Innes told her that he would not baptize the child, as the father was dead, and she made no profession of religion. The woman replied that he had baptized all the children, not on her account, but because of their father, and that this child was as much entitled to be baptized as the others. Dr. Innes, never having had a case like this before, concluded to bring it before the church for their consideration, and told the woman to await their

with William Stevens, who, as before related, had succeeded John Campbell as teacher in the Edinburgh Seminary. The acute and critical Dr. Carson, also, had experienced the same change of views on the subject, and now occupied the same position as the Haldanes, believing that immersion only was baptism, but in his church at Tubbermore not making it a term of

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decision. When the subject was introduced, about one-half of the church were for baptizing the child, and the other half were opposed to it. During the discussion, the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter of First Corinthians, was again and again recited as proof for admission of the child to baptism. One side insisted that this child was as 'holy' as the other children who had been baptized in the lifetime of the father. To this it was replied, that the holiness of the child was dependent on the life of the father, and that his death put an end to it; that as the child *now* was no longer 'holy,' and the mother an unbeliever, it would be a profanation of the ordinance to apply it to such a child. The other party replied that it was not on account of the believing husband that the child was entitled to baptism, but according to the text under discussion, which said that 'the unbelieving wife was sanctified by the husband,' it seemed clear that the holiness of the child was to be ascribed to the wife, for the text said, 'else were your children unclean, but now are they holy.' Why? Because the unbelieving wife was sanctified. To this it was replied again, that if both holiness and sanctification were derived in that way, then the unbelieving woman was as much entitled to be baptized as the child.

"During this curious discussion, one in the church said that as sanctification and holiness proceeded from nothing this side of the throne of God, and that as nothing they could say could either sanctify the woman before them or make the child 'holy,' they would act a wise part by giving up the subject altogether. This was a matter that could not be settled by the meeting of one evening, and another appointment being made, the crowd that came together were entertained for hours with a general discussion on the subject of infant baptism. The text in Corinthians was given up as having nothing to do with baptism, and Dr. Innes announced at the close that he could no longer baptize infants—that a Baptist church had the advantage of them, inasmuch as nobody made application to it that did not profess conversion, and was thus able to answer for himself; that during the discussion not one example or precept for infant baptism had been adduced. As much stress was laid on the Abrahamic Covenant in that controversy, Dr. Innes published a work on the subject, 'Eugenio and Epinetus, or Conversations on Infant Baptism,' which gave great satisfaction to many an inquirer."

communion. A great number of the Glasite Independents had, indeed, a number of years previously, adopted immersion, and becoming very strict in their views of communion and of church discipline, had given rise to the Scotch Baptists, who found in Archibald McLean a very able champion of their principles. It was the works of McLean that had revolutionized the views of William Jones, the author of the History of the Waldenses, who was baptized at Chester in 1786, and who was at this time (1809) presiding over the Scotch Baptist Church in London. A similar change of views in regard to baptism had occurred among a party of Independents, gathered together at Glasgow by the "Benevolent Magistrate," the father-in-law of Robert Owen—David Dale,* who had died at Glasgow

* Mr. Dale was a native of Ayrshire, and had received careful religious training in boyhood, and being thus instructed at home in the principles of Divine truth was, from his youth, noted for seriousness and piety. On quitting the paternal roof, he first became a hand-loom weaver at Paisley, where he was connected with the congregation of Dr. Wotherspoon. Manifesting great zeal in all matters connected with the interest of the gospel, he became the intimate friend of Dr. Wotherspoon, and, when the doctor removed to America, was his regular correspondent. Removing to Glasgow in 1761, he after a time established a prosperous business in the linen-yarn trade. The introduction of the cotton manufacture depriving him, at length, of this branch of trade, he became agent for Sir Richard Arkwright & Co. for the sale of cotton yarns. Soon afterward he engaged in the manufacture of yarns, first as partner and then as sole proprietor of the cotton mills at New Lanark. Here he erected neat houses, with a garden attached to each, for the workmen, and put in force regulations to promote their health and morals and secure the education of their children, and his system proved so effective that the "Lanark Mills" became an object of curiosity to travelers. Besides this, Mr. Dale became one of the magistrates of Glasgow, and in the time of the dearth in 1800 he signalized himself, as is related by his biographer, by the scheme he originated and carried into execution of importing a large cargo of foreign corn at his own expense, and selling it to the people at prime cost, and, in many instances, giving it gratis. In consequence of this public-spirited and seasonable act, he obtained the name of the "Benevolent Magistrate."

some two and a half years before Mr. Campbell took up his sojourn there. This eminent man, who, by his genius and enterprise, had accumulated great wealth, which he devoted largely to Christian enterprises, had been brought up in the Church of Scotland, but was gradually led to reject creeds and other human compositions, as possessed of any authority in matters of faith and duty, and to appeal to the Scriptures alone. He was led to this view through the influence of Mr. Barclay, a Scotch clergyman, who founded the sect of the Bereans, so called because, after the example of the

When he became an Independent, and adopted weekly communion, he, with a number of friends, hired a room in which they met for worship, there being no religious body at that time in Glasgow coinciding with them in sentiment. In 1769 one of his friends built a meeting-house, and a church was organized by the election of a number of elders, one of whom was Mr. Dale. His modest nature shrank from so great a responsibility, and it was only after a protracted mental struggle, which seriously affected his health, that he was at length prevailed upon to undertake the duties of the office.

The successive divisions which subsequently occurred in the church greatly annoyed and grieved him, but "Mr. Dale continued," says his biographer, "unshaken in his attachment to the Independent form of church government. He prosecuted his ministry amongst the remaining members, to whom he was instant in season and out of season. His flow of worldly prosperity had no influence either in contracting the range of his benevolence or deadening the vitality of his religious affections. His charity was extensive and unostentatious; and whilst he, of course, directed his first attention to those of his poorer brethren in the church—the household of faith—he was a liberal supporter of all, and an active director in many of the philanthropic and missionary institutions of his day. During several of his later years he felt the weight of increasing infirmities, although he was not confined until within a few weeks of his death. Feeling his end approaching, he sent for some leading members of his church, whom he exhorted to remain steadfast in their Christian profession, and gave them the dying testimony of his faith in the gospel, asked their forgiveness if at any time he had given them offence, and prayed for a blessing on them; after which, as the elders of Ephesus did to Paul, they 'fell upon his neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more.' Exhausted with this parting scene, he rapidly sank, and the following day, the 17th of April, 1806, he departed, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, deeply regretted by all parties."

ancient Bereans, they professed to build their religious system on the Scriptures alone. This party first assembled as a separate society in Edinburgh, in 1773. Mr. Dale was led by his new principles to adopt Independency, and he became finally the pastor of the church thus formed at Glasgow. Contention soon after arose about points of church order and discipline; such as the regular use of the Lord's Prayer, rising to sing, the audible utterance of "amen" by the worshipers, etc. A portion of the church broke off and joined the Glasites, and Mr. Dale continued with the remainder, who advocated mutual forbearance in regard to things not clearly revealed, and who continued for some time in harmony. But differences of opinion again manifested themselves—First, In regard to the right of elders to contract second marriages, which some alleged was forbidden by Paul's precept, that the elder was to be "the husband of one wife," but which Mr. Dale regarded as merely a prohibition of polygamy; Second, In respect to a community of goods, which was strenuously advocated by the poorer members, but which Mr. Dale held was only a temporary and partial practice of the primitive Church, and nowhere commanded; and, Third, Respecting infant baptism, which a large number protested against as unscriptural. These latter, among whom was Mrs. Dale, being unable, through conscientious scruples, to yield this latter point, a new secession occurred, Mr. Dale continuing with the remaining members, and devoting the remainder of his life and his great wealth to missionary and philanthropic purposes.

It may appear somewhat singular that, at this period, none of the questions connected with infant baptism and immersion which had thus caused so many divisions

in Scotland, and in regard to which Mr. Campbell became afterward so distinguished, engaged, at this time, his attention in the least. This may be accounted for, however, by the fact that immersion was not made a term of communion by the Haldanes, and was never urged upon any, being left as a matter of choice to private and individual consideration. In the next place, Mr. Ewing and his coadjutor, the amiable and accomplished Dr. Wardlaw, who had left the Burghers and was now an Independent minister, residing in Glasgow, and who was often at Mr. Ewing's, were both vehemently opposed to immersion, and earnest advocates of infant baptism, in favor of which they both subsequently wrote treatises, which were severely criticised and confuted by Mr. Ewing's former classmate at the University, Alexander Carson of Tubbermore. Under the circumstances, therefore, this particular subject was not likely to become a matter of discussion at Mr. Ewing's, in his family or among his guests, and Mr. Campbell's attention seems to have been entirely confined to the main purposes of the reformation undertaken by the Haldanes, and to those principles of Independency and church order in which Mr. Ewing was particularly interested.

Mr. Ewing frequently invited parties of students to his house along with Alexander, who was greatly impressed with his piety and learning during these interviews, as well as from hearing his lectures and discourses, which he took the opportunity of doing frequently on Sunday evenings, having to attend service in the day-time at the Seceder church. Mr. Ewing still preached in the spacious building which had been used as a circus. The pulpit was in the centre of the building, and Mr. Ewing's audience generally consisted

of from one thousand to two thousand persons, though the building would have held a much greater number. Mr. Ewing was a very fine lecturer, and very popular both as a man and as a preacher, as was also Mr. Wardlaw, who frequently officiated. Between them and the Seceder preacher, Mr. Montre, there was a considerable contrast, for the latter, though a good man, and influential and even popular in his party, was a prosy speaker. His church was large, and during his attendance, Alexander noted down various criticisms and remarks upon his delivery, with which he seems to have been by no means pleased. He therefore availed himself of all the opportunities that presented themselves for "occasional hearing," and thus heard Mr. Ewing frequently, sometimes Mr. Mitchel at Anderston, as well as Dr. Balford at George's Square, and Dr. Wall at the Salt Market, with all of whom he formed an agreeable personal acquaintance. He heard also a number of probationers in all the churches.

The opportunity which he thus enjoyed at Glasgow, of hearing preachers of different denominations, and the intimacy he enjoyed with them, tended greatly to foster his native independence of mind, and to release him from the denominational influences of his religious education—an effect which was, doubtless, facilitated by the fact that his revered father, to whose religious sentiments he was accustomed to pay the utmost deference, was now separated from him by the wide Atlantic. It was, however, by the facts relating to the Haldanes, so often recounted to him by Mr. Ewing and others, that, as formerly intimated, the change in his religious views was chiefly due. He was particularly impressed with the persistent opposition of the clergy of the various establishments to every overture for reforma-

tion; with the unscrupulous methods they often resorted to to hinder the progress of the truths they refused to admit, and the disposition they constantly manifested to exercise the power which they possessed in an arbitrary manner. He became, therefore, gradually, more and more favorable to the principles of Congregationalism entertained by Mr. Ewing, which secured an entire emancipation from the control of domineering Synods and General Assemblies, and which seemed to him much more accordant with primitive usage. At the same time, he did not feel himself at liberty to abandon rashly the cherished religious sentiments of his youth, and the Seceder Church to which his father and the family belonged, and in which he had thought it his duty to be a regular communicant.

He was in this unsettled state of mind as the semi-annual communion season of the Seceders approached, and his doubts in regard to the character of such religious establishments occasioned him no little anxiety of mind concerning the course proper for him to pursue. His conscientious misgivings as to the propriety of sanctioning any longer, by participation, a religious system which he disapproved, and, on the other hand, his sincere desire to comply with all his religious obligations, created a serious conflict in his mind, from which he found it impossible to escape. At the time of preparation, however, he concluded that he would be in the way of his duty, at least, and that he would go to the elders, and get a metallic token, which every one who wished to communicate had to obtain, and that he would use it or not, afterward, as was sometimes done. The elders asked for his credentials as a member of the Secession Church, and he informed them that his membership was in the Church in Ireland, and that

he had no letter. They replied that, in that case, it would be necessary for him to appear before the session and to be examined. He accordingly appeared before them, and being examined, received the token. The hour at which the administration of the Lord's Supper was to take place found him still undecided, and, as there were about eight hundred communicants, and some eight or nine tables to be served in succession, he concluded to wait until the last table, in hopes of being able to overcome his scruples. Failing in this, however, and unable any longer conscientiously to recognize the Seceder Church as the Church of Christ, he threw his token upon the plate handed round, and when the elements were passed along the table, declined to partake with the rest. It was at this moment that the struggle in his mind was completed, and the ring of the token, falling upon the plate, announced the instant at which he renounced Presbyterianism for ever—the leaden voucher becoming thus a token not of communion but of separation. This change, however, was as yet confined to his own heart. He was yet young, and thought it unbecoming to make known publicly his objections, and as he had fully complied with all the rules of the Church, he thought it proper to receive at his departure the usual certificate of good standing.

At the close of the University session in the month of May, as there was no prospect of obtaining for some time a suitable vessel to transport the family to America, he was urged by some of his Glasgow friends to go to Helensburgh as tutor for their families, who were to spend the summer at this agreeable watering-place. He accordingly went thither in the beginning of June, and having obtained pleasant lodgings, taught a number of families, among which were those of Mr.

Monteith, Mr. R. Burns, Mr. Wardlaw, Mr. Buchannon and others. Helensburgh seemed to him a very beautiful, healthful place, and a fine seaport. It lies in Dumbartonshire, nearly opposite Greenock, on the north shore of the Clyde, which here forms an estuary some six miles in width. The most of his acquaintances here were ladies, the male members of these families being occupied in Glasgow during the greater part of the week. Here, freed from the routine and confinement of the college course, he spent some time very delightfully in the midst of a highly cultivated and refined society, and in instructing the young ladies and others who were his pupils.* His only regret was, that, from the demands made upon his time in teaching, as well as by necessary social calls and the evening walks of parties of ladies, for whom the escort of the youthful tutor was constantly in requisition in order to visit the shady groves and to enjoy the fine prospects from various points in the neighborhood of the village, he had but little time for the reading he desired to accomplish. He by no means, however, neglected his religious improvement, as various pious reflections and annotations upon passages of Scripture, written down during this period, evince. His naturally lively temperament, tempered by religious sobriety, his fine powers of conversation, and his agreeable manners rendered him a pleasant companion to all; and the happy associations which he enjoyed at Helensburgh, for a brief period, seem to have thrown over this portion of his life a charm which he felt quite reluctant to dissolve, when, after a five weeks' residence, a favorable opportunity of emigrating, in a ship from Green-

* Among his young lady pupils are mentioned the names of the Misses Hutton, Buchannon, Keltin, Mitchel, Montusha and Burns.

ock, presented itself, and he had to return to Glasgow in order to make preparations for the voyage. Before leaving Helensburgh, however, being requested by one of his friends, a Mr. K——g, to write something for him as a memento, he endeavored to express his feelings in the following lines:

" *On a beautiful vale adjacent to the seaport village where I often spent the evening hours.*

"Where, gently pointing to the eastern skies,
Grove-clad Camcascan hills high-tow'ring rise,
Thence, from a spring, Drummora gently flows,
And, as it wends its way, still larger grows,
Till in a murmuring brook it swiftly glides
And hides its treasures in the ceaseless tides.
Along its winding course a valley lies,
Where, all around, in gay luxuriance rise
The spreading trees, the lowly plant and flower;
The hazel copse, the shrub, and woodbine bower—
There, in its golden beauty, smiles the broom,
And, close beside, the myrtle in full bloom.
There the young elm and beech, in shady rows,
With other shrubs, entwine their pliant boughs,
And form the cool retreat, the sweet alcove,
The seats of pleasure and the haunts of love;
And there how oft at even have I seen
The fair ones sporting through their alleys green!
And heard them sweet address each herb and flower;
Tell this one's beauties, that one's genial power;
With deep botanic skill on every leaf descant,
And all their virtues in poetic numbers chant!
How, at their coming, did the grove rejoice!
The birds, to charm them, strain their mellow voice!
The flowers, to please them, with each other vie!
The trees, to shade them, lift their heads on high!
How did the hills return their accents sweet
And in soft echoes all their joy repeat!
How did the brook that murmured harsh below,
Now change its movement and more gently flow!
Thus would they sit, near yon translucid spring,
Tell their glad tales and then alternate sing.
Here cheerful sport, till evening dews were feared,
And moonbeams trembling in the brook appeared;

Then would they homeward bend their winding way,
And through the groves in many a gambol play.
Fair spot! and wilt thou not like me soon change?
And in thy bowers the fair ones cease to range?
Will not thy flowers, that with each other vie
Beneath thy shades, soon droop their heads and die?
For me, no more I'll wander through thy glades,
Seek thy close coverts, and thy cooling shades.
No more within thy shady bowers
I'll spend my lonely evening hours;
And now, you groves and vales and lucid well,
And all you beauteous seats of mirth, farewell!"

These lines afford a fair specimen of his skill in versification, and while they betray the absence of that delicacy of ear which readily detects redundant or defective measure, they, at the same time, exhibit poetic fancy and feeling.

It required about a fortnight in Glasgow to make the necessary preparation for the voyage, and then a further delay was occasioned because the ship in which he had taken passage conditionally, the Latonia, Captain McCray, master, from New York and bound there, was, with all other vessels in part, detained by an order from government, until a warlike expedition then fitting out, the destination of which was to be kept secret, should have time to leave the coast. At length, on the 31st of July, with much regret, he took leave of his many warm friends at Glasgow, whose memory he continued to cherish through life, especially that of Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, with whom he was most intimate. He regarded Mrs. Ewing as a very pious and excellent Christian lady, and in after years often spoke with much sympathy of the sad accident by which, in 1828, she was suddenly deprived of life.* Passing down to

* In the summer of the year referred to, Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, with a party of friends, had gone to visit the falls of Clyde. Their carriage being over-

Greenock by the Flyboat with his mother and the family, they arrived there so late at night that it was with some difficulty they could find lodgings; but having at length succeeded, two days more were spent at Greenock in completing their preparations, and at length, everything being on board, the vessel weighed anchor on the 3d August, 1809, and they prepared to bid adieu to Scotland, in which, from the time of the shipwreck, they had spent just three hundred days.

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turned, they were all precipitated down a steep declivity, and Mrs. Ewing sustained so much injury that she survived only a few days. Mr. Ewing never wholly recovered from the shock of this bereavement, which was soon followed by other severe afflictions. Not long after, a stroke of paralysis deprived him of his physical though not of his mental powers, and in a few days "he fell asleep" so gently that, in the words of Dr. Wardlaw, who preached the funeral sermon, "it could hardly be called death—it was the imperceptible cessation of life, a breathing out of his spirit, delightful emblem of his entering into peace."

CHAPTER XII.

Departure—Incidents at Sea—The Ocean—The New World—Dr. Mason—Journey over the Mountains—Reunion.

THE Frith of Clyde is, in many respects, ill adapted for the purposes of navigation, especially as it regards vessels depending on sails. Its channel is narrow; it is exposed to squalls; rendered dangerous by shallows, and can be safely navigated only when the wind blows from certain directions. The ship Latonia, however, after stopping till next day, August 4, 1809, at the bank below Greenock, weighed anchor for the last time, and although the wind was by no means the most favorable, being from the N. W., managed to get out of the Clyde, and into the Channel. It was not until Saturday, the 5th, that a fair and gentle breeze from the right quarter carried the vessel, in a few hours, out of the North Channel, and past the dimly-seen northern coast of Ireland, so that on the following day, which was Sunday, about twelve o'clock, they were fairly out of sight of land on the bosom of the Atlantic.

Alexander was now for three days confined by sea-sickness, and had no sooner recovered sufficiently to appear again on deck than he learned to his surprise that the ship had sprung a leak. The sailors were greatly dismayed and depressed, believing that it would be with great difficulty and much extra labor that they would be able to make land again, and fearing that, as

there were only eight hands on board, beside the mate, the cook and the cabin boy, they would be unable to manage the vessel. Under these circumstances, Alexander went down into the cabin and entreated the captain, who was at this time unwell, to give orders to put back, but the latter, too well aware of the uncertainty of the wind and the perils of the Scottish coast, determined to continue the voyage. The pumps accordingly were set to work, with great difficulty, owing to the tar which had found its way into them from the previous cargo, and earnest efforts were made to counteract the leak. On the following day, Monday, the 7th, there was a very heavy gale, and the sea ran so high that, amidst the tossings of the ship, the leak was almost forgotten, and the passengers retired at night, uncertain as to what might be their fate before morning. About midnight, however, the wind fell, and Alexander, together with the other male passengers, went to work to assist the sailors at the pumps, when he found by experiment that it would require ten minutes out of every hour, or four hours of hard work out of the twenty-four, to keep the water from gaining.

During the following week the wind proved very favorable, blowing gently from the N. and N. E., and as the vessel sped along its way, Alexander took great interest in observing the denizens of the mighty deep, which frequently appeared around the vessel. Efforts were made to catch the black-fish by means of small harpoons, but without success. On one occasion the captain, while leaning over a rope to strike at a porpoise, was so unlucky as to drop his watch into the sea. This week they spoke a vessel bound from Trinidad to Dublin, and on Saturday, August 19, found themselves in long. 34° lat. 42°. They spoke also a vessel out

fifteen days from Boston, bound to Liverpool. On the Tuesday of the following week they had a very severe gale with the wind from N. N. E., accompanied with sudden squalls, one of which, about eleven o'clock, carried away the foretopmast. The ship ran before the wind all day, rolling heavily for want of the foresail; but the wind then subsiding, the sailors were employed for two days in fitting up a mast in the room of the one lost. From this time until the 26th their progress was delayed by head-winds and calms. On the Sunday during this period Alexander witnessed, to him, the novel sight of a burial at sea. As the parents of the deceased, a child of one Andrew McDonald, a passenger on board, had desired a coffin, contrary to the custom of interment at sea, and sufficient weight had not been placed in it to sink it when committed to the deep, it floated off astern, and was painfully watched for a considerable time while it remained in view.

Toward the close of this week the weather became again rough. "On Friday night," he says in his journal, "a dreadful storm arose, and the lightning flashed from pole to pole. We were very apprehensive of danger, but He who rules all things made the wind cease about twelve o'clock." Again he records: "Saturday night, 26th. An awful lightning continued for a considerable time, although accompanied with no noise of thunder. The glare would continue sometimes for a quarter of an hour without intermission. This appeared to us very ominous, but on Sabbath morning, 27th, the wind began to rise in a fearful manner from the south, and immediately the most terrific squall ever seen by any individual on board ensued. A thick, small rain accompanied it, and the spray blew over the

vessel to such a degree that one could not discern another at half the ship's length." The fury of the storm continued to increase until every one on board apprehended certain destruction, and the most experienced seamen said they thought every moment would be their last. The mizzenmast was ordered to be cut down, but it was found impossible to effect it. The sails that had not been furled were all torn to pieces; the foretopmast was again carried off, and the maintopmast would probably have shared the same fate had they not succeeded in taking it down. Soon after, the quarter-railing was broken off by a heavy sea, and the tiller-rope having given way, the ship became unmanageable for a time, until they succeeded in replacing it. After nine o'clock, to the great joy of all, the storm began to abate, the wind veering to N. W.; the sea, however, continued to run for a long while "mountain high." They were happy to find that the hull of the ship had sustained no material damage, though the bowsprit was cracked half way through at its thickest part. "Such," he adds, "was that dreadful storm, and such its effects, but thanks be to that God who raises the winds and quells the tumults of the seas, that it did not prove fatal to us all; and may He out of His great mercy, bless it as a fatherly reproof to us all, and instruct us by it to be in a habitual preparation for death when He calls for us." In view of his deliverance on this occasion, he renewed his vows of fealty to His service, and again solemnly consecrated his life to the ministry of the gospel.

On the following morning about eight o'clock, the sea still running high, they discerned a ship to the northward, steering toward the west. Observing the wrecked appearance of the Latonia, she soon came

alongside to offer assistance. She proved to be the Francis, Captain Taylor, who, happening to be an acquaintance of Captain McCray, kindly gave him a spare foresail, which was greatly needed. Soon after, the Francis passed out of sight, the Latonia being unable, for want of canvas, to keep her company. For several days afterward they had unpleasant weather, with occasional squalls and head-winds. At length, on the 4th of September, the wind became fair, and the ship was borne along at the rate of from six to eight miles an hour for several days.

During this period, Alexander was much interested in the various aquatic animals, which now presented themselves in greater numbers. On one occasion, he was surprised with the appearance of a number of whales some thirty feet long, spouting up the water to a considerable height. He was delighted with the beautiful dolphins which appeared around the ship, and was greatly entertained in seeing them frequently pursue the flying-fish, and sometimes with so much eagerness as to leap a considerable distance out of the water in order to seize them. These flying-fish he found to be from six to twelve inches in length, of a light color and furnished with pectoral fins, nearly as long as the body, by means of which they could project themselves from the water to a considerable distance, often striking against the sails and sides of the ship. The porpoises, who were almost constant attendants, he found to vary from three to seven feet in length, having a tapering snout and a comparatively small mouth. On some occasions, he amused himself in fishing, and with hook and line succeeded in catching a large dolphin, but in attempting to get it on board, the line broke and he failed to secure his prize. The captain, who was also

fond of the sport, struck a porpoise with a small harpoon, which, however, by the rapid movement of the vessel, soon lost its hold, and was drawn in, bent like a piece of wire.

On Tuesday, 12th September, they were hailed by an English vessel of twenty guns, from St. Croix to London. On Friday, 15th, they spoke the Brutus from New York, thirteen days out, and about this time got out of the Gulf Stream, in which they had been sailing for some days, and whose temperature Alexander was surprised to find so much higher than that of the surrounding ocean. On Tuesday, 19th, they spoke the ship Venice, bound from New York to Lisbon, and were informed that a non-intercourse bill had been passed, and that the English Ambassador had arrived at New York. Continuing their course with occasionally light winds, they judged from the change in the color of the water from a bluish to a greenish hue, and from floating masses of rockweed and eelgrass, that they were not very far from land; but, upon sounding, found no bottom at one hundred and twenty fathoms. On Saturday, 23d, a river bird, the kingfisher, appeared and flew, with weary wing, around the vessel, attempting to alight upon the rigging. This evidence of nearing land was hailed with great joy by the passengers and crew; and was compared by Alexander in his journal to the "soul-reviving return of the dove to Noah's ark with the olive branch plucked off;" to the "return of spring;" to "good news from a distant land;" to the "dawn of day to the benighted traveler," and to the "cheering sound of liberty to the captive slave," so irksome his long confinement upon shipboard had become to his active temperament. On Monday, 25th of September, they were delayed by head-winds,

and upon sounding, found bottom at sixty fathoms. The captain to-day succeeded in harpooning a porpoise, which was brought on board. Alexander, ever observant and curious in the investigation of facts, found it to be four feet long and sixteen inches through, and that the fat parts of it, when boiled, produced about one gallon of oil. He also found that the liver and some of the fleshy parts were tender and palatable when cooked, and not much unlike fresh pork. Toward evening, Black Island and No Man's Land became visible from the mast head, and upon sounding they found twenty-eight fathoms, when they wore ship, and sailed S. S. W. On Monday, they found themselves off Sandy Hook, but the wind being unfavorable, it was not until Tuesday morning, September 26th, that they were enabled to approach the coast, when, for the first time for fifty-one days, they obtained from the deck a distinct view of the land and of the trees upon the distant hills, a most joyful sight to the weary and storm-tossed voyagers.

Notwithstanding, however, all the perils and discomforts to which he had been subjected during the voyage, Alexander had found many sources of enjoyment. He had pursued his private studies and his usual readings and religious exercises with the family, as regularly as the circumstances would permit. He sought every opportunity of gaining information from the officers and passengers on the ship, and, when not thus engaged on deck, was never weary of contemplating the grandeur of the ocean. Filled with the loftiest conceptions of the Divine Majesty, he contemplated with awe the sublime displays of power exhibited in its boundless extent, its innumerable tenantry, its mighty waves and howling tempests, and, in the midst of his novel ex-

periences, gave expression to his feelings in the following poem, under date of August 16, which he entitled

"*The Ocean.*"

"Ere yet, in brightness, had the radiant sun
In Eastern skies the course of day begun,
Ere yet the stars in dazzling beauty shone,
Or yet, from Chaos dark, old earth was won;
When darkness o'er the deep extended lay,
And night still reigned, unbounded yet by day;
When awful stillness filled the boundless space,
And wild confusion sat on Nature's face,
Old Ocean then in silent youth did stray,
And countless atoms on its bosom lay.
Th' Almighty spoke; its waters trembling fear'd
They yawned; and straight in haste dry land appear'd.
The land he bounds; and to the waters said,
Here, Ocean, let thy haughty waves be stayed.
They swelled; and angry at their bounds, they roar,
And pour their rage against the peaceful shore.
See Ocean's varied face, its wat'ry fields;
The dreadful terrors which it constant yields;
See liquid valleys sink, and mountains rise,
Behold them, angry, tow'ring to the skies;
In pride they rear their hoary heads, and rage,
And soon they sink, like man's declining age.
See yonder azure wave, in beauteous trim,
Rise from the mighty deep, and slowly swim;
From gay green youth to hoary age it tends,
Then to the depths below it quick descends;
And where, ere while, it reared its lofty head
The spot's unknown, another's in its stead.
Next look where skies and seas converging tend;
See waters joined to waters without end;
See next thyself, borne on the mighty flood,
Supported on the floating fragile wood.
Behold thyself, the central point, and learn
The Almighty's power and goodness to discern.
Think on the depths, unfathomed yet below,
Where living myriads wander to and fro;
In liquid caves their young ones sport and play,
And through cerulean waves they wanton stray.
Think of the countless species there that roam,

The diff'rence scant, and yet each knows its own.
But as on earth they practice right and wrong,
In seas, the weak fall victims to the strong;
And thus 'tis ordered through the scaly brood,
That they by strength should win their daily food.
Swift from the depths then let thy thoughts ascend,
O'er Ocean's rolling waves thine eyes extend,
When night comes on, and darkness veils the skies;
When black'ning clouds, and howling storms arise:
When dismal horror broods upon the deep,
And awful terrors wake the mind from sleep,
See, from the poles, the forked lightnings fly,
And paint in solemn glares the black'ning sky:
Then, from the south, begin the dreadful blasts,
Hark! how they roar amidst the groaning masts:
See hemp and canvas to their force give way,
And through the air in shreds and fragments stray.
Lo! expectation, wit, and judgment fail,
Man's counsel and his arm no more avail,
Despair and horror fill the aching breast,
No time to think, and for the soul no rest.
But while man, trembling, waits his dreadful fate,
And thinks what unknown scenes him soon await,
At His command, who bids the tempest fly,
The storm subsides, hope gladdens every eye;
The clouds clear off, and tranquil calm pervades,
Save where the wat'ry mountains rear their heads;
But soon they sink when angry tempests cease,
And all is changed to gentle, joyous peace.
Now joy fills every breast and every eye,
Speaks in each look, and dispels every sigh.
Then, at th' approach of beauteous smiling morn,
The sun's glad beams the sky and sea adorn,
In heaven's high arch, tipp'd with the morning ray,
The checker'd clouds smile at th' approach of day;
The radiant sun then lifts his glad'ning face,
Unnumbered charms attend him in his race,
The trembling waves reflect his golden rays,
And, in the deep, what dazzling beauties blaze!
And see, when in the western wave he hides,
In heaven's grand vault, the moon in beauty rides,
All o'er the deep her silver radiance sheds,
And in her light the stars soon hide their heads.
Fair daughter of the lonely silent night!
Thou climb'st thy course alone, in radiance bright,

Thy diff'rent forms, thy varied face, how few
On Ocean wide, thy dazzling beauties view!
And for that few, dost thou still wander here,
Through the long night, their friendless souls to cheer?
Thy face recalls the mem'ry of the past,
In visions sweet, too pleasing far to last.
Thou paint'st in lovely forms, in beauteous mien,
Each happy hour we spent, each lovely scene,
Whose sweet remembrance wakes the soul to joys,
While fancy free the vacant heart decoys.
Thus while we wander through the mighty deep
Some foreign clime, some distant shore to seek,
These mighty scenes our wand'ring minds engage,
Too great to tell, or for th' historic page.
But let us still that Power, that Goodness love,
That rules o'er all below and all above;
Each of His creatures move at His command
In the great sea, or on the spacious land."

Soon after they had first obtained a clear view of the American coast, the wind fell, and the vessel could make no progress; but at two o'clock on Wednesday morning a fine breeze from the N. sprung up, and carried them along the southern shore of Long Island at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. About daylight the Highlands of Neversink became visible, and soon after the Light House. Taking in a pilot off Sandy Hook, they passed through the Narrows, and reached the Quarantine ground about eight o'clock, where they cast anchor. Next morning, Thursday, September 28, the vessel was boarded by the health officer, and was required to remain but one day, which was spent on shore in washing and cleaning up, in company with the passengers of the ship Protection, Captain Bairnes, amongst whom Alexander recognized several of those who had been shipwrecked with him in the Hibernia the year before. In the evening, they returned on board, and on the following morning at ten o'clock cleared out of Quarantine, and in the afternoon

of Friday, September 29, 1809, cast anchor in the harbor of New York. Next day (Saturday) Alexander spent in searching for lodgings, but did not succeed in obtaining any that were suitable. On the Lord's Day, he went into the city again, in order to hear Dr. Mason preach in the forenoon.*

The next day, October 2, and the two succeeding days, Alexander spent in viewing the city, with whose commercial enterprise and activity he was much impressed, and in making the necessary arrangements for departure. On Thursday morning, October 5, he started with the family for Philadelphia, and arrived there on Saturday morning, October 7. With the fine buildings, regular streets and clean appearance of

* This Dr. John M. Mason was the son of the eminent Dr. John Mason who had been sent in 1761 by the Anti-Burgher Secession Synod as a missionary to America. He died in New York in 1792, and was succeeded by his distinguished son, Dr. John M. Mason, who was an eloquent and popular preacher, and a man of rich and varied scholarship. He became somewhat distinguished as a theological writer. His first work, which was on the more frequent observance of the Lord's Supper, excited considerable interest. The Scottish churches had been accustomed to observe the Lord's Supper not more than twice a year, and in some cases only once. Connected with its observance there were so many additional services—as the preparation sermon; the fast on the preceding Thursday, and the thanksgiving day on the following Monday, etc., often occupying an entire week—that frequent communion was quite impracticable. The eminent John Erskine, in 1749, had called the attention of the Church of Scotland to this evil, in his "Essay to promote the more frequent dispensation of the Lord's Supper;" but the movement he initiated resulted only in diminishing slightly the number of sermons delivered at communion seasons. Renewing the effort, Dr. Mason endeavored to induce the Church to cease the observance of extra days and services, to which they had become so much attached that they regarded it as almost a profanation of the Lord's Supper to celebrate it without them. Dr. Mason's "Letters" on the subject had the effect of producing the desired change in many congregations, and as his views on this and various other subjects harmonized with those of Alexander and his father Thomas Campbell, they both entertained towards him warm feelings of regard and sympathy. Alexander, therefore, saw and heard him now for the first time with great interest.

this city he was much pleased. But little time, however, was allowed him for observation, for having made arrangements with a wagoner, John Hunter, to convey the family to Washington, on Monday at four o'clock they resumed their journey westward—an undertaking at that time, of no small magnitude, the distance to Washington being about three hundred and fifty miles, over a rough road crossing the various lofty ridges of the Allegheny mountains.

Proceeding accordingly, sometimes riding in the wagon which conveyed also their luggage, and sometimes walking by way of change, the travelers pursued their way, observing the various novel objects along the road with an interest constantly renewed. The first portion of the road being tolerably good and level, they progressed the first day about thirty miles, and finally reached a tavern, where, as evening was approaching, they concluded to rest for the night. Adjacent to the tavern was an extensive, unbroken forest, which particularly excited Alexander's interest by its magnificence and its novelty, for Ireland is almost destitute of woods, and thus far in America their way had led them through, comparatively, a cleared and cultivated portion of the country. After all had supped, and arrangements were made for the night, Alexander concluded to take a ramble through the woods, which were already assuming here and there their autumnal tints.

As, in former years, he had bathed in the bright streams of his native isle, oppressed then with a consciousness of the civil and religious misrule and discord, the hatred, the bigotry, superstition and revenge which brooded over the land, he now in the country of his adoption, for the first time, with new feelings of delight and an indescribable sense of relief, plunged

into the depths of an American forest. In the exaltation of his youthful feelings he seemed to have reached a land of enchantment. The moon, already high in heaven and nearly at the full, seemed to mingle its silvery beams with the sun's golden radiance reflected from the western sky. The mighty trees, in all their wild luxuriance, stood around him, forming aloft, as it were, a new heaven of verdure; while, beneath, he trod upon the soil of a new world—the land of liberty and of Washington, whose liberal institutions had long been the object of his admiration. All nature around him seemed to sympathize with his emotions. The balmy air, fresh from the wild mountain slopes, the new varieties of birds, which from almost every tree seemed, to his fancy, to chant their evening song in praise of the freedom of their native woods, the approaching shades of evening, veiling the distant landscape in a gentle haze,—all seemed to speak of liberty, security and peace. He was far from being an enthusiast, but, on this occasion, all the bright hopes and glowing fancies of his youthful nature seem to have been aroused. Keenly susceptible as he was to impressions of grandeur, and tending still, in the habitual workings of his mind, to religious thought, as he ranged through the deep, untrodden glades, or paused beneath the canopy of verdure which the wild vine had woven as the woof upon the spreading warp of branching oaks, his heart overflowed with gratitude and reverence.

There is, indeed, something amidst the deep forest, as yet untracked by human footsteps, that is well calculated to arouse such feelings, as has been remarked even in ancient times. Hence the forests of oak became the temples of the Druids, and it is Seneca who says to his friend Lucilius:

"If you come to a grove, thick planted with ancient trees which have outgrown the usual altitude, and which shut out the view of the heaven with their interwoven boughs, the vast height of the wood, and the retired secresy of the place, and the wonder and awe inspired by so dense and unbroken a gloom, in the midst of the open day, inspire you with the conviction of a present Deity."*

Whether or not this effect be due to the causes suggested by the Roman moralist, or to others yet undefined, may indeed be questioned. It may be that the mind, comparing unconsciously the gigantic growths around with the lowly herbage of the cultivated fields, receives a strong impression of Divine power. Or it may be that, gazing down the natural vistas, where tree succeeds tree in the distant perspective, ending in the faint and reduced images of others still more remote, there is created an impression of the Infinite in the seeming fact of unlimited distance. For the idea of this seems to be most strikingly conveyed when gradually retreating parts of some vast, complex object are contemplated. Out at sea, the view of a shoreless ocean does not so much impress the mind with the sense of vastness as it confounds the perceptions by deceitful appearances. The line of the horizon does not seem to be very far away. The whole watery waste is comprehended in a single view, and what is seen seems to have no tendency to suggest that which reflection teaches must be yet unseen. It is when, amidst a group of islands, the surface is meted out in distances, or when, nearing the coast, its headlands become visible, that a better idea is formed of the vastness of the ocean, and that the shores which bound it to the eye serve only to enlarge it to the mind. It is

* Seneca, Epist. 41.

so, likewise, when we view the heavens. By day, the whole expanse above is seen at a glance, as one overarching vault of ether. It is at night, when star behind star glitters in the firmament, and the still more distant clusters tax the vision to separate star from star, and the yet more remote nebulæ lead the mind back still farther into the infinite regions of space, that it can form a much more pleasing and forcible conception of the illimitable. As the ladder of the patriarch's vision afforded, by its successive steps, the means of ascending to the heavens, so nature seems in her various provinces to furnish to the mind those gradations by which it is enabled to reach the higher realms of the unseen, and commune with congenial themes connected with eternity and futurity. But, however those feelings may be accounted for which arise in the sensitive mind amidst the grandeur and the solitude of the forest, it is certain that the youthful emigrant manifested on this occasion the marked impressibility of his nature; and, reveling in the thronging fancies of his expanding and far-reaching mind, became so engrossed with his own thoughts that he was unconscious of the lapse of time, and discovered to his surprise, when the effervescence of his feelings had somewhat abated, that it was quite late, and that the night had long since closed its curtains around him.

Returning to the hotel, he found that all its inmates had retired to rest, a light having been left for him upon the table. Upon attempting to fasten the door, he was surprised to find it without lock or bolt, and with nothing but a latch, as he perceived was also the case with the door of his sleeping apartment. Coming direct from the Old World, where nocturnal outrages were frequent, and every house had its bolts and bars,

he was much impressed with such a token of fearless security, and congratulated himself still more in having reached a country where the fabled golden age seemed to be restored, and where robbery and injustice appeared to be undreaded and unknown. In attempting to account for this, to him, unwonted security, his experience in the Old World led him to refer it, in a large measure, to the absence of Catholicism; and, after his devotions, he gradually fell into slumber amidst grateful reflections upon the goodness of Providence in bringing him to a land under the benign influence of the free institutions, the equal rights, the educational advantages, and the moral and religious elevation secured to all in a purely Protestant community.

He had, indeed, long been convinced that life, property, character, as well as religious liberty, were all in greater jeopardy in Papal than in Protestant states, and had been wont to regard the Protestant North of Ireland and the Papal South of the same island as truthful and unambiguous exponents of the fruits and tendencies of the two respective religious systems. The tree of liberty, he thought, could only flourish in Protestant soil and in a Protestant atmosphere; and subsequently, as he passed along through the interior, and found all houses and places in the same happy state of security, and every door opening merely with a latch, like the wicket of Goldsmith's hermit, he became more and more confirmed in his opinions. He found, however, after a while, when his judgment became more mature, and he had opportunity for more extended observation, that the best human government fails to secure immunity from private wrongs, and that the nocturnal pilfering, which in Ireland he had been accustomed to hear charged upon the lower orders of

the Catholic population, might sometimes occur even in Protestant America. He soon learned too, by personal experience, that sectarian bigotry and clerical intolerance had changed their climate, and not their spirit, in crossing the Atlantic, and that no government or party or people is exempt from those errors and moral delinquencies which belong to a common humanity.

Setting off again early next morning, they pursued their way, and found the country become more broken and uncultivated. Full of youthful spirits, and interested or amused by everything he saw, Alexander cheered up his mother and sisters with his genial pleasantry, and endeavored to lighten the fatigues of travel. Entering at last the mountainous region which occupies the central part of Pennsylvania, they were delighted with the grandeur of the views which it afforded, and the wild and romantic character of the country. For hours, the road led them through deep forests, and up the steep mountain sides, which were covered with various species of oak, and with the birch, the chestnut and the beech; or, here and there upon the rocky cliffs, with clumps of pine and cedar. Occasionally, they passed by clearings, even upon the very summits of the mountain ridges, where they found the soil to produce abundant pasture beneath the dead timber, which, having been simply girdled, stretched its bare and decaying branches like gigantic and imploring arms toward the heavens. Upon the skirts of these clearings they admired the rich undergrowth of the surrounding woods, amidst which the mountain-ash displayed its magnificent corymbs of scarlet berries; or again, descending the western slopes, they found the undergrowth to consist chiefly of the broad-leafed laurel, with its beautiful dark evergreen foliage, sheltering the

lowly mountain-tea and other plants of new and various forms. Or again, they traversed extensive districts more rugged and barren, and poorly timbered with dwarfed and stunted black-oak or the tall and gloomy hemlock.

Nothing, however, was fitted to afford more delight, especially to the females of the party, than the rich colors with which autumn had tinged many of the forest trees. Here the bright golden hue of the hickory, and the beautiful orange tints of the maple, were contrasted with the dark green of the unchanging pine. Here the scarlet oak (*Quercus coccinea*) and the brilliantly tinted tupelo, shone resplendent amidst surrounding verdure, and the ampelopsis, or American ivy, covered closely with its digitate leaves of crimson the lofty trunks of decaying trees. Thus their slow and toilsome progress over the numerous and lofty ridges of the Alleghanies and across the intervening valleys was cheered and enlivened by the strangeness and the beauty of the objects which presented themselves along the route. Birds of gay and varied plumage, which had been unknown amidst the solitude and silence of the primeval forest, flitted from tree to tree along the borders of the cultivated districts. The active squirrel mounted to the topmost branches in quest of nuts; various wild animals were suddenly started from the thickets along the way; and sometimes, amid the deeper recesses of the mountains, might still be seen in the distance a few timid deer, hastening to the security of their accustomed haunts.

Reaching sometimes the summit of one of the mountains early in the morning, they would see these vast parallel and unbroken ridges trending toward the S. W. as far as the eye could reach, and forming, upon all sides, the distant horizon with their dark uplifted sum-

mits, dimly seen through the bluish haze, which, at this season of the year, usually prevails. Beneath, the deep valley into which the road seemed about to descend, would be in its lower part concealed by the thick mist which had formed during the night, and which lay sleeping on its bosom like accumulated masses of the purest snow. Sometimes, upon descending, they would find a wide and rich valley of undulating land interposing itself for many miles between the mountain chains, and divided into cultivated farms, with here and there a thriving town or village. As the hotels along the route were usually located in the valleys, they would frequently, in the arrangement for the day's travel, reach the top of one of the mountains in the afternoon, when, the mists having been long since dissipated, the deep and rugged gorges winding amongst the mountains became visible to a great distance, occasionally opening into a cleared and fertile cove, where the sunlight would be seen occasionally flashing from a pure and rapid stream of water, and where, sheltered in a quiet nook, by the side of the road, they would find the inn which was to be their resting-place for the night.

These inns, at this period, along the chief thoroughfares of travel between the East and West, were, many of them, very spacious and comfortable buildings, and abundantly provided with all necessary comforts for the traveler. They were sometimes frame buildings, with long, capacious porches in front and rear. Others were built with a species of blue limestone, which, contrasting with the white mortar between the blocks, and the white window frames and green Venetian shutters, produced a pleasing effect, and formed solid and substantial structures. On the opposite side of the road were

usually placed the spacious stables, sheds, and other outbuildings required for the accommodation of teamsters; and, near at hand, was the immense wooden trough, into which poured constantly, from a hydrant, a stream of pure water, carried under the ground in wooden pipes from a spring upon the side of the neighboring hill. As the hotel stood back some distance from the road, abundant room was left, in the wide recess, thus formed for the wagons and other vehicles, from which the horses were disengaged. The interior of the hotel itself was usually plain, but commodious—a bar-room, connected with a dining-room, and this with the kitchen, on one side of a wide hall; and, upon the other, the parlors for the better sort of guests. These were sometimes entirely covered with carpeting of domestic manufacture. At other times, only the middle portions were thus covered, the rest of the floor being strewed with white sand, arranged in curving lines and forming various patterns, according to the taste of the tidy hostess. In some cases, the white sand was used as an entire substitute for carpeting, and gritted unpleasantly beneath the feet. Above stairs were usually the comfortable sleeping apartments. At this period, hotels of this character could be found every ten or twenty miles, but since the establishment of railroads and the tunneling of the mountains, their glory has departed, and they are now "few and far between," and doing but little business, since passengers can travel at their ease, seated on the soft plush or velvet cushions of luxurious cars, and over as great a distance in an hour as could be accomplished by the old road-wagon in a day.

It was the evening of about the tenth day of their journey when, the Campbell family had stopped to rest

for the night at such an inn as has been described. At a similar inn, some fifteen miles westward, and at the same hour, there was seen to alight a tall young man, dressed in black, who, having attended to the wants of his jaded horse, entered the hotel, and took his seat in the parlor with some other travelers who had previously arrived. He was considerably above the medium height, erect and graceful. His face was somewhat round, with delicate features, a fair complexion and an ample forehead, with clustering locks of brown hair. He was scarcely seated, when there was another arrival of two rather elderly men, also from the West, who had with them a couple of led horses equipped as for females. One of the men was tall, broad-shouldered and athletic, with black hair, piercing eyes and bushy eyebrows. The other was about the middle stature, fair, and of an exceedingly engaging countenance and manner. Entering the parlor, the latter gracefully saluted the company, and courteously begged to inquire if any of them had come from the eastward, and had passed, during the day, a wagon containing a family of emigrants. He informed them, with the greatest frankness, that his name was Thomas Campbell, and that he was from Washington, Pennsylvania, on his way to meet his family, who had recently arrived at New York from Scotland, and were now on their way from Philadelphia, and from whom he had been separated about two years. His friend, Mr. John McElroy, had been so kind as to accompany him with led horses, as a means of relief to his wife and daughters from the confinement of the wagon. His appearance and courteous bearing at once secured marked respect, and he received from some of those present such information as led him to hope that he would, in all probability,

meet his family during the course of the next day. The tall young man who had previously entered was particularly struck with Thomas Campbell's dignified appearance and demeanor. He noted the intelligence that beamed in his countenance, and perceived by his conversation that he was a person of superior education and refinement.

When the company were called in to supper, they found that the landlady, who was addicted to the use of spirituous liquor, had become intoxicated. She had decked off her table fantastically with flowers, and was evidently disposed to be very annoying to her guests by her impertinence and garrulity. These were, however, delighted to witness the readiness with which Mr. Campbell comprehended the situation of affairs, and the grace and dignity with which he repressed the demonstrations of ebriety on the part of the hostess. Advancing to the table, he said, "With your leave, gentlemen, I will give thanks for these blessings;" which he proceeded to do in grave and solemn terms, and during the repast maintained and directed the conversation so as to reduce the landlady to a respectful silence. The tall stranger soon perceived that Mr. Campbell was a minister of the gospel; and though he was himself a minister, and felt singularly attracted toward Mr. Campbell, and desired to enter into conversation with him, he put so modest an estimate upon his own attainments that he could not summon courage to do so, and thought it best for him to remain in the background. Retiring, accordingly, soon afterward to rest, he set off upon his eastward journey early in the morning, and, after riding about ten miles, met the wagon and the family, which, from the account of the evening before, he knew to be Mr. Campbell's. As he bowed to them

and passed on, he particularly noticed Alexander, but he little thought, at the time, that with this youth and his father, whom he had thus casually met, he himself would be in a few years an earnest fellow-laborer in promoting the interests of a new and important religious reformation. Yet so it was that Providence, which often foreshadows the events of human life, had given him, as it were, a silent introduction in advance to those who were hereafter to modify greatly his religious life. For this tall stranger was no other than Adamson Bentley, a young but influential Baptist preacher of Ohio, who, being engaged also to some extent in the mercantile business, was now on his way to Philadelphia to purchase a stock of goods, and who became afterward the chief instrument of introducing the primitive gospel into the Western Reserve.

Not long after Mr. Bentley had left the inn, Thomas Campbell and Mr. McElroy resumed their journey, and, soon after Mr. Bentley had passed the wagon, they came in sight of it, and presently felt assured that it was the object of their search. Quickening their pace, they soon approached so near that Mr. Campbell was recognized by the family, to their great joy and astonishment, as they did not expect to see him until their arrival at Washington. The meeting of the mother and children with the husband and father, from whom they had been so long separated, was very affecting. With ardent love beaming in his benignant countenance, Thomas Campbell kissed and embraced them all with the utmost tenderness, remarking how much the children had grown and improved since he left them. When Jane was presented to him, so much changed in appearance by the effect of the small-pox that he would not have recognized her, he

said, in a tone of the kindest sympathy, as he took her into his arms, "And is this my little white-head?" a phrase of endearment amongst the Irish, and kissing her affectionately, gave thanks to God for her recovery, and for the kind Providence which had at length brought them all once more together.

After introducing his kind friend, John McElroy, and spending a little time in mutual inquiries and congratulations, they all proceeded on their way westward, the led horses furnishing an agreeable change occasionally from the confinement of the wagon and the fatigue of walking. It was not long until they surmounted the most western of the mountain ranges, the Chestnut Ridge, and descended into the rich plateau of undulating land which, stretching for hundreds of miles toward the west, formed the upper part of the great Valley of the Mississippi, and which is watered by the Ohio and its numerous tributaries. They were delighted to enter this fertile region, which was to be their future home, and to bid adieu to the rugged mountains which seemed to recede from them toward the east, and formed, with their dark masses, the line of the horizon, sending down at short intervals rapidly-descending spurs, like enormous buttresses, which, extending out a considerable distance into the plain, lost themselves at length in its gentle undulations. This plateau was tolerably thickly settled, and the remainder of their route led them through cultivated farms, and through groves of oak, walnut, ash and locust, and across or along the numerous smaller streams which flow into the Monongahela river. Reaching this river at length, they crossed it by the ferry at Williamsport, and entered the county of Washington, and, in the evening, found themselves near the residence of the Rev. Samuel

Ralston, a Presbyterian preacher of considerable influence, and President of the Trustees of Jefferson College at Canonsburg. Being acquainted with him, Thomas Campbell called over to see him, and to introduce his son Alexander, and they were hospitably entertained during the night by Mr. Ralston. Next day they reached the town of Washington, where, in a field adjoining, a house had been provided, in which they were once more to find a resting-place and to form an unbroken family circle.

During the three days in which they had thus been journeying along in company, Mrs. Campbell had related to her husband the various incidents which had occurred in the history of the family since his departure from Ireland; and Alexander and the other children had likewise detailed their several experiences, dangers and deliverances during their separation from him. He, in turn, gave them a particular account of what had befallen him in America, and of what he had learned of the character of the country. With the latter he expressed himself greatly delighted, both as to climate, natural resources and inhabitants, but especially as regarded the freedom of the government and the security and protection it afforded to all. He then went on to detail his religious trials and the persecutions he had undergone at the hands of the Seceder clergy, on account of his efforts to effect a reformation and to promote Christian union on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. As he described the contumely which had been heaped upon him; the slanders circulated; the determined opposition to the slightest overture in favor of relaxing the strict usages of the party; the unjust proceedings of the Presbytery and the Synod, and the evil feelings of jealousy, animosity and envy that manifestly

instigated their sectarian opposition, he expressed his sincere conviction that, had they possessed the power, he would have suffered martyrdom at their hands, or, as he expressed it, that "nothing but the law of the land had kept his head upon his shoulders." Alexander could not but feel indignant at this recital, and felt more and more the correctness of the conclusion to which he had himself already come in regard to hierarchical establishments and the rule of the clergy. He was greatly surprised, however, when informed by his father that the latter had actually dissolved his connection with the Seceders, as he could no longer feel justified in sanctioning their proceedings by remaining with them; and that he had been for some time past preaching independently to audiences made up of individuals of different parties, who were willing to listen to his overtures for Christian union upon the basis of the Bible alone. Alexander was greatly rejoiced at this announcement, and could not but admire the ways of Providence, which had thus, through a bitter experience, delivered his father from the shackles of partyism, so that, instead of fearing opposition from him to the views to which he had himself been definitely brought while in Glasgow, he found him already, though by a somewhat different method, led practically to the very same conclusions. To overcome the force of Thomas Campbell's early predilections, and his strong attachment to the people amongst whom he had so long and so faithfully labored, required, indeed, a much more potent agency than could be derived from mere observation of the practical workings of the system in regard to others. It needed that he should have himself a personal experience of the effects of that stern and tyrannous spirit of sectarianism which had concealed from him its true disposition beneath

the smile of approval, until his gradually increasing desire for Christian union led him to contravene its arbitrary decrees. It was then that he discovered to his surprise its real character, and was compelled suddenly to turn away with aversion from the religious body which he had loved and espoused. Thus it was that Providence had removed out of the way the only obstacle which could have prevented him from sympathizing fully in the liberal and independent views which his son had imbibed in Scotland, and had thus prepared the minds of both the father and the son for that important work in which they were henceforth destined to co-operate.

The train of circumstances which had given this preparation to the father, and, in divorcing him from his connection with the Seceders, had suddenly placed him in a position to give practical effect to his long-cherished views of a much-needed religious reformation, were, as has been stated, detailed to Alexander and the family along the way. This relation was necessarily given at intervals, and intermingled with various inquiries, explanations and digressions which it is unnecessary to recapitulate. As, however, a particular account of these events is essential to the purposes of these memoirs, and to a proper understanding of the circumstances in which Alexander was shortly to be placed, it will be given in a connected form in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

Spirit of Party—Failure to comprehend Christian Liberty—Persecutions—Principle of Reformation—Overtures for Christian Union.

IT has been already mentioned, in a preceding portion of the narrative, that Thomas Campbell had found the Seceder Synod in session at Philadelphia upon his landing (May, 1807), and, upon presenting his credentials, had been cordially received, and at once assigned by it to the Presbytery of Chartiers in Western Pennsylvania. Upon his arrival at Washington, he was most happy to renew his acquaintance with the amiable family of the Achesons, and with a number of old friends who had previously emigrated from Ireland. One day, a woman, learning that a preacher from the North of Ireland had come to Washington, called at the house at which he stayed to see him, and introduced herself as the wife of James Hanen. She, and her husband and family, lived in the neighborhood of the town, and had come in from Ireland in 1805, two years before. She immediately recognized Mr. Campbell, and told him that on a former occasion in Ireland she had walked six miles, from where she lived in county Down, to Newry, to attend at the communion services in the Seceder Church, and distinctly recollected having noticed him there as one of the officiating clergymen. He was much pleased with the intelligence and acuteness of his warm-hearted country-

woman, and soon afterward went out to visit her and her family, who became much attached to him, and followed him subsequently in his views of reformation, James Hanen and wife being two of the first seven immersed on a profession of the primitive faith.

In a few weeks, James Foster and Thomas Hodgens, with their families, arrived, and settled upon a farm near Mount Pleasant, sometimes called "Hickory," a small village about ten miles north of Washington. Mr. Campbell thus found himself pleasantly situated in the midst of old friends and neighbors, who knew his worth, and were hence disposed to take pleasure in attending his ministrations, and in impressing their own high estimate of Mr. Campbell's qualifications and personal character upon their neighbors and acquaintances of different religious parties. With these, Mr. Campbell soon became popular, as his many excellencies and his liberal religious spirit became generally known. The Seceder congregations, who were not very numerous, were much pleased at having so important an accession to their ministry, and as they saw more and more of Mr. Campbell's earnestness, piety and ability, they came to regard him as the most learned and talented preacher in their ranks.

He had not, however, been very long thus engaged in his regular ministrations among the churches before some suspicions began to arise in the minds of his ministerial brethren that he was disposed to relax too much the rigidness of their ecclesiastic rules, and to cherish for other denominations feelings of fraternity and respect in which they could not share. They were therefore induced, after a time, to keep a wary eye upon his movements, though it was strongly surmised by some that, as they were cast into the shade

by Mr. Campbell's greater abilities and popularity, their course was dictated less by their jealousy of their party interests than by personal feelings of *envy*—a passion which, it has been found, may dwell even in clerical bosoms. It happened that, about this time, he was deputed to visit a few scattered members of the flock who were living some distance up the Alleghany above Pittsburg, and to hold amongst them, in conjunction with a young minister, a Mr. Wilson, who accompanied him, a communion, or, as it was termed, a "sacramental" celebration. This part of the country was then thinly settled, and it was seldom that ministerial services were enjoyed by the various fragments of religious parties, which, having floated off from the Old World upon the tide of emigration, had been thrown together in the circling eddies of these new settlements. It happened that, on this occasion, Mr. Campbell's sympathies were strongly aroused in regard to the destitute condition of some in the vicinity who belonged to other branches of the Presbyterian family, and who had not, for a long time, had an opportunity of partaking of the Lord's Supper, and he felt it his duty, in the preparation sermon, to lament the existing divisions, and to suggest that all his pious hearers, who felt so disposed and duly prepared, should, without respect to party differences, enjoy the benefits of the communion season then providentially afforded them. Mr. Wilson did not, at the time, publicly oppose these overtures, but finding, from these proceedings and from his conversations and discussions with Mr. Campbell, that the latter had but little respect for the division walls which the different parties had built up with so much pains, his sectarian prejudices became fully aroused. He felt it his duty, therefore, at the next

meeting of the Presbytery, to lay the case before it in the usual form of "libel," containing various formal and specified charges, the chief of which were that Mr. Campbell had failed to inculcate strict adherence to the Church standard and usages, and had even expressed his disapproval of some things in said standard and of the uses made of them.

Under the circumstances, the Presbytery readily took up the accusation, and formally propounded various questions to Mr. Campbell, in order to elicit fully his private views. Placed thus upon the defensive, and ardently desirous of maintaining Christian good feeling and union with the people amongst whom he labored, Mr. Campbell was somewhat guarded and conciliatory in his replies. But it was not to be expected that he who had been always so much opposed to religious partyism, and who, in Ireland, and still more in the free air of America, had lifted up his voice against it, and in favor of the Bible as the only true standard of faith and practice, should, on this occasion, fail to reiterate his convictions, and to insist that, in the course he had pursued, he had violated no precept of the sacred volume. His pleadings, however, in behalf of Christian liberty and fraternity were in vain, and his appeals to the Bible were disregarded, so that, in the end, the Presbtyery found him deserving of censure for not adhering to the "Secession Testimony."

Against this decision Mr. Campbell protested, and the case was then, in due course, submitted to the Synod at its next meeting. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell was apprised that many of his fellow-ministers had become inimical to him through the influence of those who conducted the prosecution; and knowing well that it was impossible for him, with his views of the Bible

and of duty to retrograde a single step, he clearly foresaw that if the Synod sanctioned the decision of the Presbytery, he must at once cease to be a minister in the Seceder connection. Anxious to avoid a position unfavorable to his usefulness, and calculated to produce discord and division, and cherishing still the desire to labor harmoniously with those with whom he had been so long associated, he addressed an earnest appeal to the Synod when his case came up for consideration, in which he thus defined and defended his position:

"HONORED BRETHREN: Before you come to a final issue in the present business, let me entreat you to pause a moment and seriously consider the following things: To refuse any one his just privilege, is it not to oppress and injure? In proportion to the magnitude and importance of the privilege withheld, is not the injustice done in withholding it to be estimated? If so, how great the injustice, how highly aggravated the injury will appear, to thrust out from communion a Christian brother, a fellow-minister, for saying and doing none other things than those which our Divine Lord and his holy apostles have taught and enjoined to be spoken and done by his ministering servants, and to be received and observed by all his people! Or have I, in any instance, proposed to say or do otherwise? If I have, I shall be heartily thankful to any brother that shall point it out, and upon his so doing shall as heartily and thankfully relinquish it. Let none think that, by so saying, I entertain the vain presumption of being infallible. So far am I from this, that I dare not venture to trust my own understanding so far as to take upon me to teach anything as a matter of faith or duty but what is already expressly taught and enjoined by Divine authority; and I hope it is no presumption to believe that saying and doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes on the sacred page, is infallibly right, as well as all-sufficient for the edification of the Church, whose duty and perfection it is to be in all things conformed to the original standard. It

is, therefore, because I have no confidence, either in my own infallibility or in that of others, that I absolutely refuse, as inadmissible and schismatic, the introduction of human opinions and human inventions into the faith and worship of the Church. Is it, therefore, because I plead the cause of the scriptural and apostolic worship of the Church, in opposition to the various errors and schisms which have so awfully corrupted and divided it, that the brethren of the Union should feel it difficult to admit me as their fellow-laborer in that blessed work? I sincerely rejoice with them in what they have done in that way; but still, all is not yet done; and surely they can have no just objections to go farther. Nor do I presume to dictate to them or to others as to how they should proceed for the glorious purpose of promoting the unity and purity of the Church; but only beg leave, for my own part, to walk upon such sure and peaceable ground that I may have nothing to do with human controversy, about the right or wrong side of any opinion whatsoever, by simply acquiescing in what is written, as quite sufficient for every purpose of faith and duty; and thereby to influence as many as possible to depart from human controversy, to betake themselves to the Scriptures, and, in so doing, to the study and practice of faith, holiness and love.

"And all this without any intention on my part to judge or despise my Christian brethren who may not see with my eyes in those things which, to me, appear indispensably necessary to promote and secure the unity, peace and purity of the Church. Say, brethren, what is my offence, that I should be thrust out from the heritage of the Lord, or from serving him in that good work to which he has been graciously pleased to call me? For what error or immorality ought I to be rejected, except it be that I refuse to acknowledge as obligatory upon myself, or to impose upon others, anything as of Divine obligation for which I cannot produce a 'Thus saith the Lord?' This, I am sure, I can do, while I keep by his own word; but not quite so sure when I substitute my own meaning or opinion, or that of others, instead thereof. * * * * * *

"Surely, brethren, from my steadfast adherence to the Divine standard—my absolute and entire rejection of human authority in matters of religion—my professed and sincere willingness to walk in all good understanding, communion, and fellowship with sincere and humble Christian brethren, who may not see with me in these things—and, permit me to add, my sincere desire to unite with you in carrying forward that blessed work in which you have set out, and from which you take your name—you will do me the justice to believe, that if I did not sincerely desire a union with you, I would not have once and again made application for that purpose. A union not merely nominal, but hearty and confidential, founded upon certain and established principles; and this, if I mistake not, is firmly laid on both sides. Your standard informs me of your views of truth and duty, and my declarations give you precisely the same advantage. You are willing to be tried in all matters by your standard, according to your printed declaration; *I* am willing to be tried on all matters by *my* standard, according to my written declaration. You can labor under no difficulty about my teaching and practising whatever is expressly taught and enjoined in the Divine standard, as generally defined in my 'Declaration,' and although I have not the same clearness about everything contained in your standard, yet where I cannot see, believing you to be sincere and conscientious servants of the same great and gracious Master who freely pardons his willing and obedient servants their ten thousand talents of shortcomings, I am, therefore, through his grace, ready to forbear with you; at the same time, hoping that you possess the same gracious spirit, and therefore will not reject me for the lack of those fifty forms which might probably bring me up to your measure, and to which, if necessary, I also, through grace, may yet attain, for I have not set myself down as perfect.

"May the Lord direct you in all things. Amen.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL.

"To the Associate Synod of North America."

