MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

OF

CHARLES ELIOT.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

SOME

NOTICES OF HIS CHARACTER.

CAMBRIDGE:

HILLIARD AND METCALF.

1814.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume contains a collection of some writings of Charles Eliot. The collection has been made, and a few copies have been printed, under the direction of his father, with no design of publication, but for the use of his particular friends only. It consists partly of the pieces formerly published by him in the General Repository; and partly of two of the sermons which he had written before his death, and of some other things not before printed. The sermons and the latter pieces were written without any expectation of their being published; and what has been taken from the Repository, he would, if he had lived, probably have never thought of preserving in any other form than that in which it first appeared. It is hoped however that the collection will do no discredit to his memory with those to whom he was not personally known, if it should be seen by any such; and by those to whom he was known, it will be valued, as containing memorials of one who is remembered with the deepest affection.

To the writings of Mr. Eliot are prefixed some notices of his character, occasioned by his death.

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NOTICES

OF THE

CHARACTER OF CHARLES ELIOT.

OBITUARY;

From the Columbian Centinel, for Saturday, October 2, 1813.

Written by Mr. (now Rev.) Edward Everett.

THE death of Mr. ELIOT, who was yesterday interred, is an event of uncommon distress. It has blighted many fair hopes, and dissolved many affectionate attachments. It has removed from the family circle an object of peculiar interest and congratulation; from society a rising and valuable member; from the university an accomplished son; and has deprived the christian church of one who promised to serve and adorn it.—Mr Eliot was graduated at Cambridge, in 1809, and continued there as a resident graduate, pursuing the study of divinity. On taking his Master's degree in 1812, he pronounced the valedictory oration of his class. His diligence in the pursuit of his studies was exemplary, if not excessive; for there is too much reason to fear that the disease which terminated his life, was contracted by severe application. Having acquainted himself extensively with the scriptures, with sacred criticism, and with the other parts of sacred

learning, and disciplined his mind and heart by faithful preparation, he was approved in January last, by the Boston Association, as a candidate for the christian ministry. The few sermons he preached, before he was arrested by the symptoms of disease, were distinguished for soundness of doctrine, for rational views of religion, for richness of thought, and great propriety and chasteness of expression. He preached however but a few Sabbaths before his health began to fail, which continued to decline, notwithstanding the most prudent and skilful attentions. By a remarkable coincidence, he preached in the pulpit of the late Dr. Eliot a part of the last Sabbath which that lamented divine spent in the house of God; and now he is called to follow his venerable kinsman, as we humbly trust, to higher and purer services. In the course of a long and gradual decay, he found his support in that religion to which he had consecrated his life. He was upholden by it in those trying hours, and they were not a few, which passed after the hope of his recovery was lost. It is no common share of faith and piety, which will sustain the heart in that period of awful anticipation, when the world around us has lost its interest, and we are beyond the reach of human aid. Through this solitude of the soul, Mr. Eliot displayed a christian composure and collection of spirits, and found in the

promises of religion the comfort and support which time and sense could no longer afford. Many hearts have followed him to his long home; and many will affectionately cherish his memory. It is scarce a year since he pronounced, in his valedictory oration, an affectionate eulogium on one who can never be recalled without a fresh emotion of sorrow. And now he has gone himself; and another breach is made in the circle of friendship, literature, and religion.—While to us it is left to apply to him, with a feeling of no common solemnity, the sentiments which he uttered himself at the remembrance of his departed friend. "To us remains," said he, "his memory and example, and to us it is left, since he is called away, to unite the closer, in friendship and counsel, and supply, as we can, the place of departed worth."

CONCLUSION OF A LECTURE

Of Professor WARE;

Delivered Saturday forenoon, October 2, 1813.

BEING THE FIRST OF HIS LECTURES UPON THE CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WHICH WAS DELIVERED AFTER THE DEATH OF MR. ELIOT.

After addressing those classes of the undergraduates who attend these lectures, on the death of one of their number, (a son of Chief Justice Sewall,) Dr. Ware proceeded:

TO another portion of my hearers,* still more closely connected with these studies, and exclusively devoted to their pursuit, divine providence has also, in another recent event, given an impressive lesson of instruction and admonition. A fellow student, who had just completed the course of preparatory discipline which you are pursuing, and was entering on that of active usefulness for which it was designed, has been taken from your side. Seldom have we witnessed a more affecting instance of the early withering of human prospects. Seldom have we seen a brighter morning

* The resident graduates, students in divinity.

so soon covered with clouds, and close in darkness. Few young men have entered on theological studies with greater ardor, or pursued them with more intelligence, or better success, than Mr. Eliot. His taste, as well as his judgment, directed him to devote particular attention to the attainment of a critical knowledge of the New Testament. Without undervaluing or neglecting other studies, less immediately connected with his main and ultimate object, his chief aim was turned to a thorough knowledge of the Christian Scriptures. He pursued it with that steady and persevering resolution which is not discouraged by difficulties, nor turned aside from its purpose by slight and inadequate causes; and with that entire openness of mind which is the surest pledge of fidelity, and gives the fairest prospect of success in the search of truth.

A young man of ardent mind, and eager thirst after knowledge, who thus indulges unlimited freedom of inquiry, resolves to discuss every question without fear and without reserve, to receive no opinion without evidence, and no interpretation merely on authority, may fall into mistakes; may adopt new errors in the place of the old ones he has abandoned; may even be in danger of sometimes missing the truth from the very ardor of his zeal in pursuing it, and from a too great fear of the influence of prejudice and au-

thority. In his zeal to escape from one tyrant, he may carelessly throw himself into the hands of another. And where this happens, I know not whether he will find the latter less fatal to his real freedom than the former. The contempt of old opinions may be as real and as slavish a prejudice as the fear of new ones.

But against this danger in any considerable degree, there is an effectual security in him who comes to this freedom of inquiry with good sense, honesty, and piety. By the first, he is prevented from being imposed upon by false and specious appearances, or misled by fancy, or enthusiasm, or the love of novelty. By the second, he is secured against the influence of sinister motives in pursuing his inquiries, and in forming his opinions;—and the last will guard him against that levity, which is an enemy to truth, and dispose him to that seriousness, which by giving the just weight and impression to objects presented to the mind, is the best preparation for the reception of truth.

Our late friend was, as you all know, in an unusual degree open and unreserved in all his theological inquiries. But while he pursued them with exemplary diligence and ardor, he came to them, it is believed, with an eminent share of those qualities which I have observed are so necessary to accompany the spirit of free inquiry.

He had too clear a discernment, and too sound and correct a judgment, to pick up or lay aside opinions on slight and inadequate grounds. He knew how to exercise boldness without temerity, and caution without timidity. He knew also how to hold opinions at the same time with firmness and without bigotry— to exercise a liberal spirit toward others without any sacrifice of independence.

To this liberality of mind, well directed diligence in study, and honesty in the pursuit of truth, he joined also, it is believed, the higher and more important attribute of practical piety. With those views of the character of God which present him to the mind in the amiable and endearing attributes of the Father and Friend of his creatures, and which inspire reverence, confidence and trust, his piety was full of cheerfulness, affection, gratitude, and hope. It gave vigor and animation to his virtues; and in his gradual, but early passage to the tomb, was a ground of support, and gave calmness and serenity.

Human examples are imperfect. They are to be offered for imitation with caution and due abatement. We are to distinguish in our departed, as well as our living friends, their virtues from their faults, their excellencies of character from their defects and failings. The latter, we may cover with forgetfulness; the former, we can-

not be too faithful to remember, and cherish, and copy. Whatever you have seen that was estimable in the character of our late friend, whatever he possessed of amiableness of temper, and openness of mind, and whatever he practised of fidelity in the cultivation of his talents, diligence in the pursuit of knowledge, ardor in the love of truth, sobriety of manners, conscientious integrity, and piety to God—may you imitate. May you follow him in every thing that was worthy and good—except in the calm resignation of a lingering sickness, and the serene and cheerful hope of an early death.

From an opportunity for these, may God preserve you ;—and keep you for that future usefulness which was not permitted to him.

EXTRACT

FROM A SERMON OF REV. CHARLES LOWELL, PREACHED ON THE SABBATH AFTER THE DEATH OF MR. ELIOT;

From Job xiv. 19. *Thou destroyest the hope of man.*

First published in the Christian Disciple, for December, 1813.

*** THE hopes of others rest on their friends; perhaps on their children. We are prompted by instinct to love, to cherish, and to provide for our children. It is the dictate of nature. It is the voice of God. When a child is given us, we receive it with thankfulness. It is a precious gift. It may be a source of pure satisfaction to us. We cannot lift the veil of futurity and read its fate, but we hope the best. We consecrate it to God in baptism. We watch its opening mind. As its powers unfold, if our own hearts are impressed with a sense of religious obligation, we sow the seeds of piety. We embody our instructions in our example. We mingle the welfare of our child with our own in our prayers. We endeavour to bring it up for God and for heaven. But we labor in vain and spend our strength for nought. Our child despiseth instruc-

tion, and hateth reproof; or, he goes forth into the world, is assailed by temptation, and becomes the victim of vice. In the midst of his sins he is snatched from the world, and summoned to the tribunal of God. Like Aaron, we may hold our peace, yet our agony is great, our anguish is bitter, for our hopes are destroyed;—ah, how completely, how fatally destroyed!

But, on the contrary, our child may requite our care, anxiety, and labor, by his filial piety. He may be affectionate and docile. He may listen to our instructions, heed our admonitions, receive and improve the lessons of virtue. We behold him with inexpressible delight, consecrating his early affections to God. We furnish him with the means of improvement, and he diligently employs them. As he advances in life our heart cleaves to him more strongly. No man can describe the feelings of a parent towards an affectionate and dutiful child. No man but a parent can conceive them. We imagine we behold the dawn of a bright and lasting day. We anticipate the eminence he will reach, the good he will do, the happiness he will enjoy in the world. He is to be the staff of our age, to support and to guide our declining footsteps; and when we are gone, he is to shed lustre on our memory, to add dignity to our family and name.

But suddenly our fair prospect is obscured,

Disease arrests him, induced perhaps by his honorable exertions to render himself respectable and useful in life. With undescribable anguish we witness his decline. The rose fades from his cheek. The eyes lose their lustre, or assume a brightness which is unnatural, and which fills a parent's heart with fearful forebodings. The strength decays. We can no longer hide from ourselves the painful truth. We had hoped that he would watch over *us* in our last moments, and pay the mournful tribute of affection at *our* tomb. But the scene is reversed. We must watch over *him*. We must smooth *his* dying pillow. We must close his eyes in darkness and death. *The heart knoweth its own bitterness.* We feel as Job felt when he said, "*Thou destroyest the hope of man.*"

Blessed be God for the hope of immortality! Our hopes do not perish in the grave. By the eye of faith, we penetrate beyond it. We lift the curtain of eternity, and behold our child alive and happy. We behold him still advancing in knowledge and virtue. We behold him filling an important sphere, devoting his talents and his acquisitions to valuable purposes; perhaps employed in doing good. It was not a vain thing then, that we labored for his benefit. It was not a vain thing, that his mind was stored with knowledge, and his heart impressed with piety. He

was the better qualified for the duties of a higher scene. He was the better prepared for heaven. "He pleased God, and was beloved of Him; so that, living among sinners, he was translated. Yea, speedily was he taken away, lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his soul.—For his soul pleased the Lord, therefore hasted he to take him away."

Of this nature are the consolations which the blessed gospel, revealing to us a Saviour, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, enables us to possess ourselves, and to offer to afflicted parents under the loss of a pious child.

Of this nature are the consolations we can offer to those parents, who, during the past week, have been deprived of a child, whose talents, whose learning, uncommon for his years, whose amiable character, and ardent piety, had excited the fondest and most sanguine hope and expectation.

It is not my practice, as you know, on ordinary occasions to eulogize the dead. Often would my heart prompt me to dwell, in this place, on the character of departed worth, to hold up its most striking features to your view, and to urge your imitation. But I am forbidden. It would be imprudent; it might often be unjust to discriminate. When however a young man is removed who was not only a member of my church, but

a fellow laborer in the gospel of Christ, I feel myself more at liberty to indulge my feelings, and to bear my public testimony to his excellence.

The young man whom I now commemorate, I rejoice to say it, was one of ourselves. Here he was presented at the baptismal font; here he made his own profession; and here, on the day of his introduction to the sacred desk, he appeared as a public advocate for christianity, and exhibited, in a most striking and impressive manner, its reasonableness and its value.

When he was about to enter on the study of theology, I had a long conversation with him, on the nature of the profession, on its labors and cares, its encouragements and hopes. He opened his heart to me; he exhibited the motives which prompted his decision. They were of the purest and most exalted kind. His subsequent conduct, his intense application to his studies, his diligent cultivation of christian graces, and the exhibition he gave of his improvement, confirmed my belief of his sincerity. You have heard him preach, and you cannot forget the simplicity of his manner, the chasteness and elegance of his style, the soundness and clearness of his reasoning, and the fervency of his devotion. But you knew not half his worth. To his near friends it belongs to dwell on the remembrance

of his virtues; and to them too it belongs to peruse with delight and admiration the memorials of talents and piety he has left behind him.

His character, I hope I shall be pardoned for saying it, was not fully developed, even to his nearest relations, till his death. Among his papers were found some which contained the plan of his future life, drawn up when he was only seventeen, and containing sentiments and feelings which do the highest honor to his head and heart.

In the period of sickness, he was calm and resigned. Though he undoubtedly must have often suffered, yet so fearful was he of disturbing his friends, that he suppressed the rising emotion, and uttered scarce a groan or a sigh.

The earthly hopes of his friends with respect to him are destroyed; but they are supported by higher and better hopes. They expect to meet him again; and we trust that while they cherish his memory, they will imitate his virtues.