After the reading of this document, and the hearing of the case before the Synod, it was decided that "there were such informalities in the proceedings of the Presbytery in the trial of the case as to afford sufficient reason to the Synod to set aside their judgment and decision, and to release the protester from the censure inflicted by the Presbytery;" which they accordingly did. After this, the charges which had been before the Presbytery, with all the documents pertaining to the trial, were referred to a committee, which finally reported as follows:

"Upon the whole, the committee are of opinion that Mr. Campbell's answer to the two first articles of charge are so evasive and unsatisfactory, and highly equivocal upon great and important articles of revealed religion, as to give ground to conclude that he has expressed sentiments very different upon these articles, and from the sentiments held and professed by this Church, and are sufficient grounds to infer censure."

From his extreme reluctance to separate from the Seceders, for many of whom, both preachers and people, he continued to cherish sentiments of Christian regard, Mr. Campbell was induced to submit to this decision, handing in at the same time a declaration "that his submission should be understood to mean no more, on his part, than an act of deference to the judgment of the court, that, by so doing, he might not give offence to his brethren by manifesting a refractory spirit." After this concession, Mr. Campbell fondly hoped that the amicable relations formerly existing between him and the Presbytery of Chartiers would be restored, and that he would be permitted to prosecute his labors in peace. In this, however, he soon found himself mistaken, and discovered, with much

regret, that the hostility of his opponents had been only intensified by the issue of the trial, and was more undisguised than ever. Misrepresentation and calumny were employed to detract from his influence; a constant watch was placed over his proceedings, and he discovered that even spies were employed to attend his meetings and take notes of his discourses, in order, if possible, to obtain fresh grounds of accusation against him. Such, indeed, was the bitter, unrelenting and vindictive spirit manifested toward him, in very many ways, that he was led, at length, to believe that the spirit of sectarianism had, in the case of many of his former fellow-laborers, completely overruled that of Christianity. He became fully satisfied that nothing but their want of power prevented them from carrying out their persecution to the utmost limit; and he was led, more and more, toward the conclusion that bigotry, corruption and tyranny were qualities inherent in all clerical organizations. He came, therefore, to the conclusion, finally, that it was his duty to separate himself from all connection with a people who seemed utterly unwilling to tolerate any overtures for healing the religious dissensions of the times, and who seemed to regard their own particular "Testimony" as practically a more important rule of action than the Bible. He accordingly presented to the Synod a formal renunciation of its authority, announcing that he abandoned "all ministerial connection" with it, and would hold himself thenceforth "utterly unaffected by its decisions."

His withdrawal from the Seceders occasioned no interruption of his ministerial labors. From the great personal influence he had acquired in various portions of the counties of Washington and Alleghany, and the

novelty and force of the plea he made for Christian liberality and Christian union upon the basis of the Bible, large numbers continued to attend his ministrations wherever it was in his power to hold meetings. Sometimes the deep shade of a maple grove sheltered the assembly from the summer sun. Generally, however, the houses of his old Irish neighbors, who had settled in Washington county, were the places where he had his appointments for preaching, and where he discoursed weekly to all who chose to assemble. Finding, after a time, that his hearers (many of whom still held membership in the Seceder or Presbyterian churches) were constant in their attendance, and apparently convinced of the correctness of the principles which he taught, and desirous of the success of his efforts to form a union upon the Bible alone, he proposed to the principal persons among them that a special meeting should be held in order to confer freely upon the existing state of things, and to give, if possible, more definiteness to the movement in which they had thus far been co-operating without any formal organization or determinate arrangement. This proposition was at once gladly acceded to, and a convenient time was appointed to meet, for the purposes specified, at the house of Abraham Altars, who lived between Mount Pleasant and Washington, and who, though not a member of any church, was an earnest friend of the movement. As the results of this meeting proved to be most important, its character merits particular consideration.

Heretofore the meetings held had been merely for worship and preaching; and though it was true that the theme of discourse was often intimately connected with the peculiar circumstances in which they were

placed, and that the sufficiency of the Bible as a guide was often insisted on, there had, as yet, been no formal understanding or agreement either as to principles or as to united action. No separation from the religious parties had been contemplated—no bond of union amongst those attending the meetings had been proposed. They were held together by a vague sentiment of Christian union, and by the personal influence and character of Thomas Campbell.

Neither on his part, however, nor on that of any member, was there the slightest intention of forming a new religious party. On the contrary, the whole design of the effort was, if possible, to put an end to partyism, and to induce the different religious denominations to unite together upon the Bible as the only authorized rule of faith and practice, and to desist from their controversies about matters of mere opinion and expediency. Mr. Campbell entertained and offered no special objections to their confessions of faith or formularies of doctrine. There was scarcely anything in the Westminster Confession of Faith from which he himself felt inclined to dissent, except it was the chapter which gave to the clergy a position and an authority which he thought unauthorized, and which, as he had found by experience, could be readily abused. And as he was well aware that it was already conceded, in the Protestant formularies, that the Bible was the only rule of faith and practice, he felt that he had a *right* to urge upon all parties the *practical* adoption of this concession, and the pressing need there was that it should be at once cordially accepted, as the only true basis of Christian union. In this effort he was further encouraged by the fact that, upon abandoning his own sect, he had found himself at once surrounded by so large a number of pious and

intelligent persons, who, like himself, were dissatisfied with the existing religious parties, and especially with the intolerant and sectarian spirit which pervaded them, and who were disposed to confide in the Bible as the only true guide in religion.

It cannot fail to be a matter of interest to the thoughtful mind to contemplate these worthy and religious people collected from various parties, seeking anxiously for better things than could yet be attained under any existing form of Christianity; retaining still nominally their several connections with the parties to which they belonged, yet conscious of something wanting, and groping after that Christian liberty of thought and action which they felt was denied to them under the existing systems. If, indeed, religious partyism could be justified on the ground so often urged, that it affords abundant room for choice on the part of those who wish to connect themselves with some religious body, one would suppose that, from the number and variety of parties then existing, the most scrupulous conscience and the most fastidious religious taste might have been fully gratified. Yet here were individuals so unreasonable in the estimation of the religious world, that they not only refused to be content with any of the surrounding parties, but were disposed to question whether it were expedient or lawful that any of these should exist at all. Sick of the animosities and controversies between rival sects, and disgusted with the petty differences which occasioned alienation and strife amongst those who seemed to be equally pious, and who professed equally to be followers of Christ, they had been led to the conclusion that religious partyism, so far from being a benefit, was one of the greatest of evils, and one among the chief hinderances to the spread of the gospel. They

sought, therefore, for some common ground upon which all could unite without any sacrifice of truth; and having decided that the Scriptures alone, without note or comment, furnished such a basis, they felt it their duty to urge this truth upon the religious communities, proposing that all matters not distinctly revealed in the Bible should be held as matters of opinion and of mutual forbearance.

It is true, indeed, that the individuals who had been for some time attending Mr. Campbell's meetings were, by no means, all settled in their religious convictions, and that they differed from each other, especially in relation to a proper gospel ministry. Some there were amongst them, such as James Foster, who had been an Independent in Ireland, and some who had not belonged to any religious party, who felt quite at home in a position which was novel and even somewhat doubtful to others. For, while all were disposed to confide in the Bible as the only true guide in religion, yet there were those who, conscious that they were imperfectly acquainted with its teachings, naturally experienced some misgivings as they felt themselves slowly drifting away from the well-known shores and landmarks of their respective religious systems into the wide ocean of Divine truth, which seemed to them so boundless and as yet but imperfectly explored. Should they be so happy as to discover, in the end, a new world blooming like the Indies in the beauties of religious peace? or should unknown ocean currents or resistless gales, as feared by the followers of Columbus, carry them to a returnless distance from their ancient homes? These were questions which might be differently answered as hope, or fear, or faith prevailed. They had, indeed, every confidence in the first position they had

taken, and in the intelligence and piety of the individual to whose guidance Providence seemed to have consigned them; but they were by no means unconscious of the hazards they incurred, and realized the importance of having a clear and definite understanding as to the course they should pursue. When, therefore, Mr. Campbell proposed a special meeting, in order to elicit a clear and distinct statement of the principles they advocated, it was gladly concurred in, both by those who were doubtful of the enterprise, and, as yet, but loosely connected with it, and by those who felt themselves fully committed, and determined to proceed with a religious reformation which they conscientiously believed to be imperatively required. To the latter, indeed, as well as to the mind of Mr. Campbell himself, the basis of union had latterly become much better defined; the distinction between faith and opinion had been more clearly drawn, and the entire sufficiency of the Scriptures more fully recognized, so that they fully realized the need of some definite and formal agreement amongst themselves in the further prosecution of their undertaking.

The time appointed having arrived, there was a very general assembling at the place designated. All seemed to feel the importance of the occasion and to realize the responsibilities of their position. A deep feeling of solemnity pervaded the assembly when Thomas Campbell, having opened the meeting in the usual manner, and, in earnest prayer, specially invoked the Divine guidance, proceeded to rehearse the matter from the beginning, and to dwell with unusual force upon the manifold evils resulting from the divisions in religious society—divisions which, he urged, were as unnecessary as they were injurious, since God had pro-

vided, in his sacred Word, an infallible standard, which was all-sufficient and alone-sufficient, as a basis of union and Christian co-operation. He showed, however, that men had not been satisfied with its teachings, but had gone outside of the Bible, to frame for themselves religious theories, opinions and speculations, which were the real occasions of the unhappy controversies and strifes which had so long desolated the religious world. He, therefore, insisted with great earnestness upon a return to the simple teachings of the Scriptures, and upon the entire abandonment of everything in religion for which there could not be produced a Divine warrant. Finally, after having again and again reviewed the ground they occupied in the reformation which they felt it their duty to urge upon religious society, he went on to announce, in the most simple and emphatic terms, the great principle or rule upon which he understood they were then acting, and upon which, he trusted, they would continue to act, consistently and perseveringly to the end. "That rule, my highly respected hearers," said he in conclusion, "is this, that WHERE THE SCRIPTURES SPEAK, WE SPEAK; AND WHERE THE SCRIPTURES ARE SILENT, WE ARE SILENT."

Upon this annunciation a solemn silence pervaded the assembly. Never before had religious duty been presented to them in so simple a form. Never before had the great principle on which this religious enterprise rested been so clearly presented to their minds. It was to many of them as a new revelation, and those simple words, which embodied a rule so decisive of all religious strifes and of all distressing doubts, were for ever engraven upon their hearts. Henceforth, the plain and simple teaching of the Word of God itself was to

be their guide. God himself should speak to them, and they should receive and repeat his words alone. No remote inferences, no fanciful interpretations, no religious theories of any kind, were to be allowed to alter or pervert its obvious meaning. Having God's Word in their possession, they must speak it faithfully. There should be no contention, henceforth, in regard to the opinions of men, however wise or learned. Whatever private opinions might be entertained upon matters not clearly revealed must be retained in silence, and no effort must be made to impose them upon others. Thus the *silence* of the Bible was to be respected equally with its revelations, which were by Divine authority declared to be able to "make the man of God perfect and thoroughly furnished unto every good work." Anything more, then, must be an incumbrance. Anything less than "the whole counsel of God" would be a dangerous deficiency. Simply, reverentially, confidingly, they would speak of Bible things in Bible words, adding nothing thereto and omitting nothing given by inspiration. They had thus a clear and well-defined basis of action, and the hearts of all who were truly interested re-echoed the resolve: "*Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent.*" It was from the moment when these significant words were uttered and accepted that the more intelligent ever afterward dated the *formal and actual commencement of the Reformation* which was subsequently carried on with so much success, and which has already produced such important changes in religious society over a large portion of the world.

It was some time after Mr. Campbell sat down to afford opportunity to those present to give, as he had requested, a free and candid expression of their views,

before any one presumed to break the silence. At length, a shrewd Scotch Seceder, Andrew Munro, who was a bookseller and postmaster at Canonsburg, arose and said: "Mr. Campbell, if we adopt *that* as a basis, then there is an end of infant baptism." This remark, and the conviction it seemed to carry with it, produced a profound sensation. "Of course," said Mr. Campbell, in reply, "if infant baptism be not found in Scripture, we can have nothing to do with it." Upon this, Thomas Acheson, of Washington, who was a man of warm impulses, rose, and advancing a short distance, greatly excited, exclaimed, laying his hand upon his heart: "I hope I may never see the day when my heart will renounce that blessed saying of the Scripture, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdon of heaven.'" Upon saying this he was so much affected that he burst into tears, and while a deep sympathetic feeling pervaded the entire assembly, he was about to retire to an adjoined room, when James Foster, not willing that this misapplication of Scripture should pass unchallenged, cried out, "Mr. Acheson, I would remark that in the portion of Scripture you have quoted *there is no reference, whatever, to infant baptism.*" Without offering a reply, Mr. Acheson passed out to weep alone; but this incident, while it foreshadowed some of the trials which the future had in store, failed to abate, in the least, the confidence which the majority of those present placed in the principles to which they were committed. The rule which Mr. Campbell had announced seemed to cover the whole ground, and to be so obviously just and proper, that after further discussion and conference, it was adopted with apparent unanimity, no valid objection being urged against it.

This meeting was attended with very important consequences. It seemed, for the first time, to define clearly to Mr. Campbell's hearers the exact position which they occupied; and having constantly before their minds as a guide the simple rule which many of them thought should be written in letters of gold, "*Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where these are silent, we are silent*," each one, with the Scriptures in his possession, could judge for himself as to the consequences likely to result from its practical adoption. Some there were, accordingly, of those loosely connected with the movement, who, after a time, began to fear that the conclusion so promptly reached and announced by Andrew Munro at the meeting would prove at last to be correct, and fearing to pursue any further a principle which seemed to involve to them so grave a consequence, they began to drop off one by one, and gradually to cease altogether their attendance at the usual meetings.

These defections, and the incidents which attended the important meeting described, naturally gave rise to much discussion among the members. James Foster, convinced, while in Ireland, as formerly stated, that there was no scriptural foundation for infant baptism, was very decided in the expression of his views. Mr. Campbell himself, however, was by no means prepared to admit that the principle which they had adopted would necessarily involve any direct opposition to infant baptism. He was himself still so much impressed with the plausibility of the arguments in its favor that he thought the practice might perhaps be justified, and he insisted that, in the present condition of parties, it should, at least, be made a matter of forbearance. He was very reluctant to admit that there was any need of

hastily abandoning a usage which had so long prevailed, and which was so thoroughly incorporated with religious society. He could not but confess the difficulties connected with this vexed question, and the absence of positive Scripture authority, yet he thought that, under the existing circumstances, each one might be permitted to determine for himself, both as to the validity of infant baptism and the propriety of the respective forms or actions of sprinkling, pouring and immersion, which had been adopted as baptism by different portions of the religious community. Ardently devoted as he was to the cause of Christian union, and convinced that some concessions were needed in the existing distracted state of the religious world, he continued to insist that this question, as well as certain others of a similar character, might safely be left to private judgment, and be retained for the sake of peace, as belonging to the chapter of "non-essentials," and by no means so important as the great matters of faith and righteousness. About this time, he was one day riding with James Foster, and as they traveled along he took occasion to urge these views with considerable warmth. At length James Foster, turning toward him, asked with great emphasis: "Father Campbell, how could you, in the absence of any authority in the Word of God, baptize a child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit?" Mr. Campbell was quite confounded at this question. His face colored, he became for a moment irritated, and said in reply, in an offended tone: "Sir, you are the most intractable person I ever met." Notwithstanding, however, such differences in sentiment on some particular points, the members felt themselves cordially united in the great object of promoting Christian union and peace in the

religious world. In order to carry out this purpose more effectively, it was resolved, at a meeting held on the head-waters of Buffalo, 17th of August, 1809, that they would form themselves into a regular association, under the name of "The Christian Association of Washington." They then appointed twenty-one of their number to meet and confer together, and, with the assistance of Thomas Campbell, to determine upon the proper means to carry into effect the important ends of the Association.

As it had been found somewhat inconvenient to hold the meetings in private houses, it was thought advisable by the members to provide some regular place of meeting. The neighbors accordingly assembled, and in a short time erected a log building on the Sinclair farm, about three miles from Mount Pleasant, upon the road leading from Washington to that place, at the point where it was crossed by the road from Middletown to Canonsburg. This building was designed, also, for the purposes of a common school, which was much desired in that neighborhood. Here Thomas Campbell continued to meet his hearers regularly. Near the meeting-house was the residence of Mr. Welch, a respectable farmer, and friendly to the Association. As Mr. Campbell was accustomed after meeting to go to Mr. Welch's, a little chamber up stairs was assigned to him as his apartment. In this quiet place of retirement he spent most of the week in study and in writing, occasionally visiting Washington, which was his post-office, and which he still regarded as his general place of residence. The writing with which he was at this time engaged was a Declaration and Address, designed to set forth to the public at large, in a clear and definite manner, the object of the movement in which he and

those associated with him were engaged, it having been agreed by the committee appointed that such a publication was highly expedient. When this was finished, he called a special meeting of the chief members and read it to them for their approval and adoption. Having been unanimously agreed to, it was at once ordered to be printed, September 7, 1809.

In this document the occasion and nature of the Association were thus defined in the preamble and resolutions accepted as its constitution, under the title of "*A Declaration.*"

"From the series of events which have taken place in the Churches for many years past, especially in this western country, as well as from what we know in general of the present state of things in the Christian world, we are persuaded that it is high time for us not only to think, but also to act for ourselves; to see with our own eyes, and to take all our measures directly and immediately from the Divine standard; to this alone we feel ourselves divinely bound to be conformed, as by this alone we must be judged. We are also persuaded that as no man can be *judged* for his brother, so no man can *judge* for his brother; every man must be allowed to judge for himself, as every man must bear his own judgment—must give account of himself before God. We are also of opinion that as the Divine word is equally binding upon all, so all lie under an equal obligation to be bound by it and it alone, and not by any human interpretation of it; and that, therefore, no man has a right to judge his brother except in so far as he manifestly violates the express letter of the law—that every such judgment is an express violation of the law of Christ, a daring usurpation of his throne, and a gross intrusion upon the rights and liberties of his subjects. We are, therefore, of opinion, that we should beware of such things; that we should keep at the utmost distance from everything of this nature; and that, knowing the judgment of God against them that commit such things, we should neither do

the same ourselves nor take pleasure in them that do them. Moreover, being well aware, from sad experience, of the heinous nature and pernicious tendency of religious controversy among Christians; tired and sick of the bitter jarrings and janglings of a party spirit, we would desire to be at rest; and, were it possible, would also desire to adopt and recommend such measures as would give rest to our brethren throughout all the Churches—as would restore unity, peace and purity to the whole Church of God. This desirable rest, however, we utterly despair either to find for ourselves or to be able to recommend to our brethren by continuing amid the diversity and rancor of party contentions, the veering uncertainty and clashings of human opinions; nor, indeed, can we reasonably expect to find it anywhere but in Christ and his simple word, which is the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. Our desire, therefore, for ourselves and our brethren would be, that, rejecting human opinions and the inventions of men as of any authority, or as having any place in the Church of God, we might for ever cease from further contentions about such things, returning to and holding fast by the original standard, taking the Divine word alone for our rule, the Holy Spirit for our teacher and guide to lead us into all truth, and Christ alone as exhibited in the word for our salvation; and that by so doing we may be at peace among ourselves, follow peace with all men and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord. Impressed with these sentiments, we have resolved as follows:

"I. That we form ourselves into a religious association, under the denomination of the Christian Association of Washington, for the sole purpose of promoting simple, evangelical Christianity, free from all mixture of human opinions and inventions of men.

"II. That each member, according to ability, cheerfully and liberally subscribe a specified sum, to be paid half yearly, for the purpose of raising a fund to support a pure Gospel ministry, that shall reduce to practice that whole form of doctrine, worship, discipline and government expressly revealed and

enjoined in the Word of God; and also for supplying the poor with the Holy Scriptures.

"III. That this Society consider it a duty, and shall use all proper means in its power, to encourage the formation of similar associations; and shall, for this purpose, hold itself in readiness, upon application, to correspond with and render all possible assistance to such as may desire to associate for the same desirable and important purposes.

"IV. That this Society by no means considers itself a Church, nor does, at all, assume to itself the powers peculiar to such a society; nor do the members, as such, consider themselves as standing connected in that relation; nor as at all associated for the peculiar purposes of Church association, but merely as voluntary advocates for Church reformation, and as possessing the powers common to all individuals who may please to associate, in a peaceful and orderly manner, for any lawful purpose—namely, the disposal of their time, counsel and property, as they may see cause.

"V. That this Society, formed for the sole purpose of promoting simple evangelical Christianity, shall, to the utmost of its power, countenance and support such ministers, and such only, as exhibit a manifest conformity to the original standard, in conversation and doctrine, in zeal and diligence; only such as reduce to practice that simple, original form of Christianity expressly exhibited upon the sacred page, without attempting to inculcate anything of human authority, of private opinion, or inventions of men, as having any place in the constitution, faith or worship of the Christian Church, or anything as matter of Christian faith or duty, for which there cannot be expressly produced a 'Thus saith the Lord,' either in express terms or by approved precedent."

In additional resolutions, a standing committee was appointed, consisting of twenty-one members, to superintend the interests of the Society; semi-annual meetings were fixed for the first Thursday of May and of November, and the Society pledged itself to support

such ministers as it should invite to promote the proposed reformation, expressing at the same time a willingness to receive donations for this purpose from the friends of the movement.

From the above articles, it will be seen, that the society did not at all recognize itself as a *Church*, but simply as a society for the promotion of Christian union and of "a pure evangelical reformation, by the simple preaching of the gospel, and the administration of its ordinances in exact conformity to the Divine standard." Neither Thomas Campbell himself, however, nor those associated with him, had a full conception of all that was involved in these principles. They only felt that the religious intolerance of the times had itself become intolerable, and that a reformation was imperiously demanded. There had been, indeed, a gradual amelioration in the bitterness of party rancor during the preceding thirty or forty years; but this was by no means in proportion to the development of religious truth or of the rights of man and of the human conscience.

There are few, in fact, of the present generation, who have grown up under the influence of the liberalizing institutions of the United States, and the more enlightened views of Christianity since presented, who can form a proper idea of the virulence of the party spirit which then prevailed. Each party strove for supremacy, and maintained its peculiarities with a zeal as ardent and persecuting as the laws of the land and the usages of society would permit. The distinguishing tenets of each party were constantly thundered from every pulpit, and any departure from the "traditions of the elders," was visited at once with the severest ecclesiastical censure. Covenanting, church politics,

church psalmody, hyper-Calvinistic questions, were the great topics of the day; and such was the rigid, uncompromising spirit prevailing, that the most trivial things would produce a schism, so that old members were known to break off from their congregations, simply because the clerk presumed to give out, before singing, *two* lines of a psalm instead of *one*, as had been the usual custom. Against this slavish subjection to custom, and to opinions and regulations that were merely of human origin, Mr. Campbell had long felt it his duty to protest, and knowing no remedy for the sad condition of affairs existing, except in a simple return to the plain teachings of the Bible, as alone authoritative and binding upon the conscience, he and those associated with him felt it incumbent upon them to urge this upon religious society. This they endeavored to do in a spirit of moderation and of Christian love, hoping that the overture would be accepted by the religious communities around, especially by those of the Presbyterian order, whose differences were, in themselves, so trivial.

Such were the events, undertakings and hopes which Thomas Campbell detailed to his family as he was returning with them to Washington; and he greatly desired that Alexander should read and carefully examine the "Address" which he had prepared, and which was now in the hands of the printer. In this, he had more fully stated and developed the principles of the movement, and it answered, at considerable length, the various objections which were likely to be offered.

CHAPTER XIV.

Washington and the Region round about—A permanent and cherished Home —Analysis of Declaration and Address—Disinterested Decision.

THE town of Washington, in which Thomas Campbell and his family now sojourned, was, at that time, a small place, containing only about five hundred inhabitants. Many of the dwelling-houses, like those in the country around, were built of logs, notched and fitted near the ends, the interspaces being filled in with mortar and other materials. There were some comfortable frame buildings, however, and one or two of more substantial appearance, built of stone. The town stood on a rising ground at the upper part of the valley of Chartiers. It was placed, indeed, near the sources of several streams which run in different directions—as the Chartiers Creek, which flows toward the north; Ten-mile, which pursues an eastward course, and falls into the Monongahela ten miles above Brownsville, whence its name; Buffalo, which directs its swift and clear current to the W. N. W. and empties into the Ohio, at Wellsburg, about twenty-eight miles distant. The town being thus near the summit-level of the streams, the hills around it are comparatively low, and the country gently undulating. As we follow the descending waters, the hills and upland region, which, in reality, preserve pretty much the same general level, seem gradually to become higher, so that by the time

we approach the Ohio river, their sides, growing more and more precipitous, rise to a height of four or five hundred feet. These steep declivities enclose the fertile valleys through which the larger streams wind in graceful curves. Into these wider valleys small rivulets pour their limpid waters, issuing at short intervals, upon each side, from deep ravines formed by steep hill-sides, which closely approach each other, and down which the waters of the springs, with which the upland is abundantly supplied, fall from rock to rock in miniature cascades. Upon the upland, not immediately bordering upon the streams, the country is rolling, having the same general elevation, above which, however, the summit of a hill occasionally lifts itself as though to afford to lovers of beautiful landscapes most delightful views of a country covered for many miles with rich pasturages, with grazing herds or flocks, fruitful grain-fields, orchards, gardens, and farm-houses; while, upon the steeper sides of the valleys, still remain the ancient forest growths of oak and ash, walnut, hickory and maple. Frequently, as the traveler passes along the roads upon the upland, he sees suddenly, from some dividing ridge, charming valleys stretching away for miles with their green meadows, rich fields of corn and sparkling streamlets. At other times, as he advances, he admires with delight, in the distance, the ever-varying line of the horizon, which, on all sides, is formed by the summits of remote ridges and elevations, sometimes conical in form, but mostly defined by various arcs of circles as regularly drawn as if a pair of compasses had traced the lines upon the sky. Everywhere around him he sees lands abounding in lime and all the necessary elements of fertility, and producing, upon even the highest summits, abundant crops of all

the cereal grains. To enhance the natural resources of this picturesque country, its hills conceal immense deposits of bituminous coal, which the descending streams here and there expose, and which, along the sides of the valleys within five miles of Washington, and thence to the Ohio river, are conveniently reached by level adits.

Such, for nearly two hundred miles west of the Alleghanies, is the general character of this region, especially of that portion of it lying along the Monongahela and Ohio—a region whose healthfulness is unsurpassed by that of any country in the world, and one which was always admired and loved by Alexander Campbell above all the countries he had ever seen; and to which, as his permanent home, he always returned with renewed pleasure from all the various tours and travels of his future life. At the time of his arrival at Washington, however, this region was by no means so extensively cleared and improved as at present. Thick forests then concealed the green and graceful slopes of the slow-rising hills, which, immediately below Washington, now so charmingly enclose the Valley of Chartiers, as, with its rich alluvial bottoms, it stretches away toward the north, opening into the valley of the Ohio river, three miles below Pittsburg. Even in many of the cultivated fields, the erect, decaying trunks of the girdled forest trees then deformed the landscape, while the elegant brick farm-houses, with their numerous white outbuildings, and other improvements, which now impart so much cheerfulness and beauty, were wanting. Alexander was, nevertheless, greatly delighted with the general features of the country, and rejoiced to find himself so agreeably placed, and so providentially brought to harmonize and

co-operate with his revered father in the great work he had undertaken.

While examining the proof-sheets of the "Declaration and Address," and discussing with his father the matters involved, he was greatly impressed with the importance of the principles laid down, and was at once led to make the inquiry whether, upon these, they would not have to give up infant baptism, and some other practices for which it was alleged express precept and example were wanting. This inquiry would seem to have been suggested by a conversation he had had about this time with Rev. Mr. Riddle of the Presbyterian Union Church. He had met with him accidentally, and the principles of the "Declaration and Address" were introduced and discussed. When he referred to the proposition that "nothing should be required as a matter of faith or duty for which a 'Thus saith the Lord' could not be produced either in express terms or by approved precedent," "Sir," said Mr. Riddle, "these words, however plausible in appearance, are not sound. For if you follow these out, you must become a Baptist." "Why, sir," said Alexander, "is there in the Scriptures no express precept nor precedent for infant baptism?" "Not one, sir," replied the Doctor. Alexander was startled and mortified that he could not produce one; and he immediately requested Mr. Andrew Munro, the principal bookseller of Canonsburg, to furnish him with all the treatises he had in favor of infant baptism. He inquired for no books on the other side, for at this time he had little or no acquaintance with the Baptists, and regarded them as comparatively an ignorant and uneducated people. "He had often read," he says, "Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, but at this time did not know that he was a

Baptist." It seems to have been soon after this incident that he stated, as above, the same difficulty to his father; but he, to whom it had been previously presented, merely replied in substance as before, "We make our appeal to the law and to the testimony. Whatever is not found therein we must of course abandon." Alexander, however, not liking to remain in a state of incertitude upon the subject, occupied himself, for some time afterward, in examining the claims of infant baptism. He read the Pædobaptist authorities in hopes of being able to justify his predilections, which were still in favor of the practice. In despite, however, of his prejudices, the conviction that it was entirely a human invention gradually strengthened. He felt disgusted with the assumptions and fallacious reasonings of the Pædobaptist writers, and threw them aside, with a faint hope of finding something more convincing in his Greek New Testament. This, however, only made the matter worse, and upon again entering into a conversation with his father on the subject, he found him entirely willing to admit that there were neither "express terms" nor "precedent" to authorize the practice. "But" said he, "as for those who are already members of the Church and participants of the Lord's Supper, I can see no propriety, even if the scriptural evidence for infant baptism be found deficient, in their unchurching or paganizing themselves, or in putting off Christ, merely for the sake of making a new profession; thus going out of the Church merely for the sake of coming in again." He seemed disposed only to concede that they ought not to teach nor practice infant baptism without Divine authority, and that they should preach and practice the apostolic baptism in regard to all who were to make,

for the first time, a profession of their faith. Alexander, in deference to his father's views, dismissed the subject for the time, seemingly satisfied with the fallacious reasoning imposed by circumstances, which prevented his father from seeing then the real position which baptism occupies in the Christian economy, and consequently from making, in regard to it, a practical application of his own principles.

These principles, indeed, as laid down and argued in the "Declaration and Address," then under consideration, were most worthy of attention, and formed a step quite in advance of any religious reformation previously attempted. Commencing with the admitted truth that the gospel was designed to reconcile and unite men to God and to each other, the address proceeded to contemplate the sad divisions that existed, and their baleful effects in the aversions, angry contentions, enmities, excommunications and persecutions which they engendered.

"What dreary effects," it remarked, "of those accursed divisions are to be seen, even in this highly favored country, where the sword of the civil magistrate has not as yet learned to serve at the altar! Have we not seen congregations broken to pieces, neighborhoods of professing Christians first thrown into confusion by party contentions, and, in the end, entirely deprived of gospel ordinances; while, in the mean time, large settlements and tracts of country remain to this day destitute of a gospel ministry, many of them in little better than a state of heathenism, the churches being either so weakened by divisions that they cannot send them ministers, or the people so divided among themselves that they will not receive them. Several, at the same time, who live at the door of a preached gospel, dare not in conscience go to hear it, and, of course, enjoy little more advantage in that respect than if living in the midst of heathens."

After considering these divisions in various lights, as hindering the dispensation of the Lord's Supper; spiritual intercourse among Christians; ministerial labors and the effective exercise of church discipline, as well as tending to promote infidelity, an appeal is made to gospel ministers to become leaders in the endeavor to remedy these evils; and especially is this urged upon those in the United States, as "a country happily exempted from the baneful influence of a civil establishment of any peculiar form of Christianity, and from under the direct influence of an anti-Christian hierarchy." "Can the Lord expect or require," it is demanded, "anything from a people in such unhampered circumstances—from a people so liberally furnished with all means and mercies—than a thorough reformation in all things, civil and religious, according to his word?" The scanty success which, as the writer admits, had heretofore attended efforts at reformation should not, he remarks, be a discouragement. On the contrary, having learned much from the mistakes which prevented the success of others, and enjoying the benefit of the truths they taught, the religious world, he urges, was then better prepared than at any former period for the accomplishment of the desired object. "Neither," he adds, "are we to be discouraged by the greatness of the work, since the cause is the cause of Christ, and the aid and blessing of God are to be expected in the undertaking, in which he also hopes for the concurrence of all his brethren in all the churches." Addressing the latter, he says:

"Dearly beloved brethren, why should *we* deem it a thing incredible that the Church of Christ, in this highly favored country, should resume that original unity, peace and purity which belong to its constitution and constitute its glory?

Or is there anything that can be justly deemed necessary for this desirable purpose but to conform to the model and adopt the practice of the primitive Church, expressly exhibited in the New Testament? Whatever alterations this might produce in any or in all of the churches, should, we think, neither be deemed inadmissible nor ineligible. Surely such alteration would be every way for the better and not for the worse, unless we should suppose the divinely-inspired rule to be faulty or defective. Were we, then, in our Church constitution and managements, to exhibit a complete conformity to the apostolic Church, would we not be in that respect as perfect as Christ intended we should be? And should not this suffice us?

"It is, to us, a pleasing consideration that all the Churches of Christ which mutually acknowledge each other as such, are not only agreed in the great doctrines of faith and holiness, but are also materially agreed as to the positive ordinances of gospel institution, so that our differences, at most, are about the things in which the kingdom of God does not consist; that is, about matters of private opinion or human invention. What a pity that the kingdom of God should be divided about such things! Who, then, would not be the first among us to give up human inventions in the worship of God, and to cease from imposing his private opinions upon his brethren, that our breaches might *thus* be healed? Who would not willingly conform to the original pattern laid down in the New Testament for *this* happy purpose? Our dear brethren of all denominations will please to consider that we have our educational prejudices and particular customs to struggle against as well as they. But this we do sincerely declare, that there is nothing we have hitherto received as matter of faith or practice which is not expressly taught and enjoined in the Word of God, either in express terms or approved precedent, that we would not heartily relinquish, that so we might return to the original constitutional unity of the Christian Church, and in this happy unity enjoy full communion with all our brethren in peace and charity. The like

dutiful condescension we candidly expect of all that are seriously impressed with a sense of the duty they owe to God, to each other and to their perishing brethren of mankind. To this we call, we invite our dear brethren of all denominations by all the sacred motives which we have avouched as the impulsive reasons of our thus addressing them.

"You are all, dear brethren," he continues, "equally included as the objects of our esteem and love. With you all we desire to unite in the bonds of an entire Christian unity—Christ alone being the *head*, the centre; his word the *rule*, and explicit belief of and manifest conformity to it in all things, the *terms*. More than this, you will not require of us, and less we cannot require of you; nor, indeed, can you reasonably suppose any would desire it, for what good purpose would it serve? We dare neither assume nor propose the trite, indefinite distinction between essentials and non-essentials in matters of revealed truth and duty; firmly persuaded that whatever may be their comparative importance, simply considered, the high obligation of the Divine authority revealing or enjoining them renders the belief or performance of them absolutely essential to us, in so far as we know them. And to be ignorant of anything God has revealed can neither be our duty nor our privilege. We humbly presume, then, dear brethren, you will have no relevant objection to meet us upon this ground. And we again beseech you, let it be known that it is the invitation of but few; by your accession we shall be many; and, whether few or many, in the first instance, it is all one with respect to the event which must ultimately await the full information and hearty concurrence of all. Besides, whatever is to be done must begin some time, somewhere; and no matter where, nor by whom, if the Lord puts his hand to the work, it must surely prosper. And has he not been graciously pleased, upon many signal occasions, to bring to pass the greatest events from very small beginnings, and even by means the most unlikely? Duty, then, is ours, but events belong to God."

After this appeal he insists that the time was appro-

priate for the undertaking; that Christian union could be accomplished only in one of two ways—either in and through the truth and upon principle, or by compromise and accommodation. In any case, he urges that the effort shall be made, and earnestly entreats ministers to "put their hands to the work, and, like Moses, encourage the people to go forward 'upon the firm ground of obvious truth to unite in the bonds of entire Christian unity.'"

"To you," said he, "it peculiarly belongs, as the professed and acknowledged leaders of the people, to go before them in this good work, to remove human opinions and the inventions of men out of the way, by carefully separating this chaff from the pure wheat of primary and authentic revelation, casting out that assumed authority, that enacting and decreeing power by which these things have been imposed and established."

Addressing himself to both ministers and people, he affectionately entreats their concurrence, and advises the formation of societies or associations for consultation in regard to the matter; and again urges all to "resume that precious, dear-bought liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free—liberty from subjection to any authority but his own in matters of religion." He announces that the Christian Association had been formed to promote this end, and to invite others to do the same, and, as the first fruits of its efforts in this direction, he presents for consideration thirteen propositions, which he prefaces with the following very remarkable utterances:

"Let none imagine that the subjoined propositions are at all intended as an overture toward a new creed or standard for the Church, or as in anywise designed to be made a term

of communion; nothing can be further from our intention. They are merely designed to open up the way, that we may come fairly and firmly to original ground upon clear and certain premises, and take up things just as the apostles left them, that thus, disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages, we may stand with evidence upon the same ground on which the Church stood at the beginning."

Here it was distinctly stated that the object was to "*come firmly and fairly to original ground, and take up things just as the apostles left them.*" In this way, "becoming *disentangled from the accruing embarrassments of intervening ages*, "they could" stand with evidence upon the *same ground on which the Church stood at the beginning.*" Never before had any reformer taken distinctly such ground as this. Never before had any one presumed to pass over so lightly the authorities and usages and decisions of so many intervening centuries. Here, indeed, was the startling proposition to *begin anew*—to begin at the *beginning;* to ascend at once to the pure fountain of truth, and to neglect and disregard, as though they had never been, the decrees of Popes, Councils, Synods and Assemblies, and all the traditions and corruptions of an apostate Church. Here was an effort not so much for the reformation of the Church, as was that of Luther and of Calvin, and to a certain extent even that of the Haldanes, but for its complete *restoration* at once to its pristine purity and perfection. By coming at once to the primitive model and rejecting all human imitations; by submitting implicitly to the Divine authority as plainly expressed in the Scriptures, and by disregarding all the assumptions and dictations of fallible men, it was proposed to form a union upon a basis to which no valid

objection could possibly be offered. By this summary method, the Church was to be at once released from the controversies of eighteen centuries, and from the conflicting claims of all pretenders to apostolic thrones, and the primitive gospel of salvation was to be disentangled and disembarrassed from all those corruptions and perversions which had heretofore delayed or arrested its progress.

The propositions submitted, as embodying the general truths or principles which were to direct and govern this radical and sweeping change in religious affairs, were as follows:

"Prop. 1. That the Church of Christ upon earth is essentially, intentionally and constitutionally one; consisting of all those in every place that profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, and that manifest the same by their tempers and conduct; and of none else, as none else can be truly and properly called Christians.

"2. That, although the Church of Christ upon earth must necessarily exist in particular and distinct societies, locally separate one from another, yet there ought to be no schisms, no uncharitable divisions among them. They ought to receive each other, as Christ Jesus hath also received them, to the glory of God. And, for this purpose, they ought all to walk by the same rule; to mind and speak the same things, and to be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.

"3. That, in order to do this, nothing ought to be inculcated upon Christians as articles of faith, nor required of them as terms of communion, but what is expressly taught and enjoined upon them in the Word of God. Nor ought anything to be admitted as of Divine obligation in their Church constitution and managements, but what is expressly enjoined by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles

upon the New Testament Church, either in express terms or by approved precedent.

"4. That although the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inseparably connected, making together but one perfect and entire revelation of the Divine will for the edification and salvation of the Church, and, therefore, in that respect cannot be separated; yet, as to what directly and properly belongs to their immediate object, the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for the worship, discipline and government of the Old Testament Church and the particular duties of its members.

"5. That with respect to commands and ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, where the Scriptures are silent as to the express time or manner of performance, if any such there be, no human authority has power to interfere in order to supply the supposed deficiency by making laws for the Church, nor can anything more be required of Christians in such cases but only that they *so* observe these commands and ordinances as will evidently answer the declared and obvious ends of their institution. Much less has any human authority power to impose new commands or ordinances upon the Church, which our Lord Jesus Christ has not enjoined. Nothing ought to be received into the faith or worship of the Church, or be made a term of communion among Christians, that is not as old as the New Testament.

"6. That although inferences and deductions from Scripture premises, when fairly inferred, may be truly called the doctrine of God's holy word, yet are they not formally binding upon the consciences of Christians further than they perceive the connection, and evidently see that they are so, for their faith must not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power and veracity of God. Therefore no such deductions can be made terms of communion, but do properly belong to the after and progressive edification of the Church. Hence

it is evident that no such deductions or inferential truths ought to have any place in the Church's confession.

"7. That although doctrinal exhibitions of the great system of Divine truths, and defensive testimonies, in opposition to prevailing errors, be highly expedient, and the more full and explicit they be for those purposes the better; yet, as these must be, in a great measure, the effect of human reasoning, and of course must contain many inferential truths, they ought not to be made terms of Christian communion, unless we suppose, what is contrary to fact, that none have a right to the communion of the Church, but such as possess a very clear and decisive judgment, or are come to a very high degree of doctrinal information; whereas the Church from the beginning did, and ever will, consist of little children and young men, as well as fathers.

"8. That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all Divinely-revealed truths, in order to entitle them to a place in the Church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a profession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of scriptural self-knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied with a profession of their faith in and obedience to him in all things, according to his word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his Church.

"9. That all that are enabled through grace to make such a profession, and to manifest the reality of it in their tempers and conduct, should consider each other as the precious saints of God, should love each other as brethren, children of the same family and Father, temples of the same Spirit, members of the same body, subjects of the same grace, objects of the same Divine love, bought with the same price, and joint-heirs of the same inheritance. Whom God hath thus joined together, no man should dare to put asunder.

"10. That division among Christians is a horrid evil,

fraught with many evils. It is antichristian, as it destroys the visible unity of the body of Christ, as if he were divided against himself, excluding and excommunicating a part of himself. It is antiscriptural, as being strictly prohibited by his sovereign authority, a direct violation of his express command. It is antinatural, as it excites Christians to contemn, to hate and oppose one another, who are bound by the highest and most endearing obligations to love each other as brethren, even as Christ has loved them. In a word, it is productive of confusion and of every evil work.

"11. That (in some instances) a partial neglect of the expressly revealed will of God, and (in others) an assumed authority for making the approbation of human opinions and human inventions a term of communion, by introducing them into the constitution, faith, or worship of the Church, are, and have been, the immediate, obvious and universally-acknowledged causes of all the corruptions and divisions that ever have taken place in the Church of God.

"12. That all that is necessary to the highest state of perfection and purity of the Church upon earth is, first, that none be received as members but such as, having that due measure of scriptural self-knowledge described above, do profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures; nor, secondly, that any be retained in her communion longer than they continue to manifest the reality of their profession by their temper and conduct. Thirdly, that her ministers, duly and scripturally qualified, inculcate none other things than those very articles of faith and holiness expressly revealed and enjoined in the word of God. Lastly, that in all their administrations they keep close by the observance of all Divine ordinances, after the example of the primitive Church, exhibited in the New Testament, without any additions whatsoever of human opinions or inventions of men.

"13. Lastly. That if any circumstantials indispensably necessary to the observance of Divine ordinances be not found upon the page of express revelation, such, and such

only, as are absolutely necessary for this purpose, should be adopted under the title of human expedients, without any pretense to a more sacred origin, so that any subsequent alteration or difference in the observance of these things might produce no contention or division in the Church."

After having thus laid down these propositions, their object is declared to be "to prepare the way for a permanent scriptural unity among Christians, by calling up to their consideration fundamental truths, directing their attention to first principles, clearing the way before them, by removing the stumbling-blocks—the rubbish of ages, which has been thrown upon it, and fencing it on each side, that, in advancing toward the desired object, they may not miss the way through mistake or inadvertency, by turning aside to the right hand or to the left."

It is then left to the religious community to decide how far these propositions go toward answering the avowed intention. If found defective, they are declared to be open to correction and amendment.

"If we have mistaken the way," it is said, "we shall be glad to be set right; but, if in the mean time, we have been happily led to suggest obvious and undeniable truths which, if adopted and acted upon, would infallibly lead to the desired unity, and secure it when obtained, we hope it will be no objection that they have not proceeded from a General Council. * * * * We by no means claim the approbation of our brethren as to anything we have suggested for promoting the sacred cause of Christian unity, further than it carries its own evidence along with it; but we humbly claim a fair investigation of the subject, and solicit the assistance of our brethren for carrying into effect what we have thus weakly attempted. It is our consolation, in the mean time, that the desired event, as certain as it will be happy and glorious, admits of no dispute, however we may hesitate or differ about the proper means of promoting it. All we shall venture to say as to this is, that we trust we have taken the

proper ground. At least, if we have not, we despair of finding it elsewhere. For, if holding fast in profession and practice whatever is expressly revealed and enjoined in the Divine standard, does not, under the promised influence of the Divine Spirit, prove an adequate basis for promoting and maintaining unity, peace and purity, we utterly despair of attaining those invaluable privileges by adopting the standard of any party." Admitting that to maintain unity and purity was the plausible pretence of the compilers of human systems, these, it is truly affirmed, have answered no such purpose, but "instead of unity and purity we are presented with a catalogue of sects and sectarian systems—each binding its respective party by the most sacred and solemn engagements to continue as it is to the end of the world."

It would be absurd, therefore, it is alleged, to advocate the cause of unity and at the same time to espouse the interests of any party. The Address concludes with an earnest petition that the Lord might soon open the eyes of his people to see things in the true light, and excite them to come up out of their sectarian confusion, and attain to that unity for which the Saviour prayed, and which could be found in Christ alone.

This remarkable address was signed by Thomas Campbell and Thomas Acheson, and to it was added a considerable appendix, in which the various points made in the Address were further argued and enforced, and many things were added in order to prevent mistakes and to anticipate misrepresentations. Thus, lest any should suppose that the Christian Association intended to interfere with the peace and order of the settled Churches, or to make inroads upon them, all such intentions were disavowed.

"We have no nostrum," it is stated, "no peculiar discovery of our own, to propose to fellow-Christians, for the

fancied importance of which they should become followers of us. We propose to patronize nothing but the inculcation of the express Word of God, either as to matter of faith or practice; but every one that has a Bible, and can read it, can read this for himself. Therefore, we have nothing new. Neither do we pretend to acknowledge persons to be ministers of Christ, and, at the same time, consider it our duty to forbid or discourage people to go to hear them, merely because they may hold some things disagreeable to us, much less to encourage their people to leave them on that account."

In regard to what was said in the "Declaration" or constitution of the Society, in respect to the support of such ministers as would conform to the original standard, and reduce to practice the simple, original form of Christianity, it is explained that the principal and proper design with respect to such ministerial assistants was to direct their attention to those places where there was manifest need of their labor, thus disavowing any design of interfering with any existing ministry, established in particular places.

To prevent any alarm at the adoption of a sweeping principle which rendered all creeds and confessions absolutely nugatory, it was stated:

"As to creeds and confessions, although we may appear to our brethren to oppose them, yet this is to be understood only in *so far* as they oppose the unity of the Church by containing sentiments not expressly revealed in the Word of God, or, by the way of using them, become the instruments of a human or implicit faith, or oppress the weak of God's heritage. When they are liable to none of these objections we have nothing against them. It is the *abuse* and not the lawful use of such compilations that we oppose. See Proposition 7. Our intention, therefore, with respect to all the Churches of Christ is perfectly amicable. We heartily wish their reformation, but by no means their hurt or confusion."

In regard to the charge of an intention to make a new party, it is said:

"If the Divine word be not the standard of a party, then are we not a party, for we have adopted no other. If to maintain its alone-sufficiency be not a party principle, then we are not a party. If to justify this principle by our practice in making a rule of it, and of it *alone*, and not of our own opinions, nor of those of others, be not a party principle, then we are not a party. If to propose and practice neither more nor less than it expressly reveals and enjoins be not a partial business, then we are not a party. These are the very sentiments we have approved and recommended, as a Society formed for the express purpose of promoting Christian unity in opposition to a party spirit."

Not controverting at all the fact that human reason must be exercised in comprehending the Scriptures, the effort is made to draw a distinction between faith and opinion, between an express scriptural declaration and inferences which may be deduced from it. By the latter, were meant such conclusions as were not *necessarily involved* in the Scripture premises, and which were to be regarded as private opinions and not to be made a rule of faith or duty to any one. In order to obtain the true meaning of Scripture, "the whole revelation was to be taken together, or in its due connection upon every article, and not any detached sentence."

If, in consequence of allowing thus full freedom of opinion, any should bring forward the charge of latitudinarianism, they are requested to consider whether this charge does not lie against those who add their opinions to the Word of God, rather than against those who insist upon returning to the profession and practice of the primitive Church. A return to the Bible, it is insisted, is the only way to get rid of existing evils.

"Should it still be urged," it is added, "that this would open a wide door of latitudinarianism, seeing all that profess Christianity profess to receive the Holy Scriptures, and yet differ so widely in their religious sentiments, we say, let them profess what they will, their differences in religious profession and practice originate in their departure from what is expressly revealed and enjoined, and not in their strict and faithful conformity to it, which is the thing we humbly advise for putting an end to these differences. But you may say, Do they not already all agree to the letter, though differing so far in sentiment? However this may be, have they all agreed to make the letter their rule, or, rather, to make it the subject-matter of their profession and practice? Surely not, or else they would all profess and practise the same thing. Is it not as evident as the shining light, that the Scriptures exhibit but one and the selfsame subject-matter of profession and practice at all times and in all places, and that, therefore, to say as it declares and to do as it prescribes in all its holy precepts, its approved and imitable examples, would unite the Christian Church in a holy sameness of profession and practice throughout the whole world? By the Christian Church throughout the world, we mean the aggregate of such professors as we have described in Props. 1 and 8, even all that mutually acknowledge each other as Christians upon the manifest evidence of their faith, holiness and charity. It is such only we intend when we urge the necessity of Christian unity. Had only such been all along recognized as the genuine subjects of our holy religion, there would not, in all probability, have been so much apparent need for human formulas to preserve an external formality of professional unity and soundness in the faith; but artificial and superficial characters need artificial means to train and unite them. A manifest attachment to our Lord Jesus Christ in faith, holiness and charity, was the original criterion of Christian character; the distinguishing badge of our holy profession; the foundation and cement of Christian unity. But now, alas! and long since, an external name, a mere educational formality of sameness in the pro-

fession of a certain standard or formula of human fabric, with a very moderate degree of what is called morality, forms the bond and foundation, the root and reason of ecclesiastical unity. Take away from such the technicalities of their profession, the shibboleth of party, and what have they more? What have they left to distinguish and hold them together? As to the Bible, they are little beholden to it; they have learned little from it, they know little about it, and therefore depend as little upon it. Nay, they will even tell you it would be of no use to them without their formula; they could not know a Papist from a Protestant by *it;* that merely by *it* they could neither keep the Church nor themselves right for a single week. You might preach to them what you please, they could not distinguish truth from error. Poor people! it is no wonder they are so fond of their formula. Therefore they that exercise authority upon them, and tell them what they are to believe and what they are to do, are called benefactors. These are the reverend and right reverend authors, upon whom they *can* and *do* place a more implicit confidence than upon the holy apostles and prophets. These plain, honest, unassuming men, who would never venture to say or do anything in the name of the Lord without an express revelation from heaven, and, therefore, were never distinguished by the venerable title of "Rabbi" or "Reverend," but just simply Paul, John, Thomas, etc.—*these* were but servants. They did not assume to legislate, and therefore, neither assumed nor received any honorary titles among men, but merely such as were descriptive of their office. And how, we beseech you, shall this gross and prevalent corruption be purged out of the visible professing Church but by a radical reform, but by a returning to the original simplicity, the primitive purity of the Christian institution, and, of course, taking up things just as we find them upon the sacred page? And who is there that knows anything of the present state of the Church who does not perceive that it is greatly overrun with the aforesaid evils? Or who, that reads his Bible, and receives the impressions it must necessarily produce upon the recep-

tive mind by the statements it exhibits, does not perceive that such a state of things is as distinct from genuine Christianity as oil is from water?"

Should any object that this proposed literal conformity to the Scripture alone would not secure complete unanimity of sentiment, this is freely admitted; but it is answered that entire unanimity in opinion is neither possible nor desirable in this imperfect state, nor was it indeed ever contemplated by the Author of Christianity, as the exhortations to mutual forbearance in the Scriptures themselves attest. The same objection would lie equally against any creed or human expedient that has been or can be devised, as is abundantly proved by the fact that no such unanimity has ever existed amongst professors of the same creed. But to hold fast that "form of sound words" given in the Divine standard, while it could never result in those destructive consequences which have attended human expedients, would be amply sufficient to "produce all the unity of sentiment necessary to a life of faith and holiness, as well as to preserve the faith and worship of the Church as pure from mixture and error as the Lord intended, or as the present imperfect state of his people can possibly admit." Not at all asserting that human standards are *intentionally* set up in competition with the Bible or in opposition to it, but considering them as human expedients designed to secure that unity and purity which the Bible alone was supposed insufficient to effect, it is urged that creeds have not prevented divisions, and that, so far from having any tendency to heal, they only serve to perpetuate them. And as to securing purity of doctrine, history attests that Arians, Socinians, Arminians, Calvinists, Antinomians have all existed under the Westminster Confession,

the Athanasian Creed or the Articles of the Church of England.

"Will any one say," it is asked, "that a person might not with equal ease, honesty and consistency, be an Arian or a Socinian in his heart while subscribing the Westminster Confession or the Athanasian Creed, as while making his unqualified profession to believe everything that the Scriptures declare concerning Christ?—to put all that confidence in him, and to ascribe all that glory, honor, thanksgiving and praise to him professed and ascribed to him in the Divine word? If you say not, it follows, of undeniable consequence, that the wisdom of men, in those compilations, has effected what the Divine wisdom either could not, would not, or did not do in that all-perfect and glorious revelation of his will contained in the Holy Scriptures. Happy emendation! Blessed expedient! Happy indeed, for the Church that Athanasius arose in the fourth century to perfect what the holy apostles and prophets had left in such a crude and unfinished state! But if, after all, the Divine wisdom did not think proper to do anything more, or anything else, than is already done in the sacred oracles, to settle and determine those important points, who can say that he determined such a thing should be done afterward? Or has he any where given us any intimation of such an intention?"

Lest any should suppose that it was designed to undervalue or reject the writings of great and good men upon the subject of religion, occasion is taken to confine the question to human standards as "designed to be subscribed or solemnly acknowledged for the preservation of unity and purity," and to say that "it by no means applies to the many excellent performances for the elucidation of Scripture and the defence of divinely-revealed truths. These, we hope, according to their respective merit, we as highly esteem and as thankfully receive as our brethren." In this con-

nection, the following striking and characteristic passage occurs:

"Is it not worthy of remark that of whatever use other books may be to direct and lead us to the Bible, or to prepare and assist us to understand it, yet the Bible never directs us to any book but itself? When we come forward, then, as Christians, to be received by the Church, which, properly speaking, has but one book, "for to it were committed the oracles of God," let us hear of none else. Is it not upon the credible profession of our faith in and obedience to its Divine contents, that the Church is bound to receive applicants for admission? And does not the profession of our faith and obedience necessarily presuppose a knowledge of the dictates we profess to believe and obey? * * * * In the case then before us, that is, examination for church membership, let the question no longer be, What does any human system say of the primitive or present state of man? Of the person, offices and relations of Christ, etc., etc.? Or of this, that, and the other duty? But, What says the Bible? Were this mode of procedure adopted, how much better acquainted with their Bibles would Christians be! What an important alteration would it also make in the education of youth! Would it not lay all candidates for admission into the Church under the happy necessity of becoming particularly acquainted with the Holy Scriptures? Whereas, according to the present practice, thousands know little about them. One thing still remains that may appear matter of difficulty or objection to some, namely, that such a close adherence to the express letter of the Divine Word, as we seem to propose for the restoration and maintenance of Christian unity, would not only interfere with the free communication of our sentiments one to another upon religious subjects, but must, of course, also necessarily interfere with the public preaching and expounding of the Scriptures for the edification of the Church. Such as feel disposed to make this objection should justly consider that one of a similar nature, and quite as plausible,

might be made to the adoption of human standards, especially when made, as some of them confessedly are, the standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government. In such a case it might, with as much justice, at least, be objected to the adopters: You have now no more use for the Bible; you have got another book, which you have adopted as a standard for all religious purposes; you have no further use for explaining the Scriptures, either as to matters of faith or duty, for this you have confessedly done already in your standard, wherein you have determined all matters of this nature. You also profess to hold fast the form of sound words, which you have thus adopted, and therefore you must never open your mouth upon any subject in any other terms than those of your standard. In the mean time, would any one of the parties, which has thus adopted its respective standard, consider any of these charges just? If not, let them do as they would be done by. We must confess, however, that for our part, we cannot see how, with any shadow of consistency, some of them can clear themselves, especially of the first; that is to say, if words have any determinate meaning; for certainly it would appear almost, if not altogether incontrovertible, that a book adopted by any party as its standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, must be considered as the Bible of that party. And after all that can be said in favor of such a performance, be it called Bible, standard, or what it may, it is neither anything more nor better than the judgment or opinion of the party composing or adopting it, and, therefore, wants the sanction of a Divine authority, except in the opinion of the party which has thus adopted it. But can the opinion of any party, be it ever so respectable, give the stamp of a Divine authority to its judgments? If not, then every human standard is deficient in this leading, all-important and indispensable property of a rule or standard for the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of God."

Against the anticipated charge of substituting a vague and indefinite approbation of the Scriptures "for a strictly

defined creed," it is urged that "a union in truth is all that is desired, and that truth unquestionably is something certain and definite, and already made sufficiently clear in the word of God, the way of salvation being a plain way, very far remote from logical subtleties and metaphysical speculations. An intelligent profession of faith in Christ and obedience to him in all things according to the Scriptures, manifested in a temper and conduct conformed thereto, are to be the criteria of Christian character, and all such persons are to receive each other as brethren, and carefully to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

Finally, in closing these explanations and argumentations, the regret is expressed for "the necessity of approaching so near the borders of controversy, in briefly attempting to answer objections which we plainly foresaw would, through mistake or prejudice, be made against our proceedings, controversy making no part of our intended plan. But such objections and surmises having already reached our ears from different quarters, we thought it necessary to attend to them, that, by so doing, we might not only prevent mistakes, but also save our friends from entering into verbal disputes to remove them, and thus prevent as much as possible that most unhappy of all practices sanctioned by the plausible pretence of zeal for the truth—religious controversy among professors. We would, therefore, humbly advise our friends to concur with us in our professed and sincere intention to avoid this evil practice."

The pamphlet then concludes with a few extracts from authors of standing in relation to the sad effects of divisions.

Such is a brief analysis of this remarkable document, which occupies fifty-four closely-printed pages, and which merits particular attention, not only on its own account, but because it laid the foundation for the most important and extended religious reformation of modern times. It is as remarkable for the affectionate and

Christian spirit which it manifests in an age of bitter religious controversy, as for the clearness with which the true basis of Christian union is defined, and the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it is sustained. It takes a complete survey of the whole subject, and anticipates, in its exhaustive details, every phase which the question afterward assumed during the years of discussion that ensued. So fully and so kindly was every possible objection considered and refuted, that *no attempt was ever made by the opposers of the proposed movement to controvert directly a single position which it contained.* The ministers of the different parties around, to whom copies were sent, received them apparently with silent acquiescence as to the principles laid down, not a single one of them venturing a public reply, though earnestly and repeatedly invited to consider carefully the propositions submitted, and to make any corrections or amendments which might occur to them, and assured that all objections presented in writing would be "thankfully received and seriously considered with all due attention." That a publication which boldly asserted principles necessarily involving a complete change in the whole framework of religious society, should have been allowed thus to pass unchallenged by the clergy, is certainly a remarkable circumstance, and can be explained only upon the ground either that the publication itself afforded no vulnerable point of attack, or that the affectionate manner and humble Christian spirit in which the subject was discussed disarmed resentment.

To all the propositions and reasonings of this Address Alexander Campbell gave at once his hearty approbation, as they expressed most clearly the convictions to which he had himself been brought by his experience

and observation in Scotland, and his reflections upon the state of religious society at large. Captivated by its clear and decisive presentations of duty, and the noble Christian enterprise to which it invited, he at once, though unprovided with worldly property, and aware that the proposed reformation would, in all probability, provoke the hostility of the religious parties, resolved to consecrate his life to the advocacy of the principles which it presented. Accordingly, when, soon afterward, his father took occasion to inquire as to his arrangements for the future, he at once informed him that he had determined to devote himself to the dissemination and support of the principles and views presented in the "Declaration and Address." So impressed was he with a conscientious sense of duty in regard to the choice he had thus made, that when, about this time, very soon after his arrival at Washington, Lawyer Mountain, of Pittsburg, who had formed his acquaintance and was much impressed with his attainments and abilities, urged him to take charge of an academy of which he was a principal trustee, offering him $1000 a year, which was at that time a large salary, and laying before him various other inducements both present and prospective,* he declined the flattering offer, giving as his reason that as he felt himself conscientiously bound to do everything in his power, through the Divine

* Pittsburg was, at this time, rapidly rising into importance; the opening was an extremely favorable one, and there could be no doubt of eminent success. The following enumeration from the census of Pittsburg in 1810, taken by William B. Irish, Deputy Marshal, may interest the reader if compared with the subsequent growth of this important city:

Whole number of stone dwelling-houses	11
Whole number of brick dwelling-houses	283
Whole number of frame and log dwelling-houses	473
Total	767

assistance, to promote the proposed reformation, and could not accomplish both objects, he must decline taking charge of the seminary. His father, greatly delighted with the pious zeal and resolution of his son, immediately desired him to "divest himself of all earthly concerns, to retire to his chamber, to take up the Divine Book, and to make it the subject of his study for at least six months." When his son further informed him that in devoting himself to the ministry he had firmly resolved never to receive any compensation for his labors, his father remarked, "Upon these principles, my dear son, I fear you will have to wear many a ragged coat." With all his parental partiality, he had as yet a very imperfect conception of that indomitable energy, and that remarkable ability in the management of affairs which enabled the son, while laboring incessantly in his ministerial calling, not only to maintain himself in independent circumstances, but to provide for his revered father during the years of his decline, the abundant comforts of a happy home.

Free White Males.

Under ten years of age	751
Of ten years and under sixteen	333
Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families	614
Of twenty-six and under forty-five, including heads of families	513
Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families	213
Total	2424

Free White Females.

Under ten years of age	699
Of ten and under sixteeen	353
Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families	501
Of twenty-six and under forty-five, including heads of families	421
Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families	756
All other free persons, except Indians not taxed	784
Total number of souls	4740

At this time (1867) the population of Pittsburg and its environs cannot be less than 130,000.

CHAPTER XV.

Ministerial Preparation — Social Reform — Management of Washington College.

THE want of a fixed object in life, so often the misfortune of young men, had not fallen to the lot of Alexander Campbell. Early destined to the ministerial profession, he had afterward, as formerly related, earnestly adopted it as his proper vocation, and his thoughts and studies had accordingly been regulated and directed with constant reference to the duties he expected to discharge. His dissatisfaction with the divided and distracted condition of religious society, and with the aversion manifested by the clergy to much-needed reforms had, indeed, heretofore, created great dubiety in his mind as to his possible future relations to any existing party. Now, however, that a complete and radical reformation was proposed, and by one, too, whose judgment and piety it had become almost his nature to revere, all the difficulties of his position disappeared. A new and unexpected field of action was opened before him, precisely suited to his bold and independent spirit, and in perfect harmony with his convictions of religious duty. The paramount claims of the Bible were to be asserted and defended; the intolerant bigotry of sectarism was to be exposed; the people of God were to be delivered from the yoke of clerical domination, and primitive Christianity, in all its original

purity and perfection, was to be restored to the world. His efforts to prepare himself for the work before him received hence a fresh and powerful impulse, and he devoted himself, with renewed assiduity, to the appropriate course of reading and investigation, suggested by his father or approved by his own judgment.

The enterprise in which he thus so earnestly engaged was, it must be confessed, a most noble one, and one differing, by the space of the whole heavens, from that which a young man preparing for the ministry in a religious *party* usually proposes to himself. *His* object, it is evident, is too often little more than to make himself popular with his party; and to this end he is careful to foster party feeling; to flatter party pride; to magnify differences, and strive, by dint of partisan jealousies and hopes, to elevate himself to a position of honor and emolument. But it is a mean ambition which seeks thus rather to reign in a sect than to serve in the kingdom of heaven; and the greatness and lofty impulses of Alexander Campbell were never more strikingly manifested than when, rejecting all the solicitations he received to become the advocate of a party, and all the ready opportunities of distinction which such a course afforded, he determined, amidst the contumely and opposition of the world, both religious and secular, to devote himself to the public advocacy of the Word of God and of the primitive and simple apostolic Gospel.

About this time, two others also, James Foster and Abraham Altars, members of the Christian Association, anxious to promote the important work in which they had engaged, commenced a course of study with a view to the ministry of the word, under the direction of Thomas Campbell; and James Foster, already inti-

mately acquainted with the Bible, and remarkable for the fullness and accuracy with which he could quote and apply its language, soon began to take a public part in the meetings held; his pious instructions, exhortations and prayers being always most acceptable and edifying. As much of Thomas Campbell's time, however, was occupied in visiting the scattered families connected with the Association, and in endeavoring to promote the cause of union amongst the people, he was necessarily much absent from home. He could, therefore, direct merely the general course of study, leaving the details of the practical instruction to Alexander. In addition to this charge, it devolved likewise upon the latter to teach his brothers and sisters regularly; for no one could possibly be more methodical or more economical of time than Thomas Campbell, and it was his rule to see that every member of his family was constantly and regularly employed in something useful. This disposition Alexander had, in the fullest degree, inherited, and, as has been seen at Glasgow with what earnest assiduity he devoted every moment to improvement, so he now entered at once, on his arrival at Washington, upon a no less severe course of labor and a no less careful use of every fleeting moment. This may be seen from the apportionment he made of the hours of each day, written down as follows for his guidance:

"*Arrangement for studies for winter of* 1810.

"One hour to read Greek—from 8 to 9 in the morning.

"One hour to read Latin—from 11 to 12 in the morning.

"One half hour to Hebrew—between 12 and 1 P. M.

"Commit ten verses of the Scriptures to memory each day, and read the same in the original languages, with Henry and Scott's notes and practical observations. For this exercise

we shall allow two hours. These exercises, being intended for every day, will not be dispensed with. Other reading and studies as occasion may serve. These studies in all require four and a half hours. Church history, and divers other studies, are intended to constitute the principal part of my other literary pursuits.

"*Regulations for Abraham Altars.*

"1st. Read to me in the morning, from 7 to 8, in Scott's Family Bible. Say one lesson every day in Greek Grammar. One lesson also in Latin, and one in Rhetoric. Two days of the week to recite in English Grammar and parse. To prepare a theme each week, which is to be corrected and to be written clear and fair in a book.

"Abraham and the children, from ten to eleven, will read a Scripture lesson.

"These attentions will occupy three hours of my time every day.

"Dorry, Nancy and Jane say English Grammar and parse with Abraham Altars—the Mondays appointed for this purpose. Thomas is to prepare a lesson every day in Latin Grammar. One hour for writing, and half an hour to hear any particular lessons from D., N. and J.

"The whole time spent thus will be nine hours."

His own preparation for future public labor consisted at this time, mainly, in the daily study of the Scriptures—a duty to which he had again solemnly consecrated himself, as appears from his recorded resolutions on the last day of the previous year. In these he resolves, by the Divine assistance, to read for half an hour every day in the Scriptures, for the purpose of understanding them, looking for all the marginal references, and beginning at the first chapter of Genesis. Also to read a chapter in the Old and one in the New Testament, with Scott's Notes and practical observations. In addition to this, was the memorizing of portions of

Scripture daily. At the close of these resolves, he adds:

"May God in his great mercy afford me time, ability and inclination to attend to these intentions, and to his name may all the glory and honor redound through Jesus Christ. Amen. Alexander Campbell, Sunday, 31st December, 1809."

While thus engaged, and while the fall and winter months were passing away, he was not unobservant of the novel circumstances and the new conditions of society by which he was surrounded in the New World. Being himself a youth and of a lively disposition, he soon became acquainted with the young people in Washington and its vicinity, and was invited frequently to their social parties. Accustomed to the educated and refined society of the North of Ireland, where parental care enforced upon the young a strict attention to the rules of decorum, and where the deferential and delicate consideration shown to females was met, on their part, by a confiding frankness and affability which gave a peculiar charm to social intercourse, he was far from being pleased with the rudeness and unwonted freedoms tolerated in many social gatherings, and was struck with the want of education and culture manifested by the youthful portion of the community.

The pioneers of the West had been, at first, too busy in clearing away the forests and in subduing the ruggedness of a wild, uncultivated region to devote much time to intellectual improvement or to the amenities of social life. An incessant warfare with the gigantic trees which usurped the fertile soil; fierce and frequent encounters with savage beasts and still more savage men of the native Indian tribes, and a necessary restriction to the simplest modes of life, gave, indeed, a bold

and self-reliant spirit, but tended to impart roughness as well as awkwardness to manners. The unchecked wildness of nature and the rudeness of art infected society. Incessant physical toil was demanded of every member of the farmer's household in order to secure the lately-purchased farm or to extend its limits. The men and boys labored in the roughly-cultivated fields, just won from the ancient forest; the matron and her daughters were occupied at home in domestic cares, which then included the manufacture of clothing for the entire family. All were engaged in the preparation of flax and wool, and the hum of the busy wheel and the sound of the loom could be heard in almost every dwelling. At certain seasons, the females assisted even in the labors of the field. There was little time for reading and few books to be read. In the country, schools were opened only for a brief period during the winter season; and even the poor instruction they afforded was enjoyed to but a limited extent by farmers' daughters, for, at that time, their education was almost wholly neglected. There were then no female seminaries, and views so defective were entertained with regard to the education of females that a girl who could simply read and write a little was regarded as having attained all the learning necessary in order to the accomplishment of woman's mission. Social intercourse itself was greatly restricted, except in towns and amongst the few to whom wealth gave some degree of leisure. In the country at large, it was usually excessive labor that could alone secure brief recreation; and it was hence when the young men of the neighborhood were collected by appointment at a farmer's house, for what was called a "husking frolic," or for some other pressing farm labor; or the young women had

been, in like manner, assembled during a busy day of "quilting," "apple-paring," or other work appertaining to their department, that, in the evening, in each case, a troop of guests of the opposite sex were wont to arrive, when a few hours would be stolen from the night to be devoted to rude and boisterous merriment.

That laborious industry and economy which, with the pioneers, had been a necessity, became at length a habit with them and with their children and descendants; and even the attainment of a comfortable independence at a later period failed to relieve families from the incessant drudgery of their occupations, which were now pursued mainly from the desire of amassing wealth. The social customs with which many who were foreigners had been familiar in their youth, were in a good degree lost by long disuse; families became isolated upon their farms; matrimonial alliances were sought rather from motives of gain than of affection; and, as a consequence, an unusual number of both sexes remained unmarried. Exceptions there were, indeed, both in town and country—but especially in the towns—of those who had enjoyed superior advantages and who were highly cultivated; but even in the towns, where there was a much greater degree of sociality, wealth and fashion had already begun to produce their usual effects of dividing society into castes and creating various hinderances to true social enjoyment. Young men of position were disposed to be dissipated and foppish, and young ladies of wealth or beauty aspired to be leaders of the public taste, and to establish the reign of coquetry and caprice.

Under these circumstances, while, with the great mass of the community, there was a commendable degree of plainness and simplicity and a high degree

of friendly feeling, the manners and customs prevailing, especially amongst the young, were so different from those to which Alexander had been accustomed that he felt strongly disposed to urge the need of a social as well as of a religious reformation. Having formed an agreeable acquaintance with Mr. William Sample, who had established a weekly paper in Washington called the *Reporter*, in August, 1808, and being requested by him to furnish some original essays, he agreed to do so, and concluded to take up and expose, in a series of articles, the social evils he had observed. Adopting the manner of the *Spectator*, in which the essayist personates different characters and sexes, most of the articles in the series assumed to be written by a young female who signs herself "Clarinda," and who desires to offer some friendly admonitions, both to her own and to the opposite sex, in relation to various foibles which she desires to see corrected. As it may interest the reader to have some specimens of his style of composition at this period, some extracts are here given from these essays; and as a particular interest attaches to the first one, as being the very earliest production of his pen designed for publication, it is here given entire:

"ORIGINAL ESSAYS, NO. 1.

"It is generally expected and understood that every one who writes for the public eye writes for the public good; and as the necessities, desires, imperfections and frailties of our nature are manifold and diversified, so are the means numerous and diverse by which we may contribute to the welfare and happiness of our fellow-creatures. The salutary aid of friendly admonition and the gentle voice of familiar reproof are no less useful in certain circumstances, no less duties that we owe one another, than to alleviate the sorrows of the distressed, to soothe the comfortless, to cheer the melancholy, to

succor the helpless and forlorn; to relieve the wants of the needy, or to heal the diseases of the infirm. But that the public may know what my motives are; what is the good which I intend, and who are the public for whom it is intended, I deem it necessary to make a few preliminary remarks.

"Owing to my youth and comparative inexperience, I presume not to dictate to my superiors in wisdom or years; neither do the foibles which I desire removed belong to the fathers and mothers of the present age: it is the sons and daughters, my equals and contemporaries, to whom I particularly address myself; and, therefore, I would request of you, my venerable parents, not to accuse me of presumption in attempting to point out some of the frailties and foibles of my young friends of either sex, with a design of amelioration, not for my good or yours alone, but for the sake of the individuals to whom I address myself.

"In consequence of that modesty which is the glory and dignity of my sex, I presume not to dictate to the youth of the other sex, only in so far as I may have occasion to speak of their conduct in relation to my sex. Therefore, gentlemen, be not angry though a female should, for once, attempt to ameliorate certain traits in your character in relation to us. I believe the gentlemen in general are so indulgent to us that they take in good part whatever we say respecting them, and are more inclined to draw the veil of forgetfulness over our imperfections and to extenuate our errors than to make them more conspicuous or revive their memory. I can only assure you, young gentlemen, that anything I may in future say respecting you, shall be said with the best of motives and for the most philanthropic intentions, with a design of promoting our mutual advantage and felicity.

"And as to you, my young female friends, who have not yet entered into the connubial state, for whose sake particularly I undertake this laborious, and, what some no doubt may think, censurable task, I know many of you are more able to act this part than I am; but as your long silence respecting

these things has caused me to despair of your ever contributing in this kind of way to redress those grievances of which you have been long complaining, I am moved, with the utmost deference, diffidence and timidity, to attempt what some of you have long wished to have done. Believe me, I say, it is particularly for your own sake that I dare to intrude on the public, and attempt to reform the general conduct of our and the other sex, in what particularly relates to the forming of connections for life. I beg that you will not think I am turned traitor to my sex, if I may happen to expose some of their foibles, which, perhaps, are not so generally known to the gentlemen as to ourselves. If I have to say anything of this kind, it will be done in as delicate a manner as circumstances will possibly admit, and for no other purpose than to prevail on the gentlemen to be more candid in giving up any practices which may be injurious to their or our felicity, for what makes us happy will never make them unhappy; what adds to our felicity will not diminish theirs; what is for our good is for theirs also.

"But it may be inquired, What do you see amiss? what do you see improper in our general conduct? what do you wish to ameliorate? I would only answer, in the mean time, that, upon a strict survey of the deportment of the youths of both sexes in relation to one another, in the forming of particular and intimate connections with one another, I perceive many things which, in my judgment, stand in need of an amelioration; and not in my judgment only, but in the judgment of many far more judicious and intelligent than I. To state what these things are, and what this reformation should be, would be to anticipate what is designed for a few subsequent essays, wherein these foibles and their improvement will be discussed to more advantage. It is universally agreed that no person is free from foibles: he or she, then, must be the best character who has the fewest failings; and as all imperfections injure our happiness, that must be the happiest individual who has the fewest imperfections. It may also be asked, Has not everything been said on these subjects that can

be said. I answer, that, as to original matter, there has been enough said to make us as happy and as perfect as our state will admit, if put in practice; but, although much has been said on these subjects in general, and almost all that can be said, yet the difference of characters, times, situations and places may require modifications of many things that may have been said in substance or in part; and another reason is, that what has been said on these subjects is not in the hands of many who may require instruction of this kind.

"As to my own character and qualifications, I have, for a few years past, been a close observer of the customs, manners, morals and fashions of the age and country in which I live, in as far as my acquaintance could extend, either by books or by intercourse with society. And although I owe a good deal of my information to books, as many of my female friends do, yet I have been still endeavoring to

'Catch the living manners as they rise,'

to consider the polite, moral and religious deportment of my contemporaries, constantly noting those traits of character and action which have been generally admired and esteemed by the judicious and well-informed part of both sexes; and also to mark with abhorrence and detestation those things which the good, the wise, and polite part of society hated. I dare not say anything particular respecting myself, lest in a village so small I might discover myself, and if my own foibles were known (which I wish to correct), it might injure my usefulness to others. I only request my friends to weigh what I say, and if their understanding approve, I am persuaded their good sense will lead them to practice what may appear most conducive to their real and lasting felicity.

"If anything I should say respecting foibles or vices might seem applicable to any individuals (at least be thought so by themselves), let me assure them that it is not my intention to hurt the feelings of any individual, or even to say anything about vices and imperfections that belong not to the character of a number of individuals. As to the manner of communication, I have chosen the *Reporter*, not from political motives,

as politics do not belong to ladies, but as it is a paper of the most general circulation and popularity. As no person can say I have mercenary views in thus communicating my ideas upon the subjects mentioned, I hope they will consider my intentions as good, and be fully persuaded that I design nothing but what will be conducive to the general felicity. I have only to request the better-informed part of both sexes that they will spread the veil of oblivion over any imperfections they may see in my compositions: not being accustomed to write for the public eye, and not receiving that liberal education which gentlemen receive, and which is rarely the lot of any of my sex, it may not be thought strange that I should sometimes disgust my more learned and refined readers. CLARINDA."

The above essay appears on the 14th of May, 1810. In the next one, remarks are made upon the origin and history of convivial meetings, and a notice is taken of the different species of parties, whether of the unmarried alone, or of the married, or of both together; some observations being made also upon the specific design of each. Confining the attention finally to parties of young unmarried persons, the attempt is made to determine the peculiar purpose of such parties. After considering several of the reasons commonly given for these assemblages, as, for instance, "because it is fashionable and polite," or "that it is to promote friendship and sociality," etc., no one of which is found to be the real object, this is then asserted to be to promote love between the sexes. This is argued, first, from the prevailing topics of conversation on such occasions, and secondly, from the character of the amusements adopted:

"These," it is said, "are also calculated to inspire love, and are generally the *dernier* resort when sentiment, wit and conversation fail to produce the desired effect.

"How often is recourse had to children's toys and juvenile amusements, adapted to manhood and womanhood by certain modifications of laws respecting forfeits, fines and penalties, for every transgression of the laws of the play! I say, how often is recourse had to those puerile trifles, genteel bawbles —genteel refinements—to afford pleasure and amusement!!! Sorry resources! beneath the dignity of rational immortals! pitiful return for the loss of a few *precious hours* which not India's wealth could purchase! Is this friendship and civility? Is this honor? Is there virtue in this? It may indeed be genteel, fashionable and polite; I do not question this!!! But let me consider the forfeits and penalties of these amusive plays. The forfeits are in general of so amiable and natural a kind that he or she is the happiest individual who lies under the heaviest sentence and is doomed to the greatest punishment; and the reason is, because the punishments are so conducive to produce that gratification that is so congenial to our nature; so palatable to gross and unrefined passions; so delightful to a wanton imagination. I need not inform my readers that the common punishments inflicted on the unhappy victims who may have the good fortune to transgress, are the sweet embrace—the gentle, amorous whisper—the open confession of an inward flame—the expression of a gentle wish—and some such like, that have a tendency to opiate the understanding, but indeed to the generality of individuals produce what are called gentle—soothing—charming—killing effects—'effects whose very agonies delight.' Need we any other proof that the very end and intention of these parties is to create love—to excite amorous intentions; to captivate the youthful heart by delusive charms in the glittering snare—to bind the juvenile affections with the silver wreaths of soft persuasion—with the silken strings of affability—and to catch the imagination with the golden chain of artful address? Such is the intention of these parties, else looks and words and actions deceive—else smiles and sighs have no meaning—else the very thing itself is a mere farce—a senseless thing, a mere contingency.

"As I pointed out the evils of the other alleged designs in my last essay, I intend here to point out the evils of this design, which I think is sufficiently proved to be the true one. The topics of conversation, and the whole conversation itself, are vain at the best, sometimes wanton, and often bordering on the unchaste; it is empty and uninteresting; every one seems to be in labor for something to say; and sometimes the imagination and invention of the whole party is so barren that there will not be a word spoken for five or ten minutes together, every one watching another's lips to see when they will move; at length, although nothing fanciful or interesting occurs, yet some person, provoked at the silence, will speak, if they should say nonsense, and that you may know, in the future, when one of those chasms occurs in conversation, when invention is on the rack for something new, you will observe that the person who speaks begins by telling you (as if you did not know) something about the weather.

* * * * *

"You will also observe that when one has broken silence in this kind of a way, there arises a general chatter among the rest, as when one goose of a flock chatters all the rest begin, and by and by you'll have them all chattering at once. When I am a spectator at one of these gabbling matches, the Turkish maxim comes into my mind, namely, that 'women have no souls,' and although this sentiment shocks me and causes me to search my own breast, yet frequently, I must confess, if I were to judge from the frivolity of the conversation and the levity of the sentiment at these parties, I must conclude that female minds are not capacious; but if I were to form a judgment of the gentlemen from their conduct and conversation in these companies, I would find it extremely difficult to form an idea of a rational soul, allowing that women have none; for I find that they can condescend to all the frivolities and weaknesses of which we are capable. But, indeed, upon the whole, it seems as if they who attend these parties could find no pleasure at home when they come here to seek it. Is there rational enjoyment in the entertainment? Is there

pleasure in the conversation? Is there substantial good in the amusements? If there be to any soul, I must exclaim, Oh, vitiated taste! unchaste imagination! unhappy age!!! Will four hours spent in this insipid way afford you ten minutes' pleasure in reflection, in contemplation, in retrospect? Will it afford you comfort in the hour of affliction when you are grappling with the King of terrors? Will it be comfortable for you to say, when you are bidding an eternal adieu to the world, I have spent many a *precious evening* in a genteel party, many an hour in giddy dissipation, in thoughtless mirth, in needless festivity? At some distant, far distant point in eternity, will you remember with joy or with sorrow that you spent an evening once a week, or once a month, for, it may be, ten, twenty, or thirty years, in one of these parties which you now so much like? Ah! my female friends, did you but consider the value and dignity of your nature, you would not thus degrade it; did you but remember the seeds of immortality that are within you, that must either blossom or languish for ever, you would not thus spend one precious evening, that when you come to die, ten thousand thousand worlds could not purchase or recall. Did you but consider that your nature is of so dignified a kind that it may converse with holy spirits, angels, archangels, and with God for ever, you would not lavish your evenings in such vain conversation and thoughtless amusements. Believe me, my young female friends, that such is the nature of these pleasing amusements, that they are like poison that is sweet to the taste, but, when swallowed, brings nature to dissolution; and such, alas! is the delusive nature of folly, that the pleasure of committing is instantaneously past, but the guilt contracted is immortal and eternal.

"I have now mentioned a good many disadvantages accruing from these parties, but no advantages. Let me plainly tell you I can mention no advantages arising from them; only one, which is, that they have a tendency to civilize mankind; but I leave you to determine if this advantage is important enough to preponderate all that I have put in the other

balance. You will say now, I disapprove of social parties; no, my dear friends, far from that. I should wish to be a member of a social party an evening or two every week, but with this simple amelioration, that they should meet in a plain, decent manner, with minds replete with either important subjects for communication to instruct others, or with a desire to be instructed by others in things worthy of our nature—things conducive to our eternal interests; not respecting beauty or dress, which shall soon turn to corruption; but let our conversation be about our *far better*, and what should be *our far dearer* part, our immortal souls—

> "'Which shall flourish in immortal youth;
> Unhurt amidst the war of elements,
> The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds.'
> * * * * * *
>
> "CLARINDA.

"*May* 24, 1810."

The next essay gives a satirical and amusing account of various sorts of beaux—as lovers of riches, of beauty, or of virtue, with appropriate comments, and is dated June 1. The succeeding one, dated June 8, presents Clarinda's opinion of old bachelors, whom she defines as "drones," and says: "An old bachelor is a forlorn mortal insulated in society, who is an object of universal ridicule, hated by his own sex, cursed by the other, and, worse than all, blamed by himself; he is like a dry tree standing in the forest, that prevents the vegetation of others, merely an encumberer of the ground which every one wishes to see hewn down, etc." She speaks also of their alleged or supposed reasons for preferring celibacy. In the sixth essay, the writer is addressed by Observator, offering some criticisms, and approving the remarks upon social parties. To this a reply is given June 16, and the subject is continued in reference to the evil practice of some, in paying addresses to

several young ladies at the same time. The next, number seven, is occupied with a letter from J. C., exposing the practice of certain fops who were in the habit of wearing dirks in their bosoms, and this visibly even in the company of ladies; and also censuring their habits of profane swearing, from which the following is an extract:

"When I am addressing you on this subject, I would also make a few observations on another more fashionable vice among our young fops (I cannot call them gentlemen), who are guilty of this horrid vice—I mean, swearing in company with ladies and persons of a moral deportment, to whom this vice is most offensive and abominable. I say, I cannot call swearers gentlemen, however else qualified; for, says a judicious writer, with whom I precisely agree in this sentiment, 'Those who addict themselves to swearing and interlard their discourse with oaths; can never be considered as gentlemen; they are generally persons of low education and are unwelcome in what is called good company. It is a vice that has no temptation to plead, but is, in every respect, as vulgar as it is wicked.' Of all the vices which have ever disgraced human nature; of all the extremes of madness and folly to which mankind has ever run; of all the irreverent, irreligious deeds which have ever blackened human character, there is none more horrid, flagrant or profane; none so presumptuous, arrogant and irreverent, as carelessly, heedlessly and impiously to invoke the sacred name of Him whom angels worship, saints adore, and before whom devils and wicked men shall tremble with horror, anguish and dismay—to invoke the sacred majesty of heaven on every light, frivolous and wicked occasion—to call God to witness every lewd, base, mean or trivial action they perform or perpetrate; and, still worse, to supplicate that pure and righteous Being to damn, curse or punish a fellow-creature, a fellow-immortal, or, it may be, some brute or inanimate thing. And what renders this vice most oppressive to them who are provoked

at it, is, that our profligate, immoral beaux make it a point to swear the harder if there be any pious persons or ladies in company, thinking to mortify the former and expecting to commend their gallantry to the latter. Be assured, ye detestable wretches, that this vice is as degrading to yourselves as it is hateful to others; and there is not a lady who possesses a spark of virtue but will shun and detest your company. Besides, to call God to witness the truth of what you say, implies that you suppose the person whom you address believes you a liar, and will not, without a volley of oaths, put confidence in what you say. If you wish to be believed, your understanding is horribly misguided if you expect to induce a belief by crowning your assertion with an oath: this certainly creates a suspicion in the mind of the person whom you address that the thing is untrue. In short, I know no reason for or temptation to this vice, above all the vices prevalent in the world. Ask a man why he swears, he tells you it is a bad custom he has learned—he cannot quit it. Experience sufficiently proves that it is in the power of any person who makes the attempt to give it over, only let him be determined and watchful."

Essay number eight, contains a letter from "Eusebia Anxious," addressed to "Clarinda *Philogamia*," approving the censure inflicted on the bachelors, and giving a reason for their increase which she received from her grandfather, viz.: that it was owing to the government allowing speculators to buy up large tracts of land, thus depriving young farmers of the opportunity of obtaining farms at reasonable rates, and preventing them from venturing into matrimony. To this a reply is given, offering condolence and complimenting Eusebia for her courage in daring to appear in print for the benefit of society, and passing into a meditation on the evil effects produced by the fear of being singular; after which occurs the following apostrophe to Fashion:

"O Fashion, thou deity whom fops, empty fops and gaudy belles adore! Thou first-born of Volatility, and full-descended child of Vanity; thou parent of ills, of woes unheard, untold, unsung; thou scourge of pride and lash of fools; O grim-visaged tyrant! thou swayest thy oppressive sceptre over slaves incalculable; thou taxest thy oppressed subjects with burdens insupportable; thine iron fangs oppress the poor and crush the needy. Thou grand foe to liberty, inappeasable enemy to independence; thy despotic countenance thunders terrors through the souls of thy victims, and fills the minds of thy dupes with pride, envy, malice, and a thousand evil passions that distract and perplex their aching hearts. In thy domain and uncircumscribed territories are heard naught but sighs and groans, but frowns and curses echoing through thy hills and resounding through thy dales. O Fashion! thou hast slain thy thousands and murdered thy tens of thousands. Thou hast led mankind away from itself, and, *ignis-fatuus-like*, deceived them. Thou hast taught the female, the tender, inexperienced female, who unhappily was born thy slave and nursed in thy empire, to borrow all her dignity, all her importance from the veering figure of thy countenance; to look for all her honor, all her consequence, all her happiness from thy extrinsic airs. In thy school, she learned to value herself from the patches and daubs of art, that in vain strive to add beauty to the master-piece of Nature: as well mightst thou burnish the sun, paint the lily, or perfume the rose, as attempt to add beauty to the strokes of Nature. O Fashion! thou hast taught thy daughters to value a companion from the plumage of her garb, from the perfume of her locks, her well-set hair, her sparkling comb, her glittering ring, her rosy cheek that owns the borrowed blushes of an artful dye; from the thousand gew-gaws and trifles that are the niggardly refinements of thy modern hue. Thy maxim is, Value the casket, and despise the jewels it contains; admire the shadow and neglect the substance; appreciate the glare and tinsel, and depreciate the pearls of great value; adorn the outside, leave the mind a barren wild,

an uncultivated desert, where weeds poisonous luxuriantly grow. These, O inexorable Fashion! are but the species of ills that complete thy train and compose thy retinue."

This series of essays closed with the tenth number, of July 23d. The subjects treated, to many may appear trivial; but at the time, and under the circumstances, these articles excited no small degree of interest. To treat such subjects with so much freedom in the newspaper of a small town, where the author could scarcely expect to remain unknown, required, at least, considerable intrepidity; and it is believed that the essays of "Clarinda" contributed to produce, in the manners of those who were thus exposed to public censure, some degree of what the writer terms "amelioration." Sundry poetical pieces also, and other articles on various topics, were contributed by him to the *Reporter*, under anonymous signatures, during this period.

While throwing off these light productions, however, he was not inattentive to the more serious interests of the community in which he had, for the present, found a home. Much concerned for the cause of education, his attention was particularly engaged with the literary institution which, four years previously (in 1806), had been organized in the town under the title of "Washington College." Although a similar institution, "Jefferson College," under the direction of the same Presbyterian party, had been established some four years earlier at Canonsburg, only seven miles distant, in the same county, the one at Washington had received considerable patronage, so that, at the third session, it had as many as fifty students—quite a large number at that period, even when taking into view the small tuition-fee required, and the low price of boarding, which was only a dollar and a half per

week in the town, and much lower in the country. Much, however, was due to the personal influence and energy of Rev. Matthew Brown, the principal of the college, and pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in the town, with whom Alexander had formed some acquaintance, but with whose management of the college he was not very well pleased. Being thrown into constant communication with the students, and having ample opportunity for observation, he noticed many defects in the system of education adopted, and in the order and discipline of the institution. It was to be expected, indeed, that, coming from an old and extensive university like that of Glasgow, he would find many things apparently strange and rude in an infant college of the Western World. He seems to have been a silent spectator of the commencement exercises of the winter session, which took place on Friday, 27th of April. At the close of the summer session, however, Thursday, 27th of September, 1810, the character of the exercises was such that he could no longer forbear offering some animadversions through the newspaper. It appears that a very great degree of license was allowed the students in regard to the performances. Pieces were spoken caricaturing certain peculiarities of the Scotch and Irish. A mock trial at the bar was presented. There was also an exhibition of fencing and of boxing for the amusement of the audience; and certain profane expressions were allowed in some of the dialogues. Some verses composed by an Irishman upon his wife were recited; some tunes upon a fiddle were given by one of the students; and some scenes from Smollet's comedy of the "Reprisals" were enacted by the students.

In the next number of the *Reporter*, published 1st

October, 1810, there appeared the following notice of these exercises, which was probably written by a member of the Faculty.

"WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

"The summer session of this Seminary was closed on Thursday 27th inst., with the usual public exercises. The students repaired, at the appointed hour, to the college. A very numerous assembly of the most respectable citizens, from town and country convened in the college yard, where seats were prepared for their accommodation. A rich variety of entertainments, suited to the various tastes of the audience, was then presented. The gay and the grave, the young and the old, wise men and fools, had each a portion meted out unto them, in well-composed pieces, original and selected; the vices and follies of the times were gently exposed in many ways. The drunkard, the duelist, the gambler, the swearer, the fop, and the fool respectively groaned under the lash of satire. To amuse themselves as well as entertain the audience, the young gentlemen availed themselves of the liberties of speech sanctioned by universal and immemorial custom. The different callings and professions were truly noticed in their turns; but the *lawyers* received a Benjamin's portion; also in touching the peculiar language or manners of nations some freedom was indulged. But it was evident from the whole of the exercises, the object was to please, not to offend."

It seems, however, that the exhibition, though designed to please everybody, created a considerable amount of dissatisfaction. In the same paper, appears a note from the faculty of the college, denying that there was any intention of casting any reflections upon the Irish people in one of the addresses delivered; and giving to the public, by way of a *per contra*, another of the addresses highly commending the Irish character. Immediately after this, comes what purports to

be a "Correct Compendious Account of the late Exhibition of Washington College," in a letter to a friend, dated at Washington, September 28, 1810. The writer, in an ironical vein, refers to a sentiment which he had formerly expressed to his friend, that the real nature and benevolent intention of the Christian religion, when correctly understood, was to render mankind happy here, and thus, of course, to give them a taste and relish for happiness hereafter.

"Upon this topic," he continues, "my friend will remember, we used to differ, though with our usual good nature and reciprocal esteem. I always told you that your views on this important subject were by far too precise and severe. You used to boast of the evidence in your favor on this side of the mountains, where you used to tell me that the genuine effects were experienced to a degree somewhat adequate to the nature of the subject, especially in the late revivals which had taken place. To these effects you used to appeal to strengthen your arguments, wishing that I were here to see the effects produced in consequence upon the inhabitants of this side of the Alleghany, and therefore congratulated me on my intended purpose of becoming a resider in the Western country."

Appealing then to the exhibition of the day before as a convincing evidence of the correctness of his more liberal view, he thus proceeds:

"The unexpected occurrence of yesterday has contributed more to my satisfaction, upon the whole result, than the simple residence of years would otherwise have done. It afforded me an opportunity of contemplating the effects of the combined influence of all means and privileges, civil and religious, literary and moral; not upon a solitary individual or a few, but upon a large aggregate of individuals of all ranks and orders in the community. The day was fine, the

assembly numerous and respectable; composed of reverend clergymen, lawyers, merchants, farmers, and a great variety of elegant ladies, young and old, married and single. The thing intended and to be exhibited for the entertainment of this elegant assembly, was an exhibition of the attainments of the students of Washington College in their various departments; and all this under the superintendence and direction of some of the most sacred characters of which enlightened society can boast. The names of some of them were, as I was informed, the Rev. Mr. Brown, president of the college, Rev. Mr. Russel, and Mr. Reed, professor of mathematics; teachers in the academy, Rev. Messrs. Guinn and Dodd, besides many other venerable characters on the board."

He then proceeds to give an account of the various parts of the entertainment, among them enumerating as follows:

"4. *Fencing.* This, I think, is well taught here. I saw two young men, in the characters of officers, handle the broadsword most dextrously. You and I differed formerly upon this part of education; you said it was inconsistent with the pure and benevolent disposition of the Christian religion; I thought it was requisite to complete a gentleman, and you see my opinion is confirmed by the practice of this truly reformed and Christian neighborhood.

"5. Boxing with the fist, or, as they call it in their technical college terms, pugilism, or, in the terms of the learned gentlemen, *argumentum bacculinum.* You said this was a diabolical practice, but I never could see it so; it is necessary for the preservation of one's life, as well as the use of the sword, to maintain one's honor. I saw one or two rounds well fought.

"6. Polite swearing, such as by J——, and O God! and other decent oaths, which you used to say were incompatible with a Christian, for they were breaches of the third commandment; I am sure they were not; the clergymen must

have approved of them, for they were giving smiles of approbation at the scenes in which they were uttered. Some kind of oaths would no doubt be offensive where malice and anger are the cause, but innocent, harmless oaths are, by no means, inconsistent with true morality.

"7. Music, vocal and instrumental. I heard some handsome Scotch airs well sung, with a good bass voice; also at every interlude a brisk tune upon the fiddle, with an occasional brattle of the drum and fife. Indeed, I think the proficiency of the youth in the science of music is very extensive, and bespeaks the credit of their instructors. Now you may remember when you and I were talking about playing the fiddle, you told me that on the western side of the mountains, since the late revivals in religion among the Presbyterians, a fiddle was scarcely to be heard in any assembly—that it was not admitted even at a wedding. One instance you gave me of the minister actually interfering, and was about leaving the house when the young people struck up a tune upon the fiddle; so you see that in many things you have been misinformed, and have imbibed quite wrong ideas respecting the Christian religion.

"8. Stage-playing. I saw a scene or two acted which gave general satisfaction to everybody; and I am more favorable to stage-playing than ever before. I see the absurdity of your quotation from the Westminster Divines, when you were arguing with me upon the impropriety of stage-playing; you said that it was expressly prohibited in the Confession of Faith, page 288, quest. 139. 'Dancing, stage-plays are forbidden by this command.' This is only to be understood of the stage-plays in large cities."

Having noticed one or two other points, the article thus concludes:

"Having spent the day thus happily among a liberal and enlightened people, who all seemed as pleased and happy as myself at the truly delightful and entertaining specimens of the very flattering progress of their youth in the various

branches—composition, elocution, pleading at the bar, fencing, boxing, polite swearing, music, both vocal and instrumental, stage-playing, polite blackguarding, and many other less important though elegant accomplishments—I left the sacred spot amidst the approving group, with the following reflections: Happy people! at once the wonder and envy of the world! May I long enjoy the happiness of your pleasing society! May I imbibe your liberal principles, improve by your virtuous example in all the various departments of a truly polite and refined education; free from the vicious extremes of a morose philosophy, of a too rigid morality, and of an austere and squeamish scrupulosity, so unbecoming the benevolent genius of the Christian religion—all which have a native tendency to freeze the genial current of the soul and spoil the social vivacity and mirth of mankind! Auspicious omen for the progressive amelioration of society, far and near, by the diffusive influence of the salutiferous example of many well-taught youths returning to intermingle with the various circles of private life; and, by-and-by, as chance or choice may direct, to fill all the important offices in Church and State. But time would fail me to enumerate all the pleasing and happifying prospects which such an *extensive* and *liberal* education is calculated to produce upon society; wishing you to come and live with us in this truly happy and agreeable part of the country. I am, etc.,

"BONUS HOMO."

As some persons not connected with the college had previously proposed to establish a race-course in the vicinity, the following postscript is added to the above letter:

"P. S. I was at a loss to inform you whether or not your information was true about the horse-races: I was in town in the evening and inquired after them. I heard that previous to that day it was thought they would not succeed; they were strenuously opposed; but the happy effects of the exhibition upon the minds of the citizens that day turned the

public opinion, and I heard one gentleman say (who was till then vehemently opposed to horse-racing) that he would now give five dollars to support the races. Such, you see, is the genuine effect of true religion."

This exposure created, as might be expected, great indignation on the part of the faculty and some of the friends of the college. Various anonymous articles immediately appeared in defence of the exhibition, and against the aspersions of Bonus Homo. The first of these is from Sarah Hastings, disavowing the authorship of Bonus Homo, which she says had been imputed to her on account of her being a stranger lately arrived in Washington, and denouncing the article as an "indirect attempt to crush the rising honor of the infant college, destroy the influence of the respectable faculty —subvert the interests of vital piety—pour contempt on the late revivals of religion, and cast the odium due to this contumacious conduct upon an inoffensive, unprotected and unassuming stranger!!!"

In the same paper a long article from "A Friend to Truth" endeavors to defend the exhibition on the ground "that it is usual in Western seminaries of learning thus to indulge the students and amuse their audience; that the pieces delivered on these occasions are generally the selections of the young men themselves, and that at such times the students, 'freed from college rules and commonplace-book reason,' feel an elasticity of spirit that laughs at the gravity of discipline, and frequently introduce in the arrangements of those days things which serious propriety would perhaps have omitted." The writer then makes several efforts to repel the ironical compliments of Bonus Homo, admitting that he was himself offended at the speech in ridicule of the Irish, and concludes by threatening to "in-

trude" more of his remarks upon the public if Bonus Homo should still persist in his attempts to injure the institution at Washington by his misstatements and false colorings.

In the next paper, 15th October, Bonus Homo replies to Mrs. Hastings, releasing her from the charge of authorship, insisting upon the correctness of his report, and exposing the futility of her attempt to defend the exhibition. In the *Reporter* of the 22d, Bonus Homo replies to "A Friend to Truth," showing that the latter really admits the facts stated, and differs from Bonus Homo only in thinking them justifiable. He denies that he is an enemy to literary institutions or to a liberal education, and declares himself an advocate for a reform in the present mode of academic education. With regard to the excuse offered by "A Friend to Truth," that "the pieces, dialogues, etc., on these occasions are generally the selections of the young men themselves, and meet with merely a hasty, cursory examination by the faculty," he thus speaks:

"What a stab this, at the institution!!! To declare that the boys are left to do as they please; to follow the dictates of juvenile fancy—of puerile folly, unrestrained, unchecked by the salutiferous admonition of prudent, experienced age—that they are permitted to expose themselves and the faculty, through the indolence of the faculty!!! Name it not! I am persuaded the faculty do not act so indiscreetly. They must examine, approve and regulate both the matter and the manner of the exhibition, else it would be a scene of confusion, an exhibition of all the possible *irregularities* and *eccentricities* of human nature."

In the conclusion he offers to enter into discussion with "A Friend to Truth" on certain conditions, and engages to show "the impropriety, inconsistency and

pernicious tendency of the *major part* of the *matter and manner* of such exhibitions, and the *great default* in the present *mode of education*. He also proposes to point out what, in his judgment, and in the judgment of the *greatest, wisest and best of men*, would be more desirable, more useful and more beneficial to individuals and the community at large." To this article he appends a long descriptive poem, setting forth, satirically, the distinguishing features of the exhibition.

In the next paper, 29th October, the discussion is continued with a weak rejoinder from Sarah Hastings, consisting of mere invective, and with a puerile squib from a new correspondent, who signs himself Bonus Puer. In the issue of the 5th of November, we have a badly-spelled article by a student, dated at Canonsburg, in favor of the exhibition, and also the reply of Bonus Homo to Mrs. Hastings. On the 12th November, "A Friend to Truth" appears again upon the stage in an article of two columns, full of abuse and feeble attempts at sarcasm, and declining the discussion offered by Bonus Homo. In the next week's issue, Bonus Homo renews his onslaught. Quoting the announcement of the exercises given in the beginning, he adopts it as his text, and shows that proceeding, as it doubtless did, from the faculty or some friend of the college, it really admitted everything that he had charged upon the exhibition. Referring to what is said in this notice that "a rich variety of entertainment, suited to the varied tastes of the audience, was presented—the gay and the grave, the young and the old, wise men and fools had each a portion meted out to them"—he thus comments:

"What a comprehensive ingenuity, what a prudent foresight, what a large assortment of materials does it require to

suit an exhibition to the 'varied tastes' of such a motley audience! What a wonderful exhibition was it, when the old, the young, the gay, the grave, the wise man, the fool, the drunkard, the duelist, the gambler, the swearer and the fop, all found something *suited* to their respective tastes! The gay had a pleasant tune and a merry tale *suited* to their *gay* taste; the wise men had but a small portion *suited* to their taste. I don't remember what it was, except to gather experimental knowledge from the exhibition of folly. The fool had a vast portion *suited* to his taste. The drunkard had the flowing bowl set before him to tantalize his taste, and a jovial drunken song *suited* to his bacchanalian taste. A duel was fought to gratify the dueler's taste. The gambler groaned under the lash of satire; and the swearer had some good round oaths suited to his taste. But, in one word, the faculty assures us there was something '*suited* to their *varied tastes*.' * * * * It only remains for me to prove that these things are actually taught at the academy, as there is no person who will dare to contradict the honorable faculty, and say these things were not exhibited.

"And here let it be carefully noted that Bonus Homo did not say that these were the *only* things taught in the academy, but that these things *were* taught; and it is as certain that they were the *only* specimens of education which were exhibited that day. On this head, the faculty say that 'the various portions meted out consisted of well-composed pieces, original and selected.' Which of the pieces presented were original or selected, is not my business to determine. It is certain, however, that the pieces were composed and selected either at the direction and discretion of the faculty, or else the young men were left entirely to follow the dictates of juvenile fancy; but is it possible to imagine that the learned faculty would invite the public to witness an exhibition of the performance of the youths under their care, which would consist in specimens in the selection and preparation of which they would be understood to have had no hand, or which did not meet with their previous approbation? It is also as certain

that sufficient time must have been allowed for the purpose of committing the pieces to memory and for preparatory rehearsals, which could not be done without the tuition of the faculty. Who will then venture to assert, in manifest opposition to the indispensable duties and just claims of the faculty and to the dictates of common sense, that these things were not taught in the college which furnished the matter of a collegiate exhibition? Having thus *plainly*, fully and incontrovertibly established my compendious account of the far-famed exhibition from the public declaration of the faculty themselves, it therefore follows that whosoever shall hereafter endeavor to subvert my statements in one single item, must also subvert the faculty's publication, as we both substantially declare the same things."

The end to this amusing discussion is found in the *Reporter* of 3d of December, 1810, where Bonus Homo gives the finishing stroke to the champion of the faculty, "A Friend to Truth," exposing his personal scurrilities and lampoons, and his misrepresentations of facts and want of critical acumen. Among other things, he notices an imputation of ingratitude by this writer, who had said:

"I must add abhorrence to that wretched ingratitude which would raise his hand to destroy his benefactor." To this Bonus Homo replies, "I imagine he here means the president. There is to me something mysterious in this allegation, for, in the next sentence, he considers me a person scarcely an inhabitant of the country. Now, I can assure you, sir, and the public, that, till my arrival at Washington, I did not know that such a person existed, so narrow were the bounds of his fame, or so weak was the voice of the hundred-tongued damsel (or perhaps she had been asleep), that his name did never greet my ears. And I can certainly avow that, since my arrival here, I am not conscious of receiving the smallest favor from that gentleman. How then recognize him as my

benefactor? for surely if he be such to me, it must have been previous to my arrival here, and of course without my knowledge; and if so, unless he has entirely forfeited my gratitude, I hold myself still his grateful beneficiary. But I again aver I never recognized him then, nor, although better acquainted with him now, do I consider him in the light of a benefactor. But even if I had considered him as such, still I hold myself entirely innocent of having acted toward him in any respect that should render me justly liable to the charge of ingratitude. For certainly gratitude itself does not oblige one to acquiesce in the faults and errors of a benefactor, nor tie up the hands from opposing him in a public station when he acts improperly. I should here distinguish with the famous Roman of old, and say with him, 'As he was my friend, I loved him; as he was honorable, I revered him; but as he acted improperly, I blamed him!' Here, then, was gratitude for his benefaction, respect for his dignity, and reproof for his misconduct."

He finally closed by renewing his challenge to discuss the subject with any gentleman who would come forward in the proper manner. To this no reply was made, and Bonus Homo remained the undisputed master of the field.

It is said of Samson that, when a lad, the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times to exercise his gift of physical prowess, "in the camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol." Thus, by a natural impulse, was Alexander Campbell in his youth, led to exercise those remarkable powers of mind for which he became afterward so distinguished, and in this victory over the faculty of the college he enjoyed a foretaste of his future triumphs. For it was not possible in a small town like Washington, that the authorship of Bonus Homo could remain long in doubt, and the pieces, by common consent, were attributed to the young Irishman

who had arrived, some months before, from Glasgow University. One morning, he happened to be standing in one of the stores, when Mr. Brown, the principal of the college, came in. "Well, Mr. Bonus Homo," said he, "I hope you are well this morning." At this abrupt greeting, Alexander blushed deeply, for he was at this time of a very fair complexion, but he managed, in respectfully returning the salutation, to evade the matter without acknowledging himself the author; which, indeed, was quite unnecessary.

As to the effect of the exposure made, it was undoubtedly beneficial to the cause of good order and correct education; and remained long in remembrance through that region of country as a warning against similar improprieties. Even conceding that the matters involved were of minor importance, the incidents related in this chapter show that Alexander had, as has been well said of Luther, "an inflexible reliance on the conclusions of his own understanding and on the energy of his own will," which striking traits in his character, already thus developed, will be found constantly to display themselves in his future history.

In closing this episode in his life, it is pleasing to relate, in connection with it, the following incident: More than thirty years after these occurrences, when Mr. Campbell had attained a high distinction as a writer and a public speaker, he was invited by one of the literary societies of Washington College, to deliver an address. Soon after his arrival at Washington for the purpose, Rev. Mr. Brown, now quite advanced in years, called upon him at his hotel, and after a very cordial greeting and some pleasant conversation, said to him with a smile, and laying his hand upon his knee in his pleasant familiar way, "Mr. Campbell, do you

remember Bonus Homo?" "Yes," replied Mr. Campbell, laughing, "I remember him." "Well," continued Mr. Brown, "Mr. Campbell, you were entirely right in your strictures. There is no doubt that you were perfectly right. I must admit that we were wrong, and the only excuse I have to offer is, that the circumstances and manners of the time seemed then to us to authorize a degree of license which would not at present be tolerated. There were then many defects in our system; but it seemed impossible to do otherwise. The country was new, and the people unprepared for strict scholastic discipline, so that many things had to be left imperfect, and you were well justified in all your criticisms." This was a very pleasant interview to Mr. Campbell, who always cherished a high esteem for Mr. Brown, on account of his many excellent personal qualities and his remarkable zeal in behalf of the interests of education, to which he was incessantly devoted. He was a warm friend to young men, ever solicitous for their advancement, and an ever-active guardian of their interests; so that the memory of President Brown is held in affectionate regard by many in the West, who enjoyed the benefit of his labors, both at Washington and at Canonsburg, where he was subsequently for a long time president of Jefferson College.

While the matters above recorded were transpiring, various overtures were made both to Thomas Campbell and to Alexander to induce them to unite with the religious bodies around them. Flattering inducements were held out to Alexander particularly, to enter the ministry among them, and devote his talents to denominational interests. Various proposals were also made to them in regard to the establishment of seminaries. All these offers and earnest solicitations were, however,

at once declined. Both father and son were unalterably devoted to the great work they had undertaken—to break down the barriers of religious partyism, and to restore the Church to its pristine unity—and could not think of abandoning these cherished objects. Alexander had said in one of his replies to "A Friend to Truth," when charged by him with seeking, by attacking the college, to prepare the way for establishing an academy at Washington: "However honorable and important, in my estimation, a collegiate department may be, I have not the least inclination of devoting myself to that business. I conceive one calling to be enough for one man: I have made my choice, and mean to abide by it. I therefore envy no man's situation, nor covet his employment." He had already consecrated his life and his abilities to the noblest of human pursuits, and in whatever he might occasionally engage as collateral or subsidiary, nothing could be permitted to interrupt the labors of his appropriate calling.

CHAPTER XVI.

First Public Attempt—Active Labors—Methodical Training—Application to Synod of Pittsburg—Controversy of Truth and Error.

THE "Christian Association," formed for the purposes specified in the "Declaration and Address," had occasioned no small stir in religious circles. Many of the people were pleased with the objects in view, and several ministers, personal friends of Thomas Campbell, expressed their approbation of the movement, but refrained from taking an active part in it until they could be more assured of its success. Others of the clergy were in doubt, or regarded the project as chimerical; but the more knowing ones among them, mindful of the effects of similar efforts to reform, began to take the alarm and to keep a watchful eye upon the progress of affairs. To propositions for Christian union so kindly offered, they could, indeed, make no direct opposition, nor could they fail to realize that a certain degree of respect was due to a society, many of whose members were conspicuous for piety, and possessed of great influence in the community. No minister stood higher, as respected ability and moral and religious worth, than Thomas Campbell. No man in the county of Washington had more influence than Thomas Acheson, whose signature was attached, along with that of Mr. Campbell, to the "Declaration and Address." He was usually called General Acheson,

being Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Twenty-second Regiment Pennsylvania Militia, and was universally esteemed and actively engaged in everything calculated to promote the public interests. Besides these, there were other influential persons and families, more or less connected with the religious communities around, whose character and standing gave a considerable degree of importance to the Association in the estimation of the religious public.

At the time of its organization (August 17, 1809), a regular semi-annual meeting of the Society had been appointed for the first Thursday of May and of November; but, as formerly stated, Thomas Campbell continued to preach, as usual, on every Lord's day, first at private houses and afterward at the meeting-house erected at the cross-roads. Alexander, after his arrival, always attended his father's meetings, and as he had already signified his determination to engage in the proposed reformation, his father, after some time, began to express the wish that he would take some public part in these meetings. From his youthfulness, however, and the fact that he was as yet unaccustomed to public speaking, this was for some time delayed, until at length, in the spring of 1810, his father being about to address a congregation at a private house (Jacob Donaldson's), told him that after preaching he would have a short intermission, and would expect him afterward to address the people. Accordingly, after the meeting was resumed, Alexander arose and spoke for a short time, chiefly, however, in the way of exhortation. His father appeared to be much pleased, and at the close of his son's remarks, said, as it were, involuntarily, but loud enough to be heard by those sitting near, "Very well," and then went on to close the

meeting. This was really Alexander's first attempt at speaking; and although his remarks were brief and not in the usual form of a regular sermon, the result inspired him with confidence, so that, upon being afterward urged to prepare and deliver a public discourse, he agreed to do so, and an appointment was made for him for the 15th of July, to address those who chose to assemble, in a grove on the farm of Major Templeton, some eight miles from Washington.

The previous labors of Thomas Campbell, and the novelty of the plea urged by the Christian Association, had excited, as before stated, considerable inquiry throughout this region of country. The interest prevailing and the expectation which had been created by rumors of the promising abilities possessed by Alexander, had drawn together in the grove quite a large assemblage to hear the first discourse of the youthful preacher. He was now in his twenty-second year, still preserving the freshness of complexion and bloom of the cheeks with which he left Ireland; but he had grown somewhat taller, and his figure was somewhat more developed. When the hour arrived, he rose up with modest dignity, in the temporary stand erected for the occasion, in front of which the audience were seated upon rough planks or upon the grass beneath the shady maples, and, the meeting being opened in the usual form, he took up the New Testament and read, from the close of the seventh chapter of Matthew, the following passage:

"Therefore, whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, who built his house upon a rock; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rock. And every one

that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, I will liken unto a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it."

Having read thus from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-seventh verses inclusive, he went on, by way of introduction, to speak, first, of the importance of Christ's sayings; passing, secondly, to a brief notice of the Author of the sermon on the Mount, he, in the third place, called attention to the comprehensiveness of this wonderful discourse of Christ, and, fourthly, to its practical character; and thence, fifthly, to its simplicity and plainness of style, closing his introduction with some observations on Christ's method of teaching by parables. Entering, then, upon the main subject, in order to evolve the doctrine or lesson taught, he went on to describe the wise man and the foolish man; first, contrasting them with each other as to the respects in which they agreed, and, secondly, as to the respects in which they differed. He showed that they agreed in three respects: 1, in their external privileges, 2, in their employment, 3, in their trials; and likewise that they differed in three respects: 1, in their character, 2, in their manner of employment, 3, in the end or result. While treating of these particulars, he took occasion to explain the metaphorical words, house, rock, sand, wind, rain, etc., and having thus led the audience to contemplate the vivid pictures presented in the passage, he proceeded, in his application, to describe, first, the wisdom and blessedness of those who hear Christ's sayings and do them; and, secondly, the folly and misery of those who hear Christ's sayings and do them not. He then made an application of the whole to the

audience before him, closing with an eloquent and appropriate exhortation.

In the delivery of this discourse, the trepidation natural in such a case, and observable in the beginning, soon disappeared. Anxious to succeed in his first trial, he had taken the pains to write out the sermon in full and commit it to memory, so that finding, after he had fairly commenced, and as his clear, ringing voice resounded through the grove, that he could command the fixed attention of the audience, he felt encouraged, and was enabled to proceed without embarassment and with increasing animation to the close.

There was, indeed, in the matter of the discourse nothing that was startling from its novelty, as the passage and the subject were familiar. The arrangement, too, was simple, as well as the manner of delivery, which was almost wholly without gesticulation. But there was something in the reverential bearing of the speaker, in the unaffected simplicity of his manner, in the appropriateness of his expressions, and in the earnest and distinct intonations of his clear and commanding voice, that seemed to rivet the attention of all upon the thoughts and the pictures he presented. Nor did the discourse itself, in its general features, fail to indicate that quality in his mind which became afterward so marked—the power of generalization, and of taking wide and expanded views. Before entering upon the particular lesson of the passage, he must survey, with an enlarged vision, the infinite perfections and authority of the Divine Author, and take a general view of the character of his teaching, and particularly of that of the sermon on the Mount. Having thus prepared the minds of his auditors, and elevated their conceptions to his own lofty stand-point, he could now,

with the utmost facility and effect, fix their attention upon the great truths and practical lessons which were to be impressed upon them.

After the audience was dismissed, there seemed to be but one opinion as to the qualifications of the speaker. All seemed to be forcibly struck with what they had heard. The young gazed upon the youth with wondering eyes, while the older members said one to another, in subdued tones, "Why, this is a better preacher than his father!"—a decision which, in view of Thomas Campbell's reputation as a speaker, was one of the highest compliments they could bestow. Both the theme selected for the occasion, indeed, and the surrounding circumstances, seemed remarkably appropriate, and as if Providence had so arranged them in order to shadow forth the future. It was the determination of the speaker himself to hear the sayings of Christ and do them, and, in now entering upon his career as a religious reformer, to teach both by precept and example that the religious world should no longer follow the commandments and doctrines of men, which rest upon the sandy and unstable basis of opinion, but that they should secure for themselves permanent habitations, founded upon the unshaken rock of Divine authority. Nor was it less appropriate that he who was destined to call men away from human plans and systems should deliver his first discourse, not in any sectarian temple or place of worship built by human hands, but in the open air of free America and beneath the overarching trees which God had planted.

The effect of this discourse was very marked, not only upon the people, but upon the speaker himself. With the former, it at once established his reputation, and the members of the Christian Association who

were present were delighted with this powerful accession to their cause, and unanimously agreed to present to the youthful preacher a formal call to the ministry of the Word. Upon himself, the effect was not less decisive. He realized, to his great joy, that he had not mistaken his vocation. He felt that in addressing the great congregation upon themes that had impressed his heart from boyhood and brightened the visions of his youth, he was in his proper sphere, and that all the hopes and purposes of his life were destined to be happily fulfilled. From this time his services were in continual requisition, and they were, on his part, most freely rendered, as will be seen when it is stated that in the course of this, his first year, he preached no less than *one hundred and six sermons*. These were delivered at the cross-roads; at Washington, and at Buffalo—several at Middletown; some in private houses, and, toward the latter part of the period, a few in the contiguous portions of Ohio, at Steubenville, Cadiz, St. Clairsville, etc.

His first discourse, just noticed, was on July 15th. On the following Lord's day, 22d, he spoke at the cross-roads, from Gal. iii. 28, 29, upon Christian unity. In his introduction he took a grand, comprehensive view of religion from Adam to Christ; and, in the method of his discourse, went on, 1. To point out how and in what respects all believers were one in Christ Jesus; 2. To consider how their being all one in Christ makes them the seed of Abraham; 3. To make some remarks on what is implied in being heirs according to the promise; and, 4. To make some practical inferences. He then considered the particulars under each of these heads; as, the arguments made use of by the apostle to convince both Jews and Gentiles of their oneness in

every respect under the Christian dispensation, and then the similitudes made use of to represent the oneness of believers in Christ: 1. Members of the same body, 2. Branches of the same vine, 3. Stones of the same building, and, 4. As represented under the emblem of a shepherd and his fold. Having, in like manner, illustrated scripturally the second and third heads, he drew from the whole the practical inferences: "1. If all believers be one in Christ Jesus, what love, what charity, what benevolence, what forbearance ought to be manifested! 2. How shall we be honored if members of Christ's body! and, 3. How foolish, vain and absurd are all associations formed for the purpose of cementing men more closely by means of oaths!" adding an exhortation to seek this oneness in Christ; and closing with regrets for the divided state of the Church, and with a brief consideration of the motives for rejoicing in being heirs according to the promise. This sermon also was written out in full and committed to memory before delivery; and, being on a subject so appropriate to the designs of the Christian Association, was heard by the audience with great satisfaction.

On the following Lord's day, the 29th of July, he preached at Washington from Matt. xvi. 26: "For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" In the introduction he dwelt generally upon the tendency of mankind to forget their best interests and the value of their souls, and to put a false estimate upon the worth of the world. The method of the discourse was: "1. What are we to understand by the whole world, here supposed to be the object of pursuit—the thing to be gained? 2. Inquire if the gain of the world necessarily implies the loss of

the soul. 3. Inquire into the greatness of the loss sustained by him who should gain the whole world and lose his own soul. 4. Examine what is necessarily presupposed and implied in *so* loving the world that it may become the unhappy occasion of losing our souls. 5. Make an appropriate application." This discourse was also written out in full and committed to memory, and was delivered a second time at Buffalo, on the 5th of August. On the 19th of August he preached again at Washington. The minutes of this sermon are as follows:

"Revelation xx. 11: *And I saw a great white throne*, etc. INTRODUCTION, with remarks on the nature and solemnity of judgment in general.

METHOD.—I. Describe the preparations made for judgment. II. The appearance of the Judge. III. The persons to be judged. IV. The manner in which they were judged. V. The subject of trial.

The text thus divided:—(1.) "And I saw a great white throne." (2.) "And him who sat on it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled away." (3.) "And the Sea gave up the dead that were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the dead that were in them, and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God." (4.) "And the books were opened, and another book was opened, which was the book of life." (5.) "And they were judged, every man according to his works."

I. *Particulars under first head.*—1. The throne—how to be understood. 2. The greatness of it. 3. Its whiteness—emblem of purity and righteousness.

II. *Particulars under second head.*—The Judge described.

III. *Particulars under third head.*—What we understand by small and great—the Sea, Death and Hell giving up their dead.

IV. *Particulars under fourth head.*—1. The Book of the law of Nature. 2. The Book of the law of Moses. 3.

The Book of the law of the Gospel. 4. The Book of God's Remembrance. 5. The Book of Conscience. 6. The Book of Life.

V. *Particulars under fifth head.*—The subject of trial; the works of man.

INFERENCES:—1. The necessity of being well acquainted with the statute-book of Heaven, to know how the trial will go with us.

2. The necessity of being well acquainted with our own thoughts, words and actions.

3. A general application of the whole subject.

This discourse was also committed to memory, and was delivered a second time at Buffalo on the 26th. The subject of which it treats seems to have been a favorite one with him, and he often dwelt upon it during his subsequent public ministrations; hence, as it was among the earliest, so it was among the latest on which he spoke at the close of his protracted ministry.

On the second of September, he preached at the cross-roads, from Genesis v. 22: "And Enoch walked with God." *Introduced* by remarks on the life of Enoch.

METHOD.—I. What changes must previously take place as of indispensable necessity before the walk with God commences. II. Explain the nature and evidences of the walk with God. III. Draw some inferences.

I. *Particulars under first head.*—Man's natural state described—1. His understanding is darkened; 2. His judgment perverted; 3. His affections depraved; 4. His taste vitiated by sin; so that his desires, his views, his character, his pursuits, are quite opposite to what God requires and loves.

The change that takes place is then described.

II. *Particulars under second head.*—The walk with God described. A number of Scriptures cited where the phrase is

used. The walk with God consists in: (1.) The continual exercise of repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; (2.) In an habitual realizing regard to the presence of God; (3.) In a daily dependence on his word, promises, providence and grace; (4.) In a careful attendance upon all his ordinances; (5.) In a conscientious obedience to all his commandments, without regarding the praise or the censure of men; (6.) In submission to his providential appointments, and adorning his Gospel with a becoming conversation.

III. *The advantages derived*—God—1. Supplies his wants; 2. Interposes in his straits; 3. Meets him in his ordinances—is his guide, companion and friend, and at last receives him to abide with him for ever.

APPLICATION.—To commence this walk early and to maintain it closely.

This sermon was not committed to memory like the preceding ones; and though he occasionally afterward wrote out a sermon in full, he, from this time, abandoned the practice of committing them to memory, depending upon a few notes of the general heads or divisions of the subject. This is the common usage with extemporaneous speakers, as it leaves the mind in greater freedom, and imposes no restraints upon the imagination and the fancy. It was the custom of the eloquent Robert Hall, who used to say that he liked to have such a general outline of his subject, "*as a channel for his thoughts to flow in.*" But even this assistance, Alexander Campbell, after some time, relinquished, relying altogether on his own recollections of the arrangement of his theme, upon which he had previously meditated, or upon the methodizing power of his own mind at the time of delivery.

As many members of the Christian Association lived near Buffalo Creek, it was, about this time, resolved to erect a house of worship there. They accordingly

selected a piece of ground on the farm of William Gilchrist, in the valley of Brush Run, about two miles above its junction with Buffalo Creek, as an eligible site for the building which was to be framed. On the farm immediately adjoining there was a saw-mill, and the sons of the proprietor, David Bryant, one of whom, Joseph, was a zealous member of the Association, at once engaged in sawing out the necessary lumber. Meantime, it was agreed to erect a temporary stand near the ground chosen, and Alexander was requested to deliver the first discourse, which he did, standing beneath the shade of a spreading tree. The text he chose for the occasion was, in view of subsequent events, singularly appropriate and prophetic. It was from Job viii. 7: "*Though thy beginning was small, thy latter end should greatly increase.*" In his Introduction he illustrated the maxim from the works of nature, Providence and grace, showing how small the seeds of things, and how apparently insignificant the sources of mighty streams and the causes of the most important revolutions. His "Method" then was to treat, first, of what is meant by the *beginning;* secondly, of what is meant by the *increase;* thirdly, to consider how we ought to act that from small beginnings the end may *greatly iucrease.* Under the first head, the "beginning" was understood and explained of temporal, spiritual and church affairs; and under the second, the "increase" was illustrated in the augmentation of the same species, the spread of truth, etc. From the whole, rules were deduced for direction as to how we are to manage that, from small beginnings, the latter end may greatly increase. This discourse was delivered on September 16, 1810, and was often referred to in subsequent years by those who had heard it, when the

rapid spread of the principles of the reformation furnished for the text a striking application.

On the following Lord's day (September 23d), four days previous to the college exhibition on which he commented in the *Reporter* (as related in the last chapter) under the pseudonym of Bonus Homo, he spoke twice in Washington—the first sermon being from Numbers xii. 10, and the second from Luke x. 41, 42. And again, on the first day of the following week (30th of September), he preached at Buffalo from Romans iii. 28. Of these discourses, according to custom, he preserved copious minutes, of which want of space here forbids the insertion, enough having been already given to show the careful training to which his mind was subjected in the preparation of sermons during the early period of his ministry. For the adoption of this strict and careful method he was much indebted to the instructions and careful criticisms of his father, who had been educated according to the strict rules of the Scotch Seceder clergy, and who could never be satisfied with a sermon unless it was composed and arranged according to rule. The rules, indeed, were very proper, being founded upon correct principles, both of logic and of rhetoric, which were already familiar to Alexander, and readily reduced to practice. It became, accordingly, almost an invariable custom with the father and the son, after having heard each other's discourses, to examine and test them upon their return home by the established rules. It was always a special point with Thomas Campbell to ascertain, first, whether or not the division of the subject had been such as to exhaust it; and, secondly, whether or not the views or doctrines delivered were truly those of the text, taken in its proper connection with what preceded and what fol-

lowed it. He would admit of no fanciful interpretations or far-fetched applications, but desired constantly that the discourse should be strictly confined within the range of the ideas presented in the passage. In regard to this point, he differed greatly from many of his fellow-ministers among the Seceders and other parties, who often wandered widely from the text, and made it rather a *motto* for some speculation of their own, than a Scripture theme to be discussed and enforced.

About this time an event occurred which had considerable influence in determining the progress of affairs. It had become for some time evident to Thomas Campbell that the reformatory movement of which, by unanimous consent, he still retained the entire direction, was not extending itself as he had hoped. The arguments and entreaties of the "Declaration and Address" seemed to have fallen upon dull ears. His overtures appeared to meet with but little response, and no effort was known to be making anywhere to form, as proposed, societies auxiliary to the Christian Association. On the other hand, the Association itself seemed to be insensibly assuming a somewhat different character from the one originally contemplated, and, under the regular ministrations of Alexander and himself, to be gradually taking the position of a distinct religious body. This was a matter which occasioned Thomas Campbell great uneasiness; though it was but a natural consequence of the antagonism which existed, of necessity, between the Society and all the religious parties, since its avowed object was to put an end to partyism. The idea that he should, after all, be the means of creating a *new* party was most abhorrent to the mind of Thomas Campbell; and as he began to realize more and more the probability of such a result, he felt the more dis-

posed to adopt any measures consistent with his principles by which it could be avoided. It was while he was contemplating the progress of affairs from this point of view, that he was very earnestly solicited, both by private members and by some of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church, to form an ecclesiastical union with them. This was urged upon him especially by Rev. Mr. Anderson, then pastor of the congregation at Upper Buffalo, who was warmly attached to Mr. Campbell personally, and who expressed his confidence that the Presbytery generally would willingly receive him and the members of the Christian Association upon the principles they advocated, as all of them professed their belief in the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. This, indeed, was true, with the exception that Thomas Campbell objected to the chapter conferring power upon the clergy; and that a few members doubted, and others denied, the validity of infant baptism, though they all seemed willing to make this a matter of forbearance. Influenced, accordingly, by these solicitations, and a strong desire to avoid even the appearance of forming a new party, Thomas Campbell finally concluded to propose at least the matter to the Presbyterian Synod which was soon to assemble at Washington.