As the hope of man is so often destroyed, as the objects of this world are fading, its blessings uncertain, its pleasures transitory, let us fix our hopes on heaven, and seek, through the merits and mediation of Jesus, to obtain *an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.*

OBITUARY;

FROM THE GENERAL REPOSITORY.

DIED AT BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 28, 1813, MR. CHARLES ELIOT, AGED 22, ELDEST SON OF SAMUEL ELIOT, ESQ.

THERE are few events in private life more adapted to excite public sympathy than the death of such a young man as Mr. Eliot. He was just entering into life. He had just appeared in that profession to which he had devoted himself. There was every thing in his principles and dispositions, and every thing in his talents and learning, to give the promise of future usefulness to the world; and every thing in his sincerity, openness, and warmth of feeling, to endear him to his friends. It was at the very time when all their expectations concerning him seemed about to be fulfilled, that these expectations were forever destroyed. It was appointed them to see the lingering waste of his health, to watch the changes of disease, to hope when reason gave no hope, to endeavour to learn from him acquiescence and piety, and at last to feel that shock of separation for which there is nothing can fully prepare us. Such an event is among the most se-

vere and awful lessons by which God teaches us the value of those hopes that respect eternity.

If his life had been continued, there are few probably who would have possessed greater power of doing good, and none who would have felt more strongly the obligation to employ this power to the utmost. His notions of duty were far too high and correct for him ever to have considered the gifts of nature or of fortune as the means of selfish indulgence. With an ardor that would have increased with his opportunities for exertion, he often expressed his desire of usefulness —his wish to be one of those by whom society is enlightened and made better. He had spent much time in the study of the Scriptures; and he would have employed his talents and learning in the promotion of that correct knowledge of Christianity, to whose advancement we must principally look for any great improvement in the virtue and happiness of mankind. He would have been one of those by whom the purity of public morals is preserved, who are sensible to all the causes by which it is affected, and who are anxious to prevent its corruption. He had joined that profession in which is to be found a large part of the literary men of New England; and he too, with something of the pride of patriotism, and with a strong interest in the pursuit, would have endeavoured by all the means in his power,

whether by his own exertions, or by assisting those of others, to increase the literature and science of our country. If he had lived to take that station for which he seemed to be destined, he would have been one of those who give its character to society; who guide and direct public opinion and feeling; and whose influence on the moral and intellectual condition of others, is felt far beyond the sphere in which they are personally known.

There is a particular propriety in this notice of Mr. Eliot appearing in the present work; for to him this work is indebted in a great degree for its existence, and for much of its value. At its commencement, the present writer, who was then its editor, received from him continual assistance, such as he could expect from no one else, and without which it would have been most difficult for him to have succeeded in the undertaking. There was no office of friendship which he was not solicitous to perform. His first compositions for the public appeared in this work; and he was induced to risk thus early the hazard of public criticism principally by the wish to render the labor of a friend less irksome. During his residence at Cambridge as a theological student, he was interested in every thing where it was in his power to serve the cause of religion or literature. I will only mention, that he was a

principal means in the forming of that plan of study for theological students, whose advantages have since been experienced;* and that he was particularly interested in suggesting and promoting the plan of the Cambridge edition of that invaluable work, Schleusner's Lexicon, the publication of which will soon commence. The prospectus of it, which has been circulated through the country, was principally prepared by him. I speak of the promise and commencement of usefulness in one to whom the opportunities for doing extensive good, which he might hereafter have enjoyed, had not yet been afforded.

The disease of which Mr. Eliot died was lingering; and the chance of recovery was gone long before its termination. There are few spectacles of higher moral sublimity, than to see one to whom the future had promised so much, calmly and without perturbation waiting the slow approach of death, with a knowledge of its certainty, and with a full apprehension of all that we can know of its nature. This was done by Mr. Eliot. From the flattering appearances in the commencement of his disease, it was some time before either his friends or himself were led to fear that its termination would be fatal. When at last an unfavorable change took place, and in compliance with his constant desire, he was in-

* See General Repository, vol. i. p. 209

formed of his situation, the first wish that he expressed to the friend who conversed with him, was, that a knowledge of his danger, if it were not known to them already, might be kept from his other friends as long as possible. During the remainder of his sickness he repeatedly expressed his habitual faith. He spake as he had done in health, of his trust in the providence and mercy of God, and of his belief of the high destination of those who endeavour to fulfil the purposes of their existence. It produced a feeling almost of cheerfulness to hear him talk of death, and of his hope of meeting again the friends who had gone before him from this world. The efficacy of his religious faith gave him mental strength in that state of bodily weakness and disease which renders us sensible to the slightest impressions. He expressed those feelings which are produced only by correct notions of Christianity, having their full operation in a comprehensive and intelligent mind.

In speaking of meeting again those whom he had known on earth, he mentioned the name of Mr. Buckminster. It is now a second time since the commencement of this work, that I have been called to record the death of one with whom I was then particularly connected; with whom I had a more than common agreement of opinion and sympathy of feeling; and whose loss has been at-

tended by such circumstances of a public and private nature as to make it most deeply felt. To me the retrospect is very solemn and affecting. In returning to my usual studies and pursuits, I cannot but feel something of solitude and desertion. But it is no common privilege to have known such men; to have been honored with the regard of one of them, and to have been most intimately connected with the other. To me Mr. Eliot was a friend most warm, most sincere, and most disinterested. I may be permitted to pay this tribute to the dead, and to claim this high honor to myself. With his name I wish my own to be always connected. The hopes and affections that clung round him with the thought of whom almost every feeling was associated, have been torn from their support. But it is past: I endeavour to think of him as one with whom I am hereafter again to be united; and any thing in life would be a poor exchange for this expectation.

VERSES.

By the author of the last piece.

Farewell! before we meet again,
Perhaps through scenes as yet unknown,
That lie in distant years of pain,
I have to journey on alone;

To meet with griefs thou wilt not feel,
Perchance with joys thou canst not share;
And when we both were wont to kneel,
To breathe alone the silent prayer.

But ne'er a deeper pang to know,
Than when I watched thy slow decay,
Saw on thy cheek the hectic glow,
And felt at last each hope give way.

But who the destined hour can tell,
That bids the loosened spirit fly?
E'en now this pulse's feverish swell
May warn me of mortality.

But chance what may, thou wilt no more
With sense and wit my hours beguile,
Inform with learning's various lore,
Or charm with friendship's kindest smile.

Each book I read, each walk I tread,
Whate'er I feel, whate'er I see,
All speak of hopes forever fled;
All have some tale to tell of thee.

I shall not, should misfortune lower,
Should friends desert, and life decline,
I shall not know thy soothing power,
Nor hear thee say, My heart is thine.

If thou hadst lived, thy well-earnt fame
Had bade my fading prospect bloom,
Had cast its lustre o'er my name,
And stood the guardian of my tomb.

Servant of God! thy ardent mind,
With lengthening years improving still,
Had ceaseless strove to serve mankind,
And thus perform thy Father's will.

Another task to thee was given;
'T was thine to drink of early woe,
To feel thy hopes, thy friendships riven,
And bend submissive to the blow.

With patient smile, and steady eye,
To meet each pang that sickness gave,
And see with lingering step draw nigh,
The form that pointed to the grave.

Servant of God! thou art not there;
Thy race of virtue is not run:
What blooms on earth of good and fair,
Will ripen in another sun.

xxiii

Dost thou amid the rapturous glow
With which the soul her welcome hears,
Dost thou still think of us below,
Of earthly scenes, of human tears?

Perhaps e'en now thy thoughts return
To when in summer's moonlight walk,
Of all that now is thine to learn,
We formed no vain nor fruitless talk.

We fancied then those nobler ends,
The good pursue when life is fled;
The meeting with departed friends;
The converse with illustrious dead.

We spake of knowledge, such as soars
From world to world with ceaseless flight;
And love, that follows, and adores,
As nature spreads before her sight.

How vivid still past scenes appear,
I feel as though all were not o'er,
As though 't were strange I cannot hear
Thy voice of friendship yet once more.

But I shall hear it: in that day
Whose setting sun I may not view,
When earthly voices die away,
Thine will at last be heard anew.

We meet again: a little while,
And where thou art I too shall be;
And then with what an angel smile
Of gladness, thou wilt welcome me.

MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS

OF

CHARLES ELIOT.

PART I.

CONTAINING PIECES BEFORE PUBLISHED IN THE GENERAL REPOSITORY.

A REVIEW*

OF

SELF-CONTROL: A NOVEL.

First American edition, 2 *vols.* 12*mo. Philadelphia*, 1811.
Second American edition, 1 *vol.* 12*mo. Boston*, 1811.

THAT a second edition of this book should be published within three months of its first appearance in the country, shows that it has excited much interest; and we wish we had so much confidence in the public taste, as to believe that its having been much read, is a proof of its merit. But the appetite for works of mere amusement is not discriminating. If our community has justly admired Crabbe, and Southey, and Scott, it has also applauded the weak Montgomery, and the contemptible and effeminate Moore; and if quite sufficient praise has been given to Miss Porter, the value of the tribute is very much diminished by the endurance and even approbation of Miss Owenson's sentimental lasciviousness. It is to be much regretted, that there are so many readers who have so little regard to the means by which they seek amusement; who are pleased with any book which pictures strong emotions, caring very little what is the character of their sympathies; for we are continually less alive to repeated impres-

* First published in the General Repository, for January 1812. vol. i. page 191.

sions, and the grossest applications will at last be necessary to excite the appetite languid from indulgence. There are some novels also, whose authors seem to aim to confuse our ideas of virtue, and to destroy the definiteness of the boundaries of right and wrong. They picture characters whose natural qualities, as generosity, courage, or susceptibility, cannot but please, and describe the proper indulgence of these dispositions as consisting in acts of extravagance, rashness, or folly; forgetting that restraint and government are virtue, and that feelings may be innocently possessed which it will be criminal to indulge. Or they attribute to their heroes some powerful and absorbing affection, and this is usually love, which they softly censure, yet represent as irresistible; and although it should cause the neglect of all duty, and destroy all common feeling, and propel to what is criminal, yet temptation is described in such glowing colors, that it seems hardly wrong to yield; we are induced to pity as misfortunes what we should consider the punishments of vice; and forget that no elevation of passion can destroy the obligations which are common to all. The effect of being thus deceived into love of characters in which there is nothing estimable, and induced to excuse and pity vice, or admire only that for the possession of which no one deserves praise, must be to destroy the niceness of moral discrimination. There are other no less unnatural delineations of characters of excelling goodness, whose feelings are all benevolent, who are uncontaminated by any of the common habits which degrade weaker humanity. The most uncommon occurrences, the most dazzling deeds of virtue, are the events of their lives; and these are accompanied by griefs that might rend the soul of sympathy, and joys that agonize. But if virtue be always represented as splendid and commanding, the relish for humble and domestic excellence will be lost; and if we be taught to sympathise only with elevated and refined pleasures, the common

enjoyments of life will be insipid, while real pain will not be less felt, because the sufferer has cultivated a taste for elegant misery and sentimental woe. But as evil is generally produced by the perversion of the means of good, fictitious histories, though they may have held up a false standard, insinuated noxious principles, excited bad passions, vitiated the taste, and cherished feelings already too uncontrolled, may sometimes have increased the love of virtue, quickened the moral discernment, conveyed lessons of conduct, and been of great use in teaching that most important science, the knowledge of character. As novels however are generally read for mere amusement, to prevent vacancy, and to relieve fatigue, the mind is usually passive under the impression of their sentiments; or if at first vigorous, it is soon enervated by their debilitating influence. And the most assiduous readers are the young, ready to receive but unable to discriminate; easily pleased and excited, and unsuspicious that what is beautiful may be injurious. It is then of the greatest importance, that they be free from every thing that can vitiate moral sensibility; from every thing that will inflame the passions, or increase the difficulty of self-government; from all representations of pleasure which will be in vain desired; from all trifling with the emotions of compassion, by descriptions of misery and want, in which suffering alone appears, while squalidness, and disease, and vulgarity, their almost necessary and loathsome accompaniments, are unnoticed. Perhaps no class of writings have more effect upon the morals of the age than novels, and it is unfit that these powerful agents should be arrogantly employed by any one, who has invention or imitative power sufficient to plan a story, and words enough to make sentences. We often wish that in these authors the desire of doing good were better directed, and that vanity would be satisfied with a less ample field for display.

Self-Control, though without a name, we presume to be

the production of a female. The author declares herself, in a dedication to Miss Joanna Baillie, to be "a person, whom nature, fortune, and inclination have alike marked for obscurity." Now as we do not like disqualifying speeches, we were not much prepossessed in her favor by this ostentation of modesty. She declares that she was desirous of doing good, and therefore she published a novel, which she wrote for amusement. How she intended to execute her purpose may be seen from the following passage of the dedication.

"In the character of Laura Montreville the religious prin-
"ciple is exhibited as rejecting the bribes of ambition; be-
"stowing fortitude in want and sorrow; as restraining just
"displeasure; overcoming constitutional timidity; conquer-
"ing misplaced affection; and triumphing over the fear of
"death and disgrace."