His previous ill-treatment by the Secession Presbytery and Synod, and their refusal to tolerate the liberal views he advocated, had not discouraged him. In the exercise of that charity that "beareth all things," and "believeth all things," he also "hoped all things," trusting that his former ministerial associates would yet see their error; and, in the fullness of the convictions which rested upon his own mind as to the all-sufficiency of the Divine basis of union which he proposed, fondly thinking that the educated and intelligent ministers of

the Presbyterian Church might be induced to accept his overture, and co-operate with him in a work so desirable as that of uniting all in one common brotherhood. It could, at least, he thought, do no harm to propose the matter. As he had labored in the Old World to bring about a union between two of the branches of the Presbyterian Church, the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, he felt that now, from the higher religious stand-point to which he had attained, it would be a privilege to plead, before one of the high courts of the ecclesiastical body which in America was the representative of the mother Kirk of Scotland, the cause of a universal Christian union. In so doing, he would, at all events, deliver his own soul; relieve himself from responsibility, and prove whether the sympathy shown him by his Presbyterian friends, really proceeded from their appreciation of the justness of his cause, or merely from their sectarian hostility and rivalry in relation to the Seceders. It should be stated here, however, that Alexander, who held somewhat different views from those of his father in regard to the spirit of Presbyterianism, neither approved the measure nor anticipated any favorable results; but, under existing circumstances, he did not think it proper to make any direct opposition to his father's wishes.

It was on the second day of October that the Synod met at Washington, and the Rev. Samuel Ralston, who had been Moderator at the previous meeting, opened the session with a sermon. The Synod was termed the "Synod of Pittsburg," and was composed of the Presbyteries of Erie, Hartford, Lancaster, Redstone, Ohio, etc.* The following account of the pro-

* The representatives of the Redstone Presbytery were—Dr. James Power, Samuel Porter, Jacob Jennings, William Speare, William Swan, F. Laird,

ceedings in the case is taken from the published minutes in the records of the Synod, as approved by the General Assembly, Eliphalet Nott being Moderator, May 21, 1811. On the third day of the meeting, October 4, 1810, afternoon session, the following entry appears:

"Synod met pursuant to adjournment. Mr. Thomas Campbell, formerly a minister of the Associate Synod, now representing himself as in some relation to a Society called the 'Christian Association of Washington,' applied to the Synod to be taken into Christian and ministerial communion.

"After hearing Mr. Campbell at length, and his answers to various questions proposed to him, the Synod unanimously resolved, that however specious the plan of the Christian Association and however seducing its professions, as experience of the effects of similar projects in other parts has evinced their baleful tendency and destructive operations on the whole interests of religion by promoting divisions instead of union, by degrading the ministerial character, by providing free admission to any errors in doctrine, and to any corruptions in discipline, whilst a nominal approbation of the Scriptures as the only standard of truth may be professed, the Synod are constrained to disapprove the plan and its native effects.

"And further, for the above and many other important reasons, it was resolved, that Mr. Campbell's request to be received into ministerial and Christian communion cannot be granted.

"Mr. Campbell requested to have a copy of the Synod's decision in his case. The Synod agreed to grant his request. and the clerk was ordered to furnish him with a copy. * *

James Adams, William Wiley, James Grahame, J. Guthrie and Thomas Hunt. From the Presbytery of Ohio were present—Rev. John McMillan, James Dunlap, Joseph Patterson, James Hughs, Thomas Marquis, Boyd Mercer, Samuel Ralston, William Wood, John Anderson, Andrew Given, Matthew Brown, Joseph Anderson, George Scott, etc.

"Session of Friday, October 5, at 3 o'clock P. M. Synod met agreeably to adjournment, etc.

"Mr. Thomas Campbell appeared in Synod and asked an explanation of what those 'important reasons' are, mentioned in a former minute respecting him, for which the Synod cannot receive him into Christian and ministerial communion. On motion, resolved that Mr. Campbell shall be furnished with an answer to his request before the rising of the Synod. The Synod agreed to return the following answer to Mr. Campbell's inquiry, viz.: It was not for any immorality in practice, but, in addition to the reasons before assigned, for expressing his belief that there are some opinions taught in our Confession of Faith which are not founded in the Bible, and avoiding to designate them; for declaring that the administration of baptism to infants is not authorized by scriptural precept or example, and is a matter of indifference, yet administering that ordinance while holding such an opinion; for encouraging or countenancing his son to preach the gospel without any regular authority; for opposing creeds and confessions as injurious to the interests of religion; and, also, because it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should form a connection with any ministers, churches or associations; that the Synod deemed it improper to grant his request.

"On reading the above to Mr. Campbell, he denied having said that infant baptism was a matter of indifference, and declared that he admitted many truths drawn by fair induction from the Word of God; acknowledged that he opposed creeds and confessions when they contained anything not expressly contained in the Bible; that he believes there are some things in our Confession of Faith not expressly revealed in the Bible. He also declared that he felt himself quite relieved from the apprehension which he at first had with respect to his moral character."

There are several points in regard to this somewhat curious affair that deserve notice. Thomas Campbell

appears to have made the application as, impliedly at least, the representative of the Christian Association, and it seems to have been so understood by the Synod, from what is said in their reply, that "it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should make a connection with any ministers, churches, or associations." It appears also that Mr. Campbell laid before the Synod a full and candid statement of the plan and purposes of the Society, as these, in their reply, constitute the principal ground of objection; and that there was no indication given of a disposition, on the part of the Society, to abandon these purposes, the proposition being in effect that the Presbyterian body would afford shelter and give its countenance and support to the proposed reformation. In his address before the Synod, Mr. Campbell was careful to define clearly the position which the Society occupied, and to state that it was not a Church, but simply a society organized for the promotion of Christian unity. He humbly and earnestly proposed to the Synod to be obedient to it in all things that the gospel and law of Christ inculcated, only desiring to be permitted to advocate that sacred unity which Christ and his apostles expressly enjoined; or, in other words, that the Synod would consent to "Christian union upon Christian principles." It was not, then, an offer on the part of Thomas Campbell or those connected with him, to unite with the Synod on *Presbyterian* principles. It was not an offer to join the Presbyterian party *as such*. Had they been willing to do this, and to become Presbyterians in a denominational sense, they would have been most gladly welcomed. But the Society had no idea of thus losing its identity or relinquishing its aims. On the contrary, it desired to continue its labors

under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, with which its members proposed to have, in the mean time, ministerial and Christian communion.

This seemed to them desirable on several accounts. For, as the Society was not a Church, having distinctly disavowed this character in the "Declaration and Address," most of its members, in attendance on the public ministrations of Thomas Campbell and his son Alexander, were deprived of various privileges which belonged to the church relation. Thomas Campbell himself belonged to no sect, having left the Seceders, though in doing so, he by no means considered himself as renouncing his ministerial character or rights. Most of those who had been in connection with the parties around, felt that this connection was virtually dissolved by their long absence from their places in the congregations; and there were some members of the Society who had never been united religiously with any party. It was hence evident that the Society must obtain admission into some regularly organized religious body, or be itself compelled to change its attitude and resolve itself into an independent Church—an alternative which Thomas Campbell particularly desired to avoid. It was this very dread of the ultimate formation of a new religious body, that caused him to overlook the absurdity of expecting that any sect would receive him and the Society he represented, on the terms proposed. For a party to have admitted into its bosom those who were avowedly bent on the destruction of partyism, would of course have been perfectly suicidal. It would have been only to repeat in another form, and with a full knowledge of the object in view, the story of the wooden horse of Troy, and to have the gates of its well-walled ecclesiastical city thrown open to its ene-

mies. It cannot reasonably be denied, therefore, that the Presbyterian Synod, in rejecting the application, manifested very much of the wisdom of the *serpent*.

From the Christian stand-point, however, its course displayed a marvelous lack, not only of the qualities of the *dove*, but of the wisdom that cometh from on high. In reality, the application of Thomas Campbell was a high compliment to the supposed liberality and the assumed purposes of the Presbyterian organization, and the candid and kind manner in which the proposition was made, as well as the excellent character of the applicant, ought to have secured, in the reply at least, some few words of courteous recognition. But the terms of the reply, in the first instance, were curt, harsh, and in one place so ambiguous that Mr. Campbell was compelled, from a sense of duty to himself, to appear again before the Synod, to ask for an explanation of the phrase "many other important reasons," by which the Synod attempted to justify its action—an expression so indefinite as obviously to *allow*, if not to *invite*, the very worst construction. And in their explanation, the Rev. Synod, in searching for these "important reasons," finds one of them in the frivolous pretext that Alexander had been allowed to exercise his gift of public speaking, as it says, "without any regular authority," or before ordination—a liberty taken by both Knox and Calvin, and one often accorded to theological students. It condescends, also, in other alleged reasons, to misrepresent Mr. Campbell's views, and to give its sanction and authority to unfounded rumors, as if they had been admitted matters of fact. In all this, however, it was sectarianism that spoke, in the exercise of that self-sufficient, narrow and despotic spirit which seems inherent in all legislative religious bodies.

On the other hand, on the principles professed by the Synod, it does not appear how they could legitimately reject the application. The Confession of Faith of the Synod declared the Bible to be the only rule of faith and practice, and yet when a respectable body of religious persons apply for admission, they are ruled out, because they will have no other rule than the Bible! They are rejected for adhering to the "only rule" admitted to be infallible, and for presuming to doubt the infallibility of the Westminster Confession!—Rejected, not for any violation of the "only rule," but because they cannot admit that a human creed or confession is in reality the "only rule!" How completely this verified the remark made by Mr. Campbell in his "Declaration and Address," "That a book adopted by any party as its standard for all matters of doctrine, worship, discipline and government, must be considered as the Bible of that party!" And how evident it is that, in the sectarian world, there are just as many different Bibles as there are different and authoritative explanations of the Bible, called creeds and confessions! In the case of Thomas Campbell it was the "Confession," and not the Bible, that was made the standard by which one of the best of men was denied religious fellowship. No principles, however true; no individual, however pious, could be admitted, if the safety of the party would be thereby endangered. The sect, with all its machinery, must, at all hazards, be preserved. It could permit no change, it could endure no reformation, but must remain a sect to the end of time!

Before closing this notice of the proceedings of the Synod, it may be well to remark that, as the article of Bonus Homo, exposing the improprieties which had been permitted at the commencement of Washington

College, appeared in the *Reporter* on the very day of the assembling of the Synod, it might be supposed that the action of the Synod was, in part, due to feelings of irritation. If, however, such feelings could be at all supposed to influence so respectable a body of *divines*, it does not appear that the authorship of Bonus Homo was, at that time, sufficiently known to give such a direction to them as to occasion the rejection of Mr. Campbell's application. It is true, that in reversing what was the Divine rule under the Jewish institution, of visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, the Synod made Alexander's preaching, for the three months previous, one of their "important reasons" for rejecting his father's application, and in so doing might appear to have some special reason for mentioning and singling out the youth as a particular mark for censure. Still, as its action admits of satisfactory explanation upon the well-known principles that govern religious parties, it is not necessary to suppose the existence of influences merely temporary and personal.

As for Thomas Campbell, he had now gained additional insight into the mysteries of sectarianism, and could better appreciate the sagacity with which his son had anticipated the results of his application. Finding that all his overtures for Christian union were rejected, and all his efforts to induce the religious parties to accept the Bible as the only basis of union had proved abortive, he now felt himself like a waif dropped upon the surface of religious society, unsought and unclaimed. He did not, however, on this account, lose for a moment his equanimity or his confidence in the principles which he advocated; and, as according to the ancient law, all unclaimed waifs belonged to the *king*, he felt that he truly belonged to the King of kings, and that,

however his principles or his efforts might be disregarded by men, his labors were in perfect harmony with the revealed will of that glorious Being whom he delighted to serve, and that they could not fail to be, therefore, acceptable in His sight. He cherished no unkind feelings in relation to the action of the Synod in his case, and did not think it expedient to take any public notice of the allegations in the Synod's reply. He was so much opposed to religious controversy, and so much in hope that his plea for Christian union would be accepted by the religious parties without debate, that he had, in the "Declaration and Address," entirely precluded himself and the Association from engaging in any oral discussion upon the subject, merely proposing to answer, in writing, any respectful written communications.

There was one member, however, of the Society who had joined it after the adoption of the "Declaration and Address," who took a different view both of the propriety and the necessity of religious controversy, and who was not disposed to allow the aspersions and misrepresentations of the Synod of Pittsburg to pass without a suitable exposure. Alexander Campbell, though but a youth, and as yet a novice in the field of polemics, was not of a spirit tamely to submit to the proceedings of the Synod in relation to his father and the Christian Association, and he resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity to review them publicly. He felt that this duty rested upon him, his father being inhibited by his published Declaration, and no other member of the Society seeming disposed to take upon him this office. Thus the youthful champion was left to meet, by himself, the formidable array of reverend clergymen and doctors of divinity that

composed the Synod of Pittsburg, as the son of Manoah was left by the Israelites to encounter alone the hosts of the Philistines.

As the semi-annual meeting of the Christian Association happened to be near at hand, he concluded to avail himself of it, as affording the most suitable public opportunity for his purpose. In this the Association acquiesced, as the course of the Synod had given rise to various misapprehensions, and it was deemed desirable to bring the nature and objects of the Society more prominently before the people. The following advertisement was accordingly inserted in the *Reporter* on the 22d and 29th of October, 1810, a few days after the meeting of the Synod:

"The Christian Association of Washington holds its semi-annual meeting at Washington on Thursday, the first of November next, at 11 o'clock. There will be delivered upon that occasion by Alexander Campbell, V. D. S.,* an appropriate discourse illustrative of the principles and design of the Association, and for the purpose of obviating certain mistakes and objections which ignorance or willful opposition has attached to the humble and well-meant attempts of the Society to promote a thorough scriptural reformation, as testified in their address to the friends and lovers of peace and truth throughout all the Churches." * * * *

At the time appointed, Alexander addressed a large assemblage from Isaiah lvii. 14, and lxii. 10. As this

* In renouncing the title "Reverend" as an improper designation for a preacher, it being applied in Scripture to the name of the Divine Being, Thomas Campbell continued for some time to annex occasionally to his name the initials V. D. M., representing the words Verbi Divini Minister, or "Minister of the Word of God," as indicating the position to which, in Divine Providence, he felt himself called. In the advertisement above, Alexander, either to attract a little more attention, or as an offset to the D.D.'s of the reverend Synod, chose to indicate his office by the initials of the words Verbi Divini Servus, "Servant of the Word of God."

discourse reveals the views which he at this time held in relation to some important points, as well as the objects then proposed, an abstract of it is here given. He introduced his subject thus:

"As the benighted traveler at midnight's dreary hour is consoled with the hope of day's return; as the husbandman, when frigid winter's icy hands congeal the plains, is cheered by the hope of spring; as the septennial captive rejoices in the expectation of the hour of freedom, so the Bible-illumined Christian, in the dismal season of Zion's tribulation, exults in the firm persuasion that the promise of her deliverance will be fulfilled, and that the happy hour will speedily arrive when God will favor her, make her 'a praise in the midst of the earth,' and shall cause her 'righteousness to go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth.' Aided by the light of Divine revelation, and encouraged by the faithfulness of God, we are enabled to expect, and with joy anticipate, a happy season, when the 'heathen' shall be given to King Jesus 'for his inheritance,' and 'the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession;' when 'the Gentiles shall see Zion's righteousness, and all kings her glory.' Even in this misty day, when the love of many waxeth cold; when vile corruptions have stained the professed Church of God; when animosities and angry controversy, discord and division have tarnished the sacred name of Christian; when the ecclesiastical hireling lifts up his voice in the sanctuary, saying, 'What will you give me?' when many shepherds have fleeced their flocks and then scattered them on the mountains,—even in this portentous day, we are warranted to expect that the Lord will soon revive his work, and are encouraged, by the kind prophecy of God, to hope that the day, is not far hence when the stumbling-block shall be removed out of the way of the people; when the Canaanite shall not be found within Jerusalem's hallowed walls; when buyers and sellers shall be scourged out of the temple, and when angry discord shall no more alienate the sons of God."

Continuing his introductory remarks, he spoke, first, of the gracious design of prophecy, and its influence upon the mind; secondly, of the design of the prediction under consideration; and, thirdly, of the things to which these predictions chiefly referred. In the fourth place, he showed that the state of the Jews and the providence of God toward them corresponded remarkably with the present state of the Church and the providence of God toward it; that, in both cases, there was to be a great revival—that the same prophecy which announced the glorious end, declared also that previously there should be fit persons raised up to maintain the Lord's cause—the cause of Zion. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace, day nor night." Isaiah lxii. 6. "Ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest till he establish and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth." In this connection, after showing how much had been done since the French Revolution to arouse the people to a true sense of civil and religious liberty, and to spread the Gospel over the world, he continues as follows:

"But time forbids us to enumerate the many noble exertions that have been made, and are at this day making, for the conversion of the heathen. Rapid progress is making in the translation of the Scriptures into every language under heaven, so that they shall soon be read in every language and in every tongue. In the mean time, the work is in its infancy. It is well, however, that it is begun, be it within or without the Church. Reformation is also begun within the Church, and the labors of those who have been engaged in this work have not been in vain. Many within these last sixteen years, both by writing and preaching, have been engaged in the arduous work; many are crying day and night, and are determined to 'give

God no rest till he make Zion a praise in the midst of the earth.' Not long since, an humble attempt has been made here, where, indeed, the enemy, the demon of divisions and delusions, raging and tearing like an impetuous flood, seemed to carry all before it. Even here has the Lord's banner been displayed in behalf of truth, in an humble and unanswerable expostulation upon the evils of division, accompanied by an irrefutable detection of their evil causes, and an overture for union in truth amongst all the friends and lovers of truth throughout the churches. (See Address, p. 19.) The reception this attempt has experienced has evinced its origin. It has met the approbation of no party as such. Had it fared otherwise, it would have evinced itself not catholic, original and pure, for no party can, with any show of decency, pretend to these properties and yet refuse to be measured by the pure, original and catholic standard of the Holy Scriptures. They will only submit to be tried by their own standards; that is, in other words, by their own opinions, as if the word had no certain, fixed or express meaning of its own, but just what they are pleased to give it."

After dwelling on these and several other introductory points, he went on to discuss the subject, first "considering the duties inculcated in the figures presented in the text; secondly, showing that the performance of these duties had been attempted under the auspices of the 'Christian Association;' and, in the third place, endeavoring to obviate some feigned and plausible objections that ignorance or willful opposition had made." He then makes a proper division of the text, and goes on to elucidate the different heads.

1. "Go through, go through the gates," is shown "to be spoken in reference to the situation of the persons addressed, who were in the midst of Babylon. It is necessary that they should remove hence ere they could come to Zion. Hence separation from Babylon is the first duty inculcated in the natural order of the text. Refer to 2 Cor. vi. 17; Rev. xviii." 4. He then showed "what was meant by Babylon in the New Testament sense, and the indispensable necessity of removing

from it, 1. For our own sakes, in compliance with God's commands; and, 2. For the sake of others, in the work of reformation."

2. Under the second division, "Prepare the way, * * * take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people, * * * cast up the highway, gather out the stones," he went on to observe that "various figures are employed to illustrate the preparation of the way here intended, and that various things have always been necessary in preparing the way for a general, permanent reformation. Previous to the establishment of the Christian religion, a messenger was sent to say, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God; every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places smooth."

3. He then applied the expressions "cast up the highway," etc., as now "equivalent to 'disencumber the Scriptures from the traditions of men, and exhibit them in a simple and perspicuous manner,' as they are the only authorized highway from Babylon to Zion, or from this world to heaven. Of it Isaiah (xxxv. 8, 9) says, 'And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it, but it *shall* be for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err *therein*. No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk *there*. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.'

"There have been other ways found out by men, but none of them were broad enough to hold every traveler to Zion. They were by-roads appropriated to their owners, but not like the king's high-road, that suffered every man who was a lawful, well-behaved subject to pass unmolested."

4. He then shows that "the persons who should be instrumental in making this reformation are commanded to repair this established road and direct the people to it; to stand and cry (Jer. vi. 16): 'Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways

and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein and ye shall find rest for your souls.' It is only by walking in this way that rest can be obtained; and what is this way? Do not the Scriptures of truth furnish the only established law or way for Christians, whether in an individual or church capacity, to walk to heaven in? To the law and to the testimony. Psalm cxix. 105: 'Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.' It is sufficient for every purpose and for every work. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17: '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.' It is also said, Psalm xix. 7, 8, 9: 'The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes; the fear of the Lord is clean, enduring for ever; the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' In harmony with these teachings, the apostle commands Christians and the preachers of the gospel to hold fast the 'form of sound words, which,' says he, 'ye have heard of me.' The sects have all, in a good degree at least, held fast the substance, but none of them the form, and yet Paul commands Timothy to hold fast the form, and also 'to commit those things to faithful men, who should be able to teach others also;' and he declares that 'if any man teach otherwise and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing,' etc. All the sects have been strenuously contending for their own confessions, but none of them for the faith once delivered to the saints in the form in which it was delivered.

"5. The next figure of expression made use of for instructing us in the necessary preparation of the way is, 'take up the stumbling-block from the way of my people.' This stumbling-block and the stones that were to be gathered out

of the way are understood to denote whatever causes God's people to stumble on their way Zionward; whatever prevents them from conforming to the Word of God in all things; whatever prevents them from enjoying all the privileges of the dispensation under which we live. These hinderances are then shown to be human opinions and inventions of men, and the way in which they thus hinder is explained."

In explaining the figure, "lift up a standard for the people," it is shown, "1. That the standard is the testimony of Jesus Christ, which is the spirit of prophecy. 2. That other testimonies have in vain been lifted up for this purpose. That standards had been lifted up which narrowed the gates of Zion, so that only a few of a certain height and breadth could have admission, and there were none of them but would reject those whom God has not rejected, and deny admission to those whom God had admitted. All are defective. The apostle Paul, the angel Gabriel in human form, could not be admitted on the principles of these standards. The standard, as infallible, is made to open admission into the door of the Church as well as into the gates of heaven."

Under the second general head, he endeavored to show "that their Society had attempted to perform the duties referred to, 1. By endeavoring to remove the stumbling-block of making the private opinions of men a term of communion. 2. By gathering out of the way the stumbling-stones of human invention. 3. By pointing to the good old way, and maintaining that it is perfect, infallible, and sufficient. 4. By lifting up as our standard and maintaining that the New Testament is as perfect a constitution for the worship, discipline and government of the New Testament Church, and as perfect a rule for the particular duties of its members, as the Old Testament was for its members. We have decided, therefore, to lift it up as a standard for the Church, to open the gates of admission into the Church as wide as the gates of heaven."

He now, under the third head, goes on to obviate objections; the first one of these noticed is, "*that the principle*

and plan adopted have a tendency to increase divisions, and to terminate in a new party." This objection he obviates, "1. By reference to the express declarations, in the appendix to the Address, on this particular point. 2. By noticing the effects of the labors of the Prince of Peace, and showing that as it was in his case, so it is in ours. If our overture offend any of the brethren, the blame cannot be attached to us. 3. By referring to the proceedings of the Society heretofore, as bearing testimony to the sincerity of its professions, as all concerned well knew. He then further proceeds to show that if the various parties refuse to give up their anti-Christian practices, usurpations and administrations, separation from them becomes indispensably necessary. 'It is in their power,' he says, 'to verify their own predictions by forcing us into a party. But even then we do not become a *new* party, but only in the same sense that the primitive Christians became a new party—a sect everywhere spoken against.' He insists that they could be regarded as a party only on the ground that taking the New Testament for their constitution, or making it the only rule, or opening the door of communion as wide as the gate of heaven, could be regarded as party principles; that the primitive Church was precisely such a party, and that if such a party does not now exist, we should be happy to be such a party—such as would receive the whole household of faith upon original, catholic and pure principles. If, however, he adds, our brethren still persist to criminally impeach us with partyism and schism, we must impute it to their willful opposition.'

"The second objection is, that *it tends to degrade the ministerial character.* This, like the former, is an impeachment thrown in the very face of express declarations. See Address, resolution fifth, which says, 'That this Society, formed for the sole purpose of promoting simple, evangelical Christianity, shall, to the utmost of its power, countenance and support such ministers, and such only, as exhibit a manifest conformity to the original standard in conversation and doctrine, in zeal and diligence; only such as reduce to practice that simple

original form of Christianity expressly exhibited upon the sacred page, without attempting to inculcate anything of human authority, of private opinion or inventions of men, as having any place in the constitution, faith or worship of the Christian Church, or anything as matter of Christian faith or duty, for which there cannot be expressly produced a Thus saith the Lord, either in express terms or by approved precedent.' Does such a proposal as this, tend to degrade the ministerial character? If so, we know not how to exalt the ministerial character. What! Will the acknowledgment of only such ministers as are scripturally qualified degrade the ministerial character? What! Will the admission of such doctrines only as are expressly revealed open a door to errors and corruptions? Then surely the blame must lie on the Scriptures and not on us. That our principles would reduce hirelings, drones, idle shepherds, dumb dogs, blind guides and unfaithful watchmen to contempt, we allow.

"It is also true, that if nothing be admitted but what is expressly found in the Bible, many things that are deemed precious and important must be excluded. But none will dare to say that what is expressly revealed will be error. Therefore, unless our accusers produce relevant proof to condemn our conduct as inconsistent with our principles, we must consider them ignorant of these principles and malicious. But such proof we humbly presume they cannot exhibit, and we are determined, through grace, they never shall.

"The third objection is, *that our plan tends to open a door to corruption in discipline.* This charge is confidently exhibited in opposition to our own declaration, Prop. 7, 8, 12. The sum of all of which is, that as there is but one class which, according to the Word, can be called Christians, so none else ought to be received or retained in the Church's communion; but, if we have mistaken their character, we would be obliged to our brethren to correct our mistake, and if not, we should humbly presume that the real intention of discipline would be secured. Or do they object that we condemn or acquit by the express letter of the law?

We leave them to the law, or rather to the Author of it, and remind them that the controversy is not with us, but with the law, and that whosoever judgeth the law is not a doer of the law, but a judge.

"The fourth objection is, that *we make a nominal approbation of the Bible a satisfactory test of truth*, and that all the before-mentioned evils are attributable to this laxity of discipline. Who told them these were our intentions? Surely, we have declared the very contrary. See appendix to 'Declaration and Address.' Why, then, do our brethren impute such things to us in the open face of our express declaration to the very contrary, as they have evidently done in every item of their false impeachments? Is such conduct consistent with truth, justice or charity? Yet all these things have the Synod of Pittsburg laid to our charge. In so doing they must have judged our hearts, our secret intentions, and not our public profession nor our practice; for as to these we defy them and all men to make good a single objection.

"Having briefly answered these, we proceed to answer a few other popular objections, or rather popular clamors, excited against us by designing men, such as the following:

"V. *That your principles exclude infant baptism.*

"1. We dare not inculcate infant baptism in the name of the Lord as indispensably incumbent upon Christians, because the Lord has nowhere expressly enjoined it. If anything can be produced on this head, we should be glad to see it. Until this be done, we think it highly anti-scriptural to make it a term of communion, for to do this is to make it a term of salvation. It is as much as to say, 'Except you baptize your children you cannot be saved!'

"2. They virtually say when they make it a term of communion, 'You are excluded from the Church below, consequently from the Church above.' They have no *revealed* right to heaven above, so that unless our brethren can show us that, though excluded from the Church below, they still have a right to expect admission into heaven, we must conclude they make it a term of salvation, as much at least as

the Judaizing teachers did their beloved circumcision, in the room of which our brethren say baptism is come. While we oppose the procedure as the apostle did circumcision, we are as far from condemning the practice in existing circumstances, when not held in this important point of view, as the apostle was, in his own time, from condemning the procedure of the Jewish brethren in regard to circumcision, and would comply wth the conscientious scruples of our brethren as far as the Apostle Paul did when he circumcised Timotheus with his own hand.

"3. While we declare that neither pædobaptism nor anti-pædobaptism availeth anything, we would consider ourselves as unjustly impeached by the objection under consideration as the apostle considered himself (Acts xxi. 21) in regard to Jewish observances, and with him would be at some pains to convince our brethren that 'those things whereof they were informed were nothing.'

"4. Upon the whole, we conclude that it should be a matter of forbearance, as it is evident circumcision was in the primitive Church, by no means considering it a matter of indifference. It can never be a light thing to mistake the will of God. We look at baptism now in nearly the same point of view in which the primitive Church looked at circumcision, and consider the cases, if not altogether yet nearly parallel; so far so, that we must either forbear or otherwise reject a great number of God's dear children without his special warrant, if not in express violation of his Divine commands: 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye.' 'Receive ye one another as Christ has also received us to the glory of God.'

"VI. *It is objected that our plan tends to establish independent church government.*

"1. We believe that the Church of Christ is completely independent beneath the government of her glorious Head, expressly declared in the rules and ordinances of his own appointment.

"2. And that the rulers ordained of him are elders and deacons.

"3. Each church had a government within itself, to which it was subject, yet the churches were not so independent of each other but that they stood in a brotherly relation to each other.

"4. But until our brethren can show us that the churches at Corinth and Antioch and Pisidia were governed by their rulers *in conjunction with one another*, we must say that such government is not founded in the Scriptures; and still further, till they can show that they managed their affairs by vote, etc., in *superior* and *inferior* courts, we consider such conduct as a gross intrusion on the rights of conscience and the liberties of Christians. We are, therefore, *scriptural* Presbyterians.

"VII. *It is again objected that it opens a door for lay preaching.*

"1. See resolution 12. 'Our ministers should be duly and scripturally qualified.' Does this imply that we are advocates for lay preaching? Are *lay* preachers the only persons 'duly and scripturally qualified?' If they be, let us have a number of them.

"2. But what do we understand by lay preachers? It seems that if lay preachers be 'scripturally qualified,' our brethren would not like them.

"3. The *clergy* are the opposite to the *laity*. Both these terms are used in Scripture to denote God's people. Trace them to their origin and we find no difference.* We would be obliged to some person of exquisite keenness of distinction to point out and define the difference between *laical* and *clerical* preachers."

In addition to the above objections, he noticed, in

* Λαος (laos) signifies people, and is constantly applied to God's people. Κλῆρος (kleros) signifies *lot, inheritance*, and is applied to the tribe of Levi in the Old Testament. In the New, it is used of the antitype, the people of God, as in 1 Pet. v. 3, "not as lords over God's *heritage*," *clergy* or *kleros*, so that the term is here applied to the whole brotherhood, and there is not, in Scripture, the slightest ground for the distinction between clergy and laity. On the contrary, all the disciples collectively are denominated a "royal priesthood," a "peculiar people," 1 Pet. ii. 9; and in Rev. v. 10; are said to be made "kings and priests to God."—R.

concluding, one or two others, as, "that the principles of the Association would exclude females from the Lord's table," and would "abrogate the Sabbath," on which it is unnecessary now to dwell.

Such was the substance of Alexander Campbell's reply to the allegations of the Synod of Pittsburg, which seems to have paid no attention to the published declaration of the views and purposes of the "Christian Association," but to have gone out of its way to characterize these according to its own religious prejudices. Its answer to Thomas Campbell's application would have been dignified and proper, if it had simply confined itself to one of the reasons given, viz.: that "it is not consistent with the regulations of the Presbyterian Church that Synod should make a connection with any ministers, churches or associations." And it would have been still more becoming, if, after courteously admitting the candor and good intentions of Mr. Campbell, it had declined acceding to his request on the true and simple ground that it had neither the *power* nor the *inclination* to effect the proposed changes in the attitude and polity of the Presbyterian Church. But in characterizing Mr. Campbell's plan to promote Christian union as "specious" and "seducing," and classing it indefinitely with "similar projects," which were of "baleful tendency," leading to "destructive operations," "errors in doctrine," "corruptions in discipline," etc., the Synod became at once *aggressive*, and initiated a controversy, which, in various forms, was maintained for half a century, to the great detriment of the interests of the Presbyterian party. The Synod little thought, at the time, that the youth who so readily took up the gauntlet it had proudly thrown down, would, in subsequent years, overthrow the ablest

champions of their denomination in public discussions, and do more to sap the foundations and check the progress of Presbyterianism in the United States than all other causes combined.

As to the views entertained at this time by Alexander Campbell and his father, it appears, from the above discourse, 1. That they regarded the religious parties around them as possessing the *substance* of Christianity, but as having failed to preserve "the form of sound words" in which it was originally presented; and that the chief object in the reformation proposed, was to persuade to the abandonment of every human system, and the adoption of "this form of sound words" as the true basis of union. 2. That they regarded each church as an independent organization, having its own internal government by bishops and deacons, yet not so absolutely independent of other churches as not to be bound to them by fraternal relations. 3. That they considered "lay preaching" as authorized, and denied the distinction between clergy and laity to be scriptural. 4. That they looked upon infant baptism as without direct scriptural authority, but were willing to leave it as a matter of forbearance, and allow the continuance of the practice in the case of those who conscientiously approved it, as Paul and James permitted circumcision for a time in deference to Jewish prejudices. 5. That they clearly anticipated the probability of being compelled, on account of the refusal of the religious parties to accept their overture, to resolve the Christian Association into a distinct Church, in order to carry out for themselves the duties and obligations enjoined on them in the Scriptures. And, 6. That in receiving nothing but what was expressly revealed, they foresaw and admitted that many things deemed precious and important

by the existing religious societies, must inevitably be excluded.

Such, then, was the progress already made by the principles of the reformation in the minds of those who promoted this religious movement. It will have been seen that, from the beginning, its object and its nature were clearly understood and distinctly defined; and that, originating in no pride of opinion, no freak of disappointed ambition, no hope of worldly honor or emolument, it was carried on with calm deliberation and with constant reference to the basis at first adopted —the Bible alone.

It will be seen, further, that the positions taken by the Christian Association at this period were almost identical with those held by the churches established by the Haldanes, with which Alexander had become familiar during his residence in Scotland. The independence of each congregation; its government by its own rulers; the Scriptures as the only authoritative guide; the practice of lay preaching, and the toleration of infant baptism, were all points of agreement. But in other respects, there were differences, due to the differing circumstances attending these efforts at reform. The Haldanean reformation spent much of its force in battling with infidelity and Socinianism in the Established Church and in seeking to restore the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith in the work of Christ; and although, in making its appeal to the Scriptures, it was gradually led to the adoption, in part, of primitive Church government and order, it was essentially an effort to expose the doctrinal errors which had crept into the Church, and to give a wider range and greater efficiency to the means employed for the spread of the evangelical doctrines. On the other hand, the reform

urged by the Campbells, while it necessarily embraced these points, was much more radical and sweeping. Its aim was not so much to repair defects in modern Christianity, as to restore that which was original and pure, "both in letter and spirit, in principle and in practice." It proposed to pay no respect whatever to the doctrinal or other controversies which had existed since apostolic times, but to adopt, at once, the original basis on which the primitive Church itself rested. It proposed to build upon the first foundations, rather than to attempt to repair the breaches in the crumbling walls of modern religious systems. It trusted to the Bible, therefore, and to the Bible alone, as furnishing the entire plan and all the necessary specifications of the Divine Architect, and, though delayed and hindered by the necessity of removing often the accumulated rubbish of human speculations, it steadily pursued its original design, until it succeeded at length in developing the entire structure of primitive Christianity.

CHAPTER XVII.

Religious Speculation and Dictation—Partyism—New Acquaintances—Marriage—Church Organization—First Baptisms—Scripture Themes.

THE concealments of the Bible are as Divine as its revelations. Infinite wisdom was required as much to determine of what man should be ignorant as what man should know. Indeed, since, in regard to all matters connected with the unseen spiritual world, man is entirely dependent upon Divine revelation, the limits of that revelation must necessarily mark out also the domain of human ignorance, as the shores of a continent become the boundaries of a trackless and unfathomed ocean. Hence it is, that the silence of the Bible is to be reverenced equally with its teachings, and that to intrude into things not seen and not revealed, evinces the vanity of a fleshly mind as much as to misinterpret and pervert the express statements of the Scriptures. Unfortunately, both of these errors had prevailed in religious society, which was not content with either the reticence or the teachings of the Bible, but had presumed to supply the former by speculations upon the eternal decrees of God, the Trinity, the Divine nature, the future destiny of mankind, etc.; and to substitute for the latter, the commentaries of party leaders and the decisions of councils or other ecclesiastical tribunals. Against this latter usurpation of Divine authority, where men had assumed to regulate

the faith and practice of the Church, eminent reformers had, indeed, from age to age, remonstrated. Unfortunately, however, while endeavoring to correct this error, and to reinstate the Scripture in its proper position as an infallible and Divine revelation, too little attention was paid to the fact that this revelation had its appointed limits, and these reformers themselves presumed to transcend these boundaries, and to superadd their own opinions and speculations about questions of which the Scriptures do not treat. There was, therefore, a necessity for both the specifications in the principle which Thomas Campbell had adopted, "where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent," as it was not merely necessary to take Divine revelation as a guide, but equally so to prohibit the addition and admixture of human opinions. It was this last point particularly, viz.: that the silence of the Scriptures is to be respected equally with its teachings, that was almost peculiar to the reformation urged by Mr. Campbell, and continued to be one of its most important and characteristic traits.

As it was the distinguishing error of Romanism to presume to dictate the faith and regulate the ordinances of the Church, irrespective of the teaching of the Scriptures; so the chief mistake of Protestantism consisted in substituting for the silence of the Bible human opinions and speculative theories. The great principle urged by Thomas Campbell, which demanded implicit faith in express revelation alone, and an acknowledged or explicit ignorance in regard to all untaught questions, brought, therefore, those who adopted it into direct antagonism with the entire religious world. Accordingly, with perhaps the exception of the churches established by the Haldanes and a few other small inde-

pendent bodies of reformers, who had, in various parts of Europe and America, been led to take the Bible alone as a guide, there was not any religious denomination whatever, known to them, with which the reformers could consistently have established a real and fraternal union. Whatever confidence they might have in the faith and piety of many of the individuals composing a party, they could have none in the party itself or in the system upon which it was maintained, and could not therefore, by uniting, give their sanction to those divisive principles which it was their chief purpose to subvert. On the other hand, it is obvious that no party desiring to continue such, and comprehending the sweeping character of the great fundamental principle adopted by Thomas Campbell, could, consistently with its own security, receive the reformers into religious fellowship.

"Am I asked," said Alexander Campbell about this period (in an address after sermon at the house of Mr. Buchanan), in order to anticipate certain objections, "why I am not a party man? or why I do not join some party? I ask, in return, Which party would the Apostle Paul join if now on earth? Or, in other words, which party would *receive* him? I dare not be a party man for these reasons:

"1. Because Christ has forbidden me. He has commanded us to keep the 'unity of the spirit;' to be 'of one mind and of one judgment;' to 'love each other with a pure heart fervently,' and to 'call no man master' on earth.

"2. Because no party will receive into communion all whom God would receive into heaven. God loves his children more than our creeds, and man was not made for the Bible, but the Bible for man. But if I am

asked by a partisan, Could you not join us and let these things alone? I answer, no, because—

"3. The man that promotes the interests of a party stands next in guilt to the man that made it. The man that puts the second stone on a building is as instrumental in its erection as the man that laid the first. He that supports a party bids the party God speed; and he that bids them God speed is a partaker of their evil deeds.

"4. Because all parties oppose reformation. They all pray for it, but they will not work for it. None of them dare return to the original standard. I speak not against any denomination in particular, but against *all*. I speak not against any system of truth, but against all *except the Bible*. 'Hold fast the form of sound words' condemns them all. It is a doleful truth, that the very persons who ought to have advocated reformation, always opposed it. See the *History of the Christian Church*, and Matthew xxiii. When I consider what Paul and thousands of others suffered for a good conscience, I would do so too. I desire to fight for 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' I like the bold Christian hero."

Such, at this period, were the noble and decided utterances of Alexander Campbell in relation to partyism and to his own convictions of religious duty; and such were the feelings which he and those associated with him then entertained in reference to these sad defections from primitive precept and example. Such, too, were the views which they labored to impress upon the religious community as opportunity was afforded. Except, however, in the case of the special address delivered at Washington on November 1, in defence of the Christian Association against the aspersions of the

Synod of Pittsburg, which was delivered at a regular meeting of the Association, and the object of which had been previously announced by advertisement, Alexander Campbell and his father appear never to have made their views of reformation the particular theme of their regular discourses, which they continued to deliver in the court-house or in the seminary building at Washington; at Brush Run; the cross-roads; Middletown, and occasionally at private houses, as at Thomas McClellan's, Thomas Hodgens', Thomas Sharp's, James McElroy's, etc. These discourses were devoted to the elucidation of portions of Scripture for Christian edification and for the enforcement of the great duties of the Christian life. Both of them had too much reverence for the Lord's day and the solemnities of religious worship, to appropriate those hours to the discussion of inferior themes, or to the ungrateful subject of religious schisms, unless, indeed, this happened to be involved legitimately in the text. Thus, amongst the numerous discourses which Alexander Campbell delivered during the early years of his ministry, and of which he preserved skeletons and notes sufficient to make an interesting volume, none are to be found of a partisan or disputatious character, and none of them are directed against any existing denomination. They are from texts such as these: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter. Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Ecclesiastes xii. 13. "Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." John v. 39. "Behold I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Revelation iii. 20. "For in

Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by love." Galatians v. 6. "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" Hebrews ii. 3. "To be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace." Romans viii. 6. They are discourses upon the excellency and glory of Christ and the sufficiency of his finished work; upon the covenants and promises of God; upon the study of the Scriptures as the rule of life; upon faith, righteousness and judgment to come. Confining themselves thus, according to their own principles, to Scripture themes in their public ministrations, neither father nor son had any disposition to speak, unless incidentally and briefly, and in general terms, of existing divisions. These matters they reserved for conference in private with religious persons, and for friendly discussion in the families to which they had access, and especially with ministers and persons of influence amongst the different parties. Thomas Campbell, especially, spent much of his time in visiting the families with which he was acquainted throughout this region of country, not only to promote the interests of religion, but from his affectionate attachment to the numerous friends he had formed while a Seceder minister, and from that eminently social disposition so characteristic of his countrymen, of whom he was in this respect a fair representative.

Among the various families that he occasionally visited, there was one by the name of Parkinson, living on the upland immediately bordering on the valley of Buffalo, eight miles from Charlestown. Mrs. Parkinson was a member of the Associate Reformed congregation at W. Middletown, then under the care of a Mr. Finley. She had been left a widow with a

family of children, and was a woman of intelligence and piety, much respected by Mr. Campbell. While here, he was introduced to a Mr. John Brown, who owned the farm adjoining, which extended down into the valley of the creek, and embraced a large portion of its rich alluvial bottoms. Around these the creek swept with a graceful curve, washing the base of the lofty hill on which the Parkinson farm was situated, and just here, Mr. Brown, who was a carpenter and millwright, had a grist-mill and saw-mill, which were at this time, with some adjoining acres, in the possession of a Mr. Talbot. Beyond these, at a considerable distance, on a more elevated portion of the farm, near the public road, stood Mr. Brown's comfortable and capacious dwelling, two stories high, weather-boarded, painted white, and with green venetian shutters. Mr. Brown was a Presbyterian, but somewhat independent and original in his modes of thinking; fond of investigation, and a great admirer of men of talent. He was a man of great kindness of disposition; of great piety and integrity, and had a remarkable love for simplicity and plainness in dress and mode of living, maintaining, as far as practicable, the habits of the early settlers. Thomas Campbell's acquaintance with him soon grew into a warm friendship, and they did not fail to have many agreeable discussions upon religious topics. Mr. Campbell having on a particular occasion promised Mr. Brown some books, upon his return to Washington sent them down by his son Alexander. This was the first visit Alexander had paid to this part of the country, and the acquaintance which he then formed with Mr. Brown and his family, led to important results.

Mr. Brown's family consisted at this time of his

wife, his daughter Margaret, about eighteen years of age, and his step-daughter, Miss Jane Glass, a few years older. His present wife was the widow of a Mr. Glass, who had lived on the farm immediately above, in the valley of the creek. After the death of her first husband, Mrs. Glass had married Mr. Brown, who was at that time a widower. She was considerably below the medium height, energetic, industrious and intelligent. Her first husband having been one of the early settlers, her life had been full of privations, labor and trial. During the hostilities which for a long time prevailed between the white settlers and the Indians upon their borders, she had met at one time with a very perilous adventure, an account of which is here given from Dr. Joseph Doddridge's "Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars of West Pennsylvania and Virginia:"

"On the 27th day of March, 1789, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, as she was spinning in her house, her black woman, who had stepped out to gather sugar water, screamed out, 'Here are Indians.' She jumped up, ran to the window and then to the door, where she was met by one of the Indians presenting his gun. She caught hold of the muzzle and turning it aside, begged him not to kill, but take her prisoner. The other Indian, in the mean time, caught the black woman and her boy, about four years old, and brought them into the house. They then opened a chest, took out a small box and some articles of clothing, and without doing any further damage or setting fire to the house, set off with herself and her son, about two and a half years old, and the black woman and her two children, the oldest four years and the youngest one year old. After going about one and a half miles, they halted and held a consultation, as she supposed, about killing the children. This she understood to be the subject from their gestures and frequently pointing at the

children. To one of the Indians who could speak English she held out her little boy and begged him not to kill him, as he would make a fine little Indian after a while. The Indian made a motion to her to walk on with her child. The other Indian then struck the negro boy with the pipe end of his tomahawk, which knocked him down, and then despatched him by a blow with the edge across the back of the neck, and then scalped him.

"About four o'clock in the evening, they reached the river about a mile above Wellsburg, and carried a canoe, which had been thrown into some driftwood, into the river. They got into this canoe and worked it down to the mouth of Rush Run, a distance of about five miles. They pulled up the canoe into the mouth of the run as far as they could, then went up the run for about a mile and encamped for the night. The Indians gave the prisoners all their own clothes for covering, and added one of their own blankets. A while before daylight, the Indians got up and put another blanket over them.

"About sunrise they began their march up a very steep hill, and about two o'clock they halted on Short Creek, about twenty miles from the place from whence they had set out in the morning. The place where they halted had been an encampment a short time before, as well as a place of deposit for the plunder which they had recently taken from the house of a Mr. Vanmeter, whose family had been killed. The plunder was deposited in a sycamore tree. They tapped some trees when there before. Here they kindled a fire and put on a brass kettle with a turkey, which they had killed on the way, to boil in sugar water.

"Mr. Glass, the first husband of Mrs. Brown, was working in a field with a hired man, about a quarter of a mile from the house, when his wife and family were taken, but knew nothing of the event until two o'clock. After searching about the house, and going to several houses in the neighborhood in quest of his family, he went to Mr. Wells' fort, and collected ten men beside himself; and the same

night lodged in a cabin on the bottom on which the town now stands.

"Next morning they discovered the place from which the Indians had taken the canoe from the drift, and their tracks at the place of their embarkation. Mr. Glass could distinguish the track of his wife by the print of the high heel of her shoe. They crossed over the river and went down on the other side until they came near the mouth of Rush Run; but discovering no tracks of the Indians, most of the men concluded they would go to the mouth of Muskingum by water, and therefore wished to turn back. Mr. Glass begged of them to go as far as the mouth of Short Creek, which was only two or three miles farther. To this they agreed. When they got to the mouth of Rush Run, they found the canoe of the Indians. This was indentified by a proof which goes to show the presence of mind of Mrs. Brown. While going down the river one of the Indians threw into the water some papers which he had taken from Mr. Glass's trunk; some of these she picked up, and under pretence of giving them to the child, dropped them in the bottom of the boat. These left no doubt. The trail of the Indians and the prisoners up the run to their camp, and then up the river hill, was soon discovered. The trail at that time, owing to the softness of the ground and the height of the weeds, was easily followed. About an hour after the Indians had halted, Mr. Glass and his men came within sight of the smoke of their camp. The object was, then, to save the lives of the prisoners by attacking the Indians so unexpectedly as not to allow them time to kill them. With this view, they crept as slyly as they could till they got within something more than a hundred yards of the camp. Fortunately, Mrs. Brown's little son had gone to a sugar tree to get some water, and not being able to get it out of the rough trough, his mother had stepped out of the camp to get it for him. The negro woman was sitting some distance from the two Indians, who were looking attentively at a scarlet jacket they had taken some time before. On a sudden they dropped the jacket and turned their eyes toward

the men, who, supposing they were discovered, immediately discharged several guns, and rushed upon them at full speed with an Indian yell. One of the Indians, it was supposed, was wounded at the first fire, as he fell and dropped his gun and shot-pouch. After running about one hundred yards a second shot was fired after him by Major Maguire, which brought him to his hands and knees, but there was no time for pursuit, as the Indians had informed Mrs. Brown that there was another encampment close by. They therefore returned home with all speed, and reached the Beach Bottom fort that night.

"The other Indian, at the first fire, ran a little distance beyond Mrs. Brown, so that she was in a line between him and the white men; here he halted for a little to put on his shot-pouch, which Mr. Glass for a moment mistook for an attempt to kill his wife with a tomahawk.

"This artful manœuvre no doubt saved the life of the savage, as his pursuers durst not shoot at him without risking the life of Mrs. Brown."

Mrs. Glass, at the time of her marriage to Mr. Brown, had an only daughter, who, some time after Alexander's introduction to the family, married a Mr. Stevenson and settled near Pittsburg. Mr. Brown, also, had been left with an only daughter by his first wife, whose maiden name was Grimes, and whose relatives lived in Charlestown and its vicinity, one sister being married to a Major Congleton. Miss Brown was tall and slender, but graceful. She had a sweet, benignant countenance, very dark hair, regular features, full and expressive dark hazel eyes, and was already noted for her piety, industry and engaging manners. Her education had been the best which, in this region, was at that time accorded to females.

The agreeable acquaintance which Alexander had thus formed with the Brown family, induced him soon

to repeat his visit. Mr. Brown had conceived a very warm attachment to the young preacher, whose talents and acquirements he greatly admired, and with whose sprightly and agreeable conversation he was so much delighted, that he sought every opportunity of enjoying his company. On his part, Alexander entertained a very earnest regard for Mr. Brown. He loved his independent turn of thought; his simple manners; the unyielding integrity which characterized his life, and the childlike and unaffected confidence which he reposed in those he esteemed. As an instance of his fondness for investigation, it may be related that, one evening when Alexander was at his house, an eccentric Baptist preacher who occasionally traversed this part of the country, and with whom Mr. Brown was acquainted, happening to call to spend the night, he managed pretty soon to get up a discussion between him and Alexander on the subject of baptism. Greatly to his delight, the debate soon became animated. The various covenants were considered at length. The Christian and Jewish institutions were compared, and the cause of pædobaptism was argued, with more than usual dexterity, by the young disputant. Finding himself baffled, however, by the direct Scripture quotations of his opponent, he insisted that infant baptism should, at least, like circumcision in the early Church, be left as a matter of forbearance. This position was vigorously assailed by the close-communion Baptist, and the discussion became so interesting that it was prolonged until near morning, and the parties finally separated under an agreement to meet in two weeks in order to continue the subject. They met, accordingly, at the time appointed, but Alexander, whose love for truth did not permit him to feel entirely satisfied with the argu-

ments he had prepared, begged for a further adjournment, and it so happened that the discussion was not afterward resumed.

The intimacy thus established in the fall of 1810 with Mr. Brown and his family soon led to a warmer feeling than that of friendship between Alexander and the daughter, and they became finally so much attached to each other as to lead to a proposal of marriage. This being entirely agreeable to the relatives on both sides, the marriage ceremony was performed on the 12th of March, 1811, by Rev. Mr. Hughes, pastor of the Presbyterian church at the town of West Liberty, four miles distant, and of which Mr. Brown and his family were members. On the following day, according to the custom of the time, Alexander went up with his bride to Washington to receive the congratulations of his friends at his father's house. The day having been thus agreeably spent, all the members of the family assembled at the usual hour, according to their invariable custom, for worship. Each one had, as usual, a Scripture recitation to offer, and Alexander's sister Jane, now about eleven years old, who had been greatly troubled in the morning as to what portion of Scripture she should memorize for so important an occasion, and who had at last settled upon the description of the model wife contained in the last twenty-two verses of the concluding chapter of Proverbs, gave her recitation very correctly, as follows:

"Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is far above rubies. The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that she shall have no need of spoil. She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life. She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. She is like the merchant ships; she bringeth her food from afar. She

riseth while it is yet night, and giveth meat to her household, and a portion to her maidens. She considereth a field, and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hand she planteth a vineyard. She girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She perceiveth that her merchandise is good; her candle goeth not out by night. She layeth her hand to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. She stretcheth out her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy. She is not afraid of the snow for her household; for all her household are clothed with scarlet. She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk and purple. Her husband is known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land. She maketh fine linen and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant. Strength and honor are her clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come. She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her mouth is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and she eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all. Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised. Give her of the fruits of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates."

After worship, the bride, coming to Jane, kissed her affectionately, and thanked her warmly for the beautiful passage of Scripture she had so well recited, expressing the hope that she might herself be enabled, in some measure, to practice its teachings. Her subsequent life truly showed how earnestly she sought to conform to the model she so much admired; for she became a true helpmeet to her husband, sympathizing with him in all his labors, managing his domestic affairs with the utmost prudence and economy, and enduring patiently the privations consequent upon his frequent absences

from home, in order that he might accomplish the great work to which he had devoted his life.

On the 10th of March, two days before his marriage, Alexander had preached twice at Brush Run. On the following two Lord's days he preached at Washington; and on the 25th of March he went, with his wife, to live with his father-in-law. On the succeeding Lord's day, the 31st, he spoke at Samuel Guy's, who lived on the creek some miles above; and so continued his labors regularly at different points within convenient reach. He did not, however, occupy his time wholly either in fulfilling these duties and preparing for them, or in reading and study. His delight in active exercise, and the practical knowledge he had acquired of farming in his boyhood, led him at once to engage in assisting Mr. Brown in the management of the farm, in which he appears to have displayed his usual activity and energy, devoting to it all the time he could spare from his ministerial duties.

About this time, his father removed from Washington to a small farm for which he had bargained with a Mr. Hammond, situated near John McElroy's, and about a mile and a half from the village of Mount Pleasant. Here, he thought, he could live with his family more inexpensively than in town, especially as his kind friends and neighbors were ready to render him every possible assistance in the management of the farm, his own attention being almost exclusively devoted to religious interests. He had, by this time, become fully convinced that, on account of the continued hostility of the different parties, it was necessary that the Christian Association should assume the character of an independent Church, in order to the enjoyment of those privileges and the performance of those duties which belong to the Church

relation. It was with great reluctance that he finally concluded to take this step, and to separate himself from those whom he desired to recognize as brethren. Such, nevertheless, is the usual fate of reformers. Religious reformations, however they may be aided or modified by external circumstances, must always originate within the Church itself. Such was the case with the Reformation of Luther, of Calvin, of Knox, of Wesley. Luther was a monk, Calvin a Romish curé; Knox a Catholic priest, Wesley an Episcopal presbyter. The reformation urged by Thomas Campbell was no exception to the general rule. It commenced in a community claiming to be the purest portion of the Church, and, when proposed to its hierarchy, was rejected and denounced. Now, as before, the light shone in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not. Hence a separation became inevitable, and this separation appeared not less grievous to the human feelings and sympathies of Thomas Campbell, than similar ones had done to those of other reformers, "He would have liked," as D'Aubigné says of Calvin, "to see all the Church transformed, rather than set himself apart and build up a new one." Having found it impossible, however, to effect this transformation, he felt it to be his duty to organize an independent community.

At the next meeting of the Association, accordingly, the matter was duly considered and agreed to, as the attitude which the religious parties had assumed, seemed to leave no other alternative. Before entering into this sacred relation, Thomas Campbell deemed it proper that each member should give some personal and public evidence of a fitting knowledge of the way of salvation; and he proposed therefore that each should be required to give a satisfactory answer to the question:

"What is the meritorious cause of a sinner's acceptance with God?" With most of the answers to this question he was entirely satisfied, and was particularly well pleased with the views expressed on the occasion by Joseph Bryant. The answers of two of the members being unsatisfactory, their admission was postponed. Neither, however, was received, both having subsequently proved themselves unworthy. James Foster happened not to be present at the above meeting, and when, on Saturday, the 4th of May, he, with the other members, assembled at Brush Run for the purpose of organization, the question arose: "Is James Foster a member, not having been present at the time the test question was propounded?" Some seemed to think not; but Alexander, who, it would seem, was not entirely convinced that there was any authority for such a test, immediately arose and said: "Certainly, James Foster is a member, having been with us from the beginning, and his religious sentiments being perfectly well known to all." The test question, accordingly, was not propounded to him, nor to any one else afterward.

At this meeting, Thomas Campbell was appointed elder, and Alexander was licensed to preach the gospel. Four deacons were also chosen, viz.: John Dawson, George Sharp, William Gilcrist and James Foster; and amidst the prayers and solemn services of the day, they united in singing Psalm cxviii., from the thirteenth to the twenty-ninth verses, in the old metrical version, which, as Seceders, they had been in the habit of using. They felt that the position they had now assumed was one of great responsibility, and one that was destined to lead to most important results. They hoped, however, to have, in their new relation, a happy end to that painful state of suspense in which they had hitherto

been kept, in regard to the results of their religious movement. Rejected, misrepresented and contemned by the rulers of religious society, they felt, nevertheless, that they had experienced much of the Divine presence and guidance in their conscientious efforts to promote Christian unity; and they rejoiced that, all uncertainty being now at an end, they could proceed without delay or hinderance in the field of labor to which they had been called. Under these circumstances, these verses of the Psalm they sung had to them a peculiar significance:

"Thou sore hast thrust that I might fall;
But my Lord helped me—
God my salvation is become,
My strength and song is he.
The right hand of the mighty Lord
Exalted is on high;
The right hand of the mighty Lord
Doth ever valiantly.

"I shall not die, but live, and shall
The works of God discover.
The Lord hath me chastised sore,
But not to death given over.
Oh, set ye open unto me
The gates of righteousness;
Then will I enter into them,
And I the Lord will bless.

"God is the Lord, who unto us
Hath made light to arise:
Bind ye unto the altar's horns
With cords the sacrifice.
Thou art my God, I'll thee exalt;
My God, I will thee praise.
Give thanks to God, for he is good;
His mercy lasts always."

On the following day, being the Lord's day, the Church held its first communion service. Alexander

preached from John vi. 48, "I am that bread of life," and verse 58, last clause: "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever." In his introduction, he showed: 1. That as sin and death came into the world by eating, so God had ordained that righteousness and life should be imparted by spiritual food. 2. That as Jesus Christ is all in all to the sinner, so he is represented to us in the Scripture under every kind of emblem that might encourage us to trust in him. 3. That the term "bread" in Scripture is not always used in its strict and literal sense, and that in these passages it is employed in its utmost latitude, as representing anything that can be conducive to the life and happiness of the creature. He then proceeded to consider, 1. The propriety and import of the expression; 2. The appropriate duty of the Christian in regard to partaking of this bread; 3. The motives to comply with this duty; and, 4. To make a proper application to the various classes of those present, expressing, to those about to partake, the hope that they were hungering after this bread of life, and remarking that, in assembling there on that occasion, they furnished an emblem of the millennial state of the Church, nay, an emblem of the *heavenly* state, when men of different nations, and known by different names, should sit down together in the kingdom of God. Afterward, his father delivered a discourse from Rom. viii. 32: "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all: how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" Thus there was formally established a distinct religious community, based solely upon the Bible, and destined, in its future history, to exhibit the entire sufficiency of the basis thus chosen. On the 8th of May, Alexander spoke at Christian Hutman's; on the 12th, at the cross-roads;

on the 15th, at William Gatwood's. Next day he set out from home on his *first* preaching tour, of which he preserved the following memoranda:

"I set out from home Thursday, May 16, 1811, and stopped first evening at Lutham Young's. Conversed upon the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. Next morning, accompanied to the river by Mr. Young, I crossed opposite Steubenville. Introduced myself to Mr. James Larimore and Dr. Slemmons, and was received with courtesy. Was introduced by Dr. Slemmons to Mr. Buchanan, lodging at the Doctor's. After dining, reasoned with Mr. Buchanan on the general state of religion, and argued the principles with him which we advocate; but he would not see. In our discourse a Mr. Boyd, of Steubenville, interrupted by vociferously taking Mr. Buchanan's side of the argument. Finished in a disorderly manner. Appointed to preach in the court-house, Sabbath day, at 12 o'clock. Proceeded to James McElroy's, where I tarried till Friday morning, hospitably entertained. On Sabbath day, I preached, according to appointment, in Steubenville. Had a crowded house, notwithstanding Messrs. Buchanan, Snodgrass, Lambdin, Powel, etc. I had a mixed audience of Presbyterians, Unionists, Methodists, etc. Mr. Lambdin, the Methodist preacher, was present. I was introduced to a Mr. Hawkins, a most respectable citizen, and a Methodist. Sabbath evening, preached at Mr. McElroy's. Had a smaller audience, among whom was Mr. McMillan, with whom I sojourned that night at Mr. Thompson's. Reasoned with him upon our principles. He granted me three things of magnitude: 1. That independent church government had as good a foundation in Scripture as the Presbyterian. 2. That the office of a ruling elder was not found clearly in the Scriptures, but was a human expediency. 3. That he did not believe that the Confession of Faith was *the system*, that is, the precise system, the whole system, or the only system of truth contained in the Bible. Preached on Monday, at Mr. McElroy's, to a respectable assembly, from Gal. vi. 15, 16—On the Sabbath at Steubenville, my

text was Heb. ii. 3. In the evening, Mark xvi. 15. On Wednesday morning, left Mr. McElroy's, and arrived at Cadiz. That evening lodged at Squire McNeeley's. Thursday morning, proceeded to Dr. McFadden's; tarried with him till Sabbath morning. Preached, Sabbath day, two sermons, to a large audience—one from John v. 39, and the other from Acts xi. 26. Sabbath evening, lodged at Samuel Gilmore's. Monday evening at James Ford's. Preached at James Ford's, Tuesday, two discourses—one from Rom. viii. 32, and the other from 2 Tim. i. 13. Tuesday evening, lodged at a Methodist exhorter's. Wednesday at James Sharpe's. Preached, Thursday, at William Perry's. Stopped all night. Friday, stopped at Samuel Garret's. Preached, Saturday, at Samuel Patten's, in Wheeling, from Phil. iii. 8. Lodged with him, and preached, Sabbath day, June 2, at St. Clairsville, from Rom. viii. 32, and secondly, from Isa. lxvii. 14, with lxii. 10, and lodged at Mr. Bell's."

On returning, he delivered a discourse in Warren, one at the house of John Forsyth, and one in Charlestown, reaching home in time to preach, on the 16th, the first sermon delivered in the new meeting-house at Brush Run, which, though unfinished, was used from this time forward, rough seats being provided for the assembly. This sermon was based upon Gal. i. 4: "Who gave himself for our sins that he might deliver us from this present evil world," and treated, after some introductory remarks, upon the evils resulting from ignorance of ourselves, of Christ and of the gospel; and then proceeded to dwell upon the glorious character of redemption, and of the deliverance which it brings, closing with an appropriate application.

It had been remarked by some of the members that Joseph Bryant and one or two others, who had given satisfactory answers to the test question proposed by Thomas Campbell, did not partake with the rest at the

Lord's Supper, which, according to the custom of the Independent churches in Scotland, was now celebrated weekly. The reason being asked, Joseph Bryant replied, that he did not consider himself authorized to partake, as he had never been baptized. Such was the case also with two other members—Margaret Fullerton, whose father had been a Baptist, and Abraham Altars, whose father had been a Deist. These cases had brought up, in a new and more practical aspect, the question of baptism, and particularly as regarded what has been called its mode, or, more correctly, the particular *action* meant by baptism; and the subject had continued to be generally discussed among the members during Alexander's absence.

While Thomas Campbell had, as formerly stated, serious scruples about baptizing those who had been already recognized as members of the Church, he had none in the present instance, as none of the candidates had received baptism at all in any of its so-called forms. Neither did he appear to have any doubt or objection in regard to immersion, but he at once acquiesced in Joseph Bryant's view that this alone was baptism. Going over with Thomas Sharp to confer with Joseph Bryant upon the subject, he at once admitted it was evident that in the primitive age they went down into the water and were buried in it. "Water," said he, "is water; and earth is earth. We certainly could not call a person buried in earth if only a little dust were sprinkled on him." He consented, therefore, to perform the ceremony, which took place on the 4th of July in a deep pool of Buffalo Creek, about two miles above the mouth of Brush Run, and on the farm of David Bryant. The pool was narrow, and so deep that the water came up to the shoulders of the candi-

dates when they entered it. Thomas Campbell, then, without going into the water, stood on a root that projected over the edge of the pool, and bent down their heads until they were buried in the liquid grave, repeating at the same time, in each case, the baptismal formula. James Foster, who was present, did not altogether approve the manner of the baptism, neither did he think it congruous that one who had not himself been immersed, should immerse others. It so happened, however, that Thomas Campbell, who had been the first to introduce the reformatory movement, became thus, on this occasion, the first to introduce immersion—a practice which subsequently became a distinguishing feature in the progress of the reformation.

By this time, many of those who had at first been identified with the Christian Association had gradually become indifferent, and many, who still sympathized with the movement, held back from entering into a church relation, while, from distance and other hinderances, others were unable to attend the meetings. Hence it was, that the church at this time could reckon only about thirty regular members,* who continued to meet alternately at the cross-roads and at Brush Run as formerly. These religious meetings were sources of great enjoyment. Warmly attached to one another for the truth's sake, and sympathizing with each other in their trials and religious experiences, they seemed to be

* Those who were then members of the Brush Run Church were Thomas and Alexander Campbell; Mrs. Jane Campbell and her daughter Dorothea; James Foster and wife; John Dawson and wife; Thomas Hodgens, Sen. and wife, and his son James Hodgens; James Hanen and wife; William Gilcrist and daughter, with his wife and her mother; George Sharp, Sen. and wife and son John; Thomas Sharp and a Mrs. Sharp, wife of George Sharp, Jun.; George Archer and wife; Abraham Altars, Margaret Fullerton, Joseph Bryant and John Donaldson.

of one heart and of one soul, and took the utmost delight in assisting one another to acquire a more complete knowledge of Divine things. The Bible was their daily study, and they came to the assembly, like bees to the hive, laden with the sweet lessons of instruction it afforded, and ready to say, in the language of the Psalm they had sung at the organization:

> "God is the Lord, who, unto us
> Hath made light to arise."