How the author has executed her purpose we proceed to consider. The story is this,

Captain Montreville was a half-pay officer. He resided in Scotland. He had married a woman of fashion, because he was in love, and she accepted a man below her rank, because Montreville was handsome, and she wanted a husband; and this, like most love matches, was very sad in its event. Laura was his only child, and she is introduced to us when seventeen years old, just after the death of her mother; which was by no means a thing to be lamented; for Lady Montreville had grown nervous, and she vexed her husband; and peevish, and she tormented her daughter; so that the former lost only a customary stimulus, and the latter an object of care and endurance. Near Glenalbert was stationed colonel Hargrave, who was very rich, and very handsome, and who, having a peerage in prospect, was an object of admiration with all the ladies in the kingdom. He had seen Laura, was enamoured of her person, and for a year had been

striving, by the display of his graces and powers, to secure so much of her love as would fit her for his purposes. The first scene in the book represents him offending Laura, who had acknowledged her fondness, by his base proposals. As soon as he believed her to be serious in her resentment, his passion got the better of his pride, and he made offers to her father of marrying her. She rejected him however, for she was now undeceived as to his character, and determined to overcome her affections. Here commence her efforts at *self-control.* With the small property which captain Montreville possessed, he had purchased an annuity for his daughter's life; and as payment was now refused because of some informality in the deed, a journey to London became necessary, and Laura accompanied her father. The evening before they set out, she had an interview with Hargrave, in which he made the most lover-like protestations, and by varied appeals to the fears and affections of Laura, now promising amendment, and now threatening most desperate measures, declaring that if she would not forgive him, he would drown his love in dissipation, and even hinting that he would hang himself, and thus that upon her would be the death of his body and soul, at last persuades or compels her to promise, that if for two years his habits should be correct, she would then think about his being again her friend. Hargrave was quite satisfied, and he bought Blair's sermons, and began to go to church, and determined to be very discreet in his gallantries. Meanwhile Laura and her father arrive in London, and here they are detained by various difficulties in settling the affair of the annuity. Their landlady had two daughters, one of them was short, round, and ugly, and, much to the annoyance of Laura, very full of tender sentiment. The descriptions of her rhapsodies, though there is in them somewhat of caricature, are rather amusing. The other was married to a quiet little plebeian, Mr. Jones; and a conversation which took place

on a visit to them we will extract, for we think it as lively as any part of the book. In the narrative of an expedition which Mr. and Mrs. Jones had made to the highlands, some mention was made of the herrings, which are caught in Loch Lomond.

" 'Kate,' said Mr. Jones, setting down his tea-cup, and " settling his hands upon his knees, ' you know I think you're " wrong about them herrings.' 'Mr. Jones,' returned the la- " dy, with a look that shewed that the herrings had been the " subject of former altercation, ' for certain the waiter told " me that they came out of the loch, and to what purpose " should he tell lies about it?' ' I tells you, Kate, that her- " rings come out of the sea,' said Mr. Jones. ' Well, that " loch is a great fresh-water sea,' said Mrs. Jones. ' Out of " the salt sea,' insisted Mr. Jones. ' Ay,' said Mrs. Jones, " ' them salt herrings as we gets here, but it stands to reason, " Mr. Jones, that the fresh herrings should come out of fresh " water.' ' I say, cod is fresh, and does'nt it come out of the " sea? answer me that, Mrs. Jones.' ' It is no wonder the " cod is fresh,' returned the lady, ' when the fishmongers keep " fresh water running on it day and night.' ' Kate, it's of no " use argufying, I say herrings come out of the sea. What " say you, Sir?' turning to Captain Montreville. The Cap- " tain softened his verdict in the gentleman's favor, by say- " ing, that Mrs. Jones was right in her account of the waiter's " report, though the man, in speaking of ' the loch,' meant " not Loch-Lomond, but an arm of the sea. ' I know'd it,' " said Mr. Jones, triumphantly, ' for haven't I read it in the " newspaper as Government offers a reward to any body that'll " put most salt upon them Scotch herrings, and isn't that what " makes the salt so dear?' So having settled this knotty point " to his own satisfaction, Mr. Jones again applied himself to " his tea."

The person to whom the money for the annuity had been paid was dead; his heir, Mr. Warren, was a fop, and a man of pleasure; and having seen Laura, he formed designs respecting her which were quite in character. Warren, pretending a commission from her father, whom he had drawn from the house by a promise of settling his business, persuaded Laura to ride with him, and would have carried her out of the city; but "Laura rose from her seat, and seizing the reins with a force that made the horses rear, she coolly chose that moment to spring from the curricle." This amazonian achievement would have excited our wonder, had we not been before apprised of the alarming size of our heroine.—"Her height was certainly above the beautiful, and perhaps exceeded the majestic." This description resembles in extravagance that of her eyelashes, which were such, that when "she raised her mild, religious, dark, grey eyes, they rested on the well-defined, but delicate eyebrow; and when her glance fell before the gaze of admiration, they threw a long shade on a cheek of unequaled beauty, both for form and colour." After all this we could easily have imagined, that "the contour of her features, inclining to the Roman, might perhaps have been called masculine." But we are nevertheless to believe that Laura was very beautiful, for we are elsewhere told, that she was a person of "matchless simplicity and consummate loveliness."

Laura is now represented as enduring distresses which seldom befal an individual, with a keenness of feeling undiminished by exercise. She had the care of her father, suffering from dangerous illness, occasioned by his alarm at the absence of Laura with Warren, whose character he had just discovered, or from hypochondriac depression, constantly foreboding and complaining; she supplied his wants by her labors in painting, in which she was skilled; and she is exposed to the passionate ravings of Hargrave, who had follow-

ed and found her; and who, as he grew more dissolute, was more anxious for a speedy union, urging his suit with a terrifying fervor, being seconded by the intreaties of her debilitated father. Her only friends, Mrs. De Courcy and her son and daughter, with whom she had become acquainted by means of her paintings, had left the city; and Montague De Courcy had ceased his visits, fearing the increase of an incipient passion, which circumstances prevented his indulging. Alone and enfeebled, she suffered the loss of her father, and the prospect of poverty appalled her. In this destitute state she was received, as a companion, by Lady Pelham, a half-sister to her mother, to whom, on account of some family dissensions, she had been before unknown.

Relieved from the fears of poverty and the persecutions of Hargrave, and elevated to be the associate of rank and fortune, as the niece of Lady Pelham, Laura was for a while insensible to the new vexations which awaited her. In her aunt she found a most assiduous tormentor. She received Laura because she wanted a companion, and Laura would be a very cheap and very useful one; and as she was handsome would be known and admired, and thus Lady Pelham's disinterested generosity would be acknowledged. She had persuaded herself that her only motives were benevolence toward Laura, and the desire of having some object to fill the chasm in her affectionate heart, which was made by the elopement of her unnatural daughter with a young ensign, whom she never could forgive. Her kindness to Laura, she expected would be repayed by the endurance of her ill temper, and she seemed to value her principally as an object on which to exercise her power of tormenting. The casual mention of one of the most profligate actions of Hargrave, had so affected Laura, as to cause a long illness; and the melancholy which remained, and was caused by the conviction that she must no more have any hope with regard to him, excited the curiosity of her

aunt, and was a theme of unceasing hints and inquiries. In the spring they removed to her Ladyship's seat at Walbourne, near Norwood, the residence of her friends the De Courcys; who are represented as hospitable, benevolent, and cheerful, and to whom she often resorted for relief from the society of her aunt. Hargrave, discovering her abode, again appears, as the friend of Lady Pelham, acquaints her with his pretensions and wishes, and intrigues with her to secure the compliance of Laura, who decidedly declares to her aunt her determination to persist in her rejection, while to Hargrave she conducts with coldness and aversion. The entreaties and commands of Lady Pelham, her threats, and promises, and abuse; the visits of Hargrave, at which she was compelled to be present; the reports of her absolute engagement; and all the plans which could be devised to overcome her decision, had no other effect but to distress and mortify Laura. Their removal again to London, where she hoped to be free from Hargrave, did not bring the expected relief. Admitted to familiar acquaintance with her aunt, Laura was exposed to his passion when she was alone, and to offensive freedoms before others. For a short time the manner of Hargrave was changed from ardor and extravagance, to civility and respect; and Laura congratulated herself on the alteration. But it lasted only while an unsuccessful attempt was made to involve her by gaming; when he again was wild and furious in his addresses. Such was his influence with Lady Pelham, and her desire that he should succeed, that she connived at a scheme, by which Laura was to be arrested for a pretended debt, and Hargrave to relieve her upon condition of future kindness. His designs were much more atrocious than were confided to Lady Pelham; and the detection of the plot roused the indignation of Laura at the baseness of her aunt, which she could no longer doubt. To appease her anger, and prevent her

departure to her friends in Scotland, her ladyship immediately removed to Walbourne.

Montague De Courcy had concealed his love, because his fortune would not permit increased expense, until he had made that provision for his sister, which his father had intended, but neglected. Her marriage to one of the most respectable and sensible men mentioned in the novel, was the cause of an avowal on his part, which produced a rejection by Laura; for she was not yet entirely freed from the dominion of her imagination, and believed that she could not return the love which was offered. Her intimacy with De Courcy was not indifferent to Hargrave, and the final success of De Courcy's suit inflamed him almost to madness. He hated the man of whom he was jealous, and resolved that force should obtain what his persuasions could not. But the regiment to which he belonged, with himself at the head of it, was now ordered to America; and the news of his departure at length relieved Laura from apprehension, and left her to indulge in happy anticipations. Another event, not much less propitious to her peace, also took place; which was the death of her aunt by apoplexy. We hoped that here the unfortunate Laura's troubles were to cease, and she was to arrive at the fate of all heroines; that she was about to be married, have a great many children, and live a long and happy life. But alas! our author was determined upon having at least one original incident in her book, and seems through the remainder of it as though she had written herself into an extacy, for the purpose.

One evening as Laura was returning from Mrs. De Courcy's, she is seized by ruffians, transported in a carriage with closed blinds, with most indescribable celerity, to the sea-coast. She made one unsuccessful attempt by the way to jump out of the window, and in her despair she hid a penknife in her bosom. She was now put on board a vessel, and carried to America. In the wilds of Canada, far from human

habitations, her nearest neighbours the Indians, she is placed in a house, which we presume was made for the purpose, there to await the arrival of her most devoted Col. Hargrave. She resolves however to commit suicide, provided there should be any necessity. But she is saved from her very disagreeable dilemma, by the carelessness of her maid, who left her alone while walking. She espies a canoe, embarks, and is carried by the stream down the river. She moves on till the next morning, when she performs a most terrible exploit, no less than sailing down a cataract, which it is to be supposed was exceedingly high. She finds herself, when recovered from the uncomfortable effects of her adventure, in a respectable house. Hence she obtains a passage for her native country; and after arriving there, every thing goes on precisely as if she had not gone to America at all. As for Hargrave, he, thinking Laura was drowned, shoots himself.

Thus much for the narrative. The incidents are most of them trite, and some are ridiculous. We were inclined so to consider the attempt of Hargrave to seize Laura in the house of her aunt, in broad day-light, notwithstanding all the apparatus of connivance and stratagem, by which it is attempted to make it appear credible. And where would not our author's love of the marvellous have carried her, when it induced her to send her poor heroine over the Atlantic, to the wilderness of Canada? It would indeed be no objection to the novel, if by the triteness of the incidents, we meant such as occured every day in real life; but we mean what is very different, such as occur every day in novels. The conduct in any imagined situation may be represented as perfectly correct, the example to any one in similar circumstances fit to be exactly followed, but of however general application the moral or practical principle that is deduced may be, its impression cannot be so great upon us, if we believe it to be impossible that we should ever be in such circumstances, as if we thought ourselves continual-

ly liable to be placed in them. Many have respected the decision of Alexander at the Granicus, or of Cæsar at the Rubicon, and have admired the fortitude of Regulus ; but perhaps few have imitated these high examples in the familiar actions of common life. So too Æsop's fox tormented by flies presents a very excellent example of patience; but we suspect that there have not been many who have been more quiet in suffering on account of it.

With the manner in which the incidents are related, we were in general pleased, notwithstanding many faults. Somewhat of wit and repartee is displayed ; yet the attempts at humour are often awkward. There is sometimes an unpleasant obtrusion of the author's self; there are frequent trifling vulgarities of style, and some slight inaccuracies in delineations of character. We were amused by the extravagance of some descriptions, and wondered at the want of judgment in others. Religious observations are sometimes introduced in a troublesome and injudicious manner. A great deal of ornament is not attempted ; nor does the fancy of the author appear adapted to figurative embellishment. But her remarks on human nature have often much acuteness. There are passages which we think have great pathos; and on the whole, there is much interest felt in the characters introduced.

We cannot but approve the intention of the author to recommend habits of self-government, which appears from the character of Laura ; for we wish it should be believed that it is our duty to direct, and not to be guided by our feelings ; and we are glad that it is the conquest of love, by which this government is exemplified. Not that we consider love a thing in itself the most difficult to be got rid of ; nor that we should view the man who had overcome indolence, or irritability of temper, with less respect, than the person who had consented to live, and even to smile, after discovering the unworthiness of a lover ; nor that we should consider patience in poverty, and cheer-

fulness in want, virtues less exalted, than submission to the loss of any object of affection, how much soever the happiness of life might have been thought to depend upon it; but because the representations of love in works of the imagination are generally such as imply that its power is irresistible; that yielding entirely to it is commendable; and that it is worthy to employ many years of life. But love, (in its technical sense, as it is commonly described in novels,) when it has in it any thing of sentiment, we consider only as an alloy of sober friendship; we attribute all the ravings, and extravagances, and vices of professed and desperate lovers, to the impulses of animal feelings. And these representations are dangerous as well as false. They inflame imagination, they cherish passion, and excite expectations of such happiness as can never be enjoyed. As far then as this story, by exhibiting the power of good sense and religion, may counteract the delirious dreams, which may have been produced by "exaggerated descriptions of the happiness of love," and as far as the example which it affords of an attachment which was rational, without any of the wildness of passion, and was strong because it sprung from a soil of virtue, and was firm because its growth was slow, may tend to put love out of fashion, so far we think it deserves praise.