Thus increasing in scriptural knowledge, the discovery of new truths maintained that fervor of spirit which can never continue long unless the intellectual nature is supplied and cultivated as well as the feelings, but which alone can give true power and efficacy to religious exercises. They had broken the seal by which clerical authority had closed the Sacred Volume, and rejoiced that, by its guidance, they had cast off the fetters of partyism, and were enabled to pass from the dark and narrow caverns of sectarian theology toward the heavenly light, which, though yet dim and distant, finally led them into the open day.

As it may interest the reader to know the character of the religious teaching received by this little band of reformers, and the views at this time entertained by Alexander Campbell, a few extracts from the minutes of discourses which he delivered about this period are here given. Thus, two days before his marriage, in his discourse at Brush Run from Matt. xi. 27, after speaking in general terms of *authority* in religious matters, and the necessity of having a command from God for every religious duty, he speaks of the authority of Christ and of the apostles as having been fully and carefully demonstrated, and remarks that they delivered

just what they were commanded to deliver; that Paul was careful to discriminate between his own opinions and God's commands, and that he applauded those who searched the Scriptures for the truth; showing, further, that there is a curse denounced against those whose religion is taught by the precepts of men, and that Christ is given as a leader and commander to the people. He then adds:

"From the above considerations two things are strange: 1. That men should preach whole sermons and scarcely cite one Scripture text, and that hearers should suffer their faith to rest in the wisdom of men rather than in the wisdom of God. 2. That men should be afraid or unwilling to take the Word of God for their rule—afraid that what God has commanded them is not enough. But, stranger still, that they should set aside the Word of God by their traditions. A singular command in Deuteronomy is little attended to (Deut. xii. 32): 'What thing soever I command you, observe to do it. Thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it.'"

He then dwells upon the glory of Christ, and says:

"All things in heaven and on earth, animate and inanimate, are delivered unto Jesus Christ for the *good* of his Church on earth and for its glory in heaven. * * * * In the economy of grace for the restoration and salvation of fallen, depraved, guilty man, Jesus Christ the Son of God humbled himself, took upon himself the form of a servant and made himself of no reputation, lived on earth and died upon a cross, hated and despised; for this cause, having spoiled principalities and powers, and finished the work which the Father gave him to do, he is now exalted to the right hand of the Majesty on high. Eph. i. 20–22. And there he sits, waiting till all his enemies be made his footstool; until the end shall come, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom into the hands of his Father. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25. * * * * Observe, they who deny the divinity or personality of the Son must be ignorant of the whole mystery of the religion of godliness."

After speaking then at large of the blessings conferred through Christ upon the redeemed in the ministry of angels, the gift of the Holy Spirit and the promises of the future, he closes thus: "From this subject learn, 1. To thank God for the method of communicating grace that he has chosen. 2. Let us honor Christ as the Father hath honored him, in committing our all into his hands. 3. Let us seek that God will reveal his Son in us."

In a sermon delivered on the 7th of April of this year (1811), from Romans x. 4, he thus speaks of faith:

"Great dissertations have been in the world about faith—its nature, kinds, properties, etc. All these descriptions unable to *produce* it in the mind of a sinner. No arguments whatever can produce it. Truly of this we may say it is the finger of God. Describing the disease and its remedies will not heal the disorder.

"No description of faith is given in the Bible, but the evidences and effects of it are there clearly delineated. It is there represented to us as 'coming to Christ,' 'receiving Christ,' 'flying for refuge,' 'trusting in Christ,' etc. The simplest definition of it is, *a hearty reliance upon the Lord Jesus Christ* for that salvation which he came into the world and died upon the cross to procure for lost sinners. The sinner who, from his heart relies upon and trusts in Jesus, is a believer, and he, and none but he, shall be saved.

"5. This faith we are constantly led to understand is of the operation of God, and an effect of Almighty power and *regenerating grace.* 1 John v. 1: 'Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God.'

"Different kinds of faith are spoken of in the Scriptures, and many vague definitions of it among men. It consists in an act of the understanding and the will; but principally of the will. Illustrate, first, in the case of Rebecca's espousals. Secondly, from its being a command which can only be obeyed by *the will.*

"All the promises contained in the sacred Scriptures are addressed to the understanding, and through it to the will. They appear to the *understanding* true, to the *will* as good."

It will be apparent from this, that while he had taken a simple and just view of faith as a "trusting in Christ" —"a hearty reliance upon him for salvation," etc., he still retained at this period the opinion that this "trusting" was "from the operation of God and the effect of almighty power and regenerating grace." This view, as will be seen hereafter, was much modified in subsequent years; and though he always retained the idea of a Divine interposition, he came to regard this as a providential agency, rather than as a direct operation of the Spirit, as held by the popular parties.

His view of what have been called "the externals" of religion may be gathered from a sermon delivered during his tour in Ohio, on the 20th May, from Gal. vi. 15, 16:

"God says neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything. The doctrines here taught seem to be three: I. That all things merely *formal* and *external* in religion, being alone, will not avail the possessors. II. That a NEW CREATURE is the only thing of value or esteem in the judgment of God, and advantageous to man. III. That this is a rule in our judgment of things spiritual that will always keep us right, and tend to promote peace and harmony in the Church." He then adds, in reference to Doctrine I.: "All things merely formal and external in religion, *being alone*, shall not avail the possessors. 1. The moral-virtuous life which some lead will not avail them one day, they not being *new creatures*. 2. The orthodox creeds and formal attendance on religious duties by men, they not being *new creatures*, will one day prove to be of no importance." In relation to Doctrine II., he then takes the position that "being a

new creature is the only thing essentially necessary to our enjoyment of God. The only thing on earth of value and importance in God's eyes, and the only thing that will avail us." He then defines a new creature as "one who is made a partaker of the Divine nature—one who is justified, sanctified, adopted and an heir of glory—one who is crucified to the world, to the flesh, and who denies himself. And this is the way we are to know him, Rom. viii. Such a one is of more value in God's eyes than the whole world. All things are yours, Rom. viii. 32." He then, in illustrating Doctrine III., closes by stating,

"That judging thus of things we shall never err:

"1. In our daily practice. 2. In our zeal for orthodoxy. 3. In this way we shall have peace for our souls. 'Peace be on them that walk by this rule.' 4. Let us walk in this way. 'O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord.'"

It will be seen from these quotations, that the views entertained by Alexander Campbell in regard to the important points of Christian doctrine discussed, did not conflict with those held by the parties denominated "Orthodox," and that the religious movement in which he was engaged had not for its object the propagation of any new opinions, or the establishment of any new party upon some particular theory of religion or of church government; but that, while it rejected no truths received by the good and pious in religious society, it sought to make its appeal always directly to the Divine testimony, and to be guided, in all its advances, by the light which this afforded.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preaching Tours in 1811—Ordination—Change of Views in Regard to Baptism—True Basis of Union—Progress in Knowledge.

AFTER his return from his first preaching tour, in June, 1811, Alexander Campbell resumed his regular labors at the usual places of meeting in Washington county, and at the houses of friends in the vicinity. In the month of August, he revisited Ohio, preaching at Cadiz, St. Clairsville and other points. In September, he again preached at Steubenville and in its neighborhood several times, and in October, spoke once at David Carson's and six times at Cadiz, and also at Wheeling and at Newelstown. In December, he preached again at Cadiz, on the 8th and 10th of the month; at St. Clairsville on the 15th, and, on the 29th, at Smithfield, giving his last sermon for the year 1811 at Charlestown, on the 30th, from 2 Cor. v. 21. He thus extended his acquaintance and convinced many pious and excellent individuals, who afterward became advocates of the principles of the reformation.

It was his custom, at the end of every year, to devote some time to a careful review of the manner in which it had been spent, and to a serious and searching self-examination, as well as to the forming of new resolutions and arrangements for the coming year. On the 25th of December of this year (1811), after a solemn review of his past labors, he set himself to consider various important practical questions, such as the best

course of regular Scripture reading and memorizing, and the hours which he could most appropriately set apart for devotional exercises. After deciding to commit to memory, first, the epistles to Timothy and the Hebrews, he reflected upon another question which seems particularly to have pressed upon his mind at this time, and which was, whether or not it was his duty to be *ordained* to the ministry of the Word. With him, ordination implied a formal, public and irrevocable consecration of life to the preaching of the gospel, and his present circumstances seemed naturally to demand that this question, already several times decided in his own heart, amidst hours of peril and adversity, should be again debated before the bar of conscience, against the seductive but silent pleadings of a comfortable home, and the quieter and more profitable pursuits of agriculture. Eminently blest in his connubial relations, and placed in a position which opened up to one of his active temperament the most flattering prospects of worldly advancement, the time had come when his resolution was to be tried by some of the severest tests to which it could be subjected. While meditating upon the subject, he was at the pains to note down, in order, the motives which should govern his decision; and, in reconsidering the eventful past, he took occasion to review the whole question in the light of the Divine guidings and the providential dispensations he had experienced. Among the entries made on this occasion which reveal his heartfelt devotion to the service of God, and that conscientiousness which was so striking an attribute of his character, are the following:

"Special instances of Divine power which I consider to bind me under obligations to be specially devoted to Him, with my whole mind, soul and body.

"I. In being being born of religious parents, and of course religiously educated.

"II. In receiving an education, in some respects, to qualify me for that office, and this education providential in the following respects: 1. In my grand design at first being, not to preach the Gospel, but to shine in literary honors and affluence. 2. In my design being frustrated, and my mind turned to desire that office. 3. In my being introduced, quite contrary to expectation, to the University of Glasgow, and the literary advantages there.

"III. In resolving, when in imminent danger at sea, to serve God in this way, on two occasions of extraordinary deliverance.

"IV. In my situation being such, upon my arrival in this country, that I could not prepare myself for any other office.

"V. In the particular persecutions that befell my father, which shut up any prospects of support in the exercise of that office, yet in my giving it the preference.

"VI. In my favorable and easy circumstances for that purpose.

"VII. In giving me a choice companion, congenial to my inclination of serving Him.

"VIII. In giving me some desire after his salvation.

"IX. In giving me some desire after the salvation and reformation of mankind.

"X. In giving me tolerably good talents for edifying others.

"XI. In giving me a call from the Church to preach the Gospel.

"XII. In my desire to suffer hardships and reproach in that good work."

These *memorabilia* of the heart are interesting and touching, showing the calm deliberation that marked Alexander Campbell's purpose, and the noble and disinterested motives that determined his choice. He must renounce the ambitious *hopes of youth* to follow

the indications of Providence, and disregarding the fascinations of wealth and fame, must yield to the impulse by which he was, as he says, "turned to desire" the humble ministerial office. He cherishes the remembrance of the special deliverances he had experienced in his past history, which, he feels, impose upon him the obligation of entire consecration to the service of God. Even the easy and happy circumstances at present surrounding him, and his natural and acquired gifts however humbly estimated, seem, in his view, intended of Heaven to facilitate the work to which he is called by the intimations of Providence and the voice of the Church. Lastly and especially, is he convinced that necessity is laid upon him to preach the gospel, by his consciousness that it has been given to him not only to be willing, but even "to *desire* to suffer hardship and reproach in that good work." It is here we find the true spirit of a reformer, who will sacrifice everything for God and truth, and who, indifferent to mere personal considerations, will yield only to the dictates of conscience and of duty.

As it respects the ceremony of ordination, it will have been perceived, from his view of "lay preaching," that he did not regard it as essential to the exercise of the functions of the ministerial office. With Greville Ewing and the Haldanes, he was fully satisfied that it was "the indispensable duty of every Christian to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come; to point out Jesus as the way, the truth and the life," and, after the example of the first Church at Jerusalem, to "preach the word," as Providence might afford opportunity. He distinguished, however, between the simple recital of the story of the cross, as a duty incumbent on all, under proper circumstances, and the entire devotion of the

life of an individual to the particular work of preaching the gospel. In the latter case, he believed there were special and unmistakable indications afforded to the individual of his appropriate calling, and that it was his duty, in obedience to these, to consecrate himself solemnly to the work, and to be formally set apart by ordination. This he believed to be equally proper in the case of other officers or functionaries in the Church.

In a sermon which he preached about this period, from Titus i. 5, in which he takes a view of the offices, office-bearers and ordinations under the Jewish and Christian dispensations, and particularly of the pastoral office in the Church of Christ, he thus refers, under "Head II." to ordination:

"(1.) John the Baptist was sent of God especially. John i. 6. (2.) Our Lord (ἐποίησε) ordained twelve, Mark iii. 14, and that was by choosing them. John vi. 70; Luke vi. 13. (3.) The ordination of an apostle (γενέσθαι) Acts i. 22. (4.) The ordination of deacons (καταστήσομεν) Acts vi. 3. (5.) Philip preached and baptized, having nothing more than the ordination of a deacon. (6.) The ordination of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 1–4; xiv. 23, (χειροτονήσαντες), 'with lifting up of the hands had chosen them;' 2 Cor. viii. 19; Acts x. 41. Under 'Head V.,' he says: (1.) You see that ordination is not a mere unmeaning thing, but consists in the choice of the people, which must be hearty, and that it might be evidenced, the elders or rulers impose their hands. (2.) Why do we contend for uninterrupted succession in ordination, seeing it is not the persons called bishops who have the power, but the people? (3.) How comes it that we contend so much about having persons of superior authority to constitute, when inferiors have ordained superiors? Acts xiii. 1–3; 1 Cor. xii. 28. (4.) How many persons preached and baptized without ordination? Acts viii. 1–4."

The following observations which he, at this time, wrote down on the blank pages of one of his manuscript volumes of juvenile essays, will exhibit his views still more fully in regard to ordination and church government:

"*General observations on Church Government, derived from the Scriptures.*

"In the Church of Christ, at its erection, there were different officers or builders appointed, such as apostles, prophets, etc.; but in the Church, as to be regularly governed, taught and regulated to the end of the world, there are but two classes of officers, or two kinds of offices, viz.: 'Bishops and deacons.' We have the qualifications of these given separately and distinctly, but for any other office of human invention or appointment, we have not one word in the Word of God as to the qualifications.

"*Observe*, 1. That there are but two offices in the Church. See Phil. i. 1. The Greek word for bishop is *episcopos;* hence the word episcopacy. The meaning of the word '*episcopos*' is *overseer.* The Greek word for deacon is '*diakonos*' which signifies a *servant.* 2. One of these officers (the bishop) was to *superintend* the spiritual concerns of the people—to *rule* them, to teach them, to feed them. In one word, see his qualifications, 1 Tim. iii. 1–7. He was to work in his office, not like the English bishops, who only *superintend.* See verse 1, 2. He must *teach* also and rule, or take care of the Church, verses 4 and 5. 3. See the qualifications of the deacon, 1 Tim. iii. 8–14, and also Acts vi. 1–7. They were only to attend to secular things.

"*Objections answered.* 1. Have we not the office of an *elder* spoken of in the Word of God? Yes; but it is used in the Bible as equivalent to the word *bishop.* See Acts xx. 17. Paul there called the elders of the Church and gave them an advice. See verse 28: 'Take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers,*' or *bishops,* as we showed the word *bishop* to mean an overseer; and it is the

same word here that is elsewhere translated 'bishop.' The apostles called themselves *elders*. See John, Second Epistle, first verse, and Third Epistle, first verse, but particularly see 1 Pet. v. 1–4. The elder's office here spoken of is the same as the bishop's, verse 2. They were to feed the flock: they were to *take the oversight or the episcopacy*, as it is still the same word which denotes the bishop's office. And, moreover, the apostles, who called themselves elders, held also the office of bishop. See Acts of the Apostles i. 20, where their office is said to be a *bishopric*. If need be, see a still more conclusive proof, Tit. i. 6, where the apostle authorizes him to ordain *elders;* and then verses 6, 7, 8, 9 give Titus the qualifications of an elder under the term *bishop*, and show him that the elder must have the qualifications of a bishop. They were called bishops on account of their office, and elders on account of the advanced period of their lives, they being generally old men. The Greek word translated elder is *presbuteros*—whence comes *presbytery*.

"As to the number of elders in the separate churches: It appears that there was a *plurality* of elders or bishops in every *church*. And we may suppose that there were more or less on account of the largeness of the church. In the Church of Christ at Philippi we read of 'bishops'—a plurality of them as well as of deacons. Acts xx. 17, we read of a plurality of elders, or, as they are called, bishops, verse 28, in the Church at Ephesus. And in Acts xiv. 23, we read that there were a plurality of elders ordained in *every church;* and James, in his General Epistle to the Churches, tells them if any one be sick, to call for the *elders* of the Church, v. 14. And in the Church at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 4, we read of elders in the Church as well as the apostles who resided there; Tit. i. 5. Thus do we prove that there was a presbytery or elders in every Church.

"*Respecting Ordination.* Acts xiv. 23, we read that two persons were employed to ordain, namely, Paul and Barnabas. Acts xiii. 3, we read that Paul and Barnabas were ordained by imposition of hands. But it is uncertain whether it was

by one or more, as the word 'their' is not in the original. Acts ix. 17, we read that Ananias only laid his hands on Paul. 1 Tim. iv. 14, we read of the laying of the hands of the presbytery on Timothy; and we read also, 2 Tim. i. 6, that Paul only had laid his hands on him; and also we learn that Timothy and Titus were authorized to ordain elders or bishops, which is sufficient for an example, as the laying on of hands in the apostles' time was to communicate peculiar gifts sometimes to the person on whose head they laid their hands, and sometimes for the purpose of setting apart to some particular office, such as that of elder or bishop. We find in the rules for governing the Church, given by the apostle to Timothy and Titus, that every minister of the gospel, regularly ordained, has power to ordain *bishops* or *elders*. See 1 Tim. v. 22; 2 Tim. ii. 2; Tit. i. 5, each of which show that Timothy and Titus had, as an example to the Church, power to ordain 'faithful men who should be able to teach others also.' But we find many ministers, many eminent preachers, preaching for a long time without any ordination at all. See Acts viii. 4, and xi. 19, 20, 21."

Such, in brief, were Mr. Campbell's views of church government, church officers and ordination in the latter part of the year 1811. A plurality of elders and deacons in every church for the administration of its affairs, and preachers of the gospel or evangelists for the spread of the truth among men, constituted the simple arrangement as to functionaries. Each church was independent, and had the exclusive authority to select its own officials, who were, when approved, to be set apart by a formal ordination. These views he continued to maintain unchanged through life. As to the *form* or ceremony of ordination, he did not regard it as conferring any authority, but as a public testimony that the persons ordained possessed the necessary authority. In other words, he conceived it to be a solemn

mode of setting persons apart, and of committing them to God in the discharge of the duties of the office to which they had already been chosen or elected by the church. Hence he utterly repudiated the claim of apostolic succession; of priestly supremacy, and the communication of any official grace by superiors to inferiors; or that the clergy had any inherent power in them as it respects ordination. In another place, in reply to the question, why do you preach without authority, he says, "Who has authority? Who gave the Presbytery authority to license men? Who gave the Presbytery authority to make laws for the Church? Who gave the Presbytery authority to decide religious matters by vote? Who gave the Presbytery authority to choose ministers?" * * * *

For these views of authority and of ordination he had abundant support, not only in the Scriptures, but in the opinions and practice of the great Reformers. Calvin, without any ordination, began to preach at Orleans, by the invitation of some of the citizens.* Knox began to preach in the Castle of St. Andrews, where the conspirators who had slain Cardinal Beatoun were besieged by the Scottish Regent. He was induced reluctantly to do this from the urgent call made upon him by the refugees there assembled. This reluctance, however, did not proceed from the fact that he had not been ordained since he had abandoned Popery.

"We must not imagine," says his biographer, Dr. McCrie, "that the reluctance which he discovered to comply with the call which he had received, proceeded from consciousness of

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* D'Aubigné—"Reformation in the Time of Calvin," vol. ii. chap. xiv. p. 19.

its invalidity through the defect of certain external formalities which had been usual in the Church, or which, in ordinary cases, may be observed with propriety in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These, as far as warranted by Scripture or conducive to the preservation of order, he did not contemn; and his judgment respecting them may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish Reformed Church, in the organization of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the order of episcopal ordination as totally unauthorized by the law of Christ; nor did he regard the imposition of the hands of presbyters as a rite essential to the validity of orders, or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the Church. The Papists, indeed, did not fail to declaim on this point, representing Knox and other reformed ministers as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the English Church afterward learn to talk, not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop, who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed Churches except their own—a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended, with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal and horrid consequences. The fathers of the English Reformation, however, were very far from entertaining such contracted and unchristian sentiments. When Knox afterward went to England, they accepted his services without the smallest hesitation. They maintained a constant correspondence with the reformed divines on the Continent, and freely owned them as brethren and fellow-laborers in the ministry. And they were not so ignorant of their principles, nor so forgetful of their character, as to prefer ordination by Popish prelates to that which was conferred by Protestant presbyters. I will not say that our reformer utterly disregarded his early ordination in the Popish Church, although, if we may credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was

his sentiment; but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews, as principally constituting his call to the ministry."*

That the "authority" in religious matters rested with the congregation, was indeed the view of nearly all the early reformers; and it is curious to notice how soon, in the progress of affairs, this important truth became obscured and lost. Individual assumptions soon became precedents; precedents soon established customs; and customs soon resolved themselves into laws, to which, in the different denominations, there was exacted an obedience more strict than to those of Holy Writ. It is curious, also, to see how even good men will, when occasion serves, avail themselves of ambiguities and sophisms, in order to maintain or to extend this usurped authority. Thus Wesley, though himself but a presbyter of the Church of England, proceeded to ordain Thomas Coke a bishop, under the plea that a presbyter and a bishop had the same meaning in Scripture. This, indeed, was true, but, not according to the episcopal canon by which Dr. Coke was already a presbyter, and could not receive the higher rank and authority of bishop from one who was merely a coordinate. Yet this excellent man, Dr. Coke, so remarkable for his zeal and his abundant labors, assumed really the functions exercised by an Episcopal bishop, in ruling over many churches, and in consecrating Francis Asbury as bishop in America, through whom the official grace is supposed to have passed to others in succession. It is thus in religious as in civil affairs, that assumed power becomes at length confirmed authority; that the rights of the many are gradually

* Life of John Knox, p. 48.

usurped by the few, and that mankind become at length ruled by priests and kings, whose authority it is made heresy or treason to dispute. Hence it was, that nothing excited so much enmity toward Alexander Campbell as the views he proposed touching the authority and the doings of the clergy. It was, in fact, his continued opposition to their claims, and his earnest effort to restore the Church to its primitive position of freedom, that brought upon him, in his future life, his most bitter persecutions. From the moment, indeed, that he presumed to question their authority to legislate for the Church, they continued to wage, against him and his principles, a continual war of misrepresentation and invective. In despite of their efforts, however, his future labors in regard to this question were crowned with remarkable success, so that no man probably ever accomplished more in emancipating mankind from their thraldom to religious leaders and the assumptions of priestly power.

After having thus maturely and carefully considered the question of ordination, as was his wont in relation to all subjects of practical importance, he decided that it was his duty to be ordained, and he was accordingly solemnly set apart to the office of the ministry, with the usual forms, on the first day of the new year, 1812. Of this fact the following certificate was presented in court, when, toward the close of the year, it became necessary for him to apply for legal authority to perform the marriage ceremony:

"We do hereby certify that Alexander Campbell, after a due course of trials preparatory to the work of the holy ministry, was, according to the principles of this Church regularly chosen and ordained a minister thereof, upon the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

"Given under our hands at our church meeting held at John Dawson's, this 1st day of September, 1812.

"THOMAS CAMPBELL,

"*Senior minister of the First Church of the Christian Association of Washington, meeting at Cross-roads and Brush Run, Washington county, Pennsylvania.*

"GEORGE SHARP, WILLIAM GILCRIST, JAMES FOSTER, JOHN DAWSON.

"*Deacons of the said Church.*

"Brooke county, December Term, 1812.

"The foregoing was produced in court, and ordered to be recorded on page 122 of deed book F. Teste

"JOHN CONNELL, Clerk B. C. C."

Having acted in a ministerial capacity heretofore in entire harmony with his principles, and being now duly ordained, he continued, during the winter, to labor as usual with unwearied diligence in the sacred calling to which he had thus formally and conscientiously devoted his life.

On the 13th of March, 1812, his first child was born, a daughter, who was called Jane, after his mother. In recording the fact, he was so particular as to set down the very hour of her birth, 3 o'clock P. M. Soon after this event, a considerable change took place in his views in regard to baptism. His wife, with her father and mother, was still a member of the Presbyterian Church, and, as the child grew, it is natural to suppose that the question of infant baptism became to him one of immediate practical interest. It is certain, at least, that up to this period he does not appear to have given to the subject of baptism a sufficiently careful attention. The unity of the Church, the overthrow of sectarianism and the restoration of the Bible to its primitive position, had been the leading objects with him, and with his

father; and, regarding the question of baptism as one comparatively of small importance, they seem to have left it, in a good degree, undecided in their own minds. On the 3d of February, 1810, and again on the 19th May, 1811, as well as on the 5th of June following, Alexander had delivered a sermon upon Christ's commission to the apostles, Mark xvi. 15, 16, in which his position in regard to baptism at those periods is distinctly stated, and in which he said in reference to it: "As I am sure it is unscriptural to make this matter a term of communion, I let it *slip*. I wish to think and let think on these matters."

His failure, thus far, to recognize the truth in relation to this vexed question, was another instance of the truth of the adage, which is perhaps nowhere so often verified as in the affairs of religion, that "a man may look at a thing without seeing it." The subject had been more than once before him, and constituted a part of the text of the sermon above referred to, which he had preached several times; yet owing to the particular stand-point from which he had been taught to regard baptism, he had entirely failed to recognize its actual importance. As there is one angle of incidence in which light is absorbed by an object, and another in which it is reflected from it, and as an object assumes various appearances according to the relative position of the observer, so it is in regard to things contemplated by the mind. Viewed from the stand-point of his early education, infant baptism was a rite justified, inferentially at least, and not to be neglected. Viewed from the platform of the principles of the reformation urged by his father and himself, it possessed no Divine authority, yet as an ancient usage, and for the sake of peace, it seemed to them expedient to allow its continu-

ance in the case of such members as conscientiously believed it proper. Most of the members of the Church, furthermore, supposed themselves to have been in their infancy already introduced into the Church by its means, and even after Alexander discovered it to be unauthorized, he seems to have concurred, for the time, in the plausible sophism proposed by his father which begged the very point at issue, "that it was not now necessary for them to go, as it were, out of the Church merely for the purpose of coming in again by the regular and appointed way."

Under the influence of these conflicting and involved opinions, Alexander Campbell seems to have suspended his former investigations, and to have forborne giving to this subject that impartial and continued attention necessary to the discovery of truth. From the embarrassing circumstances of his position, he, as he states in the above sermon, concluded to "let it slip"—to pass it by as a matter of little relative importance, and to allow the question to remain as it was. From the occasional and incidental discussions of the subject, however, that occurred among the members of the Brush Run Church, there seems to have been a gradually increasing conviction, on the part of many, that baptism was a matter of much more importance than they had supposed, and Alexander himself began to share in this conviction. He began to perceive that an ordinance of which, in the commission to the apostles, Christ had deemed it necessary to speak particularly, and which he had there connected directly with the salvation of the gospel, in the declaration that "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," could not be one of those unimportant matters of opinion which might be allowed "to slip." Admitting that infant baptism was

without warrant, the question began to assume quite a different aspect, and was no longer, "May we safely reject infant baptism as a human invention?" but, "May we omit *believers' baptism*, which all admit to be divinely commanded?" If the baptism of infants be without warrant, it is invalid, and they who receive it are, in point of fact, still unbaptized. When they come to know this in after years, will God accept the credulity of the parent for the faith of the child? Men may be pleased to omit *faith* on the part of the person baptized, but will God sanction the omission of *baptism* on the part of the believer, on the ground that in his infancy he had been the subject of a ceremony which had not been enjoined? On the other hand, if the practice of infant baptism can be justified by inferential reasoning or any sufficient evidence, why should it not be adopted or continued by common consent, without further discussion?

Such were some of the reasonings which, at this time, pressed upon the mind of Alexander Campbell. Being exceedingly conscientious, and sensible of the responsibilities appertaining to the new relation in which he stood, as a father, he was led to think much more earnestly upon the whole subject, so that he might not be found wanting in any duty that was really required of him. Recalling to mind the little discussion with Preacher Riddle of the Associate Reformed Church, in regard to the principles of the "Declaration and Address," in which Mr. Riddle said "there was no direct authority in the Scriptures for infant baptism," he determined that he would, at least, make an effort to settle his mind finally upon the subject. Abandoning, then, all uninspired authorities, he applied himself to the Scriptures, and searching out critically the signification

of the words rendered *baptism* and *baptize* in the original Greek, he soon became satisfied that they could mean only *immersion* and *immerse*. From his further investigations, he was led finally to the clear conviction that believers, and believers only, were the proper subjects of the ordinance. He now fully perceived that the rite of sprinkling to which he had been subjected in infancy was wholly unauthorized, and that he was consequently, in point of fact, an unbaptized person, and hence could not, consistently, preach a baptism to others of which he had never been a subject himself. As these points were for some time matters of anxious inquiry, he frequently conversed upon them with his wife, who also became much interested in them, and finally came to the same conclusions with himself.

As he was not one who could remain long without carrying out his convictions of duty, he resolved at once to obey what he now, in the light of the Scriptures, found to be a positive Divine command. Having formed some acquaintance with a Matthias Luce, a Baptist preacher, who lived above Washington, he concluded to make application to him to perform the rite, and, on his way to visit him, called to see his father and the family, who were then living on the little farm between Washington and Mount Pleasant. Soon after arriving, his sister Dorothea took him aside, and told him that she had been in great trouble for some time about her baptism. She could find, she said, no authority whatever for infant baptism, and could not resist the conviction that she never had been scripturally baptized. She wished him, therefore, to represent the case on her behalf, to her father. At this unexpected announcement, Alexander smiled, and told her that he was now upon his way to request the services of Mr. Luce, as

he had himself determined to be immersed, and would lay the whole case before their father. He took the first opportunity, accordingly, of presenting the matter, stating the course he had pursued and the conclusions he had reached. His father, somewhat to his surprise, had but little to say, and offered no particular objections. He spoke of the position they had heretofore occupied in regard to this question, but forbore to urge it in opposition to Alexander's conscientious convictions. He finally remarked, "I have no more to add. You must please yourself." It was suggested, however, that in view of the public position they occupied as religious teachers and advocates of reformation, it would be proper that the matter should be publicly announced and attended to amongst the people to whom they had been accustomed to preach; and he requested Alexander to get Mr. Luce to call with him on his way down, at whatever time might be appointed.

Wednesday, the 12th day of June, 1812, having been selected, Elder Luce, in company with Elder Henry Spears, called at Thomas Campbell's on their way to the place chosen for the immersion, which was the deep pool in Buffalo Creek where three members of the Association had formerly been baptized. Next morning, as they were setting out, Thomas Campbell simply remarked that Mrs. Campbell had put up a change of raiment for herself and him, which was the first intimation given that they also intended to be immersed. Upon arriving at the place, as the greater part of the members of the Brush Run Church, with a large concourse of others, attracted by the novelty of the occasion, were assembled at David Bryant's house, near the place, Thomas Campbell thought it proper to present, in full, the reasons which had determined his course.

In a very long address, he accordingly reviewed the entire ground which he had occupied, and the struggles that he had undergone in reference to the particular subject of baptism, which he had earnestly desired to dispose of, in such a manner, that it might be no hinderance in the attainment of that Christian unity which he had labored to establish upon the Bible alone. In endeavoring to do this, he admitted that he had been led to overlook its importance, and the very many plain and obvious teachings of the Scriptures on the subject; but having at length attained a clearer view of duty, he felt it incumbent upon him to submit to what he now plainly saw was an important Divine institution. Alexander afterward followed in an extended defence of their proceedings, urging the necessity of submitting implicitly to all God's commands, and showing that the baptism of believers only, was authorized by the Word of God.

In his remarks, he had quoted, among other Scriptures, the command of Peter to the believers on the day of Pentecost: "Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit;" and had dwelt at length upon the gracious promises of God to all who should obey him. When he had concluded, James Hanen, who, with his wife, had also concluded to be baptized, took his child from its mother's arms, and requesting her to walk aside, asked her what she thought of the declaration of Peter, "You shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit," and how she understood it. Mrs. Hanen, being well acquainted with the Scriptures, soon gave a satisfactory reply, and both were accordingly baptized along with the rest, consisting of Alexander Campbell and his wife; his father and mother,

and his sister—in all seven persons. Alexander had stipulated with Elder Luce that the ceremony should be performed precisely according to the pattern given in the New Testament, and that, as there was no account of any of the first converts being called upon to give what is called a "religious experience," this modern custom should be omitted, and that the candidates should be admitted on the simple confession that "Jesus is the Son of God." These points he had fully discussed with Elder Luce during the evening spent at his house when he first went up to request his attendance, and they had been arranged as he desired. Elder Luce had, indeed, at first objected to these changes, as being contrary to Baptist usage, but finally consented, remarking that he believed they were right, and he would run the risk of censure. There were not, therefore, upon this occasion, any of the usual forms of receiving persons into the Church upon a detailed account of religious feelings and impressions. There was, indeed, no Baptist church-meeting to which any such "experience" could have been related, Elders Luce and Spear, with Elder David Jones of Eastern Pennsylvania, being the only Baptists known to have been present. All were, therefore, admitted to immersion upon making the simple confession of Christ required of the converts in the apostolic times. The meeting, it is related, continued about *seven hours*. Before it commenced, Joseph Bryant had to leave, in order to attend a muster of volunteers for the war against Great Britain, which, it was reported, Congress had declared on the fourth day of the same month, June, although the declaration was not formally made until the 18th. After attending the muster, he returned home in time to hear *an hour's preaching* and to witness the baptisms. Such were

the leading incidents of this eventful occasion, which gave to the reformatory movement an entirely new phase, and was productive of the most important consequences.

It will be easily perceived, that the conclusions which were thus practically carried out, had been reached only through a series of severe mental struggles. The difficulties in the way of Thomas Campbell, especially, had been very great, not only from the predilections arising from his early education, and the fact that he had been for about twenty-five years a pædobaptist minister, but from the very natural desire he had felt, since he commenced his efforts to secure Christian union, to avoid everything likely to frustrate this desirable object. He had no idea, indeed, in the beginning, that to take the Bible alone would really lead to the abandonment of infant baptism; and although this result was, at an early period, plainly predicted by others, he constantly cherished the hope that the practice might, consistently with his principles, be allowed as a matter of forbearance. Subsequently, he had consented to immerse three members of the Association, and seemed to have become satisfied that scriptural baptism implied the burial of the person in water. But he still appeared to cling to the opinion that the ordinance was of far less importance than Christian unity, and that the various questions connected with it might be left to the decision of each individual, so that he hesitated to adopt positively any view of the subject that would render his overture less acceptable to the religious public. Whilst his own mind remained in this state of incertitude, many of those connected with him had advanced beyond him, but were restrained from carrying out their convictions by the respect which they felt

was due to his position. When, however, his favorite son and daughter announced to him their conclusions, he found it necessary to come himself to a decision, which, upon his own principle of being guided exclusively by Scripture, he felt could not be different from theirs. This was a necessity which he had evidently longed to avoid, since he was aware it would at once erect an impassable barrier between him and the pædobaptist community in which he had labored, and frustrate all his hopes of winning it over to his views of Christian union. It was his love of truth; his own conscientious convictions, and his desire to please God rather than men, that could alone have enabled him thus to yield up his cherished hopes, and to see the road, which had at first seemed to him so broad that all religious parties could walk therein together, gradually diminish into a comparatively narrow path. That road, however, had appeared broad at first merely because its limits were not as yet properly defined; and although he found it narrowed, when, under the Divine instructions, its boundaries were more distinctly traced, he had an increasing assurance that it was the way that "leadeth unto life."

It is perhaps useless to speculate as to what might have been the result of the reformatory movement initiated by Thomas Campbell, had he continued to insist upon the loose views he had previously entertained upon the subject of baptism. It is extremely doubtful if his well-meant efforts could ever have made any considerable impression upon the religious community at large, so completely wedded as it was, at this period, to sectarianism. The religious denominations could never have been persuaded to discard their speculations, traditions or ecclesiastical usages, and to

sit down together harmoniously to learn the truth from the Bible alone. Such a spectacle as this, indeed, like the example of the Bereans of old, would have been most cheering and hopeful. But it is not upon any general principle, or even by the adoption of a few particular truths, that a real Christian union can be established. This demands at least a willingness to receive the *whole* truth, and involves a spiritual unity with Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life; for that alone which unites the human soul to Christ can unite Christians to each other. A mere conglomeration, then, of the religious parties upon the admitted principle that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice, would by no means have secured a religious peace. It could have been, at best, but a temporary truce amidst permanent hostilities, unless the spirit of partyism could have been replaced by the spirit of Christ, and there existed a sincere determination to follow the truth whithersoever it would lead. It is probable, therefore, that, in the existing state of things, the mild and gentle overtures of Thomas Campbell would have been disregarded in the future, as they had been thus far in the past; and that the little band which had rallied round the standard of peace, would have been, after a time, dispersed or blended with the existing parties. There needed, at this crisis, one to take the lead, who was of a more adventurous spirit, and who, realizing better the real posture of affairs, could recognize the truth that peace could be reached only through victory.

From the moment that Thomas Campbell concluded to follow the example of his son in relation to baptism, he conceded to him in effect the guidance of the whole religious movement. As for himself, it was evident

that he had previously accomplished his special mission in propounding and developing the true basis of Christian union. Considering his antecedents, he had made an astonishing progress in this noble work, not only unaided, but in the midst of hinderances and obstacles which, to thousands in similar circumstances, would have proved wholly insurmountable. But it was difficult for him to advance beyond the general principles laid down in the "Declaration and Address" to the practical and unforeseen results which those principles involved. Had it not been for the decision and the untrammeled views of his son at this juncture, and especially for that marked quality of conscientious mental independence which he seems to have largely inherited from his mother, the reformation would not probably, as already intimated, have advanced a single step beyond the general results attained in vindicating the claims of the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. Hence it was, that Thomas Campbell's long discourse at the baptism, while it was a rehearsal of his own anxious struggles, and a faithful testimony to his steady adherence to the Divine light by which he had been led, and by which he had thus far successfully led others, was, at the same time, virtually the surrender of that guiding light into the hands of a successor. From this hour, therefore, the positions of father and son were reversed, and each tacitly occupied the position allotted to him. Alexander became the master-spirit, and to him the eyes of all were now directed. He felt that Providence had placed him in the advance. He must lead the way, for conscience, enlightened by the Word of God, impelled him irresistibly forward. On neither side, however, was there the slightest feeling of rivalry or ambition. On the con-

trary, as before, it was still a constant and affectionate co-operation. Alexander's habitual deference for his father's extensive and accurate knowledge of the Bible, and his unalterable filial regard, led him constantly to confer with him in respect to Divine things; while his father, apparently conscious that his chief mission had been accomplished, gladly recognized, in his admired and greatly beloved son, a superior ability to appreciate, grasp, promulgate and defend the cause which he had so long labored to promote. He delighted, accordingly, to hold council with his son, and to discuss with him the momentous matters in which they were engaged, so that no new truth was ever adopted or disseminated without having undergone the careful scrutiny of the minds of both, and frequently of those of others also who formed part of the household or of the social circle.

At the next meeting of the church of Brush Run, which was on the Lord's day succeeding the baptism of the seven, thirteen other members, and among them James Foster, requested immersion, which was accordingly administered by Thomas Campbell, each one making the simple confession of Christ as the Son of God. On subsequent occasions, some others came forward in like manner, so that the great majority of the church speedily consisted of immersed believers, upon which, the other individuals who had been in the Association abandoned the cause, being unwilling to follow the reformatory movement any further. Among the latter was General Acheson, who, indeed, for some time previously, seemed to have lost his interest in the movement he had at first so warmly espoused. Thus it was with these reformers as it had been with the Haldanes and their coadjutors. The truth respecting baptism

forced itself at length upon the convictions of most of those who were active in these respective reformations, in spite of educational prejudices and the difficulties of their position. And thus it was also with the church at Brush Run, as it had been with the Haldanean church at Edinburgh—immersion, apt emblem of separation from the world, occasioned a separation among those who had been previously united in religious fellowship.

Upon the whole, then, it will be seen that a very great progress had now been made, and that a very great change had been effected, at least in the external aspect of this little community of reformers. Immersion had been unanimously adopted as the only true scriptural baptism; infant baptism had been finally and absolutely rejected as a human invention, and the simple confession of Christ, made by the early converts to Christ, was acknowledged as the only requirement which could be scripturally demanded of those who desired to become members of the Church. As all these matters were determined by the plain authority of Scripture, they have ever since continued to be prominent features of this religious movement. During their course, thus far, this band of reformers had recognized themselves to be, not a sect, with its truths and errors equally stereotyped and equally immutable, but a *party of progress*—as *learners* in the school of Christ. "Whereto they had already attained," they endeavored "to walk by the same rule and to mind the same things." In seeking for "the old paths" they had, thus far, found each new truth to lead them to another still more obvious, as a single track often guides the traveler, lost in the forest, to a pathway, which in turn conducts him to one still wider and more easily pursued.

The necessity felt for unity brought them to the Bible alone; this led them to the simple primitive faith in Christ; and this, in turn, had now guided them to the primitive baptism as the public profession of that faith. The full import and meaning of the institution of baptism was, however, still reserved for future discovery.

CHAPTER XIX.

Faith—Primitive Confession of Faith—Nature of the Christian Faith—Conversion.

THE best and highest reason that can be given for any action is, that God commands it. Whatever it may have in itself of manifest suitableness or of probable utility, will, if it become a motive to its performance, but detract to that extent from the obedience of faith. This seeks to be assured only that it is God's will, and shines forth in a purer and holier light when the command seems strange, incomprehensible and even most unreasonable, as when Abraham laid Isaac his son upon the altar of sacrifice. The blood of the paschal lamb upon the Hebrew lintels; the mercy-seat covering the law of human duty; the ashes of a red heifer sprinkling the unclean, nay, the whole rigid ceremonial of the Mosaic law, may be given as exemplifications of ordinances and commandments, as unexplained as they were imperative, and as adequate to secure prosperity and life and pardon, as the obedience they demanded was simple and unquestioning.

As the child who refuses to obey his father until the latter first explains to him the particular reasons for his commands, shows that he acts not from love and trust, but that he disbelieves and doubts, and prefers the conclusions of his own feeble understanding to reliance upon superior wisdom, so the individual who must know the

philosophy of God's commandments, and satisfy himself as to their propriety before he will obey them, believes not in God, but in himself. As it would have been beneath the dignity of the Divine Lawgiver to make obedience to his laws contingent upon man's approbation of their fitness, so has he ever, in perfect harmony with his own character and the truest interests of mankind, simply delivered his commands and prohibitions, with their rewards and penalties. In all cases, it was sufficient for the true believer, in abstaining from any act, to know that God had forbidden it, and in keeping a Divine command to feel that "obedience" was "better than sacrifice," and "to hearken than the fat of rams."

Even under the New Institution, where the veil that concealed the meaning of the Jewish ritual is taken away, and the worshiper can look understandingly to Christ as the end and antitype of that which was abolished, it is not permitted that Reason should take the place of Faith, or that human views of expediency should usurp the province of Divine wisdom. An institution under which the just can live only by faith must render conspicuous that simple and confiding trust without which it is impossible to please God. Hence it is, that in abolishing the worldly sanctuary and the ordinances of the Mosaic economy, adumbrative of the future, the New Institution confines itself, in its severe simplicity, to three institutions commemorative of the past. The Lord's day, the Lord's Supper and baptism have indeed of themselves a fitness to indicate or picture forth the facts which they commemorate, or the new relations into which the believer enters; but they are so divinely adapted to the purposes intended that, while they trench as little as possible upon the domain

of sense, they guide the thoughts of the believer to the gospel facts, and fix his faith upon the person and work of Christ. Unlike corrupt systems, such as Romanism, which usurp the name and place of Christianity, and seek, by imposing ceremonies and sensuous imagery, to captivate the imaginative and awe the superstitious, the gospel, in its simple administration, repudiates all dramatic effect and all subordinate mediation, in order to bring by faith the penitent sinner into spiritual fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ.

The same simplicity which belongs to the institutions of the gospel appertains to the gospel faith itself, which is far from being what scholastic theology or vain enthusiasm would make it—a mysterious and undefined spiritual operation, or an instantaneous and miraculous illumination; but which is simply *a trusting in Christ*, a sincere belief in the testimony and truth of God. This faith, again, with that appropriate directness which marks the entire gospel, reveals itself in a willingness to keep God's commandments, and a readiness to make before the world the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, not only orally in the "good confession" of the primitive Church, but in the entire subsequent devotion of the life.

That the simple avowal that Jesus is the Son of God constituted the confession of faith of the primitive Church, is abundantly evident both from Scripture and ecclesiastical history. Neander, in his "*Planting of the Christian Church*," vol. i., p. 161, says:

"In baptism, entrance into communion with Christ seems to have been the essential point: thus persons were united to the spiritual body of Christ, and received into the communion of the redeemed, the Church of Christ. Gal. iii. 27; 1 Cor.

xii. 13. Hence, baptism, according to its characteristic marks, was designated 'into the name of Christ,' as the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, was the original article of faith in the apostolic Church, and this was perhaps the most ancient formula of baptism, which was still made use of in the third century. The usual form of submersion at baptism, practised by the Jews, was transferred to the Gentile Christians. Indeed this form was the most suitable to signify that which Christ intended to render an object of contemplation by such a symbol—the immersion of the whole man in the spirit of a new life."

"In primitive times," says Gavin Struther, D.D., of the Relief Church, Glasgow, in his admirable essay on the prevalence and insidiousness of party spirit, "the confession of faith in use was very short. 'If thou believest with all thy heart,' said Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch, 'there is nothing to hinder thee to be baptized.' And he replied, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' On this confession of his faith he was baptized. The first uninspired compends of Christian doctrine were short, plain and comprehensive. The early Christians recognized a few leading principles as essential to vital religion, and on other matters allowed every member to think for himself; but the Church of Rome heaped up article upon article, till her creed became long and full of wire-drawn distinctions. The Churches of the reformation having to testify against many corruptions, were led, in the first instance, to give a lengthened enumeration of the articles of their faith; and then, after they were attacked, to defend those articles by a regular process of Scripture reasoning and logical argumentation. As their 'Confessions' swelled in size, they did not improve as 'helps to the weak,' which was at first their main intention. Covering, as they soon did, the whole ground of 'didactic and polemic theology,' unlettered men could with difficulty fathom the meaning of their numerous propositions. Like modern acts of Parliament, they became abstruse from their very minuteness of detail, and thus generated endless controversies, and produced many

divisions by a labored attempt at shutting out every possible mistake and error."—*Essays on Christian Union*, p. 426.

In view of existing circumstances and subsequent results, it was, indeed, a memorable occurrence when, on the 12th day of June, 1812, in presence of the assembled multitude, Alexander Campbell first stood forth to make the primitive confession of the Christian faith. The day was beautiful, and the clear heavens shone beneath in the bright waters of the swift-flowing Buffalo as it wound through the secluded valley, and bathed the massive roots of leafy elms or of the majestic Western plane, which, with marbled trunk, lifted its cream-white branches toward the skies. There, in the consciousness of emancipation from civil and religious thraldom and amidst the freedom of nature, yet in the very heart of a sectarian community, the yet youthful reformer uttered the simple acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus as the divinely-required prerequisite to baptism—a confession now for the first time heard since the earlier ages of the Church. It was upon this confession alone, as he had informed Elder Luce, that he would consent to be baptized. "I have set out," said he, "to follow the apostles of Christ and their Master, and I will be baptized only into the primitive Christian faith." This was, truly, a remarkable stipulation, and its practical and public fulfillment gave an interest and an importance to the occasion which can hardly be too highly estimated. It was not only a formal and open condemnation of the elaborate doctrinal creeds and false theories of conversion so popular amongst the religious parties, but it was the restoration of the Christian faith to its original simplicity and to its proper object. This feature, thus first introduced, and which, in fact, became at once the great characteristic of the reformation, de-

serves to be carefully considered, along with the circumstances which led to its adoption.

The primitive confession is, indeed, the exponent of the *nature* of the primitive faith. From the Scriptures nothing can be plainer than that faith rests upon Christ *himself* as its proper object. The faith that saves is a believing *on* or *into* Christ (εἰς Χριστον); a receiving Christ himself—a trusting in Christ, in all the grandeur of his personal character, and in all the glory of his official relations, as prophet, priest and king. The question, therefore, in regard to faith, was not, in the beginning, "*What* do you believe?" the eager and sole inquiry of modern religious parties; but "*In whom* do you believe?" It was the question addressed by Christ himself to one who sought to know the truth: "Dost thou believe on the Son of God?" And the answer was "Who is he, Lord, that I may believe on him?" For this direct personal reliance, indicated in the primitive confession, and exhibited as true faith everywhere in Scripture, men have unhappily substituted a trust in the accuracy of their doctrinal knowledge—a confidence in the orthodoxy of particular tenets; as if correctness of religious opinion could secure the Divine favor, or had in itself a mysterious saving efficacy. Doubtless, when it was asked, "Who is he, that I may believe on him?" it was implied that some instruction was to be given; as also, when the inquiry was made, "What think ye of Christ?" that a correct apprehension was demanded. But it is to be remembered that the knowledge thus required had still reference to a *person;* to the character and relations of Christ *himself* as the Son of God and the appointed Saviour of the world. Hence the *gospel* was to be preached among all nations for the obedience of faith. Hence the gospel was the power of God to

salvation to the believer, for this gospel was simply *glad tidings concerning Christ*—the accredited and joyful news of salvation through a once crucified but now gloriously exalted Redeemer, to whom all authority on earth and in heaven had been committed. The simple facts which that gospel embodies, and the prophecies and miracles to which it refers, in attestation of the claims of the Messiah and the completeness of the redemption he has achieved for men, are comprehensible by the humblest capacity, so that such a gospel is indeed fitted to be preached to every creature however illiterate or humble, and constitutes a ground of faith, totally different in character and results from those recondite speculations about the Divine essence, and those abstract theories of the plan of salvation, Divine sovereignty, human inability, etc, etc., which form the burden of modern religious creeds.

The distinction here referred to had been, to some extent, recognized in the very beginning of the reformatory movement. It was substantially implied in the "Declaration and Address," when it was said that "inferences and deductions from Scripture premises," usually called "doctrines," were not to be made "terms of communion"—that such deductions properly belonged, not to the Christian faith, "but to the after and progressive edification of the Church, and ought not therefore to have any place in the Church's confession." Again, in the 8th Proposition it was affirmed,

"That as it is not necessary that persons should have a particular knowledge or distinct apprehension of all divinely-revealed truths to entitle them to a place in the Church; neither should they, for this purpose, be required to make a confession more extensive than their knowledge; but that, on the contrary, their having a due measure of scriptural self-

knowledge respecting their lost and perishing condition by nature and practice, and of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, accompanied by a profession of their faith in, and obedience to, him, in all things, according to his word, is all that is absolutely necessary to qualify them for admission into his Church."

The distinction thus, at this early period, implied in the principles adopted by Mr. Campbell and his father, does not seem, however, to have been fully apprehended by either for a considerable time afterward. Alexander, it is true, as appears from one of his discourses already referred to (page 376), seems in the spring of 1811 to have taken a simple and just view of faith as a "trusting in Christ," a "hearty reliance upon him for salvation." Subsequently, he read and reflected much upon faith, and occupied himself in considering the various conflicting theories upon the subject, both as it regards the nature of faith itself, and the manner in which it is produced. During the fall of 1811, and the winter of 1812, he carried on an interesting correspondence with his father upon various religious topics, among which a large space is allotted to this particular subject. This correspondence he carefully transcribed, giving to his father the pseudonym of Philologus, and assuming himself that of Philomathes. A few extracts from this correspondence will serve to exhibit their views of this important matter at that time.

In the first letter, dated October 17, 1811, Philomathes speaks of a work by Thomas Taylor, published in 1661, upon "The Necessity and Efficacy of Faith in Prayer," and quotes him as saying, "True saving faith may exist in the minds of persons apt to doubt, or, in other words, true faith is not always accompanied by certainty in the mind that the things we desire by

prayer shall be obtained, but the prayer of faith is sometimes accompanied with doubting." The letter is then devoted to the discussion of the correctness of this position, that saving faith may coexist with doubt, and also of a distinction which is made between the "faith of reliance" and the "faith of assurance," during which a number of cases are cited from the Scriptures. To this Philologus, the father, replies at considerable length, in part as follows:

"The subject you have introduced must, on all hands, be acknowledged to be one of leading importance. Next to the revelation of salvation for guilty men, *that* by which we are made partakers of it, and by which alone we must live, and be actuated while in this world, as legitimate expectants of the heavenly felicity, is to us of all things most important, for it is written, 'The just by faith shall live.'"

With characteristic caution, he then first considers the source from which true knowledge must be obtained and the spirit in which it must be sought:

"Allow me, then, on entering upon this subject, to defer an immediate reply to your quotation and statements respecting your author's views of the subject, reserving this for the sequel. Whatever respect we may have for our own or others' opinions upon Divine subjects, yet in every commencement to consider or discuss these things, on set purpose, for our own or others' advantage in the knowledge and belief of the truth, it behooves us to have immediate recourse to the Sacred Oracles, that we may stand upon sure ground; be the better educated in the truth; have its impression deepened in our minds, and behold it with still greater advantage. Thus shall our certainty of the truth and attachment to it increase with our labors; and thus shall we be delivered from being servile followers and copyists either of ourselves or others. Having 'The Truth' for our motto, and

'*What is truth?*' for our simple, single and upright inquiry, let it not be apprehended that such a procedure can justly implicate the lovers and students of sacred truth in the charge of ignorance or instability. It will rather evince the simplicity and purity of their hearts from the noxious inmates of pride, self-confidence and vain presumption of infallibility, to which the contrary practice may, with too great an appearance of justice, be imputed. The apostle's maxim, however, fully justifies what I plead for: 'If any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.' Besides, what does such a practice amount to, but what in similar cases is just and natural, namely, to behold or contemplate things in the *light?* 'In Thy light shall we see light,' and 'he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.' Of course, he that speaketh truth in like manner—that his words may be made manifest that they are of truth.'

He now goes on to dwell upon faith as being "the belief of the truth," and gives a general definition of "the truth" as comprehending everything that God has revealed of himself concerning his being and perfections, his works and will, and the present and future state of his creatures. Taking thus, in the first instance, the whole Divine Testimony as the subject-matter of faith, he further remarks that the Divine veracity is the ground, foundation or reason of our faith, and "God in Christ the only proper and qualified object of it."

"For as such," he adds, "he revealed himself from the beginning, and as such only is he the subject of supernatural revelation, and as such only can he be justly considered by all them that truly believe it; for, as such, is he held forth to have been 'from everlasting,' from the 'beginning or ever earth was,' though not so revealed till after the fall, and then, at first, but obscurely. But no sooner did he reveal himself in relation to the redemption and recovery of fallen man, than

he did so by the means or mediation of Jesus Christ. And, since then, in the process of the revelation with which he hath favored the Church, he hath declared himself acting or proceeding in and by Jesus Christ, in the creation of all things and in all his managements. See Prov. viii. 22: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way before his works of old;' and 30: 'Then I was by him as one *brought up with him;* and I was daily *his* delight, rejoicing always before him.' See also John xvii. 5: 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.' 2 Tim. i. 9: 'His own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began;' and again, 'He hath created all things by Jesus Christ;' and again, 'He is the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person, upholding all things by the word of his power; by whom also he made the worlds.' 'By whom he will judge the world.' Acts xvii. 31. So that in no instance is God revealed to us but as in Christ. * * * * But, God in Christ, or God, laying and executing all his purposes of creation, sustentation, gubernation, redemption and judgment, in and by Jesus Christ, is the adequate, comprehensive and adorable object of the Christian faith. * *

"The full and firm persuasion, then, or hearty belief of the Divine testimony concerning Jesus, comprehensively considered as above defined, is that faith, in its proper and primary acceptation, to which the promises and privileges of salvation are annexed. See Peter's confession and the recognitions of John in his First Epistle: 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;' 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona,' etc., etc.; 'Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;' 'Who is he that overcometh the world but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?' * * * *

'PHILOLOGUS."

Continuing the subject in a second letter, he enters minutely and somewhat philosophically into the consideration of some of the effects of faith; but, correct-

ing himself and expressing his dislike of metaphysical distinctions and definitions, he concludes with some deductions from the whole premises, among which are the following:

"1. That he who would harmonize as a teacher or preacher with the intention and scope of the Divine economy, should be careful to exhibit in a distinct and faithful manner the whole testimony of God concerning himself, his works and will, and the present and future conditions of his creatures. Especially, a pure simple gospel view of God as in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself; of Christ in his person, offices and performance; of the Holy Spirit in his offices and works, and of the absolute unconditionality of salvation, in respect to any entitling or previous recommendatory qualifications whatsoever, as requisite to qualify the sinner for partaking of the offered salvation, or to lay a foundation for his confidence toward God through Jesus Christ; even to the exclusion of faith itself in its secondary import, that is, considering it as an act or exercise of confidence in Christ, his office and work; such confidence being the *native* and proper result of a true knowledge and belief of the truth or truths exhibited in the Divine testimony.

"2. That he that would be saved should hearken diligently to the testimony of God, by the knowledge and belief of which alone, testified to all who hear it for their salvation, he may be delivered from the wrath to come, the guilt and bondage of corruption, and have access into the glorious liberty of the children of God, in the possession of that confidence which casts out all fear. An effect this, which no systematic theory can either produce or promote, and of course makes no part of the preacher's business. See 1 Cor. ii. 12.

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"5. From the aforesaid investigation, I further infer that all the distinctions, directions and cautions about kinds and acts of faith, thrust upon the public attention by preachings and

writings, polemical and practical, are little, if anything, better than fallacies and amusive speculations, tending to divert and distract the mind from the truth—the great subject of salvation—turning many aside after vain jangling, and greatly deceiving others. For what other end serve the distinctions about 'historical faith;' 'miraculous,' 'temporary' and 'saving faith;' 'the faith of reliance,' 'assurance,' 'an act of faith;' the 'direct' and 'reflex' acts of faith; 'appropriating faith,' 'the faith of adherence,' etc., etc., if not to perplex or amuse? Have we anything like this in the Scriptures? 'So *we* preach and so ye believed,' saith the apostles, and so the matter ends. The Scripture, it is true, lays a great stress upon faith, and in many places reproves hypocritical pretensions to faith, and also exhibits evidences of genuine faith, and also exhorts to self-examination on that subject, but how? Is it by the intervention of those metaphysical, I might say barbarous, distinctions of modern times? No such thing. The Scriptures exhibit no such theory. They consider the subject through a different medium. 'Show me thy faith by thy works' is the Scripture test, to distinguish the true from the false, the genuine from the counterfeit professor, and not the light, airy, cheap way of metaphysical distinction. It is true, the ground that we have assumed and the plan we have prescribed to ourselves, which is simply returning to the original standard, and taking up and treating all religious matters as we find them there, would, if strictly adhered to, for ever extricate us from all the labyrinths of later inventions and practices; but it will take some pains, and much watchfulness and caution, to bring ourselves to this. We are children of yesterday, moderns in the newest sense of the word, and, therefore, will find it no easy matter to look back over the heads of eighteen hundred ages, and to think, speak and act, in matters of religion, as if contemporaries with the apostles and members of the primitive Church. Lastly, I infer, from the whole premises, that the great reason why the doctrine of faith has been so perplexed and obscured, is the legal tendency of the human heart, that constant self-flattering bias

which leads us to look for something in ourselves to distinguish us in the sight of God from others, were it but a single act of faith—some felt formal confidence, or 'appropriating act,' as they call it; something in ourselves as entitling or interesting. Whereas no one does, nor indeed can, take any merit to himself for believing a testimony where the truth is conspicuous from the strength of the evidence. To withhold belief in such a case is utterly impossible to rational nature. Therefore, no thanks to the believing subject, except for being rational, or for hearing a testimony, which, when brought to his ears unsought, he could not avoid hearing—if these things merit thanks. But, methinks, I hear it queried by the proud, self-preferring heart, can such an involuntary, unavoidable faith, such a bare belief of the naked truth, save me? Yes, surely, if the truth thus believed be sufficiently interesting to influence the conduct of the believer. If otherwise, let him know assuredly that the merit of believing it will not save him. Moreover, if it be sufficiently influential to affect his conduct, no thanks to him for that; for, who, in his senses, having drunk a poisoned bowl, would not, when duly certified of his fatal mistake, gladly receive an antidote? Where is boasting, then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith. We see, then, upon the closest investigation of the subject, that every kind and degree of boasting is, and must be, for ever excluded by the law or tenor of the New Covenant, which communicates its special and saving blessings only and wholly by faith. I conclude this subject by observing that the forbidding, discouraging sense of our deep unworthiness, which we are prone to entertain in reference to God, is not to be regarded as interfering with our confidence toward him through Jesus Christ, as if we were at any time, or in any case, ever to be conscious of anything else, or better than the deepest unworthiness in reference to God and his salvation. * * * *

"Upon the whole, it is not theory, but a believing experience of the power of truth upon our own hearts, that will qualify us either to live or preach the gospel of a free, uncon-

ditional salvation through faith, and we may as well look to the north in December, for the warming breeze to dissolve the wintry ice, as to extract this believing experience of the power of the truth out of the most refined and exquisite theory about the nature and properties of faith, or of justification, or of any other point of the Divine testimony, abstracted from the testimony itself, as exhibited and addressed to us in the Scriptures. Let us, once for all, be convinced of this, that we may addict ourselves to study, believe and preach our Bibles, and then shall we study, live and preach to profit. * * * * And may the Lord direct you in all things, and make you one of his own preachers, and then, like his renowned apostle, you will pour contempt upon the wisdom of this world in all its most imposing forms, which comes to naught; then will your maxim be, 'Not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth.'

"Farewell.

"November 29, 1811. PHILOLOGUS."

Such were the views of faith entertained by Thomas Campbell, and in which his son Alexander always substantially agreed. Thus the whole Divine testimony was to be received as the only source of spiritual light and truth. But that testimony was essentially a revelation of God in Christ reconciling a guilty world. Christ being the way, the truth, and the life, to believe on him, to trust in him, was to attain the great purpose of all the Divine communications. A complete acquaintance with the Bible, however, though necessary to a full understanding of the Divine character and will, was not required in order to produce faith in Christ; this being more immediately dependent upon the gospel as preached by the apostles and exhibited in the New Testament. As all the promises and types of preceding institutions were verified in Christ, who was the

end of the law for righteousness to the believer, and as the great work of salvation which he accomplished was embraced in a few grand, comprehensive facts, adapted to the humblest understanding, a knowledge of these was sufficient in the first instance as the basis of faith, however this might be subsequently evolved and enlarged by an increased knowledge and experience. Thus, as in every seed there is a germ of the future plant, so in the simple gospel there was contained essentially the entire plan of redemption. And, as in the germ of every seed there are two points, one of which always develops itself downward to form the root, while the other as invariably extends itself upward to form the stem; so the revelation of Christ in the gospel spreads its rootlets throughout the entire Old Testament, reaching to the first promise in the garden of Eden; while, in the New, it rises, in all the excellency and glory of the work of redemption, until it reaches the very heavens. Hence it was, that the primitive faith, a simple trust in Christ, embodied in it all the power of the Christian life, and that a simple confession of this faith was all that was demanded in the apostolic age in order to discipleship. Such in substance was the view of faith which Mr. Campbell had now adopted; and such was the primitive confession of that faith which he now, by his example, first restored to the world.

With regard to this simple trust in Christ, embracing both the understanding and the heart, it will be seen by the minutes of his discourse (p. 376) that he at least, up to the spring of 1811, retained the opinion that this "trusting" was a special result of "Divine power and regenerating grace." This view, during the reflections and readings of the following year, was somewhat

modified, and he came to regard the Divine testimony itself as the only means through which faith was communicated. The false reasonings and unscriptural distinctions of the theological works he had been reading upon the subject, seem to have engendered in his mind a fixed dislike to the notions popularly entertained, and to have led him to prefer the simpler view that faith was the direct result of the Divine testimony—a view which is expressly given in that testimony itself, when it declares that "*faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.*"

It will not appear strange that, with the Scriptures before him, Mr. Campbell should come to such a conclusion, nor that, from his stand-point, the metaphysical distinctions made by popular theological writers in regard to faith should seem to him utterly groundless, if not absurd. During the correspondence with his father, above referred to, he thus writes to him under date of March 28, 1812, about two and one half months before his baptism:

"My attention for some time past has been directed to that grand controversy, not yet decided, betwixt Messrs. Hervey, Sandeman, Cudworth and Bellamy, concerning the apostolic gospel. An old and a most important controversy. As the performance of Mr. Bellamy in this dispute has been much extolled by one numerous party of the contenders, I have given it a tolerably close and somewhat critical reading. In this letter, then, I propose giving you a brief review of the sentiments advanced by this champion in his Dialogues and Essays.*

* Joseph Bellamy, D. D., was a native of Connecticut, born in 1719, and graduated at Yale College in 1735. He was a man of eminent abilities, ardent piety and great power as a preacher. He became, also, a theological teacher and writer, and died March 6, 1790, in the fiftieth year of his ministry, aged seventy-one. As a theologian he stands next in reputation to President Edwards.—R.

"It appears to have fared with Mr. Bellamy as with many other polemics; while endeavoring to abolish the sentiments of his opponents, he establishes another scheme more absurd in its nature and not less destructive in its consequences. If I were to make any remarks on the style and method of Mr. Bellamy, I would say that his method of treating the matter in debate is puerile. His style is extremely uncouth, abounding with barbarisms and tautology. You can hardly conceive a more visible and impressive contrast than that which subsists between the diction and style of Mr. Hervey and his respondent. It is not, however, with his style, but with his sentiments, I have to do according to my expressed intention. To proceed then: the outline of Mr. Bellamy's gospel which he opposes to Messrs. Hervey, Sandeman and Cudworth, is obviously such as the following, when reduced to its simplest parts:

"1. A man must be regenerated previous to the first act of faith. 2. He must, before he believes the gospel to be true, approve of the law as holy, just and good, and love it on this account. 3. Then through the law as a glass he must discover the glory of God, and love him on account of his own glorious excellences. 4. Afterward, he must discover the wisdom of God in the gospel way of salvation, and, with all these qualifications, he then believes the gospel to be true; all this previous to the first act of faith, which he says is a 'holy act,' for his faith implies holiness, repentance, conversion and reconciliation; and yet he maintains that repentance is before forgiveness. That you may read his sentiments with your own eyes, please consult pages 14, 16, 17, 19, 58, 79, 81–103: Essays, 122, 125, 147.

"Respecting his first prerequisite, Regeneration, page 17: 'Regeneration must be before faith,' John (i. 12, 13). I would inquire what is the meaning of regeneration? Is it not the communication of spiritual life to the soul, which principle of spiritual life is the beginning of eternal life? 'If any be in Christ, he is a new creature;' all 'old things are passed away.' 'All things are become new' when a man is regene-

rated, he is then possessed of a new life, he is *now* alive and shall never die. I think this proposition would sound somewhat strange in the ears of a Christian, 'That a man may be possessed of eternal life and yet disbelieve the gospel.' Mr. Bellamy virtually maintains this; for if regeneration be the communication of spiritual and eternal life, and if this be previous to faith, then a man may live and die and enjoy eternal life without faith. But, according to Mr. Bellamy's idea, regeneration is one of the most unaccountable things in the world. It is an effect produced without any cause. But we are assured, from the New Testament, that the Word of God is the means of regeneration—not a means which man uses in order to salvation, but a means which God uses. 'Of his own will begat he us *with* the word of truth.' James i. 18. 'Being born again not of corruptible seed,' but by 'incorruptible' seed, by 'the Word of God.' 1 Peter i. 23. 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him.' 1 John iii. 9. 2 John 2: 'For the truth's sake which abideth in us.' From these Scriptures we learn, in this figurative style, that *God begets us of his own will*—with incorruptible seed, the word of truth, and the effect is a new creature. One question determines this point. Is it the Word of God, believed or disbelieved, that regenerates us? If disbelieved, all unbelievers are regenerate; if believed, then Mr. Bellamy's scheme falls to the ground. Mr. Bellamy lays a great stress on John i. 12, 13: 'Them that believe on his name which were born,' etc. He supposes that John is describing religion as he does, in *order*, which is first, second and third; but I apprehend that this passage is descriptive of character—not of the order of salvation.

"Mr. Bellamy's second prerequisite, page 17. You and I must approve the law as just, holy and good, glorious and amiable, with application to ourselves, before we can with all our hearts believe the gospel to be true. As Mr. Bellamy is very verbose and his performance most tautological, I might refer you to a hundred places where the sentiments I animadvert on are stated and confirmed in his own way.

See the above references. This sentiment is unfounded in Divine revelation, nay, the contrary is obviously inculcated. To the man who disbelieves the gospel, 'the law worketh wrath.' The carnal mind is enmity against it and is not subject to it, 'neither indeed can be.' Paul only had attained to approve and love the law through the gospel. The law is not that which reconciles us to God, but God in Christ reconciles us to himself. Those enemies whom he hath reconciled were reconciled through the death of Christ. Surely it is only the man who believes the Divine Record and trusts in the death of Jesus Christ, that can be considered as having been reconciled through the infinite goodness of God. * * * *

"What must the orthodoxy of those be who hold Mr. B. as a model defender of the Christian faith? I should not have wearied your patience reading, or tired myself transcribing, these extracts, were it not to give you an idea of the state of that Church which receives, admires, recommends and contends for this performance as almost canonical. I have only mentioned some of the most exceptionable parts of Bellamy's performance, but those I have mentioned give an idea of his system, which, at least, is semi-Arminian. I have read about one half of Cudworth this week. Will give you my sentiments respecting his performance in my next. I am weary of controversy. I reap some advantages, but not enough to counterbalance the disadvantages. The simple truth is the best defence of the truth, which, while it enlightens the understanding, sanctifies the heart. PHILOMATHES."

Thus it was that Mr. Campbell came to regard the extravagant notions of conversion popularly entertained, and the perplexing definitions of faith given by theological writers, as wholly unscriptural and unworthy of regard. Disposed to rely only upon the Scripture, and to limit his convictions by its express language, he could not perceive much utility in mere theories on any religious subject. The inquiry, with him, was always, What say the Scriptures? and to

their teachings his understanding and his heart ever responded, as the chords of a well-tuned harp to the touch of a musician. He saw clearly that faith was the belief of the truth, that it rested upon the Divine testimony, and that, whatever theology might say or theorists pretend, its quality was to be determined, not by theological definitions or by frames and feelings, but by the Scripture test, a willingness to keep God's commandments. His view of converting faith came to be, therefore, substantially that entertained by J. A. Haldane and John Campbell, mentioned on pp. 155–157. It taught him to look off to Jesus rather than to trust to the varying moods and emotions of the mind, and to rest his hope upon the merits and faithfulness of Him who is unchangeably the same, rather than upon any inward impressions or transient feelings. As matters of fact, he was not disposed to deny that in many cases a peculiar vividness of conviction and excitement of feeling accompanied belief, and, under certain circumstances, became unusually striking. Both he and his father had formerly had such "experiences," as they were called, and he always felt an interest in the recital of such matters by others, as evidences of their earnestness and sincerity, but he objected that men were disposed to rely on these rather than on the Word and Testimony of God, and to neglect and disparage assurances derived from the belief and obedience of the truth, while seeking in themselves, often in vain, for those evidences which modern systems demanded. The more he read and examined these systems, the more he became convinced that they had departed from the simplicity of the gospel, and had substituted human speculations and theories for the plain teachings of the Bible. It became therefore largely the labor of his

future life to dethrone these theories from the power they had usurped over men's minds, and to restore the Word of God to its proper authority. Whatever might be urged in favor of "appropriating faith," or of the commonly-received theories upon the subject, he came to regard such definitions and speculations as of no practical utility. Whatever harm they could do, he felt assured they could do no good, inasmuch as it was admitted by all that a cordial reception of them in their most orthodox form tended, in no degree, to *procure* those special spiritual operations which men were taught to expect.

There were, indeed, some difficult questions connected with the subjects of conversion and faith, which he does not, at this period, seem to have considered, except in a very general way. One of these was: Why, if faith comes by the word of God, is it not produced in *all* who hear that word? Why is it that, when the gospel is preached, a few particular individuals *only* believe and obey it? And again, Why is it that it is proper to *pray* for the conversion of individuals or of the world at large, unless it be agreed that some special influence or interposition is to be expected in answer to prayer?* No one admitted the propriety of such petitions or offered them more sincerely than Mr. Campbell, and to deny that there was an influence of any kind to be expected and exerted in any case in aid of the gospel, would have involved a practical inconsistency. He did not, therefore, deny the importance or existence of such aid, but its nature he appears to have left undetermined in his mind, preferring to leave all such matters with God. He did not conceive

* These questions will be found elucidated in a subsequent part of these Memoirs.

it to be the duty of an evangelist to preach a theory of conversion, but to "preach the Word," and to leave the event entirely with God. Of this he remained absolutely certain, that it was right and safe always to adhere closely to the Scriptures, and to teach and observe such things only as matters of faith and duty for which there could be produced a Divine warrant. It was therefore perfectly in harmony with his principles that, at his baptism, he refused to sanction, by relating an experience, any of the popular theories of faith, and that he determined to adhere closely to Scripture precedent and the admitted practice of the primitive Church, by making only the simple, but all-comprehending confession of the Messiahship of Jesus.

CHAPTER XX.

Spirit of Persecution—Sabbath-keeping—Union with Baptists—Home-labors—Discussion on Religious Fellowship.

THE conversion of the church at Brush Run into a society of immersed believers was quite a marvel and an offence to the religious communities of the neighborhood. Displeased as most of them already were by Mr. Campbell's previous opposition to existing usages, this decisive step, which separated him at once from all pædobaptist sympathy, greatly intensified the prejudices which the clergy had succeeded in exciting against him. That a party of individuals who had been nearly all members of orthodox churches should, without extrinsic influence, but simply from their own investigations, take upon themselves to repudiate publicly and finally infant baptism, and to adopt immersion as the primitive institution, and this, too, in the very heart of a pædobaptist community, under the control of a watchful and active ministry, was regarded as a most presumptuous proceeding, and one well calculated to subvert the entire order of religious society. There were no heresies so flagrant which such a party might not embrace. There were no extremes so wild to which they might not run, as they refused to be guided or restrained by those who were the chosen leaders of the people. Hence the "drum ecclesiastic" of each different party was beaten, with more than usual vigor, in

vehement efforts to demonstrate to the awestruck auditory the terrible consequences of such departures from the views and practices of "great and good men," and from the standards of the established Churches. Throughout this region of country, the power of the clergy was, at this time, almost supreme, and those who questioned it were at once put under the ban of religious society, being regarded as disorganizers, and even treated as outlaws in the spiritual kingdom. It may readily be supposed that under these circumstances the members of the Brush Run Church were blessed with no small amount of persecution, and that this was carried as far as the laws and social regulations would permit. As an illustration of the state of feeling which then existed, the following incident may be related. As Alexander Campbell was one evening returning from an appointment, he perceived a violent storm likely to overtake him, and called at the house of a Seceder lady to request shelter. The lady, who came to the door, desired, in the first instance, to know his name, and being informed that it was Alexander Campbell, she at once informed him that she could not admit him into her house. He was, therefore, obliged to pass on homeward, and to brave the fury of the tempest and the dangers from the timber falling across his way, which was chiefly a mere bridle-path through the woods. He did not, however, cherish the slightest unkind feeling toward the lady who had acted thus inhospitably. On the contrary, he used to say in after years, when relating the circumstance, that he had always entertained the highest respect for her, as he was confident she had acted from a sense of religious duty, and that she must have been a pious and very conscientious woman, to have been able thus to repress

her natural feelings of kindness, lest she should sin by receiving into her house one whom she was taught to regard as a false religious teacher.

The bitter prejudice thus excited by clerical influence continued to manifest itself in various ways and for a number of years. Misrepresentations of all kinds were freely circulated amongst the people; friendships were broken off; the ties of family relationship were weakened, and the discord of religious controversy invaded the quietude of the most secluded habitations. Christ had declared in the beginning that he came not to send peace on earth, but a sword—"to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." The members of the Brush Run Church now fully experienced the truth of this declaration, as they found that obedience to the Divine word raised up foes in a man's own household, and that, in order to be worthy of Christ, each one must take his cross and follow him. The opposition, however, by no means confined itself to private intercourse, or even to the pulpit, but manifested itself in business relations, in the withdrawal of custom from members whose callings were dependent upon public patronage, and in slights at public gatherings whenever it was supposed an indignity might be safely offered to any member present. Such opportunities were sometimes afforded at appointments for preaching, and particularly on baptismal occasions. It happened, more than once, that while Thomas Campbell was baptizing individuals who came forward from time to time to unite with the church, sticks and stones were thrown into the water from amidst the crowd assembled; imprecations also would sometimes be heard, and even threats of personal vio-

lence. The administrator, however, always remained perfectly calm, and performed his office with a dignity and a solemnity which secured the respect of, at least, the better portion of the audience. Such demonstrations, however, are not known to have occurred at any of Alexander's appointments. There was something so commanding in his appearance, in the clear emphatic tones of his voice, and something so expressive of power and determined will in the eagle glances of his eye, that he seemed to hold his audience, prejudiced as they were, under a sort of spell, and no one was ever found bold enough to venture upon any annoyances.

One of the chief things circulated about the reformers at this time was, that they paid no respect to the Sabbath day. This, if believed to be true, could not fail to appear a heinous offence in the eyes of the Presbyterians, who composed almost the entire population of this part of the country, and who regarded it as one of the most important duties to keep, in a very solemn manner, the first day of the week, which they conceived to be a sort of Jewish Sabbath, asserting that the Sabbath day was changed from the seventh day to the first. As the Scripture contained no record of such a change, and gave no authority for it, the reformers, of course, could not admit it; and the simple denial of this fact at once exposed them to the charge of paying no respect to the Sabbath, while, in point of fact, they paid as much respect to the first day of the week as their neighbors. Because, however, they would not *call* it "the Sabbath," nor regard the Jewish law in relation to the Sabbath, or seventh day, as applicable to the first day of the week, a prodigious clamor was raised against them, as violating one of the most sacred of the com-

mandments. It is true, that they who thus judged, did not themselves keep the first day of the week according to the Jewish law regulating the Sabbath, which declared that whosoever should "do any work on that day should surely be put to death." (Ex. xxxi. 15), in harmony with which precept, when a man was found gathering sticks upon that day, he was taken out of the camp and stoned to death. Num. xv. 36. On the contrary, they assumed the privilege not only of changing the day, but of performing then also whatever they might choose to regard as "works of necessity or mercy." Thus they thought it right to travel more than a "Sabbath-day's journey" to meeting; to grind grain in a very dry time for the community on "Sabbath" after a shower; to take special care of their flocks and their herds on that sacred day, etc., etc.*

* Among those who stood very high in the Presbyterian Church, some curious cases are recorded, which illustrate the diversity of opinion and practice which arises, when every man is allowed to interpret the law according to his own views.

It is related that James A. Haldane, when a lad, made a tour, along with one of his school-fellows, George Ramsey, through the North of England, accompanied by his teacher, Dr. Adam, rector of the High School of Edinburgh, and author of the "*Roman Antiquities*" and other valuable works. They traveled on horseback, and were also accompanied by the Rev. Dr. Macknight, the well-known commentator, whose practical disregard of the Lord's day made a deep impression on his fellow-travelers. In speaking of this, the author of the "*Memoirs of the Haldanes*" says: "Although Dr. Adam was not an enlightened man in spiritual things, and then attended the very *moderate* teaching of the minister of St. Cuthbert's Chapel-of-Ease, yet he had been accustomed to reverence the outward symbols of religion. But when they had crossed the border and arrived in an Episcopalian country, Dr. Macknight persuaded his learned friend that, being now out of the bounds of Presbytery, and under no obligation to countenance prelatical worship, it would be very absurd to allow their journeying plans to be deranged by the intervention of the Sabbath. This convenient doctrine at first surprised, but at last proved very palatable to the young travelers. For a time, Dr. Adam felt very much ashamed when they entered a town or village when the church-going bells were calling the people to the services of the sanc-

No one, however, more approved or admired the quietude and becoming solemnity with which this day was generally observed in Presbyterian communities, nor did any one render a more sincere respect to it than Mr. Campbell, for this term, in order to avoid confusion, will be hereafter, in these Memoirs, appropriated to the son, his father being designated as such, or by his name, Thomas Campbell. He made it a rule through life not to travel on the Lord's day, except to an appointment for a religious meeting, and constantly held the day as one to be sacredly appropriated to religious duties. He entirely discountenanced the practice of Sunday visiting, and urged everywhere the importance of keeping the day in joyful memory of the resurrection of Christ, and with such services as tended to promote Christian edification and enjoyment. About this period, he thus wrote to a person who had been circulating the report that the Brush Run Church did not observe the first day of the week sacred to the Lord. "This," said he, "is a misrepresentation, for there is no sect known to us, and especially amongst our neighbors, that pay a more sacred regard to this important day than we, though we do not convert it into a

tuary. But these scruples were soon overcome by the doughty commentator." It must not be understood, however, that Presbyterians in general sanctioned Dr. Macknight's views in regard to Jewish observances, or that such cases as those referred to, would at all fairly represent the opinions they held with regard to the first day of the week, or Sabbath, as they made it a point to call it. And such cases were just as far from representing the sentiments or the practice of Alexander Campbell and those associated with him. For, although he regarded the positive and ceremonial institutions of the Jewish law to have been fulfilled in Christ, and that the antitype of the Sabbath was found in the heavenly sabbatism of the New Institution in which men cease from their own works, having found rest and righteousness in Christ, he, on that very account, felt but the more disposed to reverence and honor the day which was commemorative of the fact that Christ rose again for our justification.

Jewish Sabbath. The morning of the day we freely consecrate to the Lord in reading, meditation, prayer, with other necessary duties. During the day we assemble to commemorate the death, resurrection and works of Christ—to pray, to praise, to comfort and edify one another, and to converse *only* on such things as stand connected with our Church relations and relative duties, and if ever anything of a worldly nature is introduced, it is not of choice, but of necessity, as arising out of our circumstances and mutual relations, and all alluding to our existence as a Church. In the evening of the day we conclude as we began. So that there are no professing Christians of any denomination, even those who call the Lord's day a Sabbath, who pay a more rational, scriptural and sacred regard to the Lord's day than *we*."

The misrepresentations and petty persecutions, however, to which the members of the church at Brush Run were subjected, only served, as is usually the case, to convince them more fully of the correctness of their course, and to attach them more strongly to one another. They had "obeyed the truth through the Spirit, unto unfeigned brotherly love," and felt that they had been "regenerated by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever." The doubts that had previously disturbed their minds on the subject of baptism were now dispelled, and they enjoyed the peculiar gladness which belongs to the bright hours of the earlier period of both the natural and the spiritual life. Having been unable, for want of means, to finish the interior of the meeting-house, they were, nevertheless, accustomed to meet in it regularly, and continued to do so, even without fire, during the inclemency of winter. They visited often at each other's houses, often spending a consider-

able portion of the night in social prayer, in searching the Scriptures and singing hymns of praise. Their affections seemed to be elevated above the love of the world by the love of Christ, and the deeply implanted prejudices of a sectarian education and training, appeared to have died away beneath the overshadowing influence of Divine truth.

As was naturally to be expected, the adoption of immersion which had brought the church of Brush Run into so much disfavor with the Pædobaptist community, only served to give to it more acceptance with the Baptists. Of these, indeed, there were but few in the particular region of country between Washington and the Ohio river. East of Washington, however, along the Monongahela river, and throughout the rich valleys at the western base of the Alleghany mountains, they were tolerably numerous, and had formed an association of churches, called "Redstone," from an old Indian fort of that name on the Monongahela, about sixty miles above Pittsburg, where the town of Brownsville is now situated. In addition to his acquaintance with Messrs. Luce and Spears, Mr. Campbell had, from time to time, formed that of other members belonging to the Association, who often urged that the Brush Run Church should connect itself with this religious body. Determined, however, to preserve its independence as a church, and knowing that, notwithstanding the claim of independency put forth in theory by the Baptist churches, they were very much under the control of the clergy, who constituted the ruling element in the Associations, the proposed measure was regarded for some time as one of doubtful expediency. Another obstacle was, that the churches composing the Association had adopted the Confession of Faith set

forth by a Baptist Association at Philadelphia, September 25, 1747, and which contained a fair proportion of the unscriptural theories and speculations usually found in such standards. The practice of immersion, indeed, instead of sprinkling, seemed to constitute almost the only important difference between the Baptists and other sects; and although the Brush Run members had adopted immersion, and were hence reputed to be Baptists, they felt that there was a wide difference between them and the Baptist communities in regard to the great principles of religious liberty and progress, as well as to the necessity of returning to the faith and practice of the primitive Churches. In their conformity to these, they had advanced far beyond the Baptist stand-point, even before the adoption of immersion, which, with the simple baptismal confession they had chosen, did not bring them to the position held by the Baptists, but, in reality, had placed them still farther in advance. It was after a long and difficult progress, that the Bible had guided them to the primitive baptism, and they would have been obliged to retrace almost all their steps in order to place themselves on Baptist ground, as it was then measured and staked out by the masters of assemblies. Besides, immersion itself was not to the church of Brush Run precisely what it was to the Baptist Church. To the latter, it was *merely a commandment*—a sort of front door by which regularity and good order required people to enter the Church. With the former, it was a *discovery* which had the effect of readjusting all their ideas of the Christian institution. It was to them the primitive confession of Christ, and a gracious token of salvation, and although they did not fully, as yet, comprehend, as afterward, its entire purport, its relations were so far understood

as greatly to enlarge and simplify their conceptions of the entire gospel. Upon these points, however, and upon the circumstances which led to a conditional union with the Redstone Association during the fall of 1813, it is proper to hear Mr. Campbell himself, who gives the following account, *Harbinger* for 1848, p. 344:

"After my baptism, and the consequent new constitution of our church of Brush Run, it became my duty to set forth the causes of this change in our position to the professing world, and also to justify them by an appeal to the Oracles of God. But this was not all; the position of baptism itself to the other institutions of Christ became a new subject of examination, and a very absorbing one. A change of one's views on any radical matter, in all its practical bearings and effects upon all his views, not only in reference to that simple result, but also in reference to all its connections with the whole system of which it is a part, is not to be computed, *a priori*, by himself or by any one else. The whole Christian doctrine is exhibited in three symbols—baptism, the Lord's supper, and the Lord's day institution. Some, nay, very many, change their views in regard to some one of these, without ever allowing themselves to trace its connections with the whole institution of which it is either a part or a symbol. My mind, neither by nature nor by education, was one of that order. I must know now two things about everything—its *cause* and its *relations*. Hence my mind was, for a time, set loose from all its former moorings. It was not a simple change of views on baptism, which happens a thousand times without anything more, but a new commencement. I was placed on a new eminence—a new peak of the mountain of God, from which the whole landscape of Christianity presented itself to my mind in a new attitude and position.

"I had no idea of uniting with the Baptists, more than with the Moravians or the mere Independents. I had unfortunately formed a very unfavorable opinion of the Baptist preachers as then introduced to my acquaintance, as narrow,

contracted, illiberal and uneducated men. This, indeed, I am sorry to say, is still my opinion of the ministry of that Association at that day; and whether they are yet much improved I am without satisfactory evidence.

"The people, however, called Baptists, were much more highly appreciated by me than their ministry. Indeed, the ministry of some sects is generally in the aggregate the worse portion of them. It was certainly so in the Redstone Association, thirty years ago. They were little men in a big office. The office did not fit them. They had a wrong idea, too, of what was wanting. They seemed to think that a change of apparel—a black coat instead of a drab—a broad rim on their hat instead of a narrow one—a prolongation of the face and a fictitious gravity—a longer and more emphatic pronunciation of certain words, rather than scriptural knowledge, humility, spirituality, zeal and Christian affection, with great devotion and great philanthropy, were the grand desiderata.

"Along with these drawbacks, they had as few means of acquiring Christian knowledge as they had either taste or leisure for it. They had but one, two, or, at the most, three sermons, and these were either delivered in one uniform style and order, or minced down into one medley by way of variety. Of course, then, unless they had an exuberant zeal for the truth as they understood it, they were not of the calibre, temper or attainments to relish or seek after mental enlargement or independence. I, therefore, could not esteem them, nor court their favor by offering any incense at their shrine. I resolved to have nothing especially to do with them more than with other preachers and teachers. The clergy of my acquaintance in other parties of that day were, as they believed, educated men, and called the Baptists illiterate and uncouth men, without either learning or academic accomplishments or polish. They trusted to a moderate portion of Latin, Greek and metaphysics, together with a synopsis of divinity, ready made in suits for every man's stature, at a reasonable price. They were as proud of their classic lore

and the marrow of modern divinity, as the Baptist was of his 'mode of baptism,' and his 'proper subject' with sovereign grace, total depravity and final perseverance.

"I confess, however, that I was better pleased with the Baptist people than with any other community. They read the Bible, and seemed to care for little else in religion than 'conversion' and 'Bible doctrine.' They often sent for us and pressed us to preach for them. We visited some of their churches, and, on acquaintance, liked the people more and the preachers less. Still I feared that I might be unreasonable, and by education prejudiced against them, and thought that I must visit their Association at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1812. I went there as an auditor and spectator, and returned more disgusted than I went. They invited me 'to preach,' but I declined it altogether, except one evening in a private family, to some dozen preachers and twice as many laymen. I returned home, not intending ever to visit another Association.

"On my return home, however, I learned that the Baptists themselves did not appreciate the preaching or the preachers of that meeting. They regarded the speakers as worse than usual, and their discourses as not edifying—as too much after the style of John Gill and Tucker's theory of predestination. They pressed me from every quarter to visit their churches, and, though not a member, to preach for them. I often spoke to the Baptist congregations for sixty miles around. They all pressed us to join their Redstone Association. We laid the matter before the Church in the fall of 1813. We discussed the propriety of the measure. After much discussion and earnest desire to be directed by the wisdom which cometh from above, we finally concluded to make an overture to that effect, and to write out a full view of our sentiments, wishes and determinations on that subject. We did so in some eight or ten pages of large dimensions, exhibiting our remonstrance against all human creeds as bonds of communion or union amongst Christian Churches, and expressing a willingness, upon certain conditions, to co-operate or to unite with that

Association, provided always that we should be allowed to teach and preach whatever we learned from the Holy Scriptures, regardless of any creed or formula in Christendom. A copy of this document, we regret to say, was not preserved; and, when solicited from the clerk of the Association, was refused.

"The proposition was discussed at the Association, and, after much debate, was decided by a considerable majority in favor of our being received. Thus a union was formed. But the party opposed, though small, began early to work, and continued with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. There was an Elder Pritchard of Cross Creek, Virginia; an Elder Brownfield of Uniontown, Pennsylvania; an Elder Stone of Ohio, and his son Elder Stone of the Monongahela region, that seemed to have confederated to oppose our influence. But they, for three years, could do nothing. We boldly argued for the Bible, for the New Testament Christianity, vex, harass, discompose whom it might. We felt the strength of our cause of reform on every indication of opposition, and constantly grew in favor with the people. Things passed along without any very prominent interest for some two or three years."

A very imperfect idea would be formed of the energy and activity of Mr. Campbell during these years, if his public religious and ministerial labors were alone considered. From the time that he came to reside at Mr. Brown's, he had continued to render much assistance in the labors of the farm. This physical exercise, however, which he greatly enjoyed, did not materially interfere with the regular course of study which he was accustomed to prescribe for himself. When his horses, weary with the plough, were resting for a little in the shade, he would take from his pocket the New Testament he always carried, and spend the time in committing a portion of it to memory, or in tracing out the

order and method of a discourse upon some important theme. Being always a very early riser, many quiet hours were appropriated to important studies before the household was astir; and when, at meal-times, coming in warm and somewhat fatigued, he would recline carelessly upon the little settee with rockers, which served as a cradle for his children, he was almost certain to have a book in his hand and occupy himself in reading aloud to his wife or others present, or in conversing with them respecting the author and the subject of which he treated.

His selection was such that the subject was never a trivial one, but always something improving, some elevating theme connected with human duty or human happiness, upon which he would himself at intervals interestingly descant. So particular was he, that in one of his MS. books he entered down a list of the works he read from the time he came to Mr. Brown's, March 25, 1811, up to the 15th of August, 1812. As the reader may wish to know the range of his reading during this time, the list is given below.* The number

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* Owen on the Holy Spirit. 3 vols. 1218 pp.
Owen on the Death of Death. 1 vol. 320 pp.
Walker's Address to the Methodists. 40 pp.
Walker's Charity Sermon. 1 vol. 112 pp.
Walker's Letters to Knox. 1st vol. 300 pp.
do. do. do. 2d vol. 300 pp.
Quolquhun's Address. 1 vol. 124 pp.
Law on Christian Perfection. 472 pp.
Address on the Christian Name. 30 pp.
Lany's Philemon to Onesimus. 1 vol. 432 pp.
Hervey's Meditations. 1 vol. 400 pp.
Paul Wright's Biography. 1 vol. 200 pp.
Michaelis' Introductory Lectures to the New Testament. 326 pp.
Mason on Self-Knowledge. 90 pp.
Sandeman's Letters on Theron and Aspasio. 2 vols. 300 pp.
Sandeman on Marriage. 52 pp.

of pages in all these volumes thus read, he also noted down as amounting to eight thousand three hundred and fifty-four. Nor is it to be supposed that this reading was cursory or superficial, for he not only read these works with care, as is evinced by various notes and references, but made extensive extracts of such portions as he desired particularly to remember. Thus, from "Owen on the Holy Spirit," there are copied no less than *thirty-eight foolscap pages*, very closely written in the small but clear handwriting peculiar to him, for he had been well drilled in the art of penmanship by his father, who was an accomplished penman, and who wrote a hand so elegant that at a very short distance the eye could not distinguish it from copper-plate engraving. For Dr. Owen he had the highest admiration, and speaks of him, in introducing the extracts, as "that eminent servant of God." He entertained the same sentiments in reference to John Newton, and through

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Booth's Essay on the Kingdom of Christ. 120 pp.

Bellamy's Dialogues and Essays. 320 pp.

Cudworth against Sandeman and Bellamy. 300 pp.

Haldane on Baptism. 100 pp.

McClean's pamphlets—A reply to Mr. Fuller's Appendix to his book on "The Gospel Worthy of Acceptance." 154 pp.

Wardlaw's Lectures on the Abrahamic Covenant, revised. 132 pp.

Belief of the Gospel, Saving Faith. 36 pp.

Sermons on Public Fasts. 48 pp.

Defence of Believer's Baptism. 93 pp.

Haldane's Tour through the Highlands. 100 pp.

Branagon's Concise View of Religious Sects. 324 pp.

Booth Against Free Communion. 70 pp.

Prophetic Conjectures on the French Revolution by various authors, with other events. 96 pp.

Bechens on the Signs of the Times, or the Overthrow of the Papal Tyranny in France. 40 pp.

Anonymous Dialogues on Duty. 50 pp.

The Pioneer. 312 pp.

Kelly's Sermon on Perseverance. 20 pp.

Kelly's Defence of his book "Union." 80 pp.

life could never hear the name of either mentioned without expressing his high appreciation of him. He also thought much of some things in the writings of John Walker, from whose "Address to the Methodists in Ireland" he extracts the following passages as worthy of special attention:

"1. The writer who takes the sacred Scriptures *alone* for the standard of his faith, and takes the *whole* of them, must expect opposition and dislike more or less from all sects and parties.

"2. The more clearly we maintain and exhibit the simplicity of the real Gospel of Christ, the more we shall be disliked and despised by the world.

"3. The gospel which proposes a foundation for the sinner's hope altogether *out of himself*, and calls him to live a life which he is to live *not by himself*, but 'by the faith of the Son of God,' is on this account peculiarly offensive to the world.

"4. It is no part of the work of grace to mend the corrupt nature. *That* nature is as bad, as wholly evil, in a believer as in an unbeliever; as bad in the most established believer as in the wickedest; as bad in Paul the apostle, just finishing his course and ready to receive the crown of righteousness, as in Saul of Tarsus, a blasphemer and a persecutor of the Church of Christ.

"5. What are we to understand by being *sanctified* or *made holy?* I answer in a word—*separated unto God*, so as to be brought into a particular relation unto him, appropriated to his use and service. This is the literal meaning of קדש. For this reason, persons, places and things have been said to be sanctified, in the Bible. See Lev. xx. 24, 26; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; believers are '*chosen*' out of the world, his peculiar people, a holy nation, from the babe in Christ to the Father. 1 Pet. i. 2; ii. 9. Consider 1 Cor. i. 30: 'Of him,' etc. 'Believers are in a *new* state in *Christ Jesus.*' Not of *themselves* but '*of him*'—of God. Then Christ is

made unto them wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, redemption. Their sanctification and justification equally result from being in Christ.

"In consequence of *this union*, the Spirit of holiness, the Spirit of life and power, descends and dwells in them, producing in them *the fruits of holiness*, even that cluster of heavenly affections, Gal. v. 22, 23. And these fruits are produced because they are kept '*abiding in Christ*,' walking *in him*. Col. ii. 6. And they are kept thus continually in Christ, by the Spirit keeping them under a continual conviction of their need of him as poor sinners, who *have in themselves* neither righteousness nor strength, and testifying to their hearts that *in him* they have righteousness and strength in whom *alone* all the seed of Israel is *justified* and shall glory, saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation (see Isa. xlv. 17, 24, 25), testifying of his offices and character. They are kept by the '*power of God through faith unto salvation*.' * * * *

"1. The doctrine of a sinner's justification as the *free gift* of God in *Christ Jesus* to every one that believeth, is the essential difference between the gospel and all human systems.

"2. This doctrine, Luther said, is the turning-point of a falling or a standing Church; and it may be truly said to be the turning-point of true religion or false religion. * * *

"4. *On Repentance.*

"That repentance which is unto life is not anything preceding faith or unconnected with it, but it is that *new mind* of which we are made partakers when we are given to believe with the heart in Jesus.

"There may be a pregnant sorrow for sin, when there is no true repentance."

"*On Party Names.*

"1. I observe that the Scriptures positively testify against the practice of Christians calling themselves by their earthly leaders. If I were to choose any man by whose name I would

call myself, I would be apt to select Paul and call myself a *Paulite*. But against this Paul himself would protest; and shall I call myself a Calvinist, or a disciple of Calvin? Nor would I ever wish to descend from the high character of a servant of Jesus Christ, to that of a champion for the opinions of any man."

"*Against Arminianism.*

"2. I am persuaded that all that *are saved*, are saved from a proud rebelliousness of heart, and subdued to a thankful acquiescence in the revealed way of salvation; glad to be saved by *mere mercy*, and convinced that if it were not *mere* mercy, they could not be saved at all.

"3. I would observe that to charge God with cruelty for not extending the same grace and saving mercy to others, is in effect to deny the existence of his mercy altogether. The very idea of mercy is that it is gratuitous—that is not the gift of mercy which may not be justly withheld; and that cannot justly be withheld, which it would be cruelty to withhold.

"4. Alas! What a different book would the Bible, be if systematic divines, if uninspired men of any sect or party, had the compilation of it!"

For the learning, sincerity and talents of John Walker, Mr. Campbell entertained a very high respect, but it was a respect somewhat mingled with pity that his labors should have resulted in so little real benefit to religious society. He had heard him preach at Rich-Hill, as related (page 60), and was greatly impressed by his acquirements and his acuteness, and used often, in conversation, to speak of the facts in his history; of the trouble he gave the Episcopalians, while among them, by inveighing against their worldly conformity; of his subsequent union with the Methodists on account of their plainness of dress and manners, and of his speedy abandonment of this connection from his dis-

satisfaction with their Arminian doctrines, upon which he wrote his celebrated "Letters to Alexander Knox," which many regarded as the finest exposition of the gospel plan of justification which had appeared since Paul's Epistle to the Romans. For a time, Mr. Walker had sympathized with the Haldanean movement; but, adopting peculiar notions of separatism, and refusing to hold religious fellowship even in appearance with those who differed from him, he established an impassable barrier between the few followers he here and there obtained, and all the surrounding religious bodies.*

Mr. Campbell himself seems, during the winter of 1812, to have given some consideration to this question of religious fellowship, and as he was then carrying on the correspondence, already spoken of, with his father upon various topics, he took occasion to introduce for discussion the position which believers occupy in relation to unbelievers in social or public religious exercises. Under date of February 26, 1812, he submits to his father the following queries:

"1. What is prayer, and how many kinds are there? 2. Is it scriptural and lawful for believers and unbelievers formally to join in prayer and praise as acts of religious worship? The matter to be ascertained is," he remarks, "the propriety of social acts of religious worship in promiscuous assemblies or in families where some are unbelievers."

* Of those who adopted Mr. Walker's views, there were a few in the neighborhood of Newry, who, in after years, used to meet occasionally in that place. Mr. Ross of Rosstrevor, successor of General Ross, was one of them, and, being a public man, was accustomed on such occasions to deliver a religious address to the people. But at these meetings there were no public exercises, such as prayer or singing, by uniting in which any of the audience could assume even the appearance of religious fellowship. It may readily be supposed, that a course of this kind, to which the divided and distracted state of religious society could alone have given origin, had the effect of greatly limiting the progress of Mr. Walker's opinions.

After expressing his desire that this matter should be examined impartially, and without paying any respect to such "advantages or disadvantages in a temporal sense as might accrue from this or that practice," he says: "When I survey the religious world and read the New Testament, the more clearly I am convinced that superstition, enthusiasm, formality and will-worship, prevail to the ruin and disgrace of scriptural and ancient Christianity. And as *truth* can never be injured by being examined, to call all doctrines and religious practices, in this generation, in question, appears an immediate and indispensable duty." After speaking then of the corruptions of Christianity in the perversion of the ordinances of baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Lord's day, preaching, etc., he inquires if it is not probable that the ordinances of prayer and praise have likewise been perverted. "How many disciples of Moses," he exclaims, "are yet to be found in the professed school of Jesus Christ! and how few among the teachers of the *New Testament* seem to know that Christ's ministers are not able ministers of the *Old Testament*, but of the *New!* Do they not, like scholars to their teacher, run to Moses to prove forms of worship, ordinances, discipline, and government in the Christian Church, when asked to account for their practice? On this subject, I think we may rest satisfied, that since the great Prophet has come, whom to refuse or disobey is death, who is a faithful son over his own house, that all worship and forms of worship, ordinances, discipline, and government belonging to the Christian Church, must be learned exclusively from the *New Testament.* And every appeal made to Moses or the prophets to confirm any form of worship, ordinance, or any part of Christian discipline or government is sending Christ the *Son* to Moses the *servant* to be instructed. It is a perverse impeachment of the wisdom, goodness and care of the Church's head."

Passing, afterward, to the subject of family-worship, he submits to his father the question whether there is

scriptural authority for making this observance, as some had done, a term of communion, and whether it is proper in a family composed in part of unbelievers? To these inquiries his father replies at considerable length in two letters, dated the 2d and 12th of March, in which he considers particularly this question of religious fellowship:

"That Christianity," he remarks, "in the present profession and practice, is greatly corrupted, is a plain matter of fact. Whoever will seriously consider the present state of things in the professing world and compare it with the spirit and tenor of the apostolic writings, and with the state of things there exhibited, will plainly perceive, nay, will sensibly feel, a remarkable and striking difference." Dwelling then upon the gospel as it was first introduced, and as designed to replace all other religions, he continues: "As the object of this new religion, if I may so call it, which superseded all others, and made them null and void upon its appearance, was the one God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was thus distinguished (see 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6), and only rightly worshiped in and through him who was indeed one with him and with the Holy Spirit in Divinity, but distinct from him and Lorded by him as to his relation to humanity, or as the Word made flesh, Acts ii. 36; so with respect to religious fellowship or relationship, the subjects of this *new* religion had their respects or religious regards entirely turned to and solely confined to each other, considering none but themselves as fellow-subjects of the grace of God, or as brethren in religion. Hence their religious esteem and intercourse in all religious acts and exercises were precisely and necessarily limited to each other, and of course must of necessity still be the same, for there is still but one body, one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, and of course but one law of love pervading and uniting all within the manifold limits of this unity and under its manifest influences. Now every pretence to extend com-

munion in the acts and exercises of religion beyond the limits of this special unity, as well as every attempt to set it aside, wheresoever manifest, by separating or causing to separate those whom God has thus united in himself by his Son Jesus Christ through the Spirit, in the one baptismal profession of faith and holiness, is no less absurd than anti-scriptural. These, and these alone, constitute the one visible professing body of our Lord Jesus Christ upon earth, and are the special subjects of all-saving grace and of fellowship in all gospel ordinances, in and by which that grace is *manifested*, *maintained* and *promoted.*

"Now all are, in the first instance, manifested and distinguished by the one faith, of which the one baptism or submersion in water in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is the proper, instituted and expressive symbol, and also the first formal and comprehensive act of the obedience of faith. But this faith may be manifested without this baptism, and where it is received must always be manifested (I mean by a scriptural and intelligent profession) before it. And now that the world has for a long time been misled about this baptism, and in the way of administering it to children, which are utterly incapable and always unqualified subjects—the one faith, manifested by an intelligent and consistent profession, is the immediate, proper, and formal reason of religious communion in all the instituted ordinances of gospel worship, beyond which it cannot be lawfully or profitably extended; and this instituted worship can be nowhere performed upon the Lord's day, where the Lord's Supper is not administered. Wherever this is neglected, there New Testament Church-worship ceases. * *

"Now as all private and particular meetings of Christians for particular purposes, naturally and properly include only such as are concerned in the proper and specified cause of such meetings, therefore none but they can have any proper or assignable cause of access to such meetings, and as the public meetings of the Church for edification are open to all (see 1 Cor. xiv. 23, 24, 25), there can be, therefore, no prosti-

tution of religious exercises by the accidental presence of unbelievers, seeing they are not intentionally as members, or as the proper and qualified subjects of such exercises, although they may happen to be present, and also to be convinced and converted by the appointed means of public edification. And, as for the Lord's Supper, which only respects disciples, and to which none else have right of access, but only such, it belongs so peculiarly to the church and to it alone, that it would appear that none else but disciples had access to the meetings which were held for this particular purpose; so that there was no need for tokens to distinguish church members from strangers who belong not to the church; and, indeed, it would be hard to conceive under what pretence such could be admitted. * * * *

"Upon the whole, it appears that the Christians had their public, their special and their private or particular meetings —their public meetings for public edification, their special meetings for special edification, and their more private or particular meetings *pro re nata*. * * * * But all the while, it is as obvious as the light that shines, that professed believers, acknowledged Christians, and none but they, are the proper, intended and specified subjects of all religious communion and fellowship in all the ordinances of gospel worship, nor can they scripturally intend, much less *extend*, that communion beyond themselves or those of their own number. See 2 Cor. vi. 14–18. Though they may and will consult and intend the conversion and salvation of their perishing fellow-creatures by the means appointed for that purpose in their public meetings. See 1 Cor. xiv. 23–25. Thus far concerns the order, intention and proper subjects of the ordinances of gospel worship, public, special and particular.

"The next question that occurs upon this interesting and important subject, is like that of the Pharisee of old: 'Who is my neighbor, my brother in religion, the qualified object of my regard, my fellow-Christian?'

"In attempting to answer this, I would cautiously avoid the Pharisaic self-preferring disposition, and therefore would reply,

in the first instance, any fellow-sinner of the human race, how vile soever he may have been, who makes an intelligent profession of the truth as it is in Jesus, as comprehensively specified in the eighth proposition of the overture in our Address; and so long as he continues to manifest the reality of his profession by his temper and conduct, still to consider him in the same light. Than the above, I know no other distinction between mankind with respect to salvation, and this, while I believe the Scriptures, I must believe to be the only and all-sufficient ground for Christian love, and therefore I must heartily acquiesce in what is declared in the ninth proposition. This, however, may be thought at first view to be a very generalizing principle; I could wish with all my heart that it was, that it would embrace the whole Christian —I mean professing—world; but upon a close inspection and strict application, I fear it will be found to embrace but comparatively few—yea, very few—of the great majority of the religious professors. Do they, or can they all, indeed, upon a close examination, manifest a conviction by the word and truth of God that they are originally and actually in the awful, woeful, lost and perishing condition in which the word and truth of God declares them to be? And in connection with this, such a scriptural view of the person and mediation of Jesus Christ as both satisfies God and the convinced conscience, gives rest and peace to the heart from the just apprehension of impending wrath, and disposes the soul to the holy obedience of faith and love? Do they or can they profess such faith, such hope and such love upon the good, assignable scriptural reasons with which a true knowledge and belief of the Divine testimony furnishes every mind that truly understands and believes it? I fear not; and I would say that, without this clearly and scripturally ascertained in connection with a corresponding practice (in so far as practice can be taken into consideration under the various circumstances in which the various applicants may be found), there is no just scriptural ground of religious fellowship. * * *

"In order, then, to direct and determine our practice in

existing circumstances, when all the world are called Christians, and the great majority seem to persuade themselves that they are so in some sense, and therefore are in a condition with respect to Christ and salvation vastly different from the heathen world, both as to persons and circumstances, we believe, as we have a right to hope, that there are Christians in all the denominations of professors where the great fundamental truths of the gospel are acknowledged, although we have no reason to believe that the majority of professors are such. Therefore, when any number of persons assemble on the Lord's day for the avowed purpose of public worship, there we may reasonably hope that there are some believers, and however this be, the persons thus assembling, in so far avow themselves to be voluntary subjects of the gospel dispensation; nor is it our place to determine, what in many cases we cannot, who of them are or are not Christians, or whether or not they may not be all so, seeing that in the point of view in which they present themselves to our considerations, as also in the course of the service, they manifest themselves to partake with us in the acts of religious worship. There can be no doubt, then, in such a case, but we are to consider and address them as the professed worshipers of the true God through Jesus Christ. I do not say as unfeigned and believing worshipers, for, even in the most perfect Church, we would scarcely be justifiable in considering all as such. This conclusion proceeds upon the supposition that Christ has a people amongst the visible professors of his name, and that these may be expected to be found where the great fundamental truths of the gospel are publicly professed; nay, that wheresoever this is the case, there the professors, if sincere, of course must be his people. But this, as I said above, is scarcely to be expected in the most perfect Church that ever did or shall exist. See the seven Epistles to the seven Asiatic Churches. Moreover, every irregularity, error or mistake does not unpeople a professing people. Therefore I conclude that where we bear an open faithful testimony against the existing evils of a professing people who acknowledge the

great fundamental truths of the gospel, we are warranted to join in all public acts of religious worship with such of them as voluntarily attend upon our ministrations, and thus countenance our instructions both by their voluntary attendance and manifest concurrence with us in those religious acts." * * * *

Such were the sentiments of Thomas Campbell upon the subject of religious fellowship in March, 1811, and in these his son Alexander substantially agreed. When, some three months after the above correspondence, the church at Brush Run became a body of immersed believers, these views became more clearly and sharply defined, no one being afterward recognized as duly prepared to partake in religious services, except those who had professed to put on Christ in baptism. From his lively sense of the prevalent corruptions of the gospel and its institutions, and his conscientious scruples in regard to yielding to these any countenance or toleration, Mr. Campbell, even down to his later years, would occasionally, amongst private friends, contend strenuously for principles almost as exclusive and rigid as those of Walker. His benevolent feelings, however; his Christian courtesy and his sympathy for those whom he regarded as sincere but mistaken, did not permit him to carry out such principles. Both he and his father had great consideration for the unintentional mistakes and errors in which religious society had become involved, and in this feeling, the members of the church at Brush Run, for the most part, participated. However clear their convictions had become as to the primitive method of confessing Christ, and the primitive faith and order of the Church, they had too fresh a recollection of their own struggles and difficulties in attaining to the views they held, and too deep a

sympathy with the pious but priest-ridden members of other communities, to refuse to recognize them as being intentionally at least, followers of Christ. As they could not, however, make any compromise with the corrupt systems and practices of the day, and were prevented by their principles from recognizing fraternally any one who had not publicly complied with the requisitions of the gospel, they were necessarily inhibited from *inviting* any except the actual members of the church to take a part in religious exercises. This was specially true with regard to the Lord's Supper, which they continued to celebrate weekly, and of which none but baptized believers were invited to partake. It was not, however, the custom of the church, nor has it ever been that of any of the Churches of the Reformation, to "fence the tables," as sectarians express and practice it; or to withhold the symbols from any pious person who might be present and feel disposed to unite in commemorating the death of Christ.

CHAPTER XXI.

Diffusion of Truth—Agricultural Pursuits—Sectarian Jealousies—Redstone Association—Sermon on the Law—Letter on the Trinity.

IN some communities, the diffusion of either truth or error is extremely slow. The local circumstances; the character of the original settlers; the chief occupations; above all, the religious views and habits of thought at first prevailing, and the sympathies which belong to the people of every district mutually associated and allied, often give to it a certain unity of sentiment which resists innovation and is opposed to change. Such was the case, in a marked degree, in regard to the region to which Mr. Campbell and his father had hitherto devoted their reformatory labors, so that these, however earnest and disinterested, seemed as yet to produce comparatively but little visible effect. Individuals, indeed, occasionally, became impressed by the truth, and in defiance of the opposition of relatives and acquaintances, and sometimes under peculiarly touching circumstances, would present themselves for baptism. Most of the accessions, however, for some time, were from among newly-arrived immigrants, who, while the impression of change was yet fresh upon them, and they were yet uncommitted to any religious party in the neighborhood, were more disposed to hear and to consider the plea for primitive Christianity. Among these may be mentioned Joseph and William

Mathews, brothers of Mrs. Hanen, who, arriving about this period, soon became members, and continued ever after active and intelligent advocates of the cause.

During the progress of affairs, there were not wanting some curious cases showing to what measures men will sometimes resort in order to stifle their convictions, or to make a compromise between their wishes or prejudices and their consciences.

Among instances of the latter, there was a certain John Moore, a Seceder, who, in spite of a violent opposition from his wife, had become a member of the Christian Association, but withdrew about the time immersion was adopted, and became a bitter enemy of the Brush Run Church. His secret misgivings, however, would not allow him to rest satisfied with his position. Being, after a time, convinced that infant baptism was invalid, he was ashamed to apply for immersion to those he had forsaken, or even to acknowledge publicly his adoption of views he had so recently decried. Amidst his mental conflict, he was finally brought to the strange conclusion that he could be himself the administrator; so that, repairing one day to a stream of water in a secluded place, where he thought no human eye could see him, he went through the usual forms and immersed himself. This, indeed, is not, even in the United States, the only instance of an individual becoming, both religiously and etymologically, a *self-baptist;* and though such cases yield a strong, because unwilling, testimony to the force of truth in regard to the action termed baptism, they at the same time betray the sad weakness of the human understanding, that can suppose a thing which is not possible in *fact* to be nevertheless true in *figure*, and that, in the expressive symbolism of this ordinance,

one who is dead can bury himself, and raise himself again by his own power, to live in newness of life. This latter result certainly did not follow in the case of Mr. Moore, whose conduct becoming known, as he could not keep his own secret, rendered him, by the public discredit it brought upon him, only the more dissatisfied with himself and the more embittered against the reformation and his former associates.

Not long after the Brush Run Church had united with the Redstone Association, Thomas Campbell, who warmly approved this union, as it took away from the church the odium of forming a new religious body, became convinced that but little more good could be effected by his labors in Western Pennsylvania. As his attachment to places, never very strong, was not permitted to interfere, for a moment, with the higher claims of religious usefulness, he began to think of changing his place of residence. Having formed some acquaintance with the young and rapidly growing State of Ohio,* and hearing favorable accounts of the region around Cambridge, in Guernsey county, some ninety miles distant, he visited it in the spring of 1813, and finally concluded to sell his little property in Washington county, and to purchase another near Cambridge. As his eldest daughter, Dorothea, had become the wife of Joseph Bryant, January 13, 1813, and, in the following November, his daughter Nancy, next in age, married a young man by the name of Andrew Chapman, it was arranged that his sons-in-law would accompany him, and assist in the management of the

* The State of Ohio had been admitted into the Union only some ten years before (in 1802), with a population of forty thousand. According to the census of 1860, the number of inhabitants had increased to more than two millions and a quarter.

farm and of the seminary he proposed to establish in Cambridge. He removed his family, accordingly, at the close of the year, soon after the church of Brush Run had been received into the Redstone Association, and succeeded in establishing a flourishing school at Cambridge. Alexander, meanwhile, remained at Mr. Brown's, and to him and James Foster the care of Brush Run Church was now committed; James Foster having been ordained elder, with imposition of hands by Thomas Campbell, Alexander Campbell, Mathias Luce, and Charles Wheeler.

On the 13th of September of this year (1813), another daughter had been born to Mr. Campbell, and called Eliza Ann. He himself continued occupied as usual in the labors of the farm, and in filling his appointments for preaching in the neighborhood, and occasionally at considerable distances from home. A knowledge of the principles of the reformation became thus more widely extended, especially among the Baptist churches of the Redstone Association and the Stillwater Association in Ohio, and a number of the more intelligent members became favorable to them. Individuals, too, during his labors at home, occasionally presented themselves for baptism. Among these, were his wife's father and mother, who had come forward after considerable investigation and reflection. A few in Charlestown, also, chiefly females, had become obedient to the faith, and others here and there through the country. Most of these were too widely scattered to take membership in Brush Run Church, which, owing to removals, scarcely preserved its original number. Seeing the difficulty of making a decided impression upon the community around them, and infected somewhat with the prevailing spirit of migration, many

of the members of the church began to take into serious consideration the question of removing in a body to a more suitable place. On the 13th of April, 1814, a meeting was called for the purpose of considering the matter. The scattered condition of the membership, by which many were prevented from attending meeting regularly; the opposition they encountered on account of their religious views; the difficulty of obtaining schools and suitable teachers for their children; the oppressive labors required in order to obtain support for themselves and families, were all found to be weighty reasons for seeking to better their condition. After due consideration, a removal was deemed desirable, and it was concluded that the most eligible situation would be the neighborhood of some flourishing town, not more than two hundred miles west, so as not to get too near the Indian border. It was thought that such a town would not only afford better opportunities for public usefulness, but furnish employment for such as were artisans, while the remainder, who were farmers, could follow their vocation in the vicinity, while all could have the benefit of a school for their children under their own direction. A committee was accordingly appointed to explore the country in order to find, if possible, a suitable situation. This committee consisted of George Archer, Richard McConnel, Abraham Altars, John Cockens, and Alexander Campbell, who immediately visited a considerable portion of Ohio; and having found Zanesville and its vicinity to be possessed of the greatest advantages, all of which were minutely detailed in the written report presented to the church upon their return, it was unanimously resolved, at a meeting held June 8, 1814, that the report be accepted, and that the removal should take place as soon as

they could individually make the necessary arrangements.

It happened, however, that John Brown, for whose judgment Mr. Campbell had great deference, was not much in favor of the project, and did not like to have his daughter and son-in-law remove to so great a distance. Having also a desire himself to adopt some mode of life less laborious than farming, he determined to make Mr. Campbell a present of the fine farm on which he lived. He therefore frankly gave him a deed, in fee simple, of the entire premises, and removing at once with his wife to Charlestown, engaged there in the grocery business, becoming a member in the Baptist church on Cross Creek, three miles above. This generous conduct on the part of Mr. Brown, and respect for his wishes, occasioned, as a matter of course, an entire change in the proposed arrangements so far as respected Mr. Campbell, who was now compelled to remain where he was. The other members of the church then, being unwilling to remove without him, relinquished, for the present, their purpose of going to the West. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell being thus providentially furnished with the means of carrying out his cherished wishes as to public usefulness, immediately set to work with his accustomed energy, to put the farm into good repair, and to make such changes as would enable him to be more abroad. These necessary duties occupied much of his time during the remainder of 1814 and the greater part of the year 1815, but were never allowed to interfere with his regular appointments for preaching. During this period, he was exceedingly laborious; and on one occasion is said to have put up in one day, with his own hands, one hundred panels of rail-fence. His being thus personally engaged in the

labors of the farm did not fail to commend him very highly to the good feelings of the neighboring farmers, who might otherwise have been disposed to regard with that jealousy which the leveling spirit of republicanism engenders, one who had been brought up to a different vocation, and who, from his abilities and acquirements, occupied necessarily a higher sphere. They were surprised, however, if not gratified, to find themselves surpassed at their own business by the scholar and preacher, whose plainness and simplicity charmed them, while his urbanity and hospitality placed him upon the most familiar and friendly terms with them all. No one could be more observant of the duties of social life, or more careful to maintain the most agreeable relations with all his neighbors, than Mr. Campbell. For this purpose, as well as from his naturally companionable disposition, it was customary for him to make, in company with Mrs. Campbell, frequent friendly visits to them, to take a lively interest in their welfare, and to render to them all the services in his power. Full of the vivacity and wit belonging to the Irish character, and ever cheerful as the morning light, his presence diffused an agreeable charm over the social life of the neighborhood, and seemed to arouse the isolated households, scattered amongst the hills, to an unusual degree of hospitality and friendly intercourse. Even the religious prejudices with which some had been imbued in the surrounding community, consisting chiefly of Presbyterians and Methodists, melted away under the genial influence of personal acquaintance; for, notwithstanding the diversity of their religious sentiments, they were unable to withhold from Mr. Campbell the honor and regard which his piety, his commanding abilities and his agreeable manners inspired in all around him.

While Mr. Campbell was thus actively engaged, his father was closely confined to the duties of his seminary at Cambridge. In the midst of these labors he received, toward the close of 1815, a letter from General Acheson of Washington, informing him that his brother, David Acheson, had been seized with a serious illness, attended with a mental disturbance which rendered the patient difficult to manage; and as it was thought that the presence of an old and valued friend like Thomas Campbell would have a salutary effect, he entreated him to come, if possible, to Washington. In obedience to this summons and to the dictates of his affectionate feelings, he at once left his school in charge of his assistants and came to Washington, where he remained a number of weeks, rendering all the assistance in his power until Mr. Acheson's disease finally proved fatal. While here, he happened to hear of a favorable opening for a school in Pittsburg, and, what was to him of far more importance, of a favorable prospect of greater religious usefulness than he had found at Cambridge, where the prejudices of some, and the worldliness and gayety of the majority of the people, seemed to have completely closed their minds against his overtures for reformation. Having visited Pittsburg, therefore, and made the necessary arrangements, he removed his family to that place, where a flourishing school was soon obtained through the assistance of James Irwin, N. Richardson and other warm personal friends, who were happy to secure for their children the advantage of the strict European method of instruction pursued by Mr. Campbell. Joseph Bryant assisted for some time in the school, while Mr. Chapman opened another in the suburbs, but soon after returned to Washington county, where a farm had fallen to him by inheritance.

On the 20th of November of this year (1815), Alexander Campbell's family was increased by the addition of another daughter, who was named Maria Louisa. About this time he proposed to the few members of the church residing in Wellsburg that a meeting-house should be erected in the town, which was entirely without any public place of worship, all meetings having been heretofore held in the court-house. He, furthermore, volunteered his services for three or four months in soliciting a portion of the necessary means. The matter being agreed to, he left home on Tuesday morning, 12th of December, 1815, and, arriving at Pittsburg on the 14th, spent the evening socially in company with his father, at the house of Mr. Richardson, who gave twenty dollars to the building of the house, being the first contributor. Next morning, he set out in the stage for Philadelphia, where he arrived on the following Saturday.

Passing over nearly the same region of country which he had traversed upon first arriving in the United States, six years before, he now viewed the mountains and valleys of Pennsylvania with less of the ardor of youthful feeling, and with more of the vision of the political economist. The quality of the lands, the character of the farm improvements, the dwelling-houses, barns and fencing, the vast mineral riches of the State, now occupied a prominent place in his journal, although the beauty of the country, the magnificent prospects from the mountains, and the handsome, flourishing villages along the route were not unnoticed. He was especially delighted with the fine farms and farm-buildings, the rich groves of locust and the fertility of the land in Lancaster county, and formed still higher conceptions of the immense resources of the country of his adop-

tion. Upon first taking up his residence at Mr. Brown's, in 1811, he had at once taken the necessary steps in order to naturalization, and, after the expiration of the two years of residence required by law, had been admitted as a citizen of the United States. No one could be more attached than he to the government and its institutions, though he was not at all a politician in the ordinary sense of the word. During the war with Great Britain, which, after continuing two years and eight months, had been terminated by the treaty of Ghent, on the 18th of the preceding February (1815), party spirit had run very high, and the state of the country at the peace gave rise to various exciting questions of foreign and domestic policy, which occasioned great political agitation. Mr. Campbell, however, always avoided taking any active part in politics, and though, on all proper occasions, he frankly expressed his views on all public measures, he always took care to maintain the reserve and dignity belonging to his ministerial office.

His appreciation of the blessings enjoyed under a republican government may be learned from a letter which he addressed, immediately upon his arrival at Philadelphia, to his uncle Archibald at Newry:

"PHILADELPHIA CITY, *December* 28, 1815.

"DEAR UNCLE: More than seven years have elapsed since I bade farewell to you and my native country. During this period of years my mind and circumstances have undergone many revolutions. * * * *

"I cannot speak too highly of the advantages that the people in this country enjoy in being delivered from a proud and lordly aristocracy; and here it becomes very easy to trace the common national evils of all European countries to their proper source, and chiefly to that first germ of oppres-

sion, of civil and religious tyranny. I have had my horse shod by a legislator, my horse saddled, my boots cleaned, my stirrup held by a senator. Here is no nobility but virtue; here there is no ascendance save that of genius, virtue and knowledge. The farmer here is lord of the soil, and the most independent man on earth. * * * * No consideration that I can conceive of, would induce me to exchange all that I enjoy in this country, climate, soil and government, for any situation which your country can afford. I would not exchange the honor and privilege of being an American citizen for the position of your king."

As his uncle was still an elder in the Seceder Church at Newry, he devoted a portion of the letter to the subject of the religious changes he had undergone. After speaking of family matters, he says:

"My father still resembles one of our planets in emigrating from place to place. He has lived in Washington and in the country; in Cambridge, ninety miles west, and now in Pittsburg. He is teaching a school in Pittsburg, worth, say, seven hundred dollars, and will be worth much more in a short time. As to our religious state, news, progress and attainments, I expect my father has written or will immediately write you. I shall therefore drop but a few hints on this subject. For my own part, I must say that, after long study and investigation of books, and more especially the Sacred Scriptures, I have, through clear convictions of truth and duty, renounced much of the traditions and errors of my early education. I am now an Independent in church government; * * * * of that faith and view of the gospel exhibited in John Walker's seven letters to Alexander Knox, and a Baptist in so far as respects baptism. * * * * What I am in religion I am from examination, reflection, conviction, not from '*ipse dixit*,' tradition or human authority; and having halted, and faltered, and stumbled, I have explored every inch of the way hitherto, and I trust, through grace, 'I am what I am.' Though my father and I accord in senti-

ment, neither of us are dictators or imitators. Neither of us lead; neither of us follow. The poor Seceders in this country seem to have lost all power of religion and of truth. * * * * Remember me affectionately to all my old friends and relations. I will name none, as I cannot name all. I remember them, I pray for them, I long for their felicity. * *

"Your affectionate nephew,

"ALEXANDER CAMPBELL."

As, in uniting originally with the Baptists, Mr. Campbell had made no secret of his religious principles, but had distinctly avowed them in the written communication of the Brush Run Church to the Redstone Association, so, in his intercourse with them as a people, and in his public discourses, he failed not on all proper occasions to urge upon them his views of reformation. Being invited by one of the Baptist preachers in Philadelphia to occupy his pulpit, he delivered a sermon so totally different in its matter and style from the usual sermons among the Baptists, that the congregation was quite wakened up by its novelty, and the preacher himself hardly knew what to make of it. Meeting Mr. Campbell next day, and the subject coming up, he expressed his dissatisfaction, upon which Mr. Campbell suggested that perhaps he did not fully understand him, and that the time allowed had not been sufficient to enable him to deliver himself fully in regard to the questions treated. At this, the preacher's face cleared up a little, and he requested him to make another appointment, which he did. As the second discourse, however, did not, any more than the first, descant on the favorite theories of Gill and Fuller, but presented, in a still stronger light, the truths of the simple gospel, the effect upon the Baptist preacher was worse than before, so that he could scarcely treat Mr. Campbell afterward

with common civility, and took good care not to afford his congregation another opportunity of hearing the latter, which many of the members were very anxious to enjoy.

After leaving Philadelphia, he visited Trenton and other towns in New Jersey, and went thence to New York, where he called upon a number of influential Baptists. Among others, he visited William Colgate, who was then beginning to establish himself in business. When he called, Mr. Colgate came out in his apron from his work, and during the interview Mr. Campbell was greatly charmed, not only with the interest in religion which Mr. Colgate manifested, but with the peculiarly frank and cordial manner in which he tendered for the house in Wellsburg a donation, which, for his circumstances at the time, was quite a liberal one. Upon leaving the house, Mr. Campbell remarked to a friend who accompanied him, that he had no doubt Mr. Colgate would one day become a wealthy man. "I am convinced," said he, "that the Lord will abundantly bless and prosper one who dispenses his income on the principles that govern Mr. Colgate;" and the event, in after years, fully proved the correctness of his anticipations. On his return, he visited Washington City, and having formed many pleasant acquaintanceships during his tour, and, among others, one with the eminent Dr. Staughton, for whom he always entertained a very high regard, he returned home after an absence of some months, having succeeded in obtaining about one thousand dollars. With this sum, and additional assistance in Charlestown and its vicinity, a lot was obtained at the upper end of the main street of the town, which runs parallel with the river for more than half a mile, and a comfortable brick

meeting-house was soon erected, with the usual high pulpit, whose curtains and cushions were prepared and tastefully arranged by Miss S. H. Bakewell and Miss Amelia Miller, the whole being under the special direction of John Brown, who took great interest and rendered efficient aid in the work.