The author has judiciously contrasted the restraining exertions of Laura, with the indulgence and yielding which characterize Hargrave; and if we think that she has not represented the energy of religion, and the effect of continued endeavours as sufficiently great, we shall not condemn her for the terrible event which she pictures to the undisputed sway of passion.

The passion of Hargrave is opposed to the attachment of De Courcy; and the author has with some correctness marked the difference between the sentiments which Laura entertained toward each. Hargrave had entirely possessed her

soul; she had loved him with somewhat of such devotedness as he felt for her, though with a purity which he did not possess, and without his selfishness. But so calm and rational was her regard for De Courcy, that she could not suspect it was love. She could not for a long time believe, that a mutual desire of pleasing and benefitting, a high estimation of each other's virtues, and there being nothing to diminish or counteract their esteem, amounted to any thing more than what was a very insufficient bond of marriage; and our author herself seems almost unwilling to allow, that raptures, extacies, and transports, are really unnecessary to prove the strength of attachment. Had De Courcy been described as a little more manly, and not so dependent on smiles and favors, and having less awful reverence for Laura, and not quite so much liability to gloom, the character of a methodist parson would not have been thought by Lady Pelham so applicable.

Lady Pelham is represented as a character of the most devoted selfishness. With some strength she had much narrowness of mind. She was proud, and vexed at every body who was better than herself. Persons whose conduct was a reproach upon her own, by whose virtue she was awed, she did not envy, she did not slander, but such was her native openness, she could not but perpetually speak of their faults, and hint her dislike; and yet her petulance implied that she was sometimes dissatisfied with herself, and sought to transfer her own faults to some one else. She appears to have had a convenient power of thinking herself always in the right, which was yet accompanied with a most uncomfortable uneasiness that every one else should think so too. What she thought the tenderness of her heart, often appeared like ill temper; her ungoverned and irascible passions were, in her own opinion, only strong and quick feelings; she had no irritability, but her sensibility was always alive; her perfect generosity was most frequently manifested by her easy reception

of favors, and her delicacy, by her unwillingness to return them. Thus she is described as living upon opinion, and therefore desiring power, as this implied superiority; and as she had not taste or capacity for attachment, she was pleased that others should be dependent on her. Lady Pelham is said to have had wit, liveliness, and information; and when every body pleased her, why she would please them. But if at some times her vivacity delighted, at others, the ebullitions of her indulged passions were degrading and offensive. When she dared to expose herself, her malice seemed diabolical, and no trifle could escape her censure; or if fear restrained her, she relieved herself from even apparent good humor, by provoking hints and inuendos. In the delineation of this character, by the descriptions of the means and influence of self-deception, and of the expressions of ill-temper and vanity, we think the author has discovered knowledge of human nature.

We can give the same praise to the descriptions of captain Montreville's melancholy. When afflicted with this disease, he appears weak in mind and indolent in body; ill-tempered, irritable, and selfish; depressed, and not roused by misfortunes; tormenting himself and others by anticipations of increased calamity; and refusing every thing that might enliven.

"Wilfully and without effort he suffered his spirits to ex-
"pire. His whole train of thinking became habitually gloo-
"my. He was wretched even without reference to his situa-
"tion; and the original cause of his melancholy was rather
"the excuse than the reason of his depression."

This is precisely the manner in which he should have appeared.

On the whole, we have been pleased with Self-Control. If we have sometimes been made to laugh where it was not intended, we have never been angry; and if we could not admire, we could often approve.

A REVIEW*

OF

CONSTANCE DE CASTILE: A POEM, IN TEN CANTOS.

BY WILLIAM SOTHEBY, ESQ.

First American edition, 18*mo*. *Boston*, 1812.

It could not have been predicted from any one of Mr. Sotheby's former productions, that he would ever accomplish a work of very superior value, which should entitle him to a much higher place on the scale of poetic merit than he then held. There is so much evenness of execution, such a uniformity of desert in all his works, that we have no suspicion of any unexerted or undeveloped powers. We discern in them no brilliant flashes, that discover a temporary superiority to himself; no irregular sallies, that mark undisciplined ability; no towering eminences, that display an inviting prospect. His page is not crowded with thought like Crabbe's; nor does it sparkle with beauties like Scott's; nor is it exuberant with delightful ornament like Southey's. His faults are of deficiency, rather than of excess. They are caused principally by the want of a powerful imagination, of strength of conception, and of spirit in execution. His expressions are smooth and flowing, though far from possessing the full toned sweetness of Campbell. But they are seldom original or pointed; nor are they so full of meaning, that the

* First published in the General Repository, for April, 1812. vol. i. page 410.

thought grows with the line, and no word can be dispensed with; nor so delicate and forcible as to awaken vivid emotions, and impress us deeply with their sense. His vivacity is that of uniform temperament, rather than of excited feelings; which is not so estimable in poetry, as in character. There is no magic in his verse; nothing that makes us pause to admire, and captivates us unknowingly. Nevertheless, Mr. Sotheby has not been read without interest, nor praised without desert, by such as are pleased with descriptions that discover an amiable character, and a taste for nature's softer beauties. He is sometimes elegant; he has so much purity of taste that he is not likely to offend; and the morality of his poems in general, though nothing to distinguish the poet, must produce complacency in the man.

His first work was the translation of Wieland's Oberon, a poem, which, though beautiful, has been most extravagantly overrated. This translation was published in 1798. It has been deservedly praised for the harmony of its versification in a difficult measure; but we are not disposed to give very high applause to the writer, who has made accessible and grateful to the English reader, a poem discovering a taste egregiously faulty, and whose boasted excellence of moral is more than counteracted by the seducing wantonness of many of its descriptions. In 1800 Mr. Sotheby published his version of the Georgics. He has here also displayed his command of language; but he has in some instances deviated rather too far from the original to be credited as an entirely faithful translator. This production however, in which he places himself in competition with Addison, Dryden, Warton, and Pitt, has procured for its author no inconsiderable reputation. His next work of magnitude was Saul, a poem in blank verse, published in 1805. This is by no means equal to either of the others we have mentioned. We here find much harshness of versification, and many lines of false and inaccurate measure. Mr. Sotheby does

not soar so high when he rises with the assistance only of a historical ground work, as when he is constantly supported by the vigor of a firmer wing. He used dangerous materials, as they were derived from sacred history, from which much deviation is not allowable ; and it requires more spirit in the execution, and more richness of decoration, than are displayed in this poem, to render interesting a trite narrative. But it is a poem of mild character, from which many pleasant, and some fine passages may be selected. Mr. Sotheby has besides published a tour through Wales ; odes, sonnets, and other poems ; a poetical epistle to Sir George Beaumont, on the encouragement of the British school of painting, which we believe has considerable merit; Oberon, a Mask, which is a dramatic abridgment of the poem ; Orestes, a tragedy ; Julian and Agnes ; and the Siege of Cusco ; so that he is an author of works rather numerous, and somewhat various. He alludes to several of these works in the following passage from Saul.

> " Loved haunts ! that heard my song of other years :
> Whether I swept the chords high-pitched to strain
> Heroical, when Britain's chief appalled
> Th' Invader, and on Ægypt's sea of blood,
> Like an avenging angel, rode in fire :
> Or, lapt in dreams of faery, I wove
> Light lays of elfine loom : or fondly strove
> To modulate the Mantuan reed : or hailed
> The Muse of Athens, when Orestes rose
> Before my trance : bear witness, haunts of peace !
> How more delightful far than all that fed
> My youthful melodies, this theme divine
> Which thrills my awe-struck spirit ; while I muse
> On God, and mighty miracles, and thee,
> Thee, Word creative."—Part ii. B. 1.

Constance de Castile was first published in 1810 ; this we believe is Mr. Sotheby's last work. It is professedly founded upon history ; the period of which is during the latter half of the

fourteenth century. The subject appears to have been selected with reference to the connexion at present subsisting between England and Spain, as the incidents principally relate to the union of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, with Constance, the daughter of Pedro the cruel, king of Castile. In thus choosing his subject from history, Mr. Sotheby must either have intended to illustrate and commemorate its events; or to save himself the expense of invention; or to increase the interest in fictitious circumstances by a mixture of reality. In the first case, no deviation from the correct narrative should be allowed; in the others, we do not expect strict obedience to it. Mr. Sotheby was probably influenced by both of the latter motives. Not venturing to stand alone, and trust only to his own invention, he selected a story, which was likely to interest his countrymen at the present period, and perhaps he was at liberty to adhere to it or not, as he pleased. We shall not therefore condemn the deviations from it, presuming that his readers will not consider the poem as historical authority. Pedro, by the enormity of his vices and the tyranny of his government, had alienated his people, and induced his bastard brother, Henry count of Trastamara, to rebel. Henry, with the aid of Bertram du Guesclin, who, obtaining the consent of Charles the wise, king of France, collected and led to his assistance the vagabond banditti who infested France at that time, invaded Castile, was received by the people, and finally obtained possession of the kingdom.

At the commencement of the poem, Corunna, almost reduced by famine, was the only city which still resisted the victorious Henry.* A year had elapsed since Pedro had left it, to seek assistance from Portugal, where he was treacherously detained. A stormy night is described; a boat is faintly discerned from the watch-tower of Corunna, riding on the billows. It reaches the shore.

* See note A, following the Review.

"Hark! as the swift keel ploughs the strand,
Hark! eager acclamations ring,
'Castile! come forth! hail, hail thy King!
Thy long lost King returns, and greets his native land!'"

Pedro lands amid the congratulations of his adherents, and is received with joy by his daughter Constance. But overcome with grief for his own misfortunes, and for the distresses and dangers of his friends, with rage against his enemies, and with the stern anguish of conscious guilt, he retires alone to the vault which contained the sepulchre of Maria de Padilla, well known in history as his mistress, or his privately married wife, who was so beloved by the king, that she was thought to be an enchantress, and who induced him to the murder of Blanche of Bourbon, his queen. He enters,

"Now—ghastly pale, now—fiery red,
As one by horror visited."

Here the half frantic king is disturbed by a terrific vision of his poisoned queen, and of a murdered knight. To free himself from the sight before him, he is about to kill himself; when he is interrupted by Constance, and Anselm the priest, who calm his emotion. The third canto has among its first stanzas the following description, which we extract as poetic.

"Bright in the heavens, one beauteous star
Shone, heralding Aurora's car,
When Constance, on the embattled keep,
Hung o'er Corunna hushed in sleep.
Beneath her, where the champaign spread,
From each deep glen, each mountain head,
Gray mists on mists began to rise,
Wafting pure incense to the skies.
While lulled on Ocean's heaving breast
Lay the wild winds in halcyon rest,
To fancy's ear the sea-maid's song
Came on the flowing of the tide,
Wave leading wave, soft stole along,

Touched the low level sands, and died:
Yet not a wave was seen to flow,
So thick the dun haze hung below.
Now slowly melting into day,
Vapour and mist dissolved away,
And the blue world of waters round
Met the far heaven's o'er-arching bound:
And gleaming through the gorgeous fold
Of clouds, around his glory rolled,
The orb of gold, far off, half seen,
Levelled his rays of tremulous sheen,
That widely as the billows roll
Glanced quivering on their distant goal."

The arrival of Almanzor, king of Lybia, is then described, who comes to demand the hand of Constance. He offers the alternative of peace and plentiful supplies, or war; and the famished garrison favor his suit. The king refers the decision to Constance.

"Amid Corunna's suppliant throng
As the fair victim rushed along,
Again the Moor before the King
Held up the spear and nuptial ring,
Again round Pedro rung the cry,
'Save!—for thou canst—for thee we die!'
'Live, warriors, live!'—the Virgin cried—
'My doom is fixed—Almanzor's bride.'"

Thus Constance is pledged to become the bride of Almanzor, unless within a year his kingdom should be restored to Pedro, and the hand of Constance be demanded by some Christian knight of princely rank. The next canto describes the court of Edward, the black prince, at Bourdeaux; at that time thronged with knights, for the celebration of a festival. The songs of the minstrels are finished, when

"A stranger, clad in palmer's weed,
Leapt from a spent and panting steed."

"The stranger, at the banquet door,
As one well-wont to state and place,
Checked the rude swiftness of his pace:
And casting off the palmer's gown
On the fresh reeds that strowed the floor,
In graceful guise, bowed lowly down,
And stood before each wondering guest,
A page in royal livery drest.
Nor boy, nor man, in bloom of life,
When youth and manhood seem at strife.
A royal page:—'twas clear to view—
Velvet his mantle, crimson hue;
With ring and broach his kirtle graced,
And gold the sash that girt his waist.
Yet—like the lily's beauteous flower,
That lonely droops beneath the shower,
And hanging o'er its humid bed
Seems from its cup a tear to shed:
So wan his hue, so fair his face,
Where woe had left its lingering trace."

This page was Julian, the illegitimate child of Ellen, the sister of Pedro. He was the companion and friend of Constance. He had left Corunna before Pedro had returned. His suit for assistance for Constance is seconded by the princess Joanna, Edward's spouse; and he departs with pledges of love and assistance from the duke of Lancaster,* and with an invitation from Edward to Constance to repair to his court. The tale of Julian is introduced, in which are the following verses.

"'Twas when Maria sunk to rest,
The new-born Constance on her breast,
When Pedro o'er her fondly hung,
The blessing trembling on his tongue,
From the last kiss of Ellenor,
The Nuns her hapless Orphan bore.

* The famed John of Gaunt.

Laid on Maria's couch, the child
Looked on her face, and sweetly smiled.
'Hence!'—the stern Monarch fiercely cried—
'Hence! with some nameless peasant place
That stain of the Castillian race.'
Maria's sigh alone replied.
She thought on Ellen, dead and gone,
And the orphan in a world alone;
Then—clasped to her maternal breast
The babes, caressing and carest,
Their arms in innocence entwined.—
That sight o'erpowered stern Pedro's mind—
'So, peaceful, on that bosom rest!
So pass,'—he cried—'your infant year!'
And blest them with a father's tear."

Shortly after the return of Julian to Corunna, an English vessel arrives, and Pedro embarks with Constance for Bourdeaux, to claim assistance from allied England. Meanwhile at Edward's court a splendid tournament was preparing; and a long description is given of the dresses of the combatants, which were assumed to represent the heroes of the times of Arthur and Charlemagne, in which there is a greater display of chivalric lore than of poetry, and which is probably introduced to occupy the time necessary for king Pedro's voyage. His arrival is announced by the page Julian, who rushes amid the prepared combatants, breathless and wounded, and alarms them by cries for assistance for Constance and Pedro, who, even in the harbor of Bourdeaux, were attacked by a Moorish vessel.

"Speed, Conqueror—speed!—the Paynims fling
Their fetters round Castillia's King,
And rudely seized the captive Maid.
What earthly power shall Constance aid?
Lo!—Lancaster high waves the blade,
And bold the peerless fair to save,
Or greatly perish in the wave,

Spurs down the stream his foaming steed.
Filled with his fire, with lightning speed,
The rival chiefs, knight urging knight,
Stem the deep flood, and join the fight."

The captive king and his daughter were soon released. In the following night Pedro has a dream, in which he foresees his own final subjugation and murder by his brother Henry.* This is a proof of Mr. Sotheby's want of very great inventive genius; for it is merely a versification of the history of the death of the king, and has nothing in it of the wildness and confusedness of terrifying dreams. Edward, with the assembled knights of his court, among whom appeared one unknown to the rest, being concealed under the disguise of his closed armour, on the day after the arrival of Pedro, declares his readiness to hear his suit. "Yet blood is charged on Pedro's brow," and he must exculpate himself from the heavy charges against him. This produces a confession from the king; after which, upon his promise to endow a chantry, and to go as a warrior to the holy land, he is absolved by a reverend priest who was present, and then more successfully again urges his claims.

"At once, ere Pedro's closing word,
Up from their seats the warriors sprung,
Leapt from each sheath th' avenging sword,
The roof with martial clangour rung:
Brave Lancaster, before the rest,
Exultant to the Virgin prest,
His hand now hovered o'er the veil:
When in the thunder of his mail,
With lightning speed, with eye of fire,
Baring his brow in scornful ire,
The stranger knight before him flew,
His outstretched arm a dagger drew,
Shook o'er the maid in vengeful mood;

* See note B, following the Review.

'Hence or this poniard drinks her blood.
Behold Almanzor, Afric's King.' "

But Lancaster throws down his gauntlet, and challenges his rival to prove his merit by the sword. A combat, after the common fashion of such combats, ensues, in which Almanzor is slain. The veil is removed from Constance, and Lancaster claims her as his bride. The last canto commences with an allusion to the modern glories of Britain, particularly her late victories in Spain. The march of Edward's army is then described, in which Constance proceeds, attended by Julian and Lancaster.

" Gay balancing with flexile grace
The cadence of his courser's pace,
On his barbed roan in martial pride
Castillia's champion woos the bride,
And wins her with heroic tale
Of wars where youthful knights prevail,
Deeds of renown for beauty done,
And realms, for love of ladies, won.
'Twas Constance, 'twas her subtile thread
That o'er his belt its broidery spread;
'Twas her fair hand its fancies wove,
Emblem of bliss and nuptial love.
Where the bright texture richly glowed,
In silver wave the ocean flowed.
There floating in a pearly shell
Whence light as from a rain-bow fell,
Went Hymen veiled, and gaily wreathed
A garland where fresh roses breathed.
Cupid here played the pilot's part,
His rudder was a diamond dart:
Wide waved his plumes, each wing a sail,
Fluttering its feathers in the gale.
An emerald its centre shone,
And changeful opals clasped the zone."

The progress of the army is arrested at the pass of Ronceval, where earl Roland and his warriors fell, by a hermit, who bids them respect the spot, and pay their tribute of regard to the memory of the hero. Constance advanced,

> "By high heroic impulse fired,
> And seized the harp as one inspired."

She exhorts to the imitation of the deeds of Roland, and fills them with martial ardor; when their attention is arrested by the inspired hermit, who announces the success of their expedition; and then foretels the distresses of Spain from its present invader, the tyrant of France, and the succour it would receive from the "empress of the main." With "the prophetic ode of the hermit" the poem closes.

Such a conclusion is abrupt and unsatisfactory, and it appears premature. The characters in the poem being suddenly taken from our view almost as soon as we have become interested in them, we must be satisfied with the knowledge of their fate which we may derive from the hints of the prophetic ode. The story, though it has some faults, and deserves no praise for originality of plan, or ingenuity of arrangement, is entertaining. Mr. Sotheby has neglected, we think rather unskilfully, one of the most certain and lawful arts of exciting and maintaining interest, which is, to keep the reader in ignorance of the approaching event, so that while the train of incidents is continually provoking curiosity, the developement shall produce surprise. This inattention is observable in the first canto. We are told that the boat which approaches Corunna contains its monarch, which destroys our power of sympathising with the eager expectations of those who discern it from the tower; and we feel no surprise, which otherwise we might have done in a high degree, when the arrival of the long lost king is declared. The palmer who arrives at Edward's court, we instantly know, for we

have before been told of Julian's adventure. So too as soon as Pedro leaves the harbour of Corunna, we expect the attack which is made upon his vessel, being told that Almanzor is in ambush. Such anticipations diminish our interest.

We are confirmed by this poem in the opinion which we have expressed of Mr. Sotheby's character. We said he was deficient in imagination; and there are in this poem no incidents or imagery which disprove the assertion. This deficiency appears in the structure of the narrative, in the style of versification, and in the triteness of the epithets and metaphors. We have here the same lions and storms,* which have been common stock since the days of Homer. We said also that Mr. Sotheby did not discover much strength of conception, or spirit in execution; and the character of Pedro, which was capable of being very highly wrought, is very inadequately brought out. Nor should we attribute to Mr. Sotheby from this poem, any more than from his others, much originality. But most of his poetic ideas, and many of his expressions, indicate that he has been a studious reader of poetry. We are very often reminded of other writers by some phrase which we thought peculiar, or even by trains of ideas, and modes of description, which we indistinctly remember to have met with before. The hermit's ode in "Constance" compels us to recollect "The Bard" of Gray; not from any similarity of beauties, but from an analogy of structure and expression. We do not mean to accuse Mr. Sotheby of plagiarism, or of direct and designed imitation; but it seems as if when he composed he had other poetry than his own in his mind; as if he did not describe so much from conception of his subject, as from the recollection of other descriptions.

We can say of this poem, what has been said of almost each of Mr. Sotheby's former productions, that it will not in-

* See pp. 117, 147.

crease his reputation; but we cannot so confidently add, what has been usually added, that it will not at all diminish it. Constance de Castile cannot be so highly praised as either of his translations, and we doubt whether it should rank so high as Saul. We certainly cannot extract so fine passages from it, as may be found in the description of Saul's advance to battle, and of his conduct during and immediately after the repulse. But if Mr. Sotheby is still far below the highest class of poets, even of poets of the present day, he is certainly not below all praise. We are not at all disposed to retract or qualify the tribute which we have already paid to his delicacy, purity, elegance, or taste. We will condemn no one for admiring his poems, because (with the exception of Oberon) there is nothing in them to injure; but we ourselves must be permited to be only moderately pleased with them.

NOTES.

Note A. page 19.

THERE are several notes appended to the poem of Mr. Sotheby, which contain sometimes authorities for the truth of its incidents, sometimes illustrations, and at others mere assertions of facts. In these we have a right to expect and demand strict adherence to history, for they profess to give correct information. But we suspect there are some misstatements, which we will notice.

The first note we believe is incorrect. Pedro retreated from city to city, the country revolting only as the usurper advanced, and he passed through Galicia, and embarked at Corunna for Bayonne. He was refused assistance from Portugal, but was not besieged at Corunna; for when he was there, Henry was in the southern part of the kingdom, at Toledo or Seville. It was but about fifteen months from the time of Hen-

ry's invasion to Pedro's return. See Stevens' Mariana, B. XVII. c. 5. Mod. Univer. Hist. vol. XX. p. 316 seq.

The authority of Dillon, produced in the third note, does not prove that don Pedro was imprisoned in Portugal, while the testimony of Froissart renders it very improbable. "When "the king of Portugal heard in what manner his cousin don "Pedro had been slain, he was mightily vexed at it, and swore "he would have satisfaction for it. He immediately sent a "challenge to Henry, and made war upon him, remaining mas- "ter of all the environs of Seville for a whole season."

In a note to the third canto, Johnes' Froissart is quoted as asserting, that Ferdinand de Castro was the only knight who followed Pedro from his kingdom. A few pages after this account of Froissart, his translator has detected its incorrectness, and has the following note with respect to some compact between Edward and Pedro. "The number of witnesses to this "deed shows, that Froissart was misinformed, when he says, "that don Pedro was solely attended by Fernando de Castro." According to Mariana, he embarked at Corunna with *his family and twenty two ships.*

Note B. page 24.

In a note upon the dream of Pedro, Mr. Sotheby has again quoted Froissart, and attributes the seizure of the king to the Bégue de Villaines; and expresses a doubt, which is copied from the translator Johnes, whether the relation of Froissart is not to be preferred to those of Mariana and Ferreras. These respectable historians attribute it to the treachery of Bertram du Guesclin, who promised to assist king Pedro in escaping from the castle of Montiel where he was besieged, but betrayed him to Henry; and their testimony is rejected by Mr. Sotheby for the same reason probably that it is by Johnes, "because avarice was not a vice of such gallant men;" a curious reason indeed, when we consider that this was an age

when crimes were so frequent, and religion so disregarded, that vice was hardly disgraceful. We leave our readers to choose between the authorities, reminding them that Froissart and Bertram were both Frenchmen. But the particulars of the seizure as related by Froissart are interesting, although he may be incorrect as to the person concerned in it: so much so, that we extract the following account.

"After the defeat of king Pedro and his army, king Henry and sir Bertram encamped themselves before the castle of Montiel where don Pedro was: they surrounded it on all sides." ——"This castle was of sufficient strength to have held out a considerable time, if it had been properly victualled; but when don Pedro entered it, there was not enough for four days, which much alarmed him and his companions. They were so strictly watched that a bird could not escape from the castle without being noticed.

"Don Pedro was in great anguish of heart at seeing himself thus surrounded by his enemies, well knowing they would not enter into any treaty of peace or agreement with him; so that considering his dangerous situation, and the great want of provisions in the castle, he was advised to attempt his escape, with eleven companions, about midnight, and to put himself under the protection of God: he was offered guides that would conduct him to a place of safety.

"They remained in the castle with this determination until midnight; when don Pedro, accompanied by Fernando de Castro, and others of the eleven companions, set out. It was very dark. At this hour le Bégue de Villaines had the command of the watch, with upwards of three hundred men.

"Don Pedro quitted the castle with his companions, and was descending by an upper path, but so quietly that it did not appear as if any one was moving; however, the Bégue de Villaines, who had many suspicions, and was afraid of losing the object of his watch, imagined he heard the sound of

horses' feet upon the causeway: he therefore said to those near him, 'Gentlemen, keep quiet, make no movement, for I hear the steps of some people; we must know who they are, and what they seek at such an hour. I suspect they are victuallers, who are bringing provisions to the castle, for I know it is in this respect very scantily provided.' The Bégue then advanced, his dagger on his wrist, toward a man who was close to don Pedro, and demanded, 'Who art thou? speak, or thou art a dead man.' The man to whom the Bégue had spoken was an Englishman, and refused to answer: he bent himself over his saddle and dashed forward. The Bégue suffered him to pass, when addressing himself to don Pedro, and examining him earnestly, he fancied it was the king, notwithstanding the darkness of the night, from his likeness to king Henry, his brother, for they very much resembled each other. He demanded from him, in placing his dagger at his breast, 'And you, who are you? name yourself, and surrender this moment, or you are a dead man.' In thus saying, he caught hold of the bridle of his horse, and would not suffer him to escape as the former had done.

"King don Pedro, who saw a large body of men at arms before him, and found that he could not by any means escape, said to the Bégue de Villaines, whom he recognised, 'Bégue, Bégue, I am don Pedro, king of Castile, to whom much wrong has been imputed through evil counsellors. I surrender myself and all my people, but twelve in number, as thy prisoners. We place ourselves under thy guard and disposition. I beseech thee in the name of thy gentility, that thou put me in a place of safety. I will pay for my ransom whatever sum thou shalt please to ask; for, thank God, I have yet a sufficiency to do that; but thou must prevent me from falling into the hands of the bastard.' The Bégue (according to the information I have since received) replied, that he and his company might come with him in all security, for that his brother should

not from him have any intelligence of what had happened.* Upon this consideration they advanced, when don Pedro was conducted to the tent of the Bégue, and into the chamber of sir Lyon de Lakonet. He had not been there an hour when king Henry, and the viscount de Rocaberti, with their attendants, but not in great numbers, came thither. As soon as king Henry had entered the chamber where don Pedro was, he said, 'Where is this son of a Jewish whore, who calls himself king of Castile?' Don Pedro, who was a bold as well as a cruel man, stepped forward and said, 'Why, thou art the son of a whore, and I am the son of Alphonso.' On saying this, he caught hold of king Henry with his arms, began to wrestle with him, and being the strongest, threw him down under him: placing his hand upon his poignard, he would infallibly have killed him, if the viscount de Rocaberti had not been present, who seizing don Pedro by the legs turned him over, by which means king Henry being uppermost, immediately drew a long poignard, which he wore in his sash, and plunged it into his body. His attendants entered the tent and helped dispatch him.