The erection of this house, it was afterward discovered, gave great offence to Elder Pritchard, minister of the Cross Creek Baptist Church, three miles above, who had already, in the Redstone Association, signalized his hostility to Mr. Campbell, and who seemed to think that the building of the house in Wellsburg was designed to weaken his influence and to diminish his congregation. This sectarian bigotry and petty personal jealousy became still more manifest at the meeting of the Association, which, according to appointment, convened at Cross Creek, on the 30th August of this year (1816).*

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* The list of the Association is as follows, the names of the churches being in italics, with number of members annexed; the names of preachers in small capitals, and those absent marked with an asterisk: *Uniontown*, 34, WILLIAM BROWNFIELD.*—*Big Whiteley*, 60, BENJAMIN STONE, Joseph Hannah, John Haines.—*Peter's Creek*, 47, DAVID PHILIPS, Joseph Philips, Esq., James McCreary, Esq., Ephraim Estep.—*George's Creek*, 67, JOHN PATTON, JAMES SEYMOUR, Robert Hannah.—*Turkey Foot*, 33, JOHN COX.—*Forks of Cheat*, 10, JAMES SEYMOUR.—*Little Redstone*, 26, Joseph Thomas, Joseph Red, Francis Burgess.—*Maple Creek*, 33, HENRY SPEARS,* Frederick Cooper, Thomas Cloud.—*Big-Redstone*, 52, JAMES FREY.—*Indian Creek*, 39, JOHN SMITH.*—*Connelsville*, 35, JAMES ESTEP, Jacob Newmyer.—*Head of Whitely*, 57, JAMES PATTON, Obadiah Sams, Peter Dillon.—*Ten Mile*, 96, MATHIAS LUCE, EZRA DEGARMO, Henry Russell.—*Forks of Yough*, 14, Joseph Reed.—*Horse Shoe*, 25.—*Sandy Creek*, 15.—*Plumb Run*, 19, HENRY SPEARS,* Joseph Hill.—*Merritt's Town*, WILLIAM BROWNFIELD,* David Wilson, Lacy Hibbs.—*George's Hills*, 29.—*King's Creek*, 16, NICHOLAS HEADINGTON, Thomas Bilderback, John Magers.—*Dunkird Creek*, 42, William Jobs, William Thomas.—*Bula*, 50.—*Cross Creek*, 44, JOHN PRITCHARD, John Brown, Esq., Charles King, sen.—*Short Creek, Virginia*, 43, JOHN PRITCHARD, N. Evans, Joseph Hedge, George C. Young.—*Pigeon Creek*, 24, MATHIAS LUCE.—*Bate's Fork*,

Mr. Campbell, who well knew the spirit of the Baptist clergy opposed to him, said to his wife on their way to the meeting, "I do not think they will let me preach at this Association at all." Some of the preachers, however, were favorable to Mr. Campbell, and there was so much anxiety on the part of the people to hear him, that on Saturday, when preachers were to be selected for the following day, Mr. Campbell was at once nominated with others. Elder Pritchard now interposed, and observed that he thought they ought to conform to the rule adopted by the Baptists in Maryland, which was, that the church where the Association assembled should have the privilege of selecting the preachers for the Lord's day, and that these should be chosen from amongst those who came from a distance. "This place," said he, "is near Mr. Campbell's home, and the people can hear him at any time." The name of Elder Stone was therefore substituted for that of Mr. Campbell, who returned to Wellsburg in the evening, with no expectation of hearing anything more of the matter. Next morning, however, David Phillips of Peter's Creek, one of the oldest and best preachers in the Association, came down to see him, and told him that the arrangement made would not do, and that he had been deputed by a large number to insist that Mr. Campbell should preach that day. The latter said he had no objections to preach, but that he would not violate the rule of the Association. Elder Phillips

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30, WILLIAM STONE, Daniel Thogmorton, Nath. Petit.—*Short Creek, Ohio*, 22, ELIJAH STONE, Thomas Healy.—*Will's Creek*, 13, Manassah Evans, Jeremiah Grey, S. Vait.—*Flat Run*, 62, N. SKINNER, Richard Truax, Jacob Martin, sen., Esq.—*Salt Lick*, 18, James Skinner.—*Pittsburg*, 8, B. B. Newton.—*Washington*, 26, CHARLES WHEELER, Hugh Wilson, Enoch Dye, Christopher Hanover.—*Brush Run*, 28, ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, JAMES FOSTER, George Sharp.—Total membership, 1139.

withdrew greatly disappointed, but soon after returned to say that Elder Stone was taken ill, and again urged Mr. Campbell to preach, who then said he would do so, if Elder Pritchard would himself tender him the invitation. Elder Phillips said this should be done; and, accordingly, when Mr. Campbell rode up to Cross Creek, the first person he met at the bridge was Elder Pritchard, who said, "I have taken the very earliest opportunity to see you in order to say that you must preach to-day." "Have you seen Elder Phillips?" said Mr. Campbell; "Yes," said he. "Then," replied Mr. Campbell, "I will preach." Being called upon thus rather unexpectedly, he asked leave to follow Elder Cox, who delivered the first discourse from Matthew xxiv. 14.

On this occasion, which proved to be quite a memorable one, there was a large concourse present, gathered around the stand, or seated within hearing beneath the shade of the beautiful leafy elms and towering plane trees, which line the borders of the creek, as it winds through the picturesque valley enclosed by lofty hills. When Elder Cox concluded, Mr. Campbell rose, and delivered a discourse founded on Romans viii. 3: "For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." This was the famous "*Sermon on the Law*," which created such excitement subsequently in the Baptist community. Even during its delivery, as soon as Elder Pritchard and some other opposed preachers perceived its drift, they used every means openly to manifest their dissatisfaction. A lady in the congregation having fainted, Elder Pritchard came into the stand, called out some of the preachers, and created great disturbance in the

congregation, as if with a design of preventing the people from hearing. After this commotion subsided, however, Mr. Campbell soon regained the attention of the audience, which he kept to the close. At the intermission, Mr. Pritchard called out Elders Estep, Wheeler and others, and said to them: "This will never do. This is not our doctrine. We cannot let this pass without a public protest from the Association." Elder Estep replied: "That would create too much excitement, and would injure us more than Mr. Campbell. It is better to let it pass and let the people judge for themselves." This prudent counsel prevailed, and it was found a much safer and more congenial mode of opposition, to circulate amongst the churches, after the Association adjourned, vague and calumnious charges of Antinomianism against Mr. Campbell, and, by this means, to excite additional prejudice against him. It was on account of these misrepresentations that he thought it best, soon afterward, to publish his discourse in pamphlet form, as the best means of refutation.

As this "Sermon on the Law" may be found in full in Mr. Campbell's works (*Mil. Harb.* for 1846, p. 493), it will not be necessary here to do much more than indicate its general purport, which was simply to show that Christians are under law to Christ, and not to Moses. His "METHOD" was—

"1. Ascertain what ideas we are to attach to the phrase 'the law' in this and similar portions of the sacred Scriptures. 2. Point out those things which *the law* could not accomplish. 3. Demonstrate the reasons why *the law* failed to accomplish these objects. 4. Illustrate how God has remedied these relative defects of *the law*. 5. In the last place, deduce such conclusions from these premises as must

obviously and necessarily present themselves to every unbiased and reflecting mind."

Discarding theological and employing scriptural definitions and divisions, he shows that "the law" signifies the whole Mosaic dispensation; and while he condemns the modern distinctions of moral, judicial and ceremonial law, as calculated to perplex the mind, he takes care to guard against the supposition that he has any intention of weakening the force of moral obligation, or dispensing with the great and immutable principles upon which the Mosaic law itself was based, but which that law did not originate; his object being to show that the law of Moses, while it embodied some of the applications of these principles, was a distinct and peculiar institution designed for special ends and for a limited time. Upon the great principles referred to he speaks as follows:

"There are two principles, commandments or laws that are never included in our observations concerning the law of Moses, nor are they ever, in Holy Writ, called the law of Moses:—These are, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, soul, mind and strength; and thy neighbor as thyself.' 'These our Great Prophet teaches us are the basis of the law of Moses and of the prophets. 'On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.' Indeed the Sinai law and all Jewish laws are but modifications of them. These are of universal and immutable obligation. Angels and men, good and bad, are for ever under them. God, as our Creator, cannot require less; nor can we, as creatures and fellow-creatures, propose or expect less, as the standard of duty and perfection. These are coeval with angels and men. They are engraven with more or less clearness on every human heart. These are the groundwork or basis of the law, written in the heart of heathens, which constitute their conscience or knowledge of right or wrong.

By these their thoughts mutually accuse or else excuse one another. By these they shall be judged, or, at least, all who have never heard or seen a written law or gospel. Let it then be remembered that in the Scriptures these precepts are considered the basis of all law and prophecy; consesequently, when we speak of the law of Moses, we do not include these commandments."

Under the second head, in pointing out the things which the law could not accomplish, he says:

"In the first place, it could not give righteousness and life. Righteousness and eternal life are inseparably connected. Where the former is not, the latter cannot be enjoyed. Whatever means puts us in possession of the one, puts us in possession of the other. But this the law could not do. 'For if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.' Gal. iii. 21. 'If righteousness came by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.' These testimonies of the apostle, with the whole scope of Divine truth, teach us that no man is justified by the law—that righteousness and eternal life cannot be received through it. * * * *

"2. In the second place, the law could not exhibit the malignity or demerit of sin. It taught those that were under it that certain actions were sinful—to these sinful actions it gives descriptive names: one is called theft, a second murder, a third adultery. It showed that these actions were offensive to God, hurtful to men, and deserved death. But how extensive their malignity and vast their demerit, the law could not exhibit. This remained for later times and other means to develop.

"3. In the third place, the law could not be a suitable rule of life to mankind in this imperfect state. It could not to all mankind, as it was given to and designed only for a part. It was given to the Jewish nation and to none else."

Under the fourth head, he shows that God had reme-

died all these defects by the gospel, by sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh to make "reconciliation for iniquity," so that all the spiritual seed of Abraham might find "righteousness and eternal life, not by legal works or observances, in whole or in part, but through the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness which is by him." * * * *

"Hence it is," he adds, "that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Nor is he, on this account, the minister of sin—for thus the righteousness, the perfect righteousness, of the law is fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. Do we then make void the law or destroy the righteousness of it by faith? God forbid: we establish the law.

"A second thing which we observe the law could not do, was to give a full exhibition of the demerit of sin. It is acknowledged that the demerit of sin was partially developed in the law, and before the law. Sin was condemned in the deluge, in the confusion of human speech, in turning to ashes the cities of the plain, in the thousands that fell in the wilderness. But these and a thousand similar monuments besides, fall vastly short of giving a full exhibition of sin in its malignant nature and destructive consequences. But a full discovery of its nature and demerits is given us in the person of Jesus Christ. God condemned sin in him—God spared not his own Son, but delivered him up. It pleased the Lord to bruise him, to pour out his soul as an offering for sin. When we view the Son of the Eternal suspended on the cursed tree—when we see him in the garden and hear his petitions—when we hear him exclaim, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' in a word, when we see him expiring in blood and laid in the tomb, we have a monument of the demerit of sin, which no law could give, which no temporal calamity could exhibit."

In showing further under this head how the failure

of the law as a rule of life was remedied, he refers to Christ's perfect example and teachings, and to the transfiguration, when Moses the giver and Elias the restorer of the law appeared along with him, and a voice from the Father said, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased, *hear ye him.*" "We find all things," he says, "whatsoever the law could not do, are accomplished in him and by him—that in him all Christians might be perfect and complete—'for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.'"

From the above premises, he deduces, under the last head, various conclusions, as, 1. The essential difference between law and gospel. 2. That Christians, according to Paul, were "not under the law, but under grace," showing, here, that the apostle met the very charge of Antinomianism or of licentious tendency in this doctrine, in his answer to the question: "Shall we therefore sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid. How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein."

"Now," adds he, "whether the ancient way of guarding the New Testament or gospel against the charge of Antinomianism or a licentious tendency, or the modern way, is best, methinks is easily decided amongst true disciples. Not so easy, however, amongst learned rabbis and doctors of the law.

* * * "Whatever was excellent in the law," he further remarks, "our Legislator has repromulgated. But shall we say we are under the law as a rule of our Christian life, because some of its sublimest moral and religious precepts have been repromulgated by Him who would not suffer one tittle of it to pass till he fulfilled it? As well might we affirm that the British law which governed these States when colonies is the rule of our political life, because some of the most excellent laws of that code have been re-enacted by our legislators."

He then, in the third place, presents another conclusion, which was particularly grating to the ears of the Baptist theologians, viz.: that there is no necessity for *preaching the law in order to prepare men for receiving the gospel.*

"This conclusion," says he, "perfectly corresponds with the commission given by our Lord to the apostles, and with their practice under their commission. 'Go,' said he, 'into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.' 'Teach the disciples to observe all things whatsoever *I* commanded you.' Thus, they were constituted ministers of the New Testament, not of the Old. Now the sacred history, called the Acts of the Apostles, affords us the most satisfactory information on the method in which the apostles preached, under their commission, which, with the epistolary part of the New Testament, affords us the only successful, warrantable and acceptable method of preaching and teaching. In the Acts of the Apostles we see the apostles and first preachers paid the most scrupulous regard to the instructions they received from the Great Prophet. They go forth unto all nations, proclaiming the gospel to every creature; but not one word of law-preaching in the whole of it. We have the substance of eight or ten sermons delivered by Paul and Peter to the Jews and Gentiles, in the Acts of the Apostles, and not one precedent of preaching the law to prepare their hearers, whether Jews or Gentiles, for the reception of the gospel.

"This conclusion corresponds, in the next place, with the nature of the kingdom of heaven or Christian Church, and with the means by which it is to be built and preserved in the world. The Christian dispensation is called the ministration of the Spirit, and, accordingly, everything in the salvation of the Church is accomplished by the immediate energy of the Spirit. Jesus Christ taught his disciples that the testimony concerning himself was that only which the Spirit would use, in converting such of the human family as should

be saved. He would not speak of himself, but what he knew of Christ. Now he was to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; not by applying the law of Moses, but the facts concerning Christ, to the consciences of the people. The Spirit accompanying the words which the apostles preached, would convince the world of sin; not by the ten precepts, but because they believed not in him—of righteousness because *he* went to the Father—and of judgment because the prince of the world was judged by him. So that Christ, and not law, was the Alpha and Omega of their sermons; and this the Spirit made effectual to the salvation of thousands. Three thousand were convinced of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, in this precise way of hearing of Christ, on the day of Pentecost; and we read of many afterward. Indeed, we repeat it again, in the whole history of primitive preaching we have not one example of preaching the law as preparatory to the preaching or reception of the gospel."

After answering various questions, and considering certain texts of Scripture misapplied by the law-preachers, he adds the two following conclusions:

"A fourth conclusion which is deducible from the above premises is, that all arguments and motives drawn from the law or Old Testament, to urge the disciples of Christ to baptize their infants; to pay tithes to their teachers; to observe holy days or religious fasts, as preparatory to the observance of the Lord's Supper; to sanctify the seventh day; to enter into national covenants; to establish any form of religion by civil law—and all reasons or motives borrowed from the Jewish law, to excite the disciples of Christ to a compliance with or an imitation of Jewish customs, are inconclusive, repugnant to Christianity, and fall ineffectual to the ground; not being enjoined or countenanced by the authority of Jesus Christ.

"In the last place, we are taught from all that has been said, to venerate in the highest degree the Lord Jesus Christ;

to receive him as the great prophet, of whom 'Moses in the law, and all the prophets did write:' to receive him as 'the Lord our righteousness,' and to pay the most punctilious regard to all his precepts and ordinances. 'If we continue in his word, then are we his disciples indeed, and we shall know the truth, and the truth shall make us free: and if the Son shall make us free, we shall be free indeed.'"

After a few practical reflections, the discourse closes with the petition:

"May he that hath the key of David, who opened and no man shutteth, and shutteth that none can open, open your hearts to receive the truth in the love of it, and incline you to walk in the light of it, and then you shall know that the ways thereof are pleasantness, and all the paths thereof are peace! Amen."

This sermon, though containing in reality nothing but plain Scripture teaching in reference to the law and the gospel, was so bold an assault upon the theology and style of preaching current at that time amongst the Baptists, that it created an extraordinary sensation; and those unfriendly to Mr. Campbell succeeded, as he says, "in bringing it up for trial and condemnation at the next Association at Peter's Creek, in 1817." Upon this unexpected movement, he proposed to go at once into an investigation of the subject, and it was then partially discussed, but finally, by the efforts of his friends and a considerable stretch of charity on the part of two or three old members, the question was dismissed, on the ground that the Association had no jurisdiction in the case. Nevertheless, subsequently, through the cry of heresy and various modes of detraction and misrepresentation diligently employed, his opponents managed to close, to a large extent, the ears

of the Baptists in this region against Mr. Campbell's views, and to hinder his efforts to introduce among them a more accurate and scriptural presentation of the gospel.

Recurring to the meeting of the Association on Cross Creek, when this "Sermon on the Law" was delivered, there were some other occurrences worthy of mention. In the minutes of the meeting for Saturday, August 31, it is stated as follows:

"Met agreeably to adjournment.

"5. The meeting was opened by singing and prayer, by brother John Patton.

"6. Appointed brother Luce, moderator, and brother Wheeler, clerk.

"7. A letter was presented by brother T. Campbell, from a number of baptized professors in the city of Pittsburg, requesting union as a church to this Association.

"8. Voted, that as this letter is not presented according to the constitution of this Association, the request cannot be granted.

"9. Voted, that brother T. Campbell be invited to take a seat in this Association.

"10. Voted, that a committee be appointed to wait on the persons mentioned in the seventh article, to investigate the subject of their letter. Brethren D. Philips, Luce and Pritchard are the committee to attend in Pittsburg, on the Saturday preceding the first Lord's day in November.

"11. The circular letter prepared by brother T. Campbell was read and accepted without amendment."

Thus it appears that the few members who had been gathered together in Pittsburg by Thomas Campbell, and who were accustomed to meet regularly for worship in his school-room on Liberty street, were denied admission as a church because their letter was "not presented according to the constitution of the Associa-

tion," which required a *creed* or statement of articles of belief from every church, and could not accept in place of it a simple declaration of adherence to the Scriptures. Nevertheless, a committee was appointed to investigate the subject of their letter, or, as was doubtless intended, to bring these simple disciples into regular Baptist "order." From the table of names of churches, etc., composing the Association, it seems that besides those associated with Thomas Campbell in Pittsburg, there was at this time a little society of eight members there, represented by B. B. Newton, as messenger, who, having furnished the required written statement of belief, had been received without difficulty.

It appears, further, that Thomas Campbell presented, on this occasion, the circular letter which he had been appointed to prepare at the meeting the year before. The subject given to him was the "TRINITY," upon which the Baptist preachers were very anxious to elicit the views entertained by the reformers. This circular letter, it seems, was so entirely satisfactory that even the keen vision of the most orthodox enemies in the Association could find no ground of objection, and it was accordingly accepted, we are told, "without amendment," and printed at the close of the minutes as the letter of the Association. In it, this profound subject is treated in a highly interesting manner, and mainly in the simple and express terms of Scripture. In condescension, however, probably to the modes of thought and speech current amongst the party with which he was now associated, the author employs some of the terms of scholastic divinity, such as essence, triune and person, but the word "Trinity" does not once occur in the document. The use of such terms was not in harmony with the principle of the Reformation, which

required that Bible things should be spoken of in Bible words—not in "the words that man's wisdom teacheth," but in those which the Holy Spirit has employed. Under the circumstances, however, it gives evidence of a remarkable advance toward soundness of speech on the part of one long accustomed to the language of the schools, and who now addressed a people to whom its terms would have been much more familiar, and doubtless much more acceptable, than those employed in Holy Writ.

This letter, also, in its general style and tone, furnishes a marked contrast with the spirit of the "Sermon on the Law"—a contrast indicative of that which existed in the characters of their respective authors. The father, full of affectionate sympathy and over-sensitive in regard to the feelings of others, could not bear to inflict the slightest pain, and would rather withhold than confer a benefit which could be imparted only by wounding the recipient. The son, with more mastery of his emotional nature, could calmly contemplate the entire case, and, for the accomplishment of higher good, could resolutely inflict a temporary suffering. The former was cautious, forbearing, apologetic; the latter, decided, prompt and critical. The one displayed the gentle spirit of Melancthon, the other the adventurous boldness of Farel and the uncompromising spirit of Knox. Both were alike anxious to promote the great interests of humanity; but while the father relied perhaps too much upon emollients to remedy the spreading cancer of sectarianism, the son, with less reverence for consecrated errors, but equal love for men and greater sagacity and skill, preferred the knife of the surgeon. Both were equally desirous of winning men away from the idols of religious bigotry, but while the one sought

to persuade with gentle words, the other would seize with powerful grasp the image at the shrine, and break it in pieces before the eyes of its worshipers. The different methods which each thus employed had doubtless their advantages, and their union tended to effect greater good than could have been produced by either singly. It is certain, however, as formerly intimated, that had it not been for the bold assaults, the incisive logic and the determined spirit of the son, the reformatory movement initiated by the father would speedily have disappeared from view, as the wave created in the river by the passing steamer quickly subsides into the general current.

As the circular letter above referred to presents the views of both upon the most profound subject in the Bible, as it forms a part of the history of the times and of the persons described, and illustrates how entirely sufficient the Scriptures themselves are for the elucidation of the most difficult questions, so far as these can be at all comprehended by the human mind, it deserves to be rescued from the oblivion which would soon engulf the few remaining copies. It will therefore be found in the Appendix to the present volume.*

* See Appendix [A].

CHAPTER XXII.

Difficulties and Hinderances — Buffalo Seminary — Slavery — A Suitable Coadjutor.

THERE is no labor which seems at first more barren of results than that of the sower. After many days of toil, the field on which the labor has been lavished exhibits less verdure than at first, and, in a time of drought, may long remain without one single springing blade to give hopeful promise of the future. It is equally so in the moral and religious world. He who endeavors to plant the seeds of truth in human hearts must await with patience their development, and must not fail or be discouraged if the precious germs he has scattered should, under unfavorable conditions, long remain undeveloped and concealed. The spring-time will surely come at last; the living truth will assert its power, and, in its heavenward growth, furnish the cheering prospect of the harvest. Such patience of hope has been required, in no small degree, of all who have undertaken the reformation of mankind, and who have broken up the fallow ground of pernicious error in order to the production of blessed fruits. Nor was it demanded less of those who, under various discouragements, were now seeking to revive the cause of primitive Christianity.

Among these discouragements, not the least were those they met with from the people with whom they

had formed a fraternal connection; and it was here they learned to verify a fact which has been often noticed, that religious controversies and divisions originate oftener in personal pique and rivalry, in disappointed ambition or selfish interest, than in conscientious conviction. Thus it was, that a Mr. William Brownfield of Uniontown, who had been very conspicuous in the Redstone Association before the admission of Mr. Campbell, taking up the idea, which was probably correct, that he was afterward not as much attended to as formerly, was the very first to institute opposition to Mr. Campbell, and continued to the end to manifest toward him the bitterest hostility. In all his efforts he was indeed successfully opposed, and, though zealously seconded by Elder Pritchard and a few others, never could succeed in gaining his point. Mr. Campbell was a "power" in the Association not to be overcome. His superior abilities and knowledge of the Bible, and, above all, his advocacy of truth, exercised a controlling influence over the minds of so many intelligent and pious members that the poisoned shafts of his enemies were sped in vain, and he was able to maintain his ground in spite of all opposition.

The bickerings and controversies occasioned by the novel doctrines of the "Sermon on the Law," which increased the prejudices of many, were indeed unpleasant hinderances to the efforts of Mr. Campbell and his father to lead the Baptist churches with which they were connected into the clear light of the primitive gospel. The oldest things of Christianity had now become the newest, and were looked upon with suspicion, even by many conscientious and truth-loving minds, as being yet the conclusions of only a *few* individuals, and opposed by the logic of overwhelming numbers.

At this time, in fact, those who could be reckoned as actual advocates of the Reformation, and who, with the exception of the Brush Run Church, were scattered among the Baptists in Ohio, Western Pennsylvania and Virginia, did not amount to more than one hundred and fifty persons, and among these there were none who were accustomed to take a public and efficient part abroad except Thomas and Alexander Campbell, the labors of James Foster being chiefly confined to the Brush Run Church.

About this period, indeed, a Mr. George Forrester, a Haldanean preacher and an immersionist, came to Pittsburg from Scotland, and, near the same time, a Mr. Jones, a Baptist from England, of somewhat liberal views. Mr. Forrester opened an academy in Pittsburg and preached occasionally, but he had much of the stern and opinionative disposition of the Scotch Baptists, and failed to make any impression upon the public, while Mr. Jones soon migrated to the West. Not long afterward, a Mr. John Tassey also, who had been educated for the ministry in one of the seminaries established by R. Haldane, emigrated with his family from Ireland, and engaged in the mercantile business in Pittsburg. He succeeded in gathering together a few individuals as an Independent church, meeting for weekly communion, and became their pastor. With this little organization there united a young man already distinguished for his piety and benevolence, named Samuel Church, who had himself been immersed, and was entirely in sympathy with Mr. Campbell's views of reformation, but who, preferring the Independent order of worship to that of the Baptists, chose to remain for some years connected with Mr. Tassey. The latter was not in favor of immersion, and though a man of

some ability and of excellent character, was, like Mr. Forrester, somewhat contracted in his views, neither of them possessing that enlarged conception of the gospel plan of salvation to which Mr. Campbell had attained. It was thus, however, that several phases of the Haldanean movement were at this time, on a small scale, represented in Pittsburg, but though they aided in some respects in preparing the ground, none of them were capable of rendering any great assistance to Mr. Campbell.

About this time, too, Mrs. Bryant's health having failed, and the school in Pittsburg having become too great a burden to Thomas Campbell, he concluded to remove to Kentucky, in hopes of finding among the numerous Baptist churches there, a wider field of usefulness. Accordingly, in the fall of 1817, he took his family to Newport, where he left them for a few months, while he spent the time in visiting the Baptist churches bordering on the Ohio, and in examining into the state of the community. He found the Baptists in Kentucky, who were the most numerous of any religious party, to be a cordial, frank, hospitable people. and of much more liberal views and feelings than prevailed in the religious bodies with which he had heretofore been associated. He regretted, however, to discover that they had become accustomed to a style of preaching which addressed itself almost entirely to the feelings, and failed to impart real scriptural knowledge, and that the study of the Bible and family training were to a great extent neglected. This, indeed, was true of the denomination generally in the United States, though in the more Northern States metaphysical and theological theories often occupied the place of those heart-stirring and rhetorical appeals by which the preachers of the

South sought to awaken the torpid sensibilities of their hearers, and renew that emotional excitement which was regarded as the evidence, if not the very essence of religion.

Thomas Campbell accordingly engaged, with great zeal, in an effort to remedy the defects he had observed, and to induce strict attention to family duties and the daily study of the Scriptures. Having, in the course of his travels, visited Burlington in Boone county, a town of three hundred inhabitants, he was much pleased with the generous and hospitable character of the citizens, and finding it to be a suitable place for the establishment of a seminary, he concluded, at the earnest solicitation of the principal families, to remove his family thither, and take charge of an academy as soon as the new building, already in progress for this purpose, should be completed. As soon as this was done, there being no house of public worship in the place, he commenced in his school-room a course of lectures upon the Scriptures, to which the public were invited, and which were, in general, well attended.

His father's departure had thus left to Mr. Campbell the entire public advocacy of the cause of reformation, now struggling in its infancy in West Pennsylvania and Virginia. He did not, however, shrink from the labor thus devolved upon him; but, ever prepared for the conflict, whether with foes within or foes without, he continued to itinerate occasionally among the churches of the Redstone Association and some of those in Ohio, gradually enlightening the minds of the people, and occasionally baptizing individuals who believed the gospel and were willing to confess Christ according to the primitive model. Among these was, in the following year (1818), James Foster's mother, who had

shortly before come from Ireland with her brother, John Wilson, and his family, and settled with them upon a farm, near Hickory in Washington county. At the same time, John Wilson and wife also were baptized, and were added to the Brush Run Church, which was as yet the *only* church in the Reformation, and which, meeting alternately at the cross roads and at Brush Run, gave rise to the impression, on the part of some, that there were two churches. It was, however, but a single organization, and met at the two places mentioned merely for the convenience of some of its members, who were widely scattered.

The difficulties with which Mr. Campbell had to contend at this time might well have appalled a less intrepid spirit. On one hand, he had to meet the stern opposition of the entire pædobaptist community, while, on the other, he was harassed by the plots and misrepresentations of his enemies in the Redstone Association; and, though he found in the Association a sufficient number of friends to vote down the charges of heresy which the faction, headed by William Brownfield, brought up annually against him, and had still more friends among the people composing the churches, they were destitute of that unity and concert of action which his enemies were careful to preserve. In addition to all this, public opinion was altogether in the hands of the clergy, and was consequently entirely opposed to him. His task was, therefore, extremely difficult. When public opinion is favorable to any enterprise, it is like the oil which is applied to the bearings of a machine, so that the force needed to put the whole in movement is but slight in comparison with what is required if there is no such preparation. With Mr. Campbell, indeed, was the determined will and the

necessary force, but when a favorable public sentiment was not only wanting, but was replaced by one decidedly hostile, his task was like the attempt to launch a ship where the ways were inclined in the wrong direction, not *from* the vessel but *toward* it. His reformatory labors, nevertheless, could not be suspended, for they were labors of duty and of love, and he must continue to pursue them in hope that time and patience would secure a more favorable adjustment. As an instance of the nature of the opposition waged by the clergy, the conduct of Mr. Finley, minister of the Union Church at Middletown, may here be mentioned. Having accidentally met Mr. Campbell at the house of Mrs. Parkinson, they happened to fall into a little discussion upon baptism and some other subjects. Mr. Finley forthwith took pains to spread the report in the neighborhood that he had confuted Mr. Campbell on the points they had argued—a report which, from their prepossessions, he knew the public would be ready to believe. He trusted, however, too much to public prejudices and too little to truth on this occasion, and quite mistook the person whom he thought thus to injure. Mr. Campbell at once put into the *Washington Reporter* a brief and pointed note to Mr. Finley, charging him with circulating a false report, and offering to discuss publicly with him at Middletown the subject of baptism and the true observance of the Lord's day, (the points in regard to which he had said he had refuted Mr. Campbell), or any other topic he might desire. This was dated February 16, 1818. In a subsequent brief reply, Mr. Finley declined the challenge, endeavoring to conceal his timidity under an assuming and contemptuous style, which he mistook for clerical dignity. To this Mr. Campbell replied on the 23d of

March in a sharp rejoinder, and informed Mr. Finley that he would hold a meeting in Middletown on the second Thursday of April, in order to correct Mr. Finley's misrepresentations and to defend openly the views he advocated. He held the meeting accordingly, and had a very large and attentive audience, from which Mr. Finley took good care to be absent; but his pusillanimous behavior in retiring within the shell of his orthodoxy at the approach of danger, lowered him considerably in the estimation of the people, while Mr. Campbell's fearless defence of his views made, to the same extent, a favorable impression.

On January 17th of this year (1818), his family was increased by the birth of a daughter, who was named Lavinia. Aware of the great importance of obtaining the assistance of instructed and cultivated minds in the work to which he was devoted, and feeling very sensibly the want, in his own neighborhood, of better methods of education than those which then prevailed, he determined in the beginning of this year to open a seminary, chiefly for young men, in his own house, and to take the charge of it himself. He hoped to be able thus not only to confer a benefit upon the neighborhood in giving to the youth a better education than they could otherwise obtain, but also to have the opportunity of preparing some young men for the ministry of the Word. By boarding them in his own family, directing their studies and imbuing their minds with a knowledge of the Scriptures, in the daily recitations and lessons of instruction which he carefully kept up at the morning and evening devotions of his household, he thought that the desired object might thus be gradually attained. As his father had been highly appreciated in Pittsburg as an educator, and he himself had

now become well known for energy and talent, he had no difficulty in obtaining as many pupils as he desired. A number of leading men in Pittsburg sent their sons. One or two came from a distance in Ohio; a son of Dr. Joseph Doddridge from Charlestown, and the remainder from the neighborhood, consisting of young men who wished to study the languages in order to prepare themselves for professional pursuits, and of others, both male and female, who desired merely to obtain a good English education, and who attended as day-scholars from their homes. Devoting himself to his work with his usual zeal and assiduity, he endeavored to establish the strict method to which he had been accustomed. He soon found, however, that his materials were not the most suitable. Some who were almost grown young men, and who, on account of their insubordination, could hardly find admittance into any of the schools of Pittsburg, attempted at first to create a rebellion against the strict rules which had been announced, but Mr. Campbell, seizing unexpectedly the ringleader with a strong hand, gave him so severe a castigation before the school with a whip he had provided, that he was completely subdued, and from that time the master's authority was perfectly established.

This academy, called "Buffalo Seminary," continued to flourish for a number of years.* Mr. Campbell's vivacity, punctuality, decision and activity, banished the dullness which too often prevails in such institutions, and inspired the pupils with such an interest in their studies and such an ambition to excel, that that they made remarkable progress, and the reputation

* The charges at the Seminary were, for board and lodging $1.50 per week, and for tuition $5.00 per quarter, for any or all the branches usually taught in academies, including Hebrew and French.

of the school became so great that there was no longer room for all who applied for admission. Although thus successful, even beyond his expectations in some respects, Mr. Campbell did not find the institution to meet entirely his wishes in that particular which was to him the most desirable. From the religious instruction given, he could still hope much for the future of those who had been placed under his charge; but he did not find among them much inclination toward the ministerial office. Some who acquired a good classical education entered afterward into the professions of law and medicine, and ever cherished the highest gratitude to Mr. Campbell for his attention to their improvement. But he had a much higher object in view than merely to prepare young men for secular pursuits, and greatly desired to see some of them disposed to consecrate their lives to the cause of truth. At this time, however, the circumstances were very unfavorable for such a result. The Reformation was as yet but imperfectly developed or established. It was generally regarded as an innovation and a novelty in the settled order of religious society. No youths had as yet grown up under its influence, and there was no preparation of heart and mind for the work which it required. Besides this, to engage in its defence was to incur obloquy, reproach and persecution, without even the prospect of a moderate pecuniary support. It is not surprising, then, that few seemed disposed to turn their attention in this direction. Nevertheless, there were not wanting some among the pupils, who, animated with zeal, and longing for the higher rewards and blessings of a religious life, devoted themselves ardently to the study of the Scriptures and became afterward useful advocates of the Reformation. Among these may be particularly

mentioned Jacob Osborne of Ohio, who, endeared to all by his piety, intelligence and love of the truth, passed away in early manhood to his eternal reward, though not until he had witnessed with joy, upon the Western Reserve, the first remarkable triumphs of that ancient gospel which he had himself previously contributed to develop and sustain.

While Mr. Campbell was thus diligently engaged in his seminary, his father had established a flourishing school in Burlington, Kentucky, and had obtained the warm esteem of the entire community, who were never weary in rendering acts of kindness to him and to his family. Pupils from some of the best families in the State were sent to Burlington to enjoy the benefit of his instruction. His daughter Jane, now about eighteen years of age, assisted him in the school, and soon became distinguished for her ability as a teacher, rendering the school quite popular, so that it became highly remunerative. Such was the friendly and social character of the people, and such their appreciation of Thomas Campbell and his excellent family, that the latter had never before been placed in circumstances so agreeable, and there seemed every probability that this would be their permanent home.

It happened, however, upon a Lord's day, in the summer of 1819, in the afternoon, that Thomas Campbell noticed a large number of negroes of both sexes amusing themselves in a grove near by, to which they sometimes resorted on Sundays. After observing for some time their proceedings, his sympathy for this servile part of the population, whose peculiar condition he had long regretted, became so much enlisted in their behalf, that he walked out to the grove and invited them all to come into his school-room, in order that he

might read the Scriptures to them. Obeying the summons with alacrity, they soon assembled, and, after reading to them various portions of Scripture, he went on to give them such instructions and exhortations as he thought would be useful to them. Afterward, he occupied some time in giving out hymns, and as they sung these with their sweet melodious voices, and seemed greatly to enjoy this exercise and the instructions he had given them, his own heart was filled with inexpressible delight, and he dismissed them with the expectation of repeating the lesson upon the first favorable opportunity. Next day, however, one of his friends called upon him to say that the course he had adopted the day before was quite contrary to the laws of the State, which forbade any address to negroes except in the presence of one or more white witnesses. With regard to what had already occurred, he assured him that no notice would be taken of it, as it was presumable he had not been acquainted with the law; but he advised him, as a friend, not to repeat the act, lest some persons in the community should put him to trouble. At this announcement, Thomas Campbell was thunderstruck. He had been totally ignorant of the existence of such a law, for he had never been accustomed to give any attention to political or civil affairs. "What!" thought he, "is it possible that I live in a land where reading the Scriptures and giving religious instruction to the ignorant is a penal offence? Can the Word of God be thus bound and the proclamation of the gospel be thus fettered in a Christian land? Is it possible for me to remain in a place, where, under any circumstances, I am forbidden to preach a crucified Saviour to my perishing fellow-beings?" His resolution was at once taken. Whatever it might cost, he would

leave Kentucky and go where the preaching of the gospel was untrammeled. In this resolution, thus suddenly and decisively taken, he became the more confirmed when he reflected that, by remaining, some of his family would, in all probability, form permanent alliances with the people, and become themselves thus involved in a state of things which was utterly repugnant to his feelings, and for which, as he was quite uninformed in regard to the circumstances which gave origin to that particular law, he could at the time find no justification.

His family were greatly surprised and grieved when he announced his resolution. They had become so much attached to the place and the people from whom they had received such unwonted kindness, that to abandon their Irish home had not been a greater trial than the one to which they were now to be subjected. Their regrets were fully reciprocated by the entire community, but the most flattering inducements and the most earnest entreaties were employed in vain to induce Thomas Campbell to change his resolution. When he could not be persuaded to remain himself, he was entreated at least to allow his daughter Jane to stay and conduct the seminary; but he remained inflexible, being determined to extricate his family from a set of circumstances for the existence of which he was not disposed to attach blame to any one, but which he felt to be quite incompatible with his own sense of Christian duty. He, therefore, immediately wrote to his son Alexander informing him of his intention, and began to settle up his business in order to a removal. Alexander, in reply, immediately proposed to him to come and assist him in the Buffalo Seminary, and having agreed to this, he removed as soon as his arrangements were completed,

and again settled his family in Washington county, Pennsylvania, near the village of West Middletown, so termed, because it was half way between Washington and Charlestown, the name of which latter place was, about this time, changed to Wellsburg. The country about Middletown has the general character of the upland of this region. The village is placed upon a high and narrow ridge, along which passes the public highway to Washington, forming the only street. Upon the left, looking eastward, the ridge rapidly declines into a deep and somewhat narrow valley, which stretches away for several miles with its rich fields and green meadows, through which a bright and gurgling streamlet wends its way. Upon the right, the ridge for a short distance widens, and then gradually sinks into the valley of Brush Run, which, toward the south-west, presents a charming prospect of wooded slopes and cultivated farms, losing itself at length in the distant deeper gorges of the clear and rapid Buffalo. Westward of the town, the ridge, after rising into a lofty and conical hill, spreads itself out into a gently undulating country, which reaches to the steep declivities of Cross Creek. It was in the upper part of the Brush Run valley, upon a farm some two miles from the village, that Thomas Campbell now placed his family, who, from this time, continued to reside in this vicinity. He, himself, spent the most of the time at his son Alexander's, about seven miles distant, in assisting to conduct the school; and he resumed the pastoral care of the Brush Run Church which he had planted some ten years before.

It might be thought that as slavery existed in Virginia as well as in Kentucky, Thomas Campbell, in becoming an assistant in a Virginia seminary, had not altered his circumstances in regard to this institution.

It is to be remembered, however, that he had placed his family, in regard to which he felt the chief anxiety, in Pennsylvania, and that the Brush Run Church met in the same State, only a few miles distant from his son's residence. It is to be noted, also, that in this part of Virginia, bordering upon the free States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, slavery had in fact an existence merely nominal. There were very few slaves, and these remained with their masters simply because they were pleased to do so, as escape was easy. The people of these border counties had but little interest in the institution, and though willing to maintain the laws of the State in regard to it, many violations of these were tacitly allowed. The few slaves found in this region were, with scarcely an exception, treated as kindly as the free laborers, and although the law forbade teaching them to read, no one was molested for doing it, and a freedom of speech was allowed in reference to slavery which would not have been tolerated in the interior. The following extracts from a work published soon after (in 1824) at Wellsburg, the county seat of Brooke, in which Mr. Campbell resided, may serve as an illustration of this; and now that the institution has for ever passed away, they must appear to the thoughtful mind singularly prophetic. The author, Dr. Joseph Doddridge, was the Episcopal minister in Wellsburg, a brother of the eminent lawyer, Philip Doddridge, and a warm personal friend of Mr. Campbell, whom he frequently visited. In speaking of the aborigines, and discussing the question of difference of color among men and its results, he says:

"An African is black, has a woolly head and a flat nose; he is therefore not entitled to the rights of human nature!

But he is a docile being, possessed of but little pride of independence, and a subject of the softer passions, who, rather than risk his life in the defence of his liberty, will 'take the pittance and the lash.' He is therefore a proper subject for slavery!

"The Indian has a copper-colored skin, and therefore the rights of human nature do not belong to him! But he will not work, and his high sense of independence and strong desire of revenge would place in danger the property and life of the oppressor who should attempt to force him to labor. He is therefore to be exterminated, or at least despoiled of his country, and driven to some remote region where he must perish!

"Such has been, and such still is, to a certain extent, the logic of nations possessed of all the science of the world!—Of Christian nations!—How horrid the features of that slavery to which this logic has given birth! The benevolent heart bleeds at the thought of the cruelties which have always accompanied it. Amongst the Mohammedans, as soon as the Christian slave embraces the religion of his master, he is free; but among the followers of the Messiah, the slave may indeed embrace the religion of his master, but he still remains a slave, although a Christian brother.

"It is a curious circumstance that while our missionaries are generously traversing the most inhospitable regions, and endeavoring with incessant toil to give the science of Europe and America, together with the Christian revelation, to the benighted pagans, most of the legislatures of our slave-holding States have made it a highly penal offence to teach a slave a single letter. While, at great expense and waste of valuable lives, we are endeavoring to teach the natives of Africa the use of letters, no one durst attempt to do the same thing for the wretched descendants of that ill-fated people, bound in the fetters of slavery in America. Thus our slavery chains the soul as well as the body. Would a Musselman hinder his slave from learning to read the Alcoran? Surely he would not.

"We are often told by slaveholders that they would willingly give freedom to their slaves if they could do it with safety:—if they could get rid of them when free; but are they more dangerous when free than when in slavery! But admitting the fact that, owing to their ignorance, stupidity and bad habits, they are unfit for freedom, we ourselves have made them so. We debase them to the condition of brutes, and then use that debasement as an argument for perpetuating their slavery.

"I will conclude this digression with the eloquent language of President Jefferson on the subject: 'Human liberty is the gift of God, and cannot be violated but in his wrath. Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just and that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that, considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among the possible events: it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest.'"

Again, in speaking of the cruel scourging of the negroes which he had witnessed while at school in Maryland, he says:

"The recollections of the tortures which I witnessed so early in life, is still a source of affliction to my mind. Twenty-four hours never pass during which my imagination does not present me with the afflicting view of the slave or servant writhing beneath the lashes of his master, and cringing from the brine with which he salted his stripes.

"During my stay of three years in the region of slavery, my only consolation was, that the time would come in which the master and slave would exchange situations; that the former would receive the punishment due to his cruelty, while the latter should find rest from his toils and sufferings in the kingdom of heaven. The master I regarded as Dives who after 'being clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day,' must soon 'lift his eyes in hell,

being in torment.' The slave was Lazarus, who after closing his suffering in death, was to be 'carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.'

"From this afflicting state of society, I returned to the backwoods, a republican, without knowing the meaning of the term, that is, with an utter detestation of the arbitrary power of one man over another.

"On reading this recital, the historian will naturally reflect, that personal, real or political slavery has, at all times, been the condition of almost the whole human race—that the history of man is the history of *oppressors* and the *victims* of oppression. Wars, bastiles, prisons, crosses, gibbets, tortures, scourges and fire, in the hands of despots, have been the instruments of spreading desolation and misery over the earth. The philosopher regards these means of destruction and their extensive use in all ages as indices of the depravity and ferocity of man. From the blood-stained pages of history he turns with disgust and horror, and pronounces an involuntary anathema on the whole of his race.

"But is the condition of the world still to remain the same? Are the moral impressions of our nature to be for ever sacrificed at the shrine of lawless ambition? Is man, as heretofore, to be born only to destroy or be destroyed. Does the good Samaritan see no rational ground of hope, of better things for future ages? We trust he does, and that ages yet to come will witness the fulfillment of his benevolent wishes and predictions."

Such were the fearless utterances which were at this period heard and approved by many in this portion of Virginia. As to Mr. Campbell's own sentiments on the subject of slavery, knowing that the relation of master and servant was recognized in the New Testament, and the respective duties of the parties distinctly described, he thought it by no means inconsistent with Christian character to assume the legal rights of a master, or to transfer those rights to another, as he

accordingly did in one or two instances. As he did not, however, any more than his father, approve of the abuses of power connected with the institution, those under his charge had the opportunity of learning to read and of receiving religious instruction; and, furthermore, perceiving the institution as it existed in the United States to be peculiarly liable to abuses, he was always in favor of emancipation, and gave practical effect to his principles in setting free the two or three slaves he had under his control, as soon as they were sufficiently grown to provide for themselves. As both father and son concurred in these views, and were determined to keep themselves free from all personal responsibility in regard to slavery, they felt themselves perfectly free to pursue their reformatory labors in any part of the country. And as Thomas Campbell had now placed his family where they could never become practically entangled in any of the evils connected with the institution, he felt himself entirely at liberty to aid his son in his labors in Virginia. Thus the two original public advocates of the Reformation were, greatly to their mutual happiness, enabled once more to renew their immediate cooperation with each other, and to lighten each other's burdens. Providence, however, was already preparing for them the assistance for which both had longed. A powerful auxiliary was about to enter the field, whose genius was destined to promote, in an eminent degree, the interests of the cause, and to modify, in some important respects, the practical advocacy of the reformatory movement.

During the previous year, there had arrived at the port of New York a young Scotch Presbyterian, of good family and an excellent education, named Walter Scott, who had been induced to seek his fortune in the

New World. After forming some acquaintances in New York, having a strong desire to go to the West and see the country, he, with a companion of about the same age, set out for Pittsburg. On account of the limited state of their finances, they found it necessary to perform the journey on foot, but they felt emboldened to attempt the task by that youthful buoyancy of spirit which hopes to surmount safely all obstacles, and to which no undertaking seems impracticable. As they journeyed on, their fatigue was often forgotten in their contemplation of the beautiful and varied landscapes along the way, for Mr. Scott possessed a fine taste for the beauties of nature, and was a great admirer of extensive prospects and wild mountain scenery. But what particularly cheered up the weary pedestrians was his lively humor, for, though of a deeply conscientious and reverential spirit, he had nevertheless a keen wit and a quick perception of the ludicrous, and saw so many oddities in the log-cabins and dresses and manners of the people, and so many to him novel and ridiculous objects, that he kept himself and his companion in almost perpetual merriment. For this unwonted levity, however, he took himself seriously to task, after his arrival at Pittsburg, when sober thoughts revived, deeming it quite incompatible with that gravity and solemnity which belonged to the Presbyterian profession.

At Pittsburg, he soon became acquainted with his countryman, Mr. Forrester, by whom he was very kindly and hospitably received, and in whose school he became for a time an assistant. Mr. Forrester, in conversing with him frequently upon religious subjects, and directing his attention to the Scriptures, soon satisfied him that infant baptism had no place in the Bible; and after a struggle with his educational prejudices, he

at length yielded to his convictions and was immersed. Soon after this, Mr. Forrester, going into other business, relinquished the school to him, which, under his strict and skillful management, continued to prosper. At this time, he formed an acquaintance with Mr. Richardson, at whose house he spent occasionally a pleasant, social evening, and who formed quite an attachment to the young Scotchman, who seemed to combine the freshness, simplicity and enthusiasm of a child with the accomplishments of a scholar, and whose polite manners and pleasant conversation rendered him ever a welcome guest. To him Mr. Richardson committed also the education of his oldest son, Robert, then thirteen years of age, who had been some time before a pupil of Thomas Campbell, and who, commencing with Mr. Scott the study of the ancient languages, was, by judicious words of encouragement, inspired, not only with an earnest desire for learning, but with the warmest affection for his teacher.

The seed of the Word which had been implanted in the heart of Walter Scott had fallen into no ordinary soil. His earnest nature soon became wholly absorbed in the study of Divine things. Every moment that could be spared from necessary duties was devoted to the Bible, which had become to him a new book, opening up to his astonished mind a world of wonders, of which, amidst the misty atmosphere of sectarianism, he had hardly dreamed. Especially was he enraptured with the simplicity of the gospel, so different from the involved and complex theological systems of the day, and with the clear and unambiguous teachings of the Scriptures, as compared with those of modern religious theorists. Possessing an extraordinary power of analysis and classification, he was soon enabled to arrange the

Scripture teaching under its appropriate heads or subjects, and to resolve the Divine plan of redemption into its constituent elements. Having, at the same time, an ardent fancy, he saw in the simple facts of the gospel, and in its expressive ordinances, a power which he believed capable of breaking down all the barriers of religious partyism and carrying salvation to the ends of the earth. Becoming more and more occupied with religious thought, and burning with zeal to impart to others the light which had illuminated his own mind, the confinement and drudgery of the school became, after a few months, so irksome that he was constrained to abandon it; and, conceiving that he could be most useful in the city of New York, in connection with the congregation meeting there, and which was composed of individuals holding the sentiments of the Haldanes and of the Scotch Baptists, he, with that precipitation which often characterized his movements, set out once more for that city.

From the remarkable success which had attended his labors in the school, its patrons were much grieved at his departure. Mr. Richardson, especially, who most highly appreciated the value of such a teacher, and whose son, in the warmth of his affection, ardently hoped for his return, determined to make at least an effort for the purpose, and accordingly proposed to a few of his intimate friends to unite with him in making up a good salary, and in endeavoring to persuade Mr. Scott to return and become a private tutor for their families. This having been readily arranged, he at once wrote to Mr. Scott and urged the matter upon him. To this letter he soon received a reply, full of kind expressions and affectionate remembrances, and intimations of disappointed hopes and cloudy prospects

in New York, from which it could, upon the whole, be gathered that he would accept the position offered him; and, accordingly, about two weeks afterward, Mr. Scott himself appeared at Mr. Richardson's, dusty and travel-worn, having again walked the whole distance on foot, coming this time, by way of variety, through Washington City. Being welcomed with all the warmth of Irish hospitality, he at once became an inmate of Mr. Richardson's family, and an apartment was assigned him in his spacious house, where he could daily assemble his pupils, amounting in all to about fifteen—a number which was not to be increased, his patrons believing that by confining his attention to a few, the rapidity of their progress and the thoroughness of their instruction would more than compensate for the increased expense. In this respect their anticipations were more than realized, and, under this arrangement, results were attained which had never before been reached by any school in the city. Mr. Scott possessed a peculiar tact as a teacher, having a quick perception of character, and knowing well how to excite the diligent, rouse the slothful and punish the disobedient. Though kind in his feelings, he pursued the strict system of discipline to which he had been accustomed in Europe, and which required *perfect* order and *accurate* recitations, or, as an alternative, the "*argumentum bacculinum.*" The exuberance of his youthful hopes having been pruned by his late experience, he now pursued his educational labors with great satisfaction, and renewed with unabated interest his religious association with Mr. Forrester and his little congregation, to which body a sudden calamity soon after obliged him to assume a more important relation.

Late on a pleasant summer evening, a hasty messen-

ger arrived to tell him that Mr. Forrester had been drowned. He had gone, it appeared, to the Alleghany, at the upper part of the town, to bathe, and ignorant of the fact that in that place there was an old wharf, now concealed beneath the water, he, unfortunately, in wading out into the stream, unexpectedly stepped off this structure and found himself suddenly in deep water. Being unable to swim, and no efficient help being at hand, he was speedily drowned, and it was so long before the body could be recovered that all attempts at reanimation were fruitless. This sad event was a great affliction to one of Mr. Scott's affectionate and sympathetic nature, and upon him now devolved the task of comforting and assisting the bereaved widow and orphans, as well as of watching over and instructing the church which Mr. Forrester had formed. This to him, however, was a labor of love, and he devoted himself more ardently than ever to the study of the Bible. He was accustomed daily to commit portions of it to memory, and long after midnight would often be found still deeply engaged in his earnest inquiries. Above all things, he seemed to be impressed with the Divine glory of the Redeemer in all his personal and official relations. In the exercise of his analytical power, he soon discovered that the testimonies of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were written for one great specific object, and that this was to prove the proposition that "*Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God*," and that this constituted the central truth and the great essential element of Christianity. He had thus, by a different process, reached the same stand-point which Mr. Campbell had attained in eliminating from the Christian faith everything that was foreign to its nature. Upon this theme, Mr. Scott delighted to dwell. For a

considerable time he delivered, as his first efforts at public speaking, interesting lectures upon it to the little church, which was accustomed to assemble in the court-house. The beauty of the character of Christ seemed to be the subject of his continual meditation and the model for his daily life. As, from the confinement and labor attendant upon his arduous duties, he grew thin and pale, Mr. Richardson's son, Robert, who was now friend and companion, as much as pupil, would sometimes invite him to walk out of an evening to his father's garden in the vicinity of the city; but his mind could not be divorced, even amidst such recreations, from the high theme which occupied it. Nature, in all its forms, seemed to speak to him only of its Creator; and although, gentle and affectionate as he was, he sought ever to interest himself in the things that interested others, his mind would constantly revert to its ruling thought, and some little incident in their ramble, some casual remark in their conversation, would at once open up the fountain of religious thought which seemed to be ever seeking for an outlet. Thus, for instance, if his pupil would present him with a rose, while he admired its tints and inhaled its fragrance, he would ask in a tone of deep feeling: "Do you know, my dear, why in the Scriptures Christ is called the Rose of Sharon?" If the answer was not ready, he would reply himself: "It is because the rose of Sharon has no thorns," and would then go on to make a few touching remarks on the beautiful traits in the character of the Saviour. Then, in the exercise of his powers of accurate perception, and his love of analysis and object-teaching, descanting on the special characteristics of the flower, and calling attention to the various elements which by their assemblage, produced such a charming

result—the graceful curving lines that bounded the petals and the foliage, so much more beautiful than the straight and parallel edges of the blades of grass or maize; the winding veinlets, the delicate shadings of carmine and their contrast with the green foliage, the graceful attitude assumed by the flower, as, poising itself upon its stem armed with thorns, it shone resplendent in queenly beauty, he would pass, by a natural and easy transition, to dwell yet again upon the infinite power and glorious perfections of the Creator—the Word that "was God," that "was in the beginning with God," and "without whom nothing was made that was made." Nor did he neglect even amidst the daily duties of the school-room to lead the minds of his pupils to similar contemplations, so that they might be induced to "look through nature up to nature's God." The revelations of God in the Bible, however, formed his chief delight, and in accordance with his feelings, he took especial pains to familiarize the students of the ancient tongues with the Greek of the New Testament, for which purpose he caused them to commit it largely to memory, so that some of them could repeat, chapter by chapter, the whole of the four gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in the Greek language. It was also his invariable practice to require memorized recitations of portions of the ancient classic authors, as well as written translations of them. These tasks, irksome to those of feeble memory, and exacted perhaps, in some cases, with too much rigor, tended nevertheless to improve the pupils in taste and accuracy, and to store their minds with charming passages for use in future life.

Mr. Campbell's confinement at home, on account of his duties in the seminary, had, for a long time, prevented him from visiting Pittsburg, and now that his

father's presence enabled him to do this, it can easily be imagined with what pleasure he formed the acquaintance of Mr. Scott, and found in him a congenial spirit, coinciding with him in regard to the distinguishing features of the reformatory movement, and prepared by education, natural abilities and piety to become such a fellow-laborer as he had long desired. They conceived for each other, therefore, at once, the warmest personal esteem—an esteem which was based perhaps less upon those points in their respective characters in which they agreed, than upon those in which they differed. For although their mutual reverence for Divine things, their earnest desire for religious reformation, their zeal and piety, their devotion, their Christian faith and love, certainly united them strongly to each other, these were qualities possessed also by others, and constituting with them all in common the bond of fellowship and union. But the different hues in the characters of these two eminent men were such as to be, so to speak, complementary to each other, and to form, by their harmonious blending, a completeness and a brilliancy which rendered their society peculiarly delightful to each other. Thus, while Mr. Campbell was fearless, self-reliant and firm, Mr. Scott was naturally timid, diffident and yielding; and, while the former was calm, steady and prudent, the latter was excitable, variable and precipitate. The one like the north star was ever in position, unaffected by terrestrial influences; the other, like the magnetic needle, was often disturbed and trembling on its centre, yet ever returning or seeking to return to its true direction. Both were nobly endowed with the powers of higher reason—a delicate self-consciousness, a decided will and a clear perception of truth. But, as it regards the other departments of the inner nature, in

Mr. Campbell the understanding predominated, in Mr. Scott the feelings; and, if the former excelled in imagination, the latter was superior in brilliancy of fancy. If the tendency of one was to generalize, to take wide and extended views and to group a multitude of particulars under a single head or principle, that of the other was to analyze, to divide subjects into their particulars and consider their details. If the one was disposed to trace analogies and evolve the remotest correspondences of relations, the other delighted in comparisons and sought for the resemblances of things. If the one possessed the inductive power of the philosopher, the other had, in a more delicate musical faculty and more active ideality, a larger share of the attributes of the poet. In a word, in almost all those qualities of mind and character, which might be regarded differential or distinctive, they were singularly fitted to supply each other's wants and to form a rare and delightful companionship. Nor were their differences in personal appearance and physical constitution less striking or less susceptible of agreeable contrast. For while Mr. Campbell was tall, vigorous and athletic, Mr. Scott was not above the average height, slender and rather spare in person, and possessed of little muscular strength. While the aspect of the one was ever lively and cheerful, even in repose, that of the other was abstracted, meditative, and sometimes had even an air of sadness. Their features, too, were very different. Mr. Campbell's face had no straight lines in it. Even his nose, already arched, was turned slightly to the right, and his eyes and hair were comparatively light. Mr. Scott's nose was straight, his lips rather full but delicately chiseled, his eyes dark and lustrous, full of intelligence and softness, and without the peculiar eagle-

glance so striking in Mr. Campbell, while his hair, clustering above his fine ample forehead, was black as the raven's wing.

Such were some of the prominent contrasts of these two eminent advocates of reformation, who were henceforth destined to share each other's labors and trials, to promote each other's discoveries of truth, and to emulate each other in their efforts to restore the pure primitive apostolic gospel to the world.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Civil and Religious Freedom—"Moral Societies" of Washington County—Spiritual Despotism—Vindication of Human Rights.

IT is a mistake to suppose that religious freedom is the result of civil liberty. The reverse of this is true, that civil liberty springs from religious freedom. Such republics as those of Greece and Rome were possible under a religious system that conceded universal toleration, and where every one was permitted freely to worship, after his own fashion, his own divinity; but could have no existence under the religious despotism of the Persian fire-worship or that of the Egyptian Osiris. When the gospel was first introduced, its refusal to tolerate any species of idolatry became, therefore, among the Greeks and Romans, its chief offence. They could not endure the exclusive claim of a religious autocracy which seemed but the harbinger of civil bondage, and were unwilling to exchange the outward license of polytheism for the spiritual freedom which Christ offered to bestow. They had but little conception, indeed, of that freedom of the soul from ignorance and sinful bondage, and that liberation of the conscience from a sense of guilt, which the gospel afforded, and had failed, as yet, to comprehend that glorious liberty which, like that of the sparkling waters of the streamlet or the motions of the "viewless air," can be enjoyed only in a strict conformity to the laws

of God. It was not until Christianity had sufficiently proved its tendency to make men gentle and obedient; patient and forbearing; willing to concede to all their just rights, and employing in behalf of their cause no influence but persuasion, that it became acceptable and prevalent throughout the Roman empire. It was not long, however, until, through the ambition and envy of rival bishops, there arose a contest for precedence and power. Shackles were imposed upon men's minds by decrees of councils; the rights of private judgment were refused, and what there was of civil liberty perished when civil government became at length the subservient instrument of spiritual tyranny.

Amidst the increasing gloom which gradually enveloped the nations, there was soon revealed, according to prophecy, that bold and undisguised form of religious absolutism, termed the Papacy. It was said of the Romans, as Tacitus relates, that in subduing the nations "they made a desolation and called it peace." Thus, in like manner, the Papal power, in endeavoring to extirpate its opposers as heretics; in denying to the people all liberty of thought, and in obliterating every landmark of the mind's own possessions, created, wherever it moved, that fatal and mortuary peace that springs from moral and spiritual desolation. In this respect Catholicism has, indeed, ever been truly ROMAN. Nor is the analogy less striking as to the extent of its empire and the efforts it has made to crush out every struggle for civil liberty, except in the few and doubtful instances where policy demanded a certain degree of concession to surrounding circumstances. The history of the world proves that the same spirit prevails, more or less, in every religious national establishment, and in every religious representative assembly, and that it

will inevitably display itself when any one of them is allowed to exercise power in political affairs, Propositions to remove civil disabilities, or to enlarge the precincts within which the masses are confined, never proceed from the bishops of England or from the clergy in any land where they are permitted to have a voice in civil affairs. On the contrary, they are found ever to resist reforms, and, from an instinctive antipathy, to detest liberal ideas. Hence it was that Great Britain never truly possessed herself of the great principles of civil liberty until the hierarchical powers were overthrown, and the Independents, under Cromwell, learned from their religious freedom the lesson of universal emancipation. Hence, too, as it was the Independent and former Puritan, Roger Williams, who first secured the constitutional grant of liberty of conscience, so it was this inestimable boon which ultimately gave to this favored land the truest and noblest conception and enjoyment of the rights of man. In all cases it will be found that "*soul-freedom*," as Roger Williams used to term religious liberty, preceded and gave origin, form and character to every effort for the attainment of civil freedom; and as the latter is speedily lost when the rights of conscience and of private judgment are denied, it behooves all lovers of liberty to watch, with jealous eye, the movements of religious bodies which claim the right to dictate articles of faith, and to repel with promptitude their attempts to acquire political influence or to obtain control of legal power. Such attempts have been made more than once already, even in this country, and it is of these that the course of the narrative now renders it necessary to speak.

It has been already mentioned that Presbyterianism had almost entire control of the population in Western

Pennsylvania, and especially in Washington county. It was naturally to be expected, therefore, that the spirit of the prevailing religion would find expression more or less in the local laws and regulations, and that these in turn would reveal the character and real tendency of this religion. Too inattentive to the probability of this latter result, and too confident in the possession of power, the adherents of the dominant party in Washington county had commenced, in 1815, a system of espionage and of arbitrary coercion, with respect to the people, which seemed to revive the spirit of the old Puritan codes,* and which at the present day no Western community would for a moment endure. This system it was attempted to establish through the agency of what were called "moral societies," organized for the reputable purpose of "suppressing vice and immorality," which seemed, in the estimation of the founders of these societies, to form two different categories. But the nature of these organizations, and the plausibility of the reasons by which it was attempted to justify them, will be best seen from their own records. Thus, it is related that on the 4th day of April, 1815—

"At a meeting of a number of the citizens of the borough of Washington, to take into consideration the expediency of forming an Association for the suppression of vice and immorality, James Brice was called to the chair and Obadiah Jennings was appointed secretary. Whereupon it was resolved to form an Association for the suppression of im-

* Reference is here made to the rigid municipal regulations of the Pilgrim Fathers, and not to what are termed the "Blue Laws of Connecticut," which never had any actual existence, but were first published in London in 1781, as a satire upon the severity of the Puritans, by a tory Churchman named Samuel Peters, who had been expelled from New England.

morality." Certain rules were then adopted as the constitution of the "Washington Moral Society." In this constitution, it is made the duty of every member "actively to promote the objects of the Association by giving information against any one known to be guilty of profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, intoxication, unlawful gaming, keeping a disorderly public house, or any other active immorality punished by the Commonwealth." It was further enjoined upon each member to "assist and encourage his fellow-members in their duty." Regular meetings were also to be held on the first Monday of May, August, November and February at *the Presbyterian meeting-house* in the borough of Washington, six members forming a quorum. It is recommended also that "similar associations be formed in the different parts of the county." After the constitution, an "Address" was adopted, which, after setting forth, at length, the evils of "intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, swearing," etc., proceeds as follows:

"The Society are desirous of calling the attention of their fellow-citizens more particularly to the aforesaid vices, not only because they are deemed amongst the most criminal and destructive, but also because they are more generally permitted to pass with impunity than many others of a less malignant character. At the same time, it is confidently believed that there is a sufficient amount of moral influence in the community, if combined and vigorously directed, to afford an effectual corrective. We would suggest the importance of forming similar associations in every part of our country. Some have recently been formed in this county, and the good effects are already visible. Can any one doubt the right or question the propriety of such associations? Is it not the indispensable duty of every member of society to promote its welfare, and prevent, according to his ability, everything which would be destructive of its interests and prosperity?"

It then goes on to speak of the increase of im-

morality, and among other things mentions the fact that while in 1802 there were only fifty-five taverns in Washington county, there were then one hundred and fifteen, a ratio of increase much greater than that of population.