"Thus died don Pedro, king of Castile, who had formerly reigned in great prosperity. Those who had slain him left him three days unburied, which was a pity for the sake of humanity; and the Spaniards made their jokes upon him."†

The character of Pedro is among the worst that disgrace

* "There are different accounts of this affair. Ferreras attributes the capture of don Pedro to Bertram du Guesclin, and not much to his honour; but I cannot believe this, as avarice was not a vice of such gallant men, and am inclined to believe Froissart has been rightly informed." Trans.

† Johnes' Froissart, ch. 243. An account resembling this in many particulars, and like this very interesting, may be found in the "Memoires de Bertrand du Guesclin," (in the "Collection universelle des Memoires particuliers relatifs à l'Histoire de France.") ch. 19.

history; though the fourth note to the eighth canto of Constance de Castile intends to vindicate him from the charge of cruelty. His bad actions would have escaped censure had they been few; for the character of the times permitted much that now committed would deeply disgrace the perpetrator. But the title of Peter, viz. "The cruel," the aversion of his subjects, and above all, the facts recorded of him by all historians, must convince any one who reads his history of his enormous baseness. There was such meanness in his vices, and such a destitution of that high spirit and sense of honor which have given splendor to so many crimes, that it is impossible to feel any complacency in Pedro. He was avaricious, treacherous, and "debauched, cruel, cunning, and faithless in a supreme degree;"* he was the murderer of his brothers, and of his queen. The guilt of Blanche of Bourbon is far from being proved by the quotation from Voltaire, p. 190, especially when his testimony is opposed by common belief, and by the uniform testimony of history. See Stevens' Mariana, B. xvii. c. 3. Life of Bertrand du Guesclin.

We wish that Mr. Sotheby had not laid claim to historical accuracy, or that he had possessed more.

* Universal History.

A REVIEW*

OF

An Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament; comprising a summary chronological and geographical view of the events recorded respecting the ministry of our Saviour; accompanied with maps, questions for examination, and an accented Index.

BY LANT CARPENTER, LL.D.

First American edition, 12mo. *Cambridge*, 1812.

THIS valuable little book is introduced by a modest preface, in which its object and principles are briefly stated. Seventy pages are then occupied with a geographical account of the countries, cities, islands, seas, &c. which are mentioned in the New Testament. It begins with Spain, and proceeding eastward, describes the places in order as far as Persia, and then shortly notices the countries of Africa, ending with Æthiopia. The descriptions are short, but clear; and though minuteness does not seem to have been intended, yet the study of this book would afford sufficient knowledge of the geography of the New Testament for common readers. There are also various remarks interspersed, containing much valuable information. The following accounts of the cities of Samaria and Jerusalem will exemplify Dr. Carpenter's condensed and simple manner.

"50. The capital city also was called Samaria. [It was "once the metropolis of the ten tribes, who separated from those

* First published in the General Repository for April 1812. vol. i. page 424.

" of Judah and Benjamin, and formed a distinct kingdom, about " nine hundred and seventy five years before the christian æra. " When the ten tribes were carried away captive into Assyria, " a number of Assyrians were introduced into their country, " who mingled with those Israelites who were left, and with " those who afterward returned. These people brought with " them their idolatry, and taught it to the conquered natives: " but it seems that before our Saviour's ministry, the Samari- " tans had returned to the worship of God. They however ma- " terially differed from the Jews. They received the books " of Moses only as of divine authority, and they considered " Mount Gerizim as the only place in which worship was ac- " ceptable to God.

" 51. The greatest aversion existed between the Jews and " the Samaritans. Both nations probably had some cause for " their hostile feelings; and both certainly exaggerated the " sources of their ill-will. The separation of the ten tribes,— " the opposition of the Samaritans to the rebuilding of the Jew- " ish temple after the Babylonish captivity,—the erection of a " temple on mount Gerizim,—and their ill-treatment of those " who passed through their country to worship God at Jerusa- " lem, are sufficient to account for the aversion of the Jews. " No doubt there were equal causes for the aversion of the Sa- " maritans; but we have only Jewish historians. It is certain " that the Maccabees seized and destroyed the capital and sub- " jugated the country.—It is obvious that the Samaritans were " in expectation of the Messiah; and that they were disposed " to admit the claims of Jesus.

" 52. It is not certain that the city of Samaria is spoken of " in the New Testament; the words in Acts viii. 5. should be " rendered a city of Samaria, as in John iv. 5. That city might " be Samaria, but of this we can only conjecture."]

"54. The capital of Judæa was *Jerusalem*. It was in a "central situation, on the confines of Benjamin and Judah; so "that part belonged to the territory of the one, part to that of "the other. It was built on hills, but being surrounded with "higher hills, it could not be seen in some directions till the "traveller came very near it. It was situated on a very stony "soil; and the country round it, for several miles, was dry and "barren.—The extent of the city differed considerably at dif- "ferent times: it had acquired its greatest extent at the time "of its final ruin. It then comprehended four hills, Sion, "Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha. *Sion* was in the southern part "of the city, and immediately to the north of it was Acra. "Sion was considerably the higher, and that part of the city "which was situated on it, was called the upper city; and on "Acra was the lower city. On the south and west of Sion "was a very deep valley, which rendered it inaccessible on "those sides; on the north was a high wall, which was built "by David. Moriah, on which stood the temple, lay to the "east of Acra. It was separated from it by a valley, which was "nearly filled up, that the access to the Temple from Acra "might be more easy. Moriah was about three-quarters of a "mile in circumference. It was connected with Sion by a "bridge and a terrace. To the north of it was another hill, "called Bezetha, which Agrippa joined to the city; and the "whole was then about thirty three furlongs in circumference."

For the convenience of teachers who may use this book, the principal topics which have been treated are brought together at the end of it, so that they may be used as questions for the examination of the pupil. The following are the questions for the passages which have been extracted.

"50. Of what was the city of Samaria the capital? What "caused the mixture of inhabitants in the country? Conse- "quence. Religion in our Saviour's time. In what respect

" did they differ from the Jews ?—51. Causes of the aversion of " the Jews ;—of the Samaritans. In what respect were the " latter well disposed ? 52. Is the capital mentioned in the " New Testament ?"

" 54. Situation of the capital of Judæa. Extent. Relative " situation of each of the hills. Extent of that on which the " temple stood. How was it connected with the other parts of " the city ? Circuit of the whole.—"

There are also four maps accompanying this Introduction. The first is a general outline of all the countries mentioned in the New Testament. The second contains the places which are described in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor, and the islands of the Mediterranean. The two others are the most important. The first of them is of Palæstine, from the reduced map of D'Anville, but it differs in several of its divisions from this great authority. The last is a very miserable sketch of the plan of Jerusalem, being imperfect in matter and execution. We should have much preferred a complete copy of D'Anville, even if Bethphage and Bethany must have been omitted, which would not however have been necessary.

The second part, which makes more than half of this volume, and which is intended " to give an outline of the leading facts in the New Testament in the order of time," contains a new method of harmonizing the four gospels.

Although above a hundred harmonies of the four gospels may be found, in various languages,* many of which have been planned with great ingenuity, and arranged with great care, yet the principles upon which harmonists have proceeded have been so various, and the modes of application of the same principles so numerous, and the skill with which different systems have been defended has been so great, that it is a work of immense labor to attain a full view of the ground of this diversity ;

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 2. ch. 2. s. 6. note 24.

and if this view should be obtained, the decision to be made is most perplexing to the judgment; and perhaps it is impossible to obtain conviction of the correctness of any one hypothesis.† For hypothesis is all that we can obtain on this subject, there being nothing decisive in the gospels on many questions which it involves, and there being no positive evidence to be derived from any other source. But we do not consider the subject unimportant. The associations of time, as well as of place, must give greater interest to narrative, and greater force to precept: the period which we suppose to have been occupied by our Saviour's ministry, must affect our opinions concerning the manner in which he was received by his countrymen, and perhaps our ideas of his activity and engagement. We are not therefore displeased at a new attempt to harmonize the gospels, and shall willingly examine into its merits.

"The leading principles of the arrangement are, 1. that the "ministry of Jesus included two Passovers only;—2. that John "vi. 4. refers to the latter, at which Jesus was crucified;—and "3. that Matthew's order claims a general preference. If any "one of the three be true, archbishop Newcome's arrangement "cannot be correct; and if the second be true, Dr. Priestley's "arrangement cannot be correct. The general features of the "arrangement here given, depend upon the two former; ma-"ny of the minutiæ upon the last. The second only is pecu-"liar to it; and this removes every difficulty attending the "first. I believed that this principle is at least *consistent* with "the opinions of the early Christian writers: but I did not "expect to find it countenanced by any modern. G. J. Vos-"sius however was led to the very same opinion, for the same

† This is the opinion of Griesbach:—"valde enim dubito," says he in the preface to his Synopsis Evangeliorum, "an ex Evangelistarum li-"bellis harmonica componi possit narratio, veritati quoad chronologi-"cam pericoparum dispositionem satis consentanea, et firmis funda-"mentis superstructa."

"object, though by a different train of reasoning. (See "Newcome's first letter to Priestley, p. 118.)"*

We shall make some remarks on each of the principles here stated.

One of the principal questions on which harmonists have been divided, has been concerning the principles upon which the events recorded in the gospels are arranged. Some, at the head of whom was Osiander, have maintained, that each fact recorded by either of the Evangelists has its proper chronological place assigned to it in the narrative. To this opinion the most obvious and quite satisfactory objection is, that events mentioned by more than one Evangelist are frequently placed in different relative situations by the several writers. For instance, in John ii. 14—17. is an account of the clearing of the temple by our Saviour: an account of the clearing of the temple is also given by each of the other Evangelists,† which differs from that of John in nothing essential, except as to the period to which it is assigned. From the narrative of John, this event seems to have taken place at the first passover in our Saviour's ministry which is mentioned after his baptism; Matthew, Mark, and Luke refer it to the last. The solution of this difficulty is twofold; either the order of time was neglected by one or more of the sacred writers, or two events took place so similar as to have nothing to distinguish them, (but such circumstantial diversity as could not be avoided by writers who had no connexion with each other,) excepting their situation in the respective histories. If this were the only instance of diversity of arrangement which might be produced, the last supposition could be admitted; but as facts of this kind are numerous in the New Testament, it is very difficult to assent to the hypothesis, upon which we are to believe that miracles and remarkable events so similar, that no disagreeing circumstances are noted in the different accounts of them, occurred more

* Preface p. vi. † Mat. xxi. 12. Mark xi. 15. Luke xix. 45.

than once; especially when we have so easy a substitute as that which we have mentioned,—that one or more of the Evangelists neglected the order of time. If these similar accounts of different occurrences were found in the same gospel, there would be nothing to object to their diversity; but is it not unaccountable on this hypothesis, to mention only one of many instances, that although such an important event as the clearing of the temple occurred twice, that it should be mentioned once and only once by each of the Evangelists? The case is different with respect to the repetition of the same parables, or the same sayings; although we are far from allowing the license which has been used as to these by some harmonists. But this hypothesis is the only answer that is made to the objection which we have stated; and those harmonists therefore who consider each of the gospels to be chronologically arranged, have supposed all events mentioned by more than one Evangelist, the accounts of which do not occur in corresponding places, to have occurred more than once.

To avoid the very obvious and insuperable difficulty, which attends this opinion, harmonists who have had less superstitious reverence for the sacred text, have denied that attention was paid to the order of time by all the Evangelists, and agreed that some transpositions must be made to produce an orderly and harmonious arrangement. But these have also differed as to the transpositions to be made, and as to the gospel to whose arrangement the others must be made to conform. One of the Evangelists must be allowed to have paid some attention to the dates of his events, or there can be no dependence on any order which may be proposed. The gospels of Matthew and John, who were apostles, on this account are justly thought to have greater authority as to the dates of events, especially after the period when they were called to be ministers, than those of Mark or Luke, because their writers had better means of information. It has indeed been thought, that Luke intend-

ed to adhere to chronological arrangement, because he says in his preface that he meant to "write in order." But this phrase is no authority for the opinion: it may be, and has been by judicious interpreters, supposed to refer to the previous accounts which are before mentioned by him, and to mean only that he would digest those accounts into one continued narrative, which was so far in order as the facts before contained in separate tracts were in this history connected. But if this phrase did prove that it was Luke's intention to place his events according to their dates, his arrangement would still be of less authority than that of Matthew or of John, if the same intention was manifest in them. We should not hesitate, if there should be a difference between them, whether to take as our guides eye-witnesses and apostles, or one who probably was not present at any of the events which he relates, and perhaps never saw our Saviour. But the arrangements of Mark and Luke, even when differing from those of Matthew and John, are of some value, as we shall see. John and the other Evangelists have very little in common, but it is from those of his facts, which are also noticed by the other historians, especially by Matthew, that the places of the remainder are to be determined, as far as they can be determined.

We have seen that Matthew and John are the best authorities in chronology, but these two authorities disagree with respect to the position of some of the few facts recorded by both, so that we are now compelled to choose between them —whose arrangement we will follow. Both cannot be right, unless for the sake of reconciling them, we admit the notion, that similar events, accompanied by similar circumstances, and having a similar connexion with other events, occured more than once. In opposition to Le Clerc and other learned men, we are inclined to give the preference to Matthew. It is true that there is nothing internal, of consequence, to disprove the

correctness of the order of John; but when it is compared with that of Matthew, there are several reasons why we should allow it less authority. Matthew commences with an account of the birth of our Saviour, and continues his narrative to the fourteenth chapter, not with very great minuteness, but with an apparent attention to the order of events; and from the fourteenth chapter to the end, the connexion of the history is uninterrupted. The facts recorded after the fourteenth chapter then, we *believe* to be placed in their proper relative places, because it was evidently intended; those before that chapter, we *suppose* to be in proper order, because there is no proof of the contrary, and it would be analogous to the latter part. We are confirmed in our opinion,

"—by the nature of John's Gospel, which is universally allowed to have been intended by the Apostle as supplementary to one or more of the preceding narratives, and which consists of sections, or parts which have no mutual connexion or dependence, except their common subject:*—and by the fact, that John has assigned specific dates to his sections; and that therefore, upon the opinion of the early Christian writers respecting the duration of our Lord's ministry, no difficulty occurs from the order of those sections, unless it can be proved that John intended to write in the order of time; but this opinion has no countenance from the nature of his Gospel, and is inconsistent with the order of events in Matthew's Gospel, which in the latter part of the Gospel coincides with that of Mark, and (though less obviously) with that of Luke."†

These sections are so marked, that their dates would read-

* "The *first* section comprehends chap. i—iv. inclusive; the *second*, chap. v; the *third*, chap. vi; the *fourth*, chap. vii.—x. 21; the *fifth*, chap. x. 22.—xi. 54; the *sixth*, chap. xi. 55—xxi. For the dates of these sections see chap. ii. 13. chap. v. 1. chap. vi. 4. chap. vii. 2. chap. x. 22. chap. xi. 55."

† Carpenter. pp. 82, 83.

ily be known to those who were familiar with the duration of the ministry, as no doubt the early Christians were. As, "And the Jews' passover was at hand." ii. 13. "When he "was in Jerusalem, at the passover." ii. 23. "Now the Jews' "feast of Tabernacles was at hand." vii. 2. "And it was at "Jerusalem the feast of dedication, and it was winter." x. 22. This is somewhat as though speaking of the actions of Moses, we might first mention some things that occured in the wilderness, then his deeds while in Egypt, or when he abode in Æthiopia. The times in which he was in these places we well know; and if we are to add any thing to former accounts, it is of but little consequence whether the disconnected events be placed in exact order. Thus we may suppose that John, as he wrote to supply deficiencies, might have thought that the general periods were known, and that the particular dates of his events would be sufficiently designated by the notes which he made. That the events he relates are not as they now stand in chronological order, we proceed concisely to show, from the places of two of them. The first is the clearing of the temple, which, as we have already mentioned, is related in connexion with his first mention of a passover after the baptism; whereas it is placed by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, at the passover when Jesus was crucified. The authority of Matthew, supported by Mark and Luke, (whose support at least proves the common opinion of those times,) may be sufficient to decide the question; but we observe in confirmation, that the assumption of so great authority, and the performance of so odious an action, at so early a period, would not have been consistent with the concealment, or cautious disclosure of his character, at other times observed by our Lord. Such an event must have excited much attention. Notwithstanding, some time afterward, Herod first heard of the fame of Jesus,* and his brethren, as though he were unknown there, bid him go into Judea

* Matthew, xiv. 1.

to perform his works.* We think the conclusion irresistible, that the account of the clearing of the temple given by John, does not bear correct chronological relation to his accounts of other events. Dr. Carpenter however supposes that the temple was cleared twice. We regret that he has given his sanction to this opinion.

The other instance of incorrect arrangement which we will give, is the feeding of the five thousand. Immediately before the account of this miracle John says, "The passover, "a feast of the Jews, was nigh,"† and in subsequent chapters mentions a feast of Tabernacles, and a feast of Dedication, from which, according to John's arrangement, it follows, that the passover here spoken of could not have been that at which he was crucified. But Matthew has placed this event in the fourteenth chapter, in the beginning of that uninterrupted narrative, which we have before mentioned, extending to the end of his Gospel. Now a little more than a month is sufficient for all the events recorded in this portion, and as no long period of leisure is alluded to by Matthew, we conclude that the passover *was* nigh, when the five thousand were fed; that this passover was the last of the ministry; and that the arrangement of John is again faulty, as this account should properly have been given after what related to the feasts of Tabernacles and Dedication.

From what we have now observed, as well as for other reasons, we have concluded that Matthew is the only tolerably accurate guide, as to the order of the events of our Saviour's ministry. We shall make use of this conclusion hereafter.

Another important subject which has received much attention, is the duration of our Saviour's ministry. It has been very variously limited. Before the time of Eusebius, who

* John, vii. 3.——For other arguments, see Priestley's Dissertations, connected with his harmony, sect. 15. † John vi. 4.

lived in the fourth century, it was the opinion of the fathers, we believe with the single exception of Irenæus, that the ministry lasted only one whole year and part of another, or contained but two passovers. Irenæus extended it to twenty years.* With Eusebius began an opinion that it lasted more than three years, or contained four passovers, which has long been that most generally adopted. Another supposition, which has been maintained by some respectable authorities, on whose account we would treat it with more respect than of itself it deserves, has been, that the period of the ministry contained five passovers.

Sir Isaac Newton, supposing both Matthew and John to have written in chronological order, deduced this opinion from their accounts, and endeavoured to establish it by astronomical calculations.† But Mann defends his opinion, that the ministry contained less than two years, by astronomical calculations also ;‡ and the whole question is so difficult, embarrassed, and uncertain, that the argument founded on it, on either side, is of very little value.§ Macknight, supposing

* "Irenæus indeed, who lived in the second century, is an exception to the rule ; but his opinion on the subject was so absurd that it is hardly worth mentioning. For in zeal against the Gnostics, who, as well as the fathers of the three first centuries, believed that Christ's ministry lasted about a year, he goes so far as to extend it to nearly twenty years : in proof of which he appeals to John viii. 57. where certain Jews say to Christ—'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham ?' Hence Irenæus argues that Christ was really not far from fifty at that time, and consequently that nearly twenty years had elapsed from the time of his baptism." Marsh's Michaelis. Vol. iii. p. 2. ch. 2. s. 7. note 9.

† Newton on Daniel, ch. 11.

‡ Mann de Veris Ann. Natal. et Emort. Christi.

§ "Difficillima et abstrusisima illa de passionis dominicæ tempore disputatio tota ex anni Judaici forma, quæ per illa tempora apud Hebræos usitata fuit, pendere videatur." Petavius, as quoted by Mann, Diss. ii. chap. 19.——For a refutation of Newton's hypothesis, See Bo-

all the Evangelists to have written in chronological order, has likewise extended the duration of the ministry so as to include five passovers. But we have already expressed our opinion that his fundamental principle is altogether untenable.*

Bengel, in 1736, adopting an opinion which had been maintained by Apollonarius Laodiceus and Epiphanius,† placed the period at a little more than two years; while Mann, in 1733, revived the ancient opinion of its short continuance. Dr. Priestley, as it was natural for a man of his activity of mind to object to the protracted period which had by some been assigned to our Lord's ministry, adopted Mann's principle, with some difference of application, and defended it against Archbishop Newcome, who constructed a harmony on the plan of Le Clerc, whose opinion was the common one, of the three years' duration of the ministry.

Our Lord's ministry continued then, either about three years, or between two and three, or a little more than one. The first opinion, that it continued about three years, or contained four passovers, has for its foundation four passages in John's gospel, "And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem," ii. 13. "After this there was a feast

chart, Hierozoicon, lib. ii. cap. 50. Opp. vol. ii. coll. 558—571. as referred to by Le Clerc in his Harmony, Diss. i.

* "Macknight," says Marsh, "instead of diminishing, has increased the number to five, the reason of which I have not been able to discover, unless the term εορτη used in John vii. 2. though St. John has expressly explained it by σκηνοπηγια, gave rise to the conjecture."

Macknight has however stated the ground of his opinion, as may be seen in a note to the seventy fourth section of the Paraph. and Comm. upon his harmony.

† Apoll. Laod. ap. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 9. Ephiphan. Hær. li. n. 22. as quoted by Macknight in the preliminary observations to his harmony, Obs. 5.

of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem," v. 1. "And the passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh," vi. 4. "And the Jews' passover was nigh," xi. 55. As in the second of these passages no express mention is made of a passover, there is no certain ground for the supposition that a passover was alluded to, and those who maintain the second opinion have supposed that it does not refer to a passover, but to some other feast. The third opinion appears to us most probable, and the arguments which we shall state in its favor will include the objections to the two other opinions.

An objection thought by many to be entirely decisive against our opinion must first however be noticed. It is drawn from the express mention of a passover in John, vi. 4. a passover which is clearly distinct from the first, because a feast mentioned John v. 1. intervenes, and cannot, say the objectors, mean the last, because a feast of Tabernacles and a feast of Dedication are mentioned between the sixth chapter and the history of the last, which is given toward the close of the gospel. Mann, and after him Dr. Priestley, endeavoured to remove the difficulty by placing the sixth chapter before the fifth, (which transposition they supported by very plausible arguments,) and expunging the word *passover* in the fourth verse of the sixth chapter, and supposing the feast referred to to be the same mentioned in chapter v. 1. which they thought to be the feast of Pentecost. The omission of this word was also thought necessary by G. J. Vossius. They considered it as an exposition of the verse, at first written in the margin by some scribe, and afterwards introduced into the text. Could this alteration of the text be supported, and the transposition also be admitted as a correction of the error of a copyist, the objection would indeed be removed, even from the minds of those who adhere to the arrangement of John. Bishop Pearce would avoid the necessity of the transposition, by sup-

posingthe whole verse, vi. 4. to be an interpolation.* But to both these propositions for altering the sacred text we make but one reply, with which every friend to its purity must be satisfied; which is, that they are supported by no authority of manuscripts, versions, or quotations by the fathers. We were therefore much better pleased with the new and ingenious solution proposed by Dr. Carpenter. With those who adopt his opinion, as before quoted and explained, respecting the mode in which St. John's Gospel is written, the objection we are considering is of no force. We have already concluded that the passover referred to must be the last.† Dr. Carpenter supposes that the true chronological place for the narrative of the events recorded in the sixth chapter, excepting the two first verses, is between the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth verses of the eleventh chapter.

Having then removed this principal, and almost solitary objection to Dr. Carpenter's hypothesis of the duration of the ministry, the same hypothesis which those Christains who lived nearest the time of our Saviour adopted, and which in modern times Mann revived, and Priestley more fully defended, we proceed to mention some of the arguments in its favor.

* "There does not seem to be any reason for the Evangelist's inserting this verse, nothing in the chapter having any relation to the feast of the passover, or to any other of the Jewish feasts. G. J. Vossius, and W. Mann, (in de Anno Emortuali Christi, p. 173,) are of opinion that the word πασχα, (*passover,*) is an interpolation; and I think that the whole verse is so; because in chap. v. 1. mention is made of a feast, (probably the feast of Pentecost,) and in chap. vii. 2. of the feast of Tabernacles, between which two no feast appointed by the law of Moses intervened. It does not appear from the Evangelists' account, that Jesus was present at the feast of the Passover here mentioned; and yet it seems probable that he who fulfilled all righteousness would not have been absent from a feast of the passover, which, (as is here said,) was then nigh at hand." See Bishop Pearce's Comment. in loco.

† See p. 44.

1. Mr. Mann founded his opinion upon the interpretation of the prophecy of the seventy weeks; but this argument cannot here be fully explained, and is perhaps of doubtful force. 2. He says, "The passage in Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, which our Lord read in the synagogue at Nazareth, and which he notified to be then fulfilled, viz. 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for he has anointed me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord,' was anciently thought to signify, that Christ was to preach but one year, distinguished by that appellation." But, as Dr. Priestley acutely remarks, "the interpretation is so very singular and unnatural, that it could never have suggested the opinion; but the opinion once previously fixed, viz. that Christ preached only one year, might very easily have led such interpreters of the scriptures as the fathers were to that explanation of the text, and nothing but a corresponding opinion generally received could have made such an interpretation supportable. It could never have stood its ground against a contrary opinion."* The argument from the opinion of the fathers, proved not only by these remarks, but by many other facts, we think very strong; for it would be remarkable, if those who lived nearest the time of Christ should be detected in an error of such a nature, by others who lived several centuries after. 3. Luke has dated the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist, which may be considered as the beginning of his history, with remarkable accuracy. And if there be no means of ascertaining the times of the other events which he mentions by their connexion with this, then this minuteness must appear useless; as the times of the most important facts are left undecided. This is thought to be an internal argument of some weight in favor of the hypothesis of the short duration of the ministry;

* Priestley's Dissertations connected with his Greek harmony, sect. 6, 7.

"as it is acknowledged," says Dr. Priestley, "that had no other gospel than that of Luke been extant, it must have been taken for granted, that the whole history, from the commencement of the preaching of John to the death of Christ, was comprehended within the space of less than two years, no mention of passovers or other marks of time indicating the contrary." 4. Such phrases are never used by any of the Evangelists, as *after one year*, or *after two years*, as would be natural if so long intervals existed between events, although the lapse of days is frequently noticed. 5. After the death of the Baptist, Herod first heard of the fame of Jesus.* Would this be credible, if Christ had been publicly preaching for a year before the death of John, as those who think the ministry lasted three years suppose?—6.

"There were three national festivals instituted by Mo-
"ses, at which every Jew was under a general obligation to
"attend;—the Passover, towards the end of March; the Pen-
"tecost, about the middle of May; and the feast of Taberna-
"cles, towards the end of September. There was another
"considerable festival, called the Feast of Dedication, which
"was celebrated about the beginning of December; but this
"was not instituted by Moses, and was not obligatory upon
"any Jew. Upon the opinion of the early Christian writers,
"we must suppose the following festivals to have occurred
"during the ministry of Jesus,—the Passover, the Pente-
"cost, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of Dedication, and a
"second Passover. Now if we admit that the festival mention-
"ed in John v. was the Pentecost, and there appears no internal
"evidence to the contrary, each of these festivals is distinctly
"noticed by John, and our Lord attended at each of them. This
"furnishes a strong presumption in favor of the ancient opin-
"ion; and it is increased by considering the state of the case
"upon the prevalent though less ancient opinion, that the min-

* Matth. xiv. 1.