Under the influence of these moral societies, established throughout the county, a strict watch was at once set over the behavior of every individual; local laws were passed in reference to the vices named, and the magistrates were stimulated to a rigid enforcement of them. The societies were, indeed, in their inception, simply organized bands of *informers*, though, emboldened by the submission of the people, their members soon began to make arrests without civil process or legal authority. As they pursued their vocation with enterprising zeal, many violations of the laws were detected and exposed, and every member of the community soon found himself to be under a sort of inquisitorial scrutiny that was as strict as it was novel, and as distasteful to the feelings of many true friends of morality as it was incompatible with the spirit of republican freedom. For a considerable time, however, the moral societies had everything their own way. Murmurs and complaints, indeed, there were, but no one had the hardihood to oppose, publicly, proceedings which were professedly in the interest of morality, and which, in many instances, no doubt secured the outward observance of its rules. No one that had the least regard for his popularity would venture to oppose the strict enforcement of the laws; and although many were sensible that there was certainly an undue exercise of power, or some false principle involved in such proceedings, there seemed to be no one capable of detecting it, or willing to bring down upon himself the

odium of the clergy and of the dominant religious party. Nevertheless, the burden imposed upon the people seemed to grow heavier the longer it was borne, and a good deal of discontent began to manifest itself. Those who had been fined through the moral societies, began to scrutinize more closely the conduct of the members composing them, and, in many cases, soon found that these self-constituted custodians of the public morals were themselves guilty of offences similar to those which they condemned in others. The nature and operation of these societies, as well as the piety and consistency of their members, will, however, be better understood by a recital of actual occurrences.

On one occasion, a Mr. Martin, near Washington, had employed a teamster to convey some produce for him to Pittsburg. Returning on Saturday, they were unable to make the whole distance, and were obliged to put up for the night within a short distance of Canonsburg. Setting out early next morning, on their way homeward, on entering the borough of Canonsburg, they were at once stopped and informed that they would not be permitted to travel on the "Sabbath." At once acquiescing, they put up the horses, and remained at the hotel until the next morning after breakfast, when they again set out. After leaving the village, they were overtaken by the constable, who demanded of the wagoner the fine for traveling on the "Sabbath." This the wagoner refused to pay, and, after some altercation, it appeared that the constable had not with him any writ to enable him to make an arrest. He then said he would go back to town for it, and would overtake him before he got to Washington. As soon as he was gone, the wagoner got a friend on the way to drive the wagon for him, and disappeared.

When the constable overtook the team at Washington, he was greatly enraged at being thus baffled, and making considerable noise, a crowd collected and began to dispute with him as to his ability to collect the fine under the circumstances. He insisted that he could and would collect it; and as he became more and more excited, one of the bystanders said to another privately, "Suppose you banter the constable to bet ten dollars on the collection of this fine. I will then go and inform upon you both, and you will both be fined, and as half the fine goes to the informer, I will receive the full amount of your fine, which I will hand over to you, so that you will lose nothing, and we shall have some sport." His friend, agreeing to this, immediately proposed to bet with the constable, who, in the excitement of the moment, at once accepted the offer. "Now," said the originator of the plot to him, "you have violated the law yourself, which is against betting as well as against Sabbath-breaking; and it will be my duty to go and inform upon you both." At this, the constable, finding he was caught, became quite crest-fallen, and knowing that he would lose his office and his popularity if the matter were made known, besought all present to say nothing about it, and promising if they would consent to this and come into the tavern, he would "treat them all round," and give up prosecuting the case against the wagoner; all which was agreed to amidst great merriment.

On another occasion, one of the members of the Moral Society at West Middletown, David M———, returning from meeting on the "Sabbath day," noticed at Wilson's tavern, two and a half miles from the town, a bucket belonging to him which his teamster had forgotten there the day before. Taking up the bucket, he

concluded to carry it home with him, and on the way was reminded by one of his friends that he was violating the law by carrying a burden on the "Sabbath day." Upon his return home, the circumstance naturally gave rise to serious reflection on his part, and, amongst his pious "Sabbath" musings, he considered how he should extricate himself from the dilemma in which he had become involved, and which was likely to bring reproach upon his character as an orthodox and orderly member of the church. At length, the happy thought occurred to him that if he would go and *inform upon himself*, such an instance of self-sacrifice, disinterested zeal and respect for principle, would not only clear his escutcheon from every stain, but elevate him even higher than ever in the esteem of the faithful. This bright idea was accompanied—or, as some might be so uncharitable as to think, *preceded*—by another reflection of uncommon weight, which was, that as half the fine went to the informer, he would *save two dollars* by informing upon himself. Accordingly, he at once resolved to do it, and going next morning to the magistrate at an early hour, lest any one should anticipate him in the performance of what he felt was his peculiar duty, gave the information in due form and tendered half the fine as a full and efficient expiation for the offence he had committed. The magistrate, however, could not see the matter in that light, not being able to discover that the law had made any provision for so extraordinary a case; and so, reminding the pious culprit that the money went to the support of preachers, compelled him to pay the whole fine. From such facts (and similar cases were not unfrequent) the *moral* tendencies of these societies will be sufficiently evident. It will be also seen that they had not for their object to repress or

punish *crimes* which men commit to the injury of others, and to which the attention of the civil magistrate had been heretofore confined; but that they took under their especial care those *vices* which affect individuals themselves, and of which the civil authority had not previously been accustomed to take cognizance, unless when, as sometimes in the case of drunkenness, they caused a disturbance of the public peace. It will be further noticed that they attempted to engraft upon the civil code their peculiar religious views in regard to the "Sabbath," and to compel *by law* the whole community to submit to the Judaizing opinions which they had themselves imbibed from their religious teachers.

As Mr. Campbell frequently visited his mother and the family, now living near Middletown, he soon became well acquainted with the facts and principles developed during the operation of these "Moral Societies," but, though indignant at such invasions of personal and public freedom, he, for some time, forbore to notice them, as he lived in an adjoining State, where such things had no existence. As matters grew worse, however, and no one in Washington county seemed willing or able to undertake the matter, he determined at length to interfere, and on the 27th of April, 1820, he published an article, under the signature of Candidus, in which he criticised an address previously issued by the "Moral Society of Middletown." In this piece he first satirized, in his peculiar way, the moral state of Middletown, which was thought to demand such remedies, and then exposed the conduct of some leading members of the Moral Society, who were themselves guilty of *raffling*, taking part in "*shooting matches*" for gain, etc. He then attacks the principle on which

the societies acted, viz.: that *fining men for their vices would make them moral.*

"When they pay dear for their sins," says he, "they will, from principles of *avarice*, become morally correct! * * * * And what becomes of the fines? Oh! they are given to some pious clergyman to be applied to the education of young men for the ministry. Go on, therefore, in your misdeeds, ye profane, for the more you sin the more preachers we shall have." * * * *

As may be readily supposed, this article created quite a sensation. The Society at Middletown immediately appointed a committee to make a reply to it, which was published in the *Reporter*, and which, instead of defending the principles of the Society, raised against Candidus the cry of "a friend to immorality," etc., and attempted to browbeat and intimidate him. To this effusion, however, the latter very promptly replied, disavowing the improper motives attributed to him, and fully admitting and asserting the claims of morality. He boldly claims the right, however, to "animadvert on those who, unsolicited, mount the judgment-seat and presume to deal rash judgment round the land on every one they suppose able to pay for his transgressions." He then goes on to show that such moral societies are "anti-evangelical, anti-constitutional and anti-rational," and says he has as good a right to sit in judgment on them as they have on their fellow-citizens. His first position, that they are anti-evangelical, he then goes on to prove by showing that the Bible gives no authority whatever for them. In another article, on the 5th of June, he continues the argument, showing that moral societies are anti-evangelical, because "Christians are not at liberty to interfere with men of the world in any-

thing pertaining to God and conscience." He takes the ground, also, that if all members of society anywhere are Christians, they must go by the discipline given in the New Testament.

These assaults brought out a host of writers on behalf of the societies, and the paper was for some time crowded with articles, mostly of very poor quality, and filled with invectives against "Candidus." By way of variety, an essay then appears in defence of "Candidus," signed "V. A. Flint," corroborating the statements of "Candidus" in regard to the practical operations of the societies. In doing this, he details the case of a poor old Revolutionary soldier, who, at an election in Taylorstown, indulged too freely in liquor, and was consequently fined by the Society-members. The old man, being exasperated at having to pay the fine, began to swear, and continued thus to vent his passion for a considerable time, during which the *custodes morum* in attendance coolly kept an exact account of the aggregate number of oaths. As there was a fine for every oath, the aggregate amount finally became so great that, in order to pay it, the old man had to part with the entire store of corn on which his family depended for subsistence during the winter. On the 12th of June, there appears a weak piece against Candidus, and in the same paper another article by V. A. Flint in his defence. On the 19th, Candidus continues his exposition of principles. He shows that "the only system of pure morality is that of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, and that it must point out the only sure and efficient means of promoting it." Reaching down to the great basis on which all morality rests, the will of the Divine Law-giver, he shows that a violation of this will in any one point is the violation

of the whole law, as it is a rejection of the authority on which the whole rests. He quotes the declaration of James: "He that said Thou shalt not commit adultery, said also, Thou shalt not steal;" and, "if a man keep the whole law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." He then remarks that the law enforced by the societies "values the profanation of the 'Sabbath' at four dollars; profanation of the Divine name at less than one dollar; drunkenness at so much, etc.," and asks why, in view of the true principles of morality, is each sin valued at a different price, and why any of them are valued at a fixed price, etc. At this juncture, a letter appears from Mr. Finley, attributing the authorship of Candidus to Mr. Campbell, and endeavoring to cast aspersions upon his character. In the next paper, is a letter from Mr. Campbell, over his own signature, addressed to Mr. Finley, demanding the proof of his assertions, to which Mr. F. made no reply.

It was just at this time that Mr. Campbell became engaged in an oral debate on baptism with Mr. John Walker, a minister of the Secession, and which was held at Mount Pleasant on the 19th and 20th of June. This debate, and the subsequent preparation of it for the press by Mr. Campbell, interrupted for a time, on his part, the discussion in regard to the Moral Societies. Returning to the charge, however, in the latter part of July, he resumes the train of argument he had introduced, which, in order to avoid breaking the connection, will be here pursued to the close. In his article on the 31st August, Candidus argues the unconstitutionality of the proceedings of the Moral Societies, because the Constitution gave the right to all to worship God according to their consciences, expressly declaring that "no one can be compelled to erect, attend, or

support any place of worship or to maintain any ministry against his consent," and that the observance of the Sabbath, or of any other day, is purely a right of conscience. In subsequent essays, he takes the ground that "officers of the church have no right to interfere with the execution of the law, or to supercede civil officers, legally appointed, as, in presuming to do so, they assume that the civil officers are insufficient. It is, however, made the duty of the magistrates to be vigilant in enforcing the law, as they are appointed for the very purpose of maintaining the good order of society, being ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers and the praise of those who do well." Continuing his essays during the winter, Candidus criticises Judge Rush's charge upon the institution of the "Sabbath," in Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, and shows that there is no law in the New Testament prescribing the first day of the week as the "Sabbath."

Hitherto the writers against Candidus had displayed so little ability that they had not offered even a plausible refutation of one of his arguments, and the cause of the Moral Societies seemed to be in quite a hopeless state. But on the 12th February, there appeared against "Candidus" a new writer of a different stamp, who signed himself "Timothy," and whose articles were written in much superior style. They were clear and argumentative, entering into the merits of the question and discussing the matters involved, with a manliness and vigor, which formed quite a contrast with the feebleness which had heretofore characterized the writers upon that side. In these essays, Timothy referred to Candidus as "Mr. C.," and continued them for several weeks without any reply from the latter. The impression hence became general that, feeling himself unable

to meet the reasoning of "Timothy," "Candidus" had abandoned the discussion; and it was then whispered round that "Timothy" was none other than Rev. Andrew Wylie, D. D., who had some time before become President of Washington College.*

At length, upon the 16th April, Candidus reappears, reviewing the progress of the discussion up to that time. To this Timothy replies, admitting that the previous opponents of Candidus had injured their cause. In the same paper, another article appears from Candidus, who appears to be conscious that he has now an opponent worthy of regard, and therefore takes hold of Timothy's arguments with more than usual power. In subsequent numbers he ably exposes the plausible sophisms of "Timothy," and sustains the positions he had himself taken, while the replies of Timothy become feeble and are at last discontinued. Candidus, accordingly, on the 6th August, 1821, sums up the controversy, and, supposing that Timothy had retired, challenges him to debate the whole question from the beginning, either orally or in the *Reporter*. To this, on the 20th, Timothy replies, saying he had not retired, but would continue to write as long as Mr. C. advanced anything worthy of notice, and endeavors then to show that Mr. C.'s reasoning was fallacious. This he followed up in two long articles, which were devoted to invective rather than argument, and treated side-issues

* Dr. Wylie had previously occupied the position of President of Jefferson College at Canonsburg, to which he was appointed in 1812; but after some years resigned and was succeeded by the Rev. W. McMillan. The resignation of Mr. Brown at Washington was occasioned by the action of the trustees rendering Mr. Brown's duties as President incompatible with those due to his congregation, he preferring to adhere to his congregation. The election of Mr. Wylie to succeed him gave rise to a very bitter controversy between the friends of the two institutions.

rather than the main question. Resuming the subject on the 17th of September, Candidus addresses the public through the *Reporter*, apologizing for the discursive style of the previous discussion, during which he had been induced to follow his opponents into matters irrelevant. He charges Timothy with having pursued an improper course in his articles, and with having written a scurrilous poem which had appeared in the *Reporter*. He further says that he has made an arrangement with his friend Mr. Sample to have the controversy conducted thenceforth in a proper style, and that he will now furnish a column regularly, as a new series of articles. The first of these accompanies this address, and states the argument (which, at this time was confined to the "Sabbath" question) as follows:

"The whole of the precepts or commands of the Christian religion are contained in the New Testament.

"But there is no precept or command in the New Testament to compel by civil law, any man who is not a Christian to pay any regard to the Lord's day, any more than to any other day.

"Therefore to compel a man who is not a Christian to pay any regard to the Lord's day, more than to any other day, is without authority in the Christian religion."

The statement of his second argument is as follows:

"The gospel commands no duty which can be performed without faith in the Son of God. 'Whatever is not of faith is sin.'

"But to compel men destitute of faith to observe any Christian institution, such as the Lord's day, is commanding duty to be performed without faith in God.

"Therefore, to command unbelievers or natural men to observe, in any sense, the Lord's day, is anti-evangelical or contrary to the gospel."

In subsequent papers, Candidus now proceeds regularly, in a clear and cogent manner, to refute Timothy's arguments and sustain his own, paying no attention to scurrilous pieces which occasionally appeared against him. On the 29th of October, Timothy announces that he will not reply *regularly*, but will review the whole when Candidus is done. In November, Candidus continues the subject in able articles, and in January, 1822, Timothy reviews his pieces at some length and with considerable ingenuity. Candidus appears again in an able refutation on the 28th of January, and finally on the 25th of February, as no further articles appeared from Timothy, who had evidently exhausted his resources, and whose arguments had been clearly overthrown, Candidus closes the discussion with an apology for any inadvertent expressions, and with kind expressions in reference to his ingenious opponent, thus remaining the acknowledged victor in the controversy which had now continued during nearly two years.

The effect of these essays upon the public mind was great. Men, whose minds had been previously bewildered and confused upon the subject, now perceived clearly the nature of the questions at issue, and though the "Moral Societies" continued their operations with even more than usual zeal, there were many who only waited for a favorable opportunity in order to put their authority to the test. This was not long wanting. A man named Isaac Jones, a citizen of Wellsburg, had been attending to some business at the court in Washington, which detained him until it was too late on Saturday evening to reach home that day. As his wife was in delicate health, he thought it necessary to set out early next morning. But on approaching West Middletown he was met, near Davis' tavern, by five

men, who demanded to know where he was going. He told them he was going home to Wellsburg, and asked in turn where they were going. They replied that they were going to meeting, and as he was violating the law against "Sabbath-breaking" by traveling on that day, he must go back with them to Washington. This Mr. Jones found himself compelled to do, though, as may be well supposed, not in a very devotional frame of mind. Upon coming up to the steps of the hotel at Washington, they found standing there several of the lawyers who had been in attendance upon the court, as James Ross of Pittsburg, Philip Doddridge of Wellsburg, and with them, Judge Baird of Washington, who was a warm friend of Mr. Jones. Mr. Ross, surprised to see him back, inquired the reason, and when informed of his arrest, became very indignant, and told the men that they should pay dearly for their conduct. As James Ross was a lawyer of great eminence, they became alarmed and were about to go away, when they were informed that they must not depart until their names and residences were duly taken down. Suit was at once brought against them for unlawful arrest, and the matter being adjourned from time to time in the court at Washington, was at length transferred to Pittsburg, where it was finally decided against the persons making the arrest, who were adjudged to pay considerable damages. These Mr. Jones refused to accept; but so great had been the costs and expenses of the suit that the convicted persons became quite impoverished in their circumstances, and the questions at issue being now legally determined, the operations of the "Moral Societies" totally ceased from that time, so that these organizations were heard of no more.

That Mr. Campbell's exposure of the spirit and pur-

poses of these societies, and of the unscriptural and anti-republican character of their principles, had largely contributed to this result there could be no question. The same desire of being serviceable to society, which led him, in the essays of *Clarinda*, to attempt the correction of the social evils he found existing upon his first arrival at Washington, or, in those of Bonus Homo, to subserve the interests of collegiate education, had now induced him to attempt the rescue of the community from the civil tyranny which bigoted religionists had been seeking to establish in the name of morality. Such was his nature, that he was ever ready to enter the lists in defence of truth and right, and sought ever to instruct, liberate and elevate society in spite of all the obloquy, calumny and reproach constantly heaped upon him. In the uncalculating and unselfish spirit of a true reformer, he sought for truth alone, and in its defence he feared no opposition. Though, in common with noble minds, he was not insensible to fame, as an advocate of right he was indifferent to censure. Though lenient to the mistakes and frailties of men, his feelings revolted against deliberate schemes to acquire arbitrary power; and though ever ready to grant the largest liberty of opinion in matters of indifference or mere expediency, in those of morality and religion he would admit no standard but the Bible. With him, personal considerations were of little moment compared with the great issues affecting the welfare of mankind, and having no partisan religious interests to subserve, he was free from that narrow-minded bigotry which claims for its opinions a sort of infallibility, and will never consent to change. Hence he was never ashamed to acknowledge errors, but, in his progress toward clearer views, openly acknowledged them in renouncing the prejudices

of his religious education, and publicly professing a truer faith. Hence, too, it was that every honorable opponent he met in his numerous discussions soon learned to regard him with respect, and, notwithstanding the severity of his logic and the keenness of his sarcasm, to entertain for him, after the contest was over, the most friendly personal feelings.

Of this, President Wylie affords a marked example, for, after the discussion about the "Moral Societies," he became a warm friend of Mr. Campbell; and when, some years after, he removed to the West, where Mr. Campbell had by this time acquired great influence, he received from the latter introductory and commendatory letters which contributed to place him at once in the position for which he was fitted by his learning and abilities. He soon became President of the State University of Indiana, and during the remainder of his life kept up a familiar and friendly correspondence with Mr. Campbell, who always retained a high regard for him, and often spoke in terms of high praise of his scholarship and talents. And it is worthy of remark, also, that such impressions had been made upon the mind of Mr. Wylie that, after the discussion with Mr. Campbell, he ceased to advocate the claims of any religious sect, and gradually made such advances that, after his removal to the West, he began to oppose partyism altogether, and reached pretty nearly the stand-point of the Christian Association, becoming a strong advocate of Christian union, and even leaving the Presbyterians and attending the worship of the Episcopal Church as more liberal in its spirit.

With regard to the questions involved in the debate about the "Moral Societies," it seemed not a little strange, as was shown by Candidus, that a people pro-

fessing Christianity should betray such ignorance of its principles as to think of making men moral by legal enactments. Unlike Judaism, which demanded only an external conformity, Christianity addresses itself to the *heart*, the fountain of human motives and actions, and seeks to make "the tree good" in order that "its fruit may be good," since "an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." But the miscalled "Moral Societies" sought not to cherish or strengthen any moral principle, but rather to repress the indulgence of *one* evil passion by bringing into exercise *another*, that was perhaps worse; as when they wished to correct intemperance or profanity by an appeal to the love of money. True morality must proceed from *principle*, not from law; and it is here the power of conscience that is to be invoked, instead of that of the magistrate.

It became evident, however, during the progress of affairs, that it was the leading object of these societies to establish by law their views of the "Sabbath," and it was this point which occupied, therefore, the larger share of the discussion. This effort to replace republican liberty by religious thraldom, would appear not less strange than to attempt to inspire men with moral principles by means of fines, were it not a familiar fact in history that representative religious bodies, as formerly remarked, have an inherent tendency to exercise arbitrary power and to trample under foot the dearest privileges of mankind. In the case under consideration, the so-called "Moral Societies" of Washington county could by no means plead ignorance of the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania as an apology for their proceedings; for, in the United States, nothing could be more clearly drawn than the line separating Church and State, and it was but a short time before

the establishment of these "Societies" that a case had come up in the Washington court, which brought this particular subject prominently before the minds of the people.

It happened that a suit for slander had been brought against an individual who was charged with having circulated, to the injury of a political candidate, that the latter, in contempt for religion, had "administered the sacrament to a dog." This brought up the question whether or not such words were actionable, and Lawyer Mountain, in his speech upon the occasion, which was published in the Washington *Reporter*, after referring to opinions given by Lord Chief Justice De Grey in a similar case in England (Onslow against Horn, 3 Wilson, 178), went on to lay down the law of Pennsylvania in regard to this class of alleged offences:

"Could a man," he said, "be indicted under the Constitution and laws of Pennsylvania for this shameful abuse of this most sacred ordinance? The counsel for the plaintiff allege that Christianity is part of the common law, and in this they are supported by a maxim of law and by opinions of the judges of England. But what has the common law of England, in this respect, to do with the common law of Pennsylvania? Does the Christian religion derive any support from our Constitution or our laws? No. It is left to its own native and intrinsic excellence, uncontaminated by the constitutions and laws of man, with whose constitution error seems to have been interwoven by an immutable law. Religion requires not the aid of legislatures and judges. Like our globe, *librata ponderibus suis*, poised by its own weight, it rises above the ruins of empires, and, like the lightning of heaven, pursues the direction of its eternal Founder. Religion loves its own chaste simplicity. Bind it to the State, and you bind the living to the dead; it becomes an engine in the hands of fools and of knaves, and leads to the temporal degradation

of every man of candor and of honesty. History shows this important truth. Many of us have seen the effects of this unnatural union in Europe, and we have all seen the happy effects of their separation in Pennsylvania—may that separation be perpetual!

"Could a man be indicted in Pennsylvania who would declare himself in favor of a plurality of gods, and who would worship them in his own way? Could a man be indicted in this State who would deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, and publish a book in opposition to the same? Thomas Paine was indicted in England for his Age of Reason; could he have been indicted in Pennsylvania? A statute passed in the first year of the reign of Edward VI., repealed in the first year of the reign of Mary, and revived in the first of the reign of Elizabeth, enacts that whosoever shall deprave, despise or contemn the most blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in contempt thereof, by any contemptuous word or words of depraving, despising or reviling; or shall advisedly in any other wise contemn, despise or revile the same, contrary to the effects and declarations aforesaid, shall suffer imprisonment and make fine and ransom at the king's pleasure. Is this statute in force in Pennsylvania? No. It and all similar statutes are swept away like cobwebs by the Constitution of the State. The man, then, who would commit this act, this impious act, could not be indicted, but would remain a monument of his own folly, of his own indiscretion and impiety, and of our unexampled separation of Church and State, of things human and divine."

Notwithstanding the failure of the Presbyterians to establish by law in Washington county their views of the "Sabbath," as above related, another and more general effort was made, a few years later, to get these notions of the proper observance of the "Sabbath" sanctioned and established. For this purpose, in the year 1829, Congress was suddenly overwhelmed with

numerous petitions, coming in from all parts of the country, and from various ecclesiastical bodies, praying that the public mails might all be stopped upon the Sabbath day; and every possible influence was brought to bear upon the National Legislature in order to obtain the passage of an act to this effect. The matter assumed so important a phase that it was referred to a committee, and its chairman, Richard M. Johnson, after some time made a report which was regarded at the time as a very remarkable document, and excited so much interest, and received so much applause, that it was published throughout the country, and largely distributed also in the form of handbills, which were framed and hung up in dwellings, like a new Declaration of Independence.

As it was perfectly well known that Richard M. Johnson possessed neither the education nor the ability to write such a document, a great desire was manifested by the people to discover its real author; and public sentiment was not long in deciding that it could be no one else than Alexander Campbell. Those best acquainted with him recognized it at once by its style, as well as by the character of the arguments urged against granting the petition. It was known that Mr. Campbell was on terms of friendly acquaintance with the chairman of the committee, and in intimate religious fellowship with his brother, John T. Johnson; so that nothing appeared more natural than that Mr. Campbell should have been privately requested to prepare such a document upon a subject to which it was well known he had already devoted great attention. If this was the case, it was, of course, a matter entirely confidential; and Mr. Campbell was too honorable ever to acknowledge himself the author. It

is proper to say, however, also, that when the authorship was charged upon him, as it often was, by his intimate friends, he was not known in any case positively to deny it, but always evaded giving a direct reply. These being the facts in the case, the document in question, will be placed in the Appendix, in order that the reader may judge for himself, especially as it is itself worthy of preservation, and is closely related to the subject of the present chapter. (See Appendix B.)

It is not to be supposed that the failure of the efforts above spoken of, to impose religious observances upon the people *by law*, have at all changed the principles or purposes of any religious party concerned in such movements; and it is doubtless an important safeguard to freedom that no one denomination possesses sufficient strength and unity to control the councils of the nation. No party of religionists, who have already yielded up the citadel of the soul to spiritual tyranny, are fit to legislate for a free people. Hence, there was nothing that Mr. Campbell feared more, as to its probable effect upon public liberty, than the preponderance of a religious sect, and especially that of the Roman Catholic Church. He therefore constantly sought to weaken the power of existing hierarchies, to expose the schemes of priestly ambition, and to support all just claims of freedom both in Church and State.

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APPENDIX.

[APPENDIX A. SEE PAGE 481].

CIRCULAR LETTER.

The Redstone Baptist Association, held at Cross Creek, Brooke county (Virginia), August 30, 31, and September 1, 1816, to the Churches they represent, with grace, mercy and peace:

BRETHREN: The revelation of himself, with which God has been graciously pleased to favor any portion of his rational creatures, must necessarily constitute the leading and all-important subject of their attention, a true knowledge of God being the only foundation of all true religion and morality, and, of course, of all rational perfection and blessedness. Now, the means by which this fundamental and all-important knowledge is communicated are his works and word. "The heavens declare the glory of the Lord;" the earth also with its various productions and inhabitants: but especially that inestimable treasury, his word, in which not only the most glorious and important of all his works is recorded, but that which of all others is the most interesting to us; in this respect, "he has magnified his word above all his name," or above every other revelation which he has made of himself to us. It not only furnishes us with an instructive comment upon the visible creation, in calling our attention to the various and manifold glories of God therein displayed; but also acquaints us with the superior and invisible glories of the sublimer parts of the creation, of which otherwise we should have had no information at all. Moreover, it acquaints us with his moral character as the great King, Lawgiver and Judge of his rational creatures, by exhibiting the statutes of his kingdom, the principles of his government, and of his judicial proceedings both toward angels and men: and which, in the whole compass of what it presents to our thoughts, upon those very interesting and important subjects, suggests nothing but what is perfectly consistent with the impressions which the august and glorious works of the visible creation are calculated to produce; and leads us still farther into the

deep things of the unsearchable God, by declaring unto us his great name, Jehovah Alehim, which no work, attribute or perfection, known or knowable to us, by any other external means could have possibly revealed. This revelation, therefore, of the unsearchable nature of God, is peculiar to that express declaration, which God has been graciously pleased to make of himself to us in the Holy Scriptures, when the occasion required: that is, when it became necessary to our relief, and to the display of the divine glory in our salvation, so to do. For when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son into the world, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem the guilty from the curse of the law. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son for the life of the world. But what is his name; or what is his Son's name, if thou canst tell?—Who by searching can find out God? Who can find out the Almighty unto perfection, is a divine challenge addressed to the vain pride, the presumptuous inquisitiveness of self-ignorant, self-conceited, haughty, aspiring man. Vain man would be wise, "above what is written:" but the sublime and absolute declaration which God makes of himself to his most distinguished servant Moses, when authorizing him to become the deliverer of his chosen people, saying, "I am that I am," prostrates for ever all presumptuous inquiry, removes to an infinite distance all created comprehension, as utterly incompetent to the subject, and intensely prohibits the vain presumption of comprehending the Almighty. What his word and works declare of his being and perfections, it is our province and our privilege to know and acknowledge, to his glory and our own edification and comfort.

By his word, then, we learn that the divine name comprehends in it a plurality. "Alehim said, let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Again, "Jehovah Alehim said, behold the man is become like one of us." Yet he speaks of himself as one: "In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." Also, where he assumes a plural name, he at the same time uses a singular verb and pronoun; suggesting in the very same phrase the idea of plurality in unity: "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah Alehim is one Jehovah." And, indeed, were not this the very thing intended in the forms of speech alluded to, which are very numerous, they would be quite unmeaning; and the forecited declaration, Deut. vi. 4, would be absolutely unintelligible. But the clear, blissful and satisfactory revelation of this great mystery is reserved for the New Testament dispensation: For "no man hath seen God at any time (so as to have an immediate or intuitive knowledge of him): the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom (or into the secrets) of the Father, he hath revealed him;" so that "No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." It is only in those last

days that God hath spoken unto us by his Son, in a clear, distinct and certain manifestation of him to the world; "declared to be the Son of God, with power according to the Spirit of holiness, by his resurrection from the dead;" who is the image of the invisible God, the Father, the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person, or character of his subsistence; by whom also he made the worlds, or all the various orders of rational intelligences that anywhere exist; "for without him was not anything made that was made; all things were created by him and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist, or stand forth together; who upholdeth all things by the word of his power." Now, most surely, he that made, erected, or built and upholdeth all things, is God—is a distinct intelligent agent or subsistence in Jehovah Alehim, which is one Jehovah.

But moreover, from the same authentic source of divine information, we also learn that there exists another distinct intelligent agent or subsistence in the One Jehovah, who is distinguished to us by the name *Spirit of God;* Spirit of Jehovah, or the Spirit Jehovah; the Holy Spirit, or Spirit of Holiness; the Eternal Spirit; which was also in the beginning, or when time and things began to exist; who was also an agent in the creation; who with a preparatory energetic influence, as the author of life and motion, acted upon the original chaos; brooded or hovered upon the face of the waters; who also garnished the heavens; who formed the human nature of Christ in the womb of the Virgin; who perfectly comprehends all the deep things of God. The author of all holy inspiration, who spake by the prophets, and who in the Old Testament is called Jehovah, a name peculiar to the Alehim, whose name alone is Jehovah; and who is therefore properly called God, as comprehended in the Alehim, to whose immediate agency is peculiarly ascribed all miraculous powers and effects, even to the resurrection of the dead; as also all spiritual and intellectual endowments; hence he is called the Spirit of Wisdom and Revelation, of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord, the Spirit of counsel and of might, of power, and of love, and of a sound mind. The one Spirit who distributeth to every one severally as he will. In fine, all divine works, whether of creation, sustentation, gubernation, resurrection or judgment, are ascribed to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; neither is there any other divine agent revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, as comprehended in the One Jehovah; or to whom any part of the works or worship peculiar to God is ascribed, but only to the sacred three above mentioned; even our Alehim, whose name alone is Jehovah; and into whose name alone we are baptized. Therefore we believe, and are sure, that these three are the one only living and true God.

To us, then, who hold the Christian faith, there is but one God; the Father, of whom are all things and we to him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things and we by him; and one Spirit who worketh all things, who inspires, animates and replenishes the whole body of Christ; dividing to every man severally as he will. And these three are one; even the one Jehovah Alehim, who claims all religious worship and obedience as his proper due, to the exclusion of all other claimants or pretenders whatsoever; who will not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images—the infinitely holy, just and jealous God.

It appears to be a query with some who profess to hold this doctrine, whether it be correct to use the term *person* when speaking of the above distinct characters in the divine essence. As to this, let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. In the mean time, all that we pretend to say in favor of this application of the term is, that although the term person (which, in relation to men, signifies a distinct intelligent agency or rational being, coexisting with others in the same common nature), is not manifestly applied in the Holy Scriptures to any of the Sacred Three: nor indeed can be so applied in strict propriety, according to its literal and obvious acceptation; for when applied to God, instead of meaning a distinct intelligent being coexisting with others in the same common nature, we must mean by it, if we think and speak correctly, one and the self-same individual being so existing as to constitute in and to itself so many distinct or different, real and relative characters, or subsistences, each of which is but another name for the self-same individual essence or being considered as existing in the specified relation of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Yet seeing the Scriptures manifestly declare that the one Jehovah exists in three distinct intelligent agents, each of which is the one Jehovah so existing, for there is but one such being; and seeing that the personal pronouns, *I*, *thou*, *he*, *we*, *us*, are assumed and used in the Holy Scriptures, by, or in relation to, each or all of the divine characters; therefore, keeping in view the essential and indivisible unity of the divine nature, we think that we speak intelligibly and consistently with sacred truth, when we thus use the term person; and we presume, when taken in this sense, it will apply to the divine characters with as strict propriety as almost any other term in human language that is applied to God; for it must be granted, that in but few instances, if any, human language will strictly and properly apply to the divine nature; therefore, when so applied, it must, for the most part, be used in a figurative and analogous sense.

Again, it is a query with others, who profess to hold this doctrine, whether the relative terms Father, Son and Spirit, be real or economical. To this we would reply, that if we allow the Holy Scriptures to

speak at all intelligibly upon this most profound and sacred subject, we must understand the above appellation as declarative of real internal essential relations, independent of any external work or economy whatever. For if the terms Father, Son and Spirit, be not declarative of real or essential relations, that is, of relations that have their foundation in the divine nature, and essentially or necessarily belong to it as such, the Scriptures do not reveal to us three distinct characters so related; but three distinct independent divinities or Gods, necessarily self-existent, and absolutely independent of each other; each and every one of them possessing the self-same properties, and of course, each of them so exactly the same in all respects, as to be absolutely undistinguishable one from another, by any means, property or attribute whatsoever; and, of course, three eternal self-existent independent coexistent Gods; each of them infinitely complete or perfect in and of himself, as possessing every possible perfection of being. A supposition this, not less repugnant to our reason than to the most express and unequivocal declarations of Holy Scripture; for the divine characters are constantly represented as coexisting in the most intimate and inseparable unity of essential relationship one with another, and as having the most entire, inexclusive and all-comprehensive interest in each other, as their correlative names most evidently and incontestably declare. Accordingly the Father saith, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." The Son saith, "I am in the Father and the Father in me;" "I and my Father are one;" "My Father worketh hitherto and I work;" "Whatsoever things the Father doth, the same also doth the Son likewise;" "All that the Father hath are mine." And of the Spirit he saith, "Who proceedeth from the Father;" "Whom I will send unto you;" "He shall take of the things that are mine, and shall show them unto you;" "He shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will show you things to come;" "For the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God. For as no man knoweth the things of a man, save the Spirit of a man which is in him, even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;" "He hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit;" "They that are after the Spirit do mind the things of the Spirit." Again, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all."

From these, and a multiplicity of declarations that might be educed from the Holy Scriptures, it evidently appears, that so far from being separate independent beings, the sacred three are intimately united amongst themselves in an order and manner of subsistence and

operation of which we can form no distinct, much less adequate idea; but so it is revealed to us by him, whose sole prerogative it is to know and reveal himself.

Moreover, if the above doctrine were not really true, there could be no such thing as the economy of salvation, wherein one divine character is sent by and from another to redeem, and another divine character sent by and from both, to apply that redemption; for where there is no mutual essential relation, there can be no relative subordination; such as naturally and necessarily subsists between Father and Son, and of course no mission of the one from and by the other, as is manifestly the case in the economy of salvation; "For the Father sent his Son to be the Saviour of the world. He so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son for the life of the world."

Again, if the person sent, however highly exalted in relative dignity, were not more than a creature, there would still remain an infinite distance between him and the Deity, so that he could neither bring himself, nor any one else, nearer to God than his or their nature and circumstances had already placed them; for he could properly or in strict justice merit nothing at the hand of his Creator, Preserver and Proprietor, either for himself or others; everything that he could possibly do in obedience to the divine will, being in strict justice due by him, on his own account, to the sovereign Lord of all, in whom it is an act of condescension to accept or acknowledge the service or worship of men or angels. Therefore, upon principles of reason and justice, as well as according to the most obvious declarations of Holy Scripture, the Redeemer of a lost world can be no other than the Creator and Proprietor of it; of whom it can be truly said, that all things were created by him and for him; that he is before all things, and that by him all things consist. "God is known by his works." "Among the gods there is none like unto thee, O Lord; neither are there any works like unto thy works," Ps. lxxxvi. 8. "He that built all things is God." The work of redemption, therefore, manifests the Author to be a divine character, as being manifestly a divine work. But if this same divine character did not really stand related to another divine character, who had not only an equal property with him in all things, but at the same time such an interest in him as that he also should be, in a certain sense, his property, though not his creature. he could neither be sent by him as the greatest possible instance of his love to a guilty world; nor yet would there be another, who by virtue of absolute independent dignity and supremacy possessed such an entire, original, independent right and property in all things, as to be justly qualified and entitled to support the dignity of the supreme claimant; to whom every act of obedience or worship might justly and properly revert, to the glory of the divine nature, and to

the entire satisfaction of all concerned, that is to say, of the Son and Spirit, and of the whole rational creation. So that while the Son actually submitted to a state infinitely beneath his essential dignity, that he might become like one of us, both as to our state and nature (the pollution of sin only excepted), and of course, resigned for a time, and in consequence of this relation, things equal to his essential dignity; there was another into whose hands and to whose glory he could make the surrender; who, as was said above, by virtue of his supreme dignity and dominion, as also of paternal superiority, was duly qualified with every essential qualification to claim and support all the honors of Deity, and ultimately to do justice to all concerned; namely, to himself and to his Son, to his redeemed, and to the obsequious angels, who worshiped their Lord Creator in the manger, in the wilderness, in the garden, and in the tomb. Thus we see that God is not only known by his works; but also in this last great work of redemption, the deep things of God are so clearly manifested, that every rational, intelligent mind that receives the discovery of it is necessarily gratified and delighted with the rationality and beautiful consistency of this work, with the revelation which God has been graciously pleased to make of himself in relation to it.

Upon the whole, by means of this revelation, we clearly and evidently perceive, 1st. That there are three distinct intelligent agents, subsistencies, or personal characters, in one Jehovah our Alehim—the Father, the Word or Son, and the Holy Spirit, mutually, reciprocally, essentially and inseparably related; so that the one naturally and necessarily infers and supposes the other, as Father and Son; and as the Spirit of the Father and the Son, or as the Spirit of Alehim, which latter word being the plural in the Hebrew (a language that has a dual number) must necessarily imply three at least; and we know certainly by subsequent revelation, that it implies no more; wherefore the Spirit Alehim or of Alehim, must necessarily be the Spirit of the Father and the Son. The same thing also is necessarily implied when he is called the Spirit of Jehovah.

2. That in the exercise of one and the same divine energy or efficient will, they are inseparable operators in every work; for the Father created all things by his Son, but not without the influence and operation of the Spirit; for God said, that is Alehim said, "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness;" "the Spirit of Jehovah hath made me," said Job, "and the breath or spiration of the Almighty hath given me life"—"by his Spirit he garnished the heavens." Again, "The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works." "My Father worketh hitherto and I work." "If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils," etc. Thus the Father worketh in and by the Son, and the Son by the Spirit; so that there is one operation

of Father, Son and Spirit, in every work; not indeed a co-operation as of conjoint and coequal workers; but rather a succession, or process of successive and subordinate operation, not in respect of time but of order; for the Son can do nothing of himself but from the Father; also the Spirit can do nothing of himself but from the Son; for whatsoever things the Spirit doth, the Father and the Son do by him. Wherefore the Spirit works from the Father by the Son; for every purpose, act or volition is, primarily and originally, in the Father; derivatively and by essential participation, the same in the Son; next and mediately by or through the Son, the same in the Spirit, and at the very same instant, being one and the self-same act or volition in each of the divine characters; but, as to the external effect, brought forth or accomplished by the immediate efficiency of the Spirit; who is therefore called the Power of the Highest, and the Finger of God. "If I with the Finger of God cast out devils," etc.

3. That the divine characters, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit coexist under such relations as not only necessarily suppose and declare their essential unity, but also, with equal evidence and perspicuity, demonstrate a relative subordination according to the manner and order of their subsistence and operation. For the Son saith, "My Father is greater than I"—greater than all. "Neither is he that is sent greater than he that sent him." Which necessarily implies that in some respect he is inferior to him. And of the Father only it is said, that he is "the only true God," as possessing absolutely and independently, in and of himself, all the perfections of Deity, of which also the Son and Spirit necessarily partake in and with him, because they are his Son and Spirit, and therefore necessarily partake with him in the self-same individual nature or essence; though inferior to him in the manner and order of their subsistence and operation; as deriving their subsistence from him, and subordinate in their operations to him; for the Son can do nothing of himself; neither doth the Spirit speak of himself, as the prime original and originating principle of the counsels and work which he reveals and exhibits. But the Father, by his only-begotten Son, the brightness of his glory and the character of his subsistence, or express image of his person, made the worlds; and by his Spirit he garnished the heavens, or replenished the visible creation with glory and beauty; also by his Spirit, the Son reveals to us from the Father the purposes and counsels of his unsearchable wisdom and will, even the deep things of God. "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants the things that must shortly come to pass: and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John," and immediately, saith he, "I was in the Spirit." Thus we conceive, the Father to be the first and leading distinction, subsist-

ence or character in the divine nature, the very origin of all will, purpose and operation, which are in and by the Son determined to an actual execution; and in due order and succession, according to the divine purpose, actually accomplished by the Holy Spirit; so that the same will, power and purpose of the Father is in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, who divideth to every one severally as he will; or who communicates and dispenses to all created beings, whatever degree, excellency or perfection of being they possess. So that, while according to the manner and order of subsistence and operation, the Son is of the Father, and the Holy Ghost of both, by an essential physical influence peculiar to the divine nature, which we pretend not to comprehend, much less to explain, they remain simply and essentially one in nature, will and operation; so that there is but one simple, indivisible and undivided nature, will and operation of God throughout the vast immensity of his works. "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our Alehim is one Jehovah."

4. Furthermore, from the same source it is evident that each of the divine characters has a power and a glory peculiar to himself, by which they are distinguishable both amongst themselves and to the creatures. It is the glory of the Father to be the first or leading character in the divine nature, the very source and origin of the subordinate distinctions in that nature, and of every external work; it is the glory of the Son to be the second character or distinction in the divine nature, even the express character of the Father's subsistence, in whom every purpose and work comes to be determined to an actual execution, ready to be exhibited or brought forth into actual accomplishment: thus it is written, "According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord, that in the dispensation of the fullness of times he might gather together in one head all things in Christ." It is the glory of the Holy Spirit to be essentially conscious of all those designs, counsels and purposes, perfectly to comprehend them all, and to exhibit them in their proper times by an actual accomplishment. Again, it is the peculiar glory of the Father to have such a Son: it is the glory of the Son to be the very essential and only-begotten Son of such a Father; to be the brightness of his glory, the very or express image of his subsistence: it is the glory of the Holy Spirit to be the Spirit of Jehovah; the animating principle of creation. "The Spirit or Spiration of the Almighty hath given me life." "It is the Spirit that quickeneth;" yea, it is his peculiar glory to be the immediate efficient of all divine counsels and purposes, so as to give actual birth and being to all the mighty and wonderful works of God. Lastly, it is the glory of the Father to be the ultimate object of all rational worship and adoration; it is the glory of the Son to reveal the Father, and to be the instructive and glorious

medium of all rational worship and adoration addressed to the only true God; it is the glory of the Holy Spirit to prepare, capacitate and qualify rational subjects for these exalted blissful exercises, by filling them with the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, thus exciting and leading them to all holy adoration. So we see, that there is one glory of the Father, another glory of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost: also that to worship acceptably, we must worship the Father through the Son by the Spirit, to whose immediate agency we are directed to look for all holy dispositions and intellectual abilities, to know, to love and adore both the Father and the Son, according to their proper character; also, to love, reverence and adore himself as the immediate author of life and light in us. Wherefore we cheerfully and heartily, gratefully and gladly say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." To the one Jehovah our Alehim, our Creator, who in the beginning said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness;" and who also said, let us redeem and restore guilty, apostate, rebellious man, to the enjoyment of our justly lost and forfeited image, favor and fellowship; in consequence of which grace, when all things shall be restored to their original state of due subordination and dutiful subjection to their Almighty Author, the three-one God in Christ, who will thenceforth be the fixed centre and adequate medium of the exhibition and fruition of the divine glory, will be the ultimate object of the undivided praises of the whole rational creation of holy intelligences, world without end; "For the Lord God and the Lamb will be the temple and light thereof."

Thus, in the direct and refulgent light of that special revelation which God has been graciously pleased to make of himself to us, we clearly and evidently perceive, not only what God is in and to his creatures; but also what he is in and to himself, as the self-existent, self-sufficient, independent God, infinitely, eternally and unchangeably sufficient to himself; as being the centre, the foundation and fruition of all blessedness and glory in and of himself; perfectly known, comprehended and enjoyed by himself, in the mutual and reciprocal loves, delights and complacencies of a triune Jehovah. The Father delighting in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and the Holy Spirit equally delighting in, and delighted in, by both. "The Lord or Jehovah possessed me, "says the Logos (or Wisdom)" in the beginning of his ways, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. Then was I by him, as one brought up with him. I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him, rejoicing in the habitable parts of his earth, and my delights were with the sons of men." "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine ownself, with the glory that I had with thee

before the world was." "Known unto God are all his works from the foundation of the world."

By this light of the knowledge of the being, blessedness and glory of God, with which he has favored us, we are enabled to detect and avoid the many dangerous errors which are afloat in the world. In opposition to which, we state and infer as follows:

1st. That it is demonstrably evident from what the Holy Scriptures declare concerning Jehovah our Alehim, that those who maintain, that as there is but one divine being or essence, so there is but one divine agent or active intelligence existing in that essence, not only reject the testimony which God has given of himself; but that they do also at the same time reject the very foundation of the Christian religion which depends upon the truth of that testimony. And the same holding the foresaid opinion, seem willing to be thought Christians by accommodating their notion of the Supreme Being to the Christian phraseology, supposing the names Father, Son and Spirit only to mean so many distinct official attributes in relation to the different capacities in which God is pleased to act toward his creatures in the economy of salvation; yet nothing can be more inconsistent with the most express testimony of the Holy Scriptures; for it is most expressly declared that the Father sent the Son; that he came forth from the Father; that he returned to the Father, and that when he should depart, he would send, and actually did send his disciples another Comforter from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, to instruct and lead them into all truth; and to "convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment" by their ministry.

2d. That those who deny the essential sonship of the Word or Logos, as not being the essential and only-begotten Son of the Father; or the essential derivation of the Spirit from both, as to his subsistence and official character; though they profess to believe, and do acknowledge that there are three distinct intelligent agents, or subsistencies in the one Jehovah; yet they do, nevertheless, virtually and necessarily acknowledge three Gods.

3d. So likewise do all those, who, though they profess to believe the doctrine of the essential relations of the sacred three, declared in the Holy Scriptures, yet deny the relative and necessary subordination of the Son and Spirit, as therein revealed; declaring that, distinctly and separately considered, they are equal to the Father in underived and independent power and glory. Whereas, according to the expressions of a very ancient creed, it appears from the Holy Scriptures, "that the Father is of none, neither made nor created, nor begotten; the Son is of the Father alone, neither made nor created but begotten; the Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." So that,

distinctly considered, they are not equal in respect of underived subsistence, power and glory. Thus they are essentially one, even the one Jehovah, and essentially equal in that respect. Wherefore, it is evident that there is one glory of, or peculiar to the Father, another peculiar to the Son, and another to the Holy Ghost, as above declared. Indeed, were not this evidently the case, there would most certainly be, not three relative subsistencies in the one Jehovah characteristically distinct, but three Jehovahs; or three self-existent, independent and eternal Gods.

4th. That he that receiveth not this doctrine, as it is now revealed, hath not the true God. For whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; and consequently he that denieth the Holy Spirit, rejecteth both the Father and the Son; for he is essentially the Spirit of them both; the one Spirit that is and works by and from them both, in all external operations; Jehovah working by his Spirit in the hearts of his people, both to will and to do of his good pleasure, according to his promise, Ezek. xxxvi. 27. Now, as the sacred name Jehovah manifestly includes the Father, Son and Spirit, when Jehovah says, "I will put my Spirit within you;" it is manifestly declared, that the Father and the Son send the Spirit, and work by him in the hearts of this people intended in the promise.

As for the objections and difficulties that have been suggested in opposition to the above doctrine, or the attempts that have been made to obviate them by illustrations and explanations of what is not revealed concerning it, Christians have nothing to do with such things. "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed, belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this Law," Deut. xxix. 29. That we may "honor the Son even as we honor the Father." That we may believe, worship and obey a three-one God, into whose blessed and glorious Name we have been baptized. Wherefore, we conceive that we have nothing to do with the definitions and disputes which have originated about the eternal generation of the Son, and procession of the Holy Ghost; nor yet with that semi-Arian doctrine about the pre-existence of the human soul of the Redeemer, before the creation of the world; nor with any such vain speculations. We believe that, whatever God is, the same he always was and ever will be during all duration, world without end, as his peculiar and incommunicable name, Jehovah, manifestly declares. To all those, then, that object to the above doctrine, as unintelligible, irrational, and the like, our only reply is, has God so revealed himself to us in the Holy Scriptures? If so, let God be true; but, in our estimation, every man that opposes his word, a liar. In the mean time, as a solid reply to all such cavils, we assert with the evidence of demonstration, that the

divine essence is as incomprehensible as the manner of the divine existence, or that the natural and essential attributes of Jehovah are as much above, or, if you will admit the expression, as contrary to our reason, as anything contained in the above doctrine. Is it asked, how can one and the self-same indivisible and undivided essence exist in three distinct personal characters? We might as justly ask in reply, how can the divine essence exist at all? or how can there be any such thing as an eternal self-existent being? Again, is it asked how the Divine Being can exist in and to itself, under a threefold relation; or, how one and the self-same being can exist in three distinct intelligent subsistencies or personal characters, each of them still continuing to be the self-same individual Being, actually three, yet severally one? We might, with equal propriety, ask, how something can be produced from nothing? how dead matter can be animated? or how the Almighty could produce, out of mere nonentity, empty nothing, a universe of animate, sensitive and rational beings of the multitude and magnitude of which we can form no conception at all? Is it farther queried, how could the Father bring forth or exhibit his Son in human nature, or how could divinity and humanity be so united as to constitute but one individual person? We might as rationally query, how can soul and body, matter and mind be so united as to make but one individual being or person?

Again, if it be asked, how can the Father, Son and Spirit be distinct intelligent agents, and yet be so united in every work, that one and the self-same work should, in every instance, be equally the work of each? We might as reasonably ask, how can Jehovah fill heaven and earth; yea, the vast immensity of the universe, so as to be really and actually present in every place, or with every creature at all times; and yet have no relation either to time or place? or, how he could so perfectly know every thought, word and action; every state, condition and circumstance of the countless millions of his rational creatures, before they had a being, that he can receive no new information from or concerning them for ever? Yet, all those things we must certainly believe concerning the Divine Being, existence, operations, knowledge, etc., etc., upon the evidence which God has afforded us, without being able to account for any of them, or at all to show how they are or can be. Now, when these and a thousand other queries respecting God and his works, which might be suggested, are satisfactorily solved, we suppose there will then remain no difficulty in relation to the doctrine under consideration. In the mean time, let us reason, believe and act consistently. Let us not reject anything that is revealed because we cannot comprehend it or conceive how it is, while we profess to hold other things, which we must acknowledge to be equally incomprehensible.

Upon the whole, we conclude, that as Christians and rational creatures, we have to do with the divine testimony and works; that what these clearly exhibit to our understandings concerning God, it is our duty and privilege to know and acknowledge; and that for the most part, these resolve themselves into certain truths or facts; which, when perceived and admitted. become to us principles of rational, moral and religious action; and, as such, influence our conduct, in relation both to God, ourselves and our neighbors; and thus designate our characters. That, therefore, it is not so much, if at all, with the How that we have to do, as with the WHAT. Thus, *what* is God; or *what* has he declared concerning himself? and not *how* can he be such? Again—What has God done? What is he doing? What will he do? What would he have us to do? What is our actual condition before him? Must we be born of water and of the Spirit, in order to become the subjects of his kingdom. Will there indeed be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust; and hath God in very deed, appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained? These, and such like inquiries concerning all that we should know, believe and practice, are highly interesting to us. Not so the inquiry, How can these things be? as was said by some, "How shall the dead be raised, and with what body shall they come?" "How can a man be born when he is old?" etc., etc.

The curious would do well to read, for their reproof and instruction in righteousness, the answers originally given to those foolish and impertinent inquiries.

We conclude with observing, in reference to the subject of this letter, that the discovery which God has made of himself to us in the economy of salvation is quite consistent with our natural notion of the divine blessedness. It is the common impression of mankind, that God is the happiest of all beings; yea, that he is superlatively so. Accordingly, he is revealed to us, not as a solitary, unknown and unknowable being. destitute of the enjoyment of equal and adequate society—a privilege this, which seems so essential to rational satisfaction and blessedness, that, comparatively, we can conceive of but little or no satisfaction or happiness where this is not the case; and that the more perfect the being, the greater the privation; as was evidently the case with Adam in his paradisiacal state, before God provided a companion, an help meet for him. But according to the revelation which we have of God, he never existed in such a desolate solitary condition; and we are sure that if he had, creation could never have furnished *him* with a suitable companion. Is he not infinitely more exalted above the most exalted creature than that creature is above nothing? If so, he must find his society in himself:

accordingly, it is written, "In the beginning, God said, Let us make man in our image." "Then was I by him as one brought up with him," saith the Logos, "I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." "And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory I had with thee before the world was." Again, "Awake, O sword, against my shepherd, against the man that is *my fellow*, saith the Lord of Hosts." "No man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; neither knoweth any man who the Father is, but the Son;" also "the things of God knoweth no man but the Spirit of God; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God." Thus the Divinity is revealed to us as possessing in itself such a plenitude of self-sufficiency—such a perfection of blessedness as to admit of no accession, no addition, as eternally existing in the reciprocation of infinite and ineffable delights. Now, does not this appear to be the peculiar glory, yea, the consummative perfection of the divine nature, to contain within itself such a fullness and blessedness—by virtue of which, God was essentially, independently and eternally glorified and enjoyed in and by himself before the world was; comprehending and comprehended, loving and beloved in a degree and manner suitable to himself, that is, to an infinite degree, adequate to his infinite perfection; which he can never be by any nature inferior to himself, how exalted soever it may be in its intellectual faculties; nor indeed by all the creatures collectively considered? "Glory be to the Father," etc., etc. "This is the true God and Eternal Life." "And these three are one." "Hear, O Israel Jehovah," etc. "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." Amen.

MATHIAS LUCE, *Moderator.*

CHARLES WHEELER, *Clerk.*

NOTE.—Near the close of the fourth inference we have observed, that to worship God acceptably, that is, according to the spirit and tenor of the gospel dispensation, under which we live, we must worship the Father through the Son, by the Spirit. In relation to this we should further observe, that although this way of approaching God affords us the most complete view of the principle, the manner, and ultimate object of gospel worship, which is the Father, through the Son, by the Spirit: yet it is abundantly evident, that we are by no means restricted to this precise form of address in every act of religious worship; for sometimes the Son himself is the only specified object of address, as in the case of Stephen, whose departing prayer was, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit:" so that as Christians we not only worship the Father through the Son by the Spirit, but also the Son himself through the Spirit; for without the Spirit, we can worship neither the Father nor the Son. Moreover, the Father and the Son, in his mediatory character, are sometimes presented to us as

conjoint objects of religious worship. "To him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb," etc. Whereas the Spirit in his distinct official capacity, is nowhere presented to us as the immediate and specified object of address, though we are everywhere taught to believe in him as a divine character, and to ascribe to him immediate agency—the entire glory of our immediate and actual salvation, as "God that dwelleth and worketh in us both to will and to do of his own good pleasure." The reason of this distinction in our worship, in relation to the divine Spirit, we humbly presume, is founded in the following considerations. 1st. That he himself being the prime efficient, the immediate exciting cause and principle of all acceptable worship and adoration in us, it would appear inconsistent with this state of the case, to call upon him to perform any part of his office in or toward us; as if we, by virtue of some inherent principle, of which he was not the immediate author, could desire his influence, or act toward him for the obtaining of that, without the possession of which we could not be supposed capable of acting at all in a spiritual manner. 2d. That supposing us excited by his influence to desire farther and higher degrees of his gracious communications, it would appear, nevertheless, inconsistent with his office and the relation in which he stands to the Father and to the Son, to suppose that he would excite and lead us to terminate our worship in himself, as if he sought his own distinct personal glory, and not the glory of those who sent him; even as the Son did not seek his own glory, but the glory of the Father which sent him—and who has also assured us, that the Spirit would act in like manner, and from the same principle from which he himself acted. "When he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he will not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that will he speak. He will glorify me, for he will receive of mine and will show it unto you. All things that the Father hath are mine; therefore, said I, he will take of mine, and will show it unto you." Hence it is evident, that the proper and immediate office and work of the Holy Spirit, in the economy of salvation, is to glorify the Father and the Son; even as it is of the Son to glorify the Father and the Spirit; and of the Father to glorify the Son and Spirit; that we, through his grace, might be duly instructed, and ultimately led, to glorify and enjoy distinctly and unitedly a three-one God in a participation of the mutual, reciprocal and ineffable delights of Father, Son and Spirit, which they had in relation to our salvation before the world was. Wherefore, we conclude (that whatever invocations or forms of address, whether hymns or prayers, wherewith men have thought proper to address the Holy Spirit, not expressly contained in the Holy Scriptures, are not of the Spirit, but are innovations in the

worship of God, and therefore ought not to be adopted) that we rightly worship the Holy Spirit, when we ascribe to him whatever the Scriptures declare concerning his character, office and work, and earnestly supplicate the Father, through the Son, or the Son himself, to send forth his Holy Spirit, to abide with us and dwell in us for ever; that we may thus be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit; and finally, by ascribing to him, together with the Father and the Son, the entire and undivided glory of our salvation. And that, therefore, in the mean time, we ought to reject as unscriptural, all invocations or forms of address immediately directed to the Holy Spirit, as innovations in the worship of God, who alone has a right to prescribe both the matter and manner of his own worship, even of that worship which he will be graciously pleased to accept as right and pleasing in his sight.

[APPENDIX B. SEE PAGE 537.]

MAILS ON THE SABBATH.

The following report was made in the Senate of the United States, by a committee, of which Richard M. Johnson was chairman, and to whom was referred the several petitions on the subject of prohibiting the transportation of Mails on the Sabbath, reported in Senate, January, 1829:

"That some respite is required from the ordinary vocations of life, is an established principle, sanctioned by the usages of all nations, whether Christian or pagan. One day in seven has been determined upon as the proportion of time; and in conformity with the wishes of a great majority of citizens of this country, the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, has been set apart to that object. The principle has received the sanction of the national legislature, so far as to admit a suspension of all public business on this day, except in cases of absolute necessity or of great public utility. This principle the committee would not wish to disturb. If kept within its legitimate sphere of action, no injury can result from its observance. It should, however, be kept in mind, that the proper object of government is, to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious, as well as civil rights; and not to determine for any, whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.

"We are aware, that a variety of sentiment exists among the good people of this nation, on the subject of the Sabbath day; and our government is designed for the protection of one as much as for another. The Jews, who in this country are as free as Christians, and entitled to the same protection from the laws, derive their obligation to keep the Sabbath day from the fourth commandment of their decalogue, and in conformity with that injunction, pay religious homage to the seventh day of the week, which we call Saturday. One denomination of Christians among us, justly celebrated for their piety, and certainly as good citizens as any other class, agree with the Jews in the moral obligation of the Sabbath, and observe the same day. There are also many Christians among us, who derive not their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the decalogue, but regard the Jewish Sabbath as abrogated. From the example of the apostles of Christ, they have chosen the first day of the week, instead of that day set apart in the decalogue, for their religious devotions. These have generally regarded the observance of the day as a devotional exercise, and would not more readily enforce it upon others than they would enforce secret prayer or devout meditations. Urging the fact, that neither their Lord nor his disciples, though often censured by their accusers for the violation of the Sabbath, ever enjoined its observance, they regard it as a subject on which every person should be fully persuaded in his own mind, and not coerce others to act upon his persuasion. Many Christians again differ from these, professing to derive their obligation to observe the Sabbath from the fourth commandment of the Jewish decalogue, and bring the example of the apostles, who appear to have held their public meetings for worship on the first day of the week, as authority for so far changing the decalogue as to substitute that day for the seventh. The Jewish government was a theocracy, which enforced religious observances; and though the committee would hope that no portion of the citizens of our country could willingly introduce a system of religious coercion in our civil institutions, the example of other nations should admonish us to watch carefully against its earliest indications.

"With these different religious views the committee are of opinion that Congress cannot interfere. It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our government is a civil, and not a religious institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely, without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others.

"The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated from a religious zeal which may be commendable if confined to its proper sphere, but they assume a position better suited to an ecclesiastical than to a civil institution. They appear, in many instances, to lay it down as an axiom, that the practice is a violation of the law of God. Should Congress, in their legislative capacity, adopt the sentiment, it would establish the principle that the legislature is the proper tribunal to determine what are the laws of God. It would involve a legislative decision in a religious controversy, and on a point on which good citizens may honestly differ in opinion without disturbing the peace of society or endangering its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds. Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered, but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the Divine Law. It is a right reserved to each citizen, and while he respects the equal rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusions.

"Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle, which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens; if admitted, it may be justly apprehended, that the future measures of government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of the country, the civil power soon bends under it, and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence.

"Under the present regulations of the post-office department, the rights of conscience are not invaded. Every agent enters voluntarily, and it is presumed conscientiously, into the discharge of his duties, without intermeddling with the conscience of another. Post-offices are so regulated, as that but a small proportion of the first day of the week is required to be occupied in official business. In the transportation of the mail on that day, no one agent is employed many hours. Religious persons enter into the business without violating their own consciences, or imposing any restraints upon others. Passengers in the mail stages are free to rest during the first day of the week, or to

pursue their journeys at their own pleasure.—While the mail is transported on Saturday, the Jew and the Sabbatarian may abstain from any agency in carrying it, on conscientious scruples. While it is transported on the first day of the week, another class may abstain, from the same religious scruples. The obligation of government is the same to both of these classes—and the committee can discover no principle on which the claims of one should be more respected than those of the other, unless it should be admitted that the consciences of the minority are less sacred than those of the majority.

"It is the opinion of the committee, that the subject should be regarded simply as a question of expediency, irrespective of its religious bearing. In this light, it has hitherto been considered. Congress have never legislated upon the discretion of the postmaster general, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. His knowledge and judgment in all the concerns of that department will not be questioned. His intense labors and assiduity have resulted in the highest improvement of every branch of his department. It is practised only on the great leading mail routes, and such others as are necessary to maintain their connections. To prevent this, would, in the opinion of the committee, be productive of immense injury, both in its commercial, political, and in its moral bearings.

"The various departments of government require, frequently in peace, always in war, the speediest intercourse with the remotest parts of the country—and one important object of the mail establishment is, to furnish the greatest and most economical facilities for such intercourse. The delay of the mails one day in seven would require the employment of special expresses, at great expense, and sometimes with great uncertainty.

"The commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of our country are so intimately connected, as to require a constant and most expeditious correspondence betwixt all our seaports, and betwixt them and the most interior settlements. The delay of the mails during the Sunday would give occasion to the employing of private expresses to such an amount, that probably ten riders would be employed where one mail stage is now running on that day—thus diverting the revenue of that department into another channel, and sinking the establishment into a state of pusillanimity incompatible with the dignity of the government of which it is a department.

"Passengers in the mail stages, if the mails are not permitted to proceed on Sunday, will be expected to spend that day at a tavern upon the road, generally under circumstances not friendly to devotion, and at an expense which many are but poorly able to encounter.

To obviate these difficulties, many will employ extra carriages for their conveyance, and become the bearers of correspondence, as more expeditious than the mail. The stage proprietors will themselves often furnish the travelers with those means of conveyance—so that the effect will ultimately be only to stop the mail, while the vehicle which conveys it will continue, and its passengers become the special messengers for conveying a considerable proportion of what would otherwise constitute the contents of the mail.

"Nor can the committee discover where the system could consistently end. If the observance of a holiday becomes incorporated in our institutions, shall we not forbid the movement of an army—prohibit an assault in time of war—and lay an injunction upon our naval officers to lie in the wind while upon the ocean on that day? Consistency would seem to require it. Nor is it certain that we should stop here. If the principle is once established, that religion, or religious observances shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of edifices for the worship of our Creator, and for the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity. It is the settled conviction of the committee, that the only method of avoiding these consequences, with their attendant train of evils, is to adhere strictly to the spirit of the constitution, which regards the general government in no ether light than that of a civil institution, wholly destitute of religious authority.

"What other nations call religious toleration we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of citizens, however small. Despotic power may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them. Let the national legislature once perform an act which involves the decision of a religious controversy, and it will have passed its legitimate bounds. The precedent will then be established, and the foundation laid for that usurpation of the Divine prerogative in this country which has been the desolating scourge of the fairest portions of the world. Our constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence—by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant—to relieve the widow and the orphan—to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example: government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance

the true interests of religion than any measure which they may call on Congress to enact.

"The petitioners do not complain of any infringement upon their own rights. They enjoy all that Christians ought to ask at the hand of any government—protection from all molestation in the exercise of their religious sentiments.

"Resolved. That the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject."

END OF VOLUME FIRST.