"istry of Jesus began about six months before a Passover, "and that he was crucified at the fourth Passover from his bap- "tism. During that interval, the Passover, the Pentecost, and "the Feast of Tabernacles, each occurred thrice; and besides "these nine national festivals, the Feast of Dedication was "thrice celebrated. Now we are not informed that our Lord "was present at more than three of the national festivals, be- "sides the Passover at which he was crucified; and, admit- "ting that the Passover spoken of in John vi. 4. was not the "last Passover, there are still, on the common hypothesis, five "national festivals, which are not noticed in the Gospels.— "Attention, then, to the order and number of the Jewish festi- "vals, materially increases the presumption in favor of the "ancient opinion, respecting the duration of our Lord's min- "istry; it also furnishes us with the means of ascertaining, "with some degree of precision, the dates of several of the "leading facts."*

7. The prejudices of the apostles would hardly have continued so strong, if they had received the instructions of Christ for three years. 8. The high priesthood was an annual office: the passover was the time of making a new high priest. Luke tells us that Annas and Caiaphas were high priests during the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which beginning in August would include parts of two paschal years, which commenced in March or April. But Caiaphas was high priest when Jesus was crucified. This will well accord with the supposition that there were but two passovers in the ministry. Previous to the first of them Annas was high priest, and Caiaphas succeeded him and continued to the second. 9. There are several series of events noticed by the Evangelists as occupying small spaces of time, during which our Saviour must have been exceedingly active; as a week or two before the crucifixion. A few months thus

* pp. 75, 76.

spent would be sufficient time for all the events recorded in the gospels. And as our Lord went about doing good, and as his good actions excited much odium, as he necessarily opposed the prejudices of the Jews, and excited the ill will and anger of their rulers, it is inconceivable that he could have been suffered to pass three years in his ministry. A series of miracles like those of Christ, must in a shorter period than this have excited great commotion throughout the Jewish nation, and either have made all acknowledge him as the Messiah, or so embittered his enemies as to have produced his destruction. So long a display of his power could not we think have been made consistently with the ends of our Saviour's advent; and it is more honorable to him to suppose, that his important purposes were obtained by active exertions during a short period.

Dr. Carpenter is very concise in the statement of the principles of his arrangement:

"An elementary work," he says, "would be thought an "improper place for the full discussion of the grounds of the "arrangement; but a brief statement of them may not be use- "less to the thoughtful, inquiring pupil; and, till a reference "can be made to a detailed view of the principles of the hy- "pothesis here advanced, and the arguments in its favor, it "seems requisite in justice to the author."*

We wish very much that he may explain and defend his new system at large; we must be grateful to him for what he has done in this book; but we fear that the subject is too perplexed and difficult to permit many, except studious theologians, to appreciate his merits or detect his errors, from a statement so short as necessarily not to be very lucid. We have not therefore at all confined ourselves to Dr. Carpenter's arguments, but have principally taken our arguments from Dr. Priestley.

* pp. 72, 73.

It has been perceived, that there are two questions with respect to a harmony, which are themselves distinct, although their results are connected: viz. the duration of the ministry; and the order of events. The question, which of the Evangelists wrote in chronological order, is of importance to each. On the first of these questions, we have given our opinion, and after the decision of this, the difficulties with respect to the other are not very great; and differences of opinion are not very material among those who agree as to the duration of the ministry. But a statement of these differences, and a defence of any particular opinions, would require too minute a detail to be here admitted. We shall confine ourselves to a general account of Dr. Carpenter's arrangement.

Dr. Carpenter supposes the baptism of Christ to have taken place on the sixth of January, A. D. 28.* The time between the twenty third of May and the twenty fourth of September, he supposes to have been passed in retirement.

"Accustomed to suppose the whole of our Lord's minis-
"try, however long its duration, constantly and publicly oc-
"cupied in prosecuting the objects of it, we are at first una-
"ble to admit the possibility of such an employment of so
"large a proportion of it. The considerations advanced in §
"7. however seem to present greater difficulties on any oppo-
"sing hypothesis, and those here felt are lessened by the fol-
"lowing statements. 1. The leading Jews had already
"sought the life of Jesus; hence he could not continue open-
"ly in Judæa. (John vii. 1.) 2. In all probability, Herod was
"in Galilee during the time of which we are speaking: if so,
"the way was not clear, and Jesus was not to expose himself

* The year from which our æra commences, and the year in which Christ was born, are not the same, on account of some error in the fixing the date of the birth of our Saviour. St. Luke says, that Christ was about thirty years old when he was baptized

"to danger needlessly. 3. It seems that Jesus was not pub-
"licly known during the time of John, (Matt. xiv. 2. xvi. 14.)
"and that he waited till the ministry of his forerunner was fi-
"nally closed before he fully exercised his own, (see Matt. iv.
"17.) 4. We need not suppose that our Lord, though in re-
"tirement, was unemployed. The words in John vii. 3, 7.
"seem to refer to actions and discourses, which were not
"much known. 5. There are other intervals of whose em-
"ployment we know little or nothing; the forty days in the
"Desart; the abode at Bethabara, and near Ephraim, &c.
"(John x. xi.) 6. The difficulty presses equally, if not more
"heavily, on hypotheses already proposed. Long intervals ne-
"cessarily occur in every arrangement formed upon the hy-
"pothesis of the long duration of our Lord's ministry;—and
"even in Dr. Priestley's arrangement, we find several of the
"*later* months unoccupied; as will be obvious to any one
"who inspects his Calendar, or Mr. Field's, which is formed
"upon it: a very large proportion of the time from the be-
"ginning of August A. D. 28. to the beginning of March A.
"D. 29. has no assigned employment. Either Dr. Priestley's
"arrangement or that here advanced, seems preferable to any
"that have been formed on the less ancient opinion as to the
"length of our Lord's ministry; but the former is burdened
"with no inconsiderable difficulties, independent of that men-
"tioned in § 3. Whether the latter lies under equal pres-
"sure must be left to the judgment of others; but two of
"those difficulties may be briefly stated:—the fact related in
"Mark ix. 30, 31. is placed by Dr. Priestley in July, and that
"related in Luke ix. 51. in September, where in one case on-
"ly six months had passed out of the eleven between the be-
"ginning of our Lord's public preaching in Galilee, and his
"crucifixion, and in the other only about three months:—and
"that portion of his ministry, which we should à priori expect

"to be most occupied, and most dwelt upon by his historians, "has comparatively little employment assigned to it."*

The period of four months before mentioned, of which we have no account, Dr. Carpenter places between the eleventh and twelfth verses of the fourth chapter of Matthew. Indeed he considers seven months to have elapsed after the temptation, before the commencement of the public preaching in Galilee. Some of the events of this interval are related by the other Evangelists. It should be observed in justice to Dr. Carpenter, that between the same verses—the eleventh and twelfth of Matthew, Archbishop Newcome supposes an interval of a year, Macknight of six months, and Dr. Priestley of one month. It is necessary even upon the supposition of the short duration of the ministry, to suppose some considerable periods of time of which there is no account. If this is a difficulty when the ministry is thought to have continued but little more than one year, how much more does it press upon the other hypotheses? Dr. Priestley indeed supposes the interval in this place to have been but one month; but in the months from the beginning of August to the end of February of the next year, he places but very few events. He supposes as long intervals as Dr. Carpenter, but at times much less probable—at the close of the ministry.

Dr. Carpenter arranges the events in seven divisions. The first is from the Baptism, January sixth, to the miracle at Cana, which was about the twenty ninth of February. The second comprehends all the events to the commencement of the public preaching in Galilee, October sixth. In this division he includes the first passover, March thirtieth; the walk through the corn fields, April seventeenth; the pentecost, May twentieth; the imprisonment of the Baptist, some time in September; the feast of Tabernacles, September twenty fourth. The third division goes to the mission of the twelve.

* pp. 80—82

November twenty fifth, including his two journeys through Galilee; the first of which he began October seventeenth, the second November eighth. The fourth extends to the return of the twelve about February fifth, A. D. 29, containing the mission of the seventy, November twenty eighth, and the feast of Dedication, December second. The fifth division ends with the departure of Jesus from Galilee, March fourth, including the feeding of the five thousand, February twelfth. The sixth carries us to the resurrection of Jesus, Sunday, March twentieth. The seventh ends with the ascension, April twenty eighth. There is also another division, in which he places several events and discourses the proper places of which cannot be ascertained.

A chronological digest of the events of the Gospel history into sixty eight paragraphs, at the end of which references to chapters and verses are given, occupies nearly sixty pages. A table of our Lord's journeyings then follows; and a short calendar, taken from Priestley, is added.

The second chapter of the second part contains an outline of the history of the apostle Paul, and a table of his journeyings.

In the Appendices there are arrangements of the sections of White's Diatessaron, and of Field's Questions, so as to adapt them to the view here given of the ministry; and a table of distances.

There are questions to the second part, as to the first, for the purpose of examining students. The book is ended by an accented index of Scripture proper names.

We cannot conclude without a recommendation of this book, as a useful manual for theological students, and a valuable guide to instructors. Its style is neat, and modest; and it contains much condensed information: some of the principles are new, but we think well of the judgment of the writer.

A REVIEW*

OF

MEMOIRS OF THE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY HENRY LEE,

Lt. Col. Commandant of the partizan legion during the American War.

2 *vols.* 8*vo.* *Philadelphia and Newyork*, 1812.

THE works which have been produced upon the history of the American revolutionary war, have been sufficiently voluminous to afford room for a complete and minute account of every memorable event which relates to it; and many of their authors have had the best possible means of information on the subject upon which they have written. We have the statements of both the contending parties; and they are in general given with such a degree of impartiality, that the truth may be discovered by comparing them. Several histories of the war are incorporated in the histories of the British nation; as those of Adolphus, Macfarlane, Belsham, and Bisset. The two last in particular are tinctured deeply with party partialities; but are of value to the American reader, because they inform him of the parliamentary history connected with that of the war, which is at least as important, if not as interesting, as mere narratives of military movements. The Annual Register contains a condensed, but perhaps as judicious and faithful an account of the events of the war as is to be found; and is well worthy of being consulted, not only for this reason,

* First published in the General Repository, for January, 1813. vol. iii. p. 105.

but also for the many curious and valuable articles of intelligence relating to American affairs which are contained in its Chronicle, and the important state papers which it has preserved.

Other Englishmen have devoted their pages entirely to subjects relating to the American war. Stedman, who was personally conversant in many of the most important and interesting scenes which the war presented, and who served under Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Marquis Cornwallis, (we believe as commissary general,) has produced a large work, which contains the only separate and complete English history of the war. It is a work of good authority, although in some instances he has manifested a credulity which is unjust to the Americans.*

The present Lt. Gen. Tarleton, who was Lt. Colonel of the British legion in the American war, is the author of a quarto volume, which contains a relation of all the events in which he was himself concerned, and is called "A history of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the southern provinces." More than half the volume is composed of public documents, letters of instruction, &c. some of which are worthy of preservation; but unfortunately it was for the interest of the author to misstate many events of importance in which he was engaged. Many of our countrymen are now living who can remember his character for barbarity and cruelty; and no one can read any history of the scenes in which he acted except his own, without feeling abhorrence at many of his deeds.† He acquired a good share of reputation, without perhaps much military ability. The corps which he commanded was long the terror of the southern country, because the Americans were sometimes destitute of cavalry; and,

* See Lee, vol. i. p. 371.

† See the account of the slaughter of Col. Buford's troops. Marshall's Life of Washingtoin, iv. 159. Lee i. 148.

because from its facility of motion his legion was the most active part of the British army, and was often employed in partizan expeditions, where the great object was to surprize. By exploits in this kind of warfare, he became confident in himself and formidable to others; but in the only action in which he was fairly met and opposed, he was completely defeated.* In his book he is guilty of the most shameful misrepresentation of this affair, as well as of some others. Some strictures on his history were published by lieutenant Mackenzie, who was in the same service with himself, which are favorable neither to the integrity or military skill of lieutenant colonel Tarleton.

Four of the British generals who held important commands in America, have also published either vindications of, or statements relative to their conduct of the war. The unfortunate Burgoyne produced an elaborate defence of his management of the expedition with which he was entrusted; and this was followed by a reply. But it appears from the evidence which he has produced, that the failure of the enterprize is to be attributed to no want of ability in its execution on his part, nor to any great skill in his conqueror. Gates actually overwhelmed him by numbers, after Burgoyne had gained several important advantages. The remote causes of the event are to be found in the want of the cooperation of the other commanders, and especially in the errors in the plan of his operations as formed by the English cabinet, who, at the distance of three thousand miles, directed the motions of armies in a country of which they were extremely ignorant.

Sir William Howe, who, notwithstanding the triumphant Mischianza† with which he quitted his command, has left be-

* Battle of the Cowpens.

† A very splendid entertainment given at Philadelphia by the officers of his army to Sir William Howe upon his leaving America. It consisted, as the name imports, of a variety of exhibitions. The com-

hind him in this country only a memory disgraced by his dissipation, and his unmanly inaction, which is not redeemed by one considerable achievement, published some defences of his conduct. There was a reply to his publication, in which a refutation of many of his statements was attempted ;* and there was also an answer by Mr. Galloway to some aspersions on his character which were contained in general Howe's pamphlet.

Lord Cornwallis was in the very first rank of those who conducted the war for the British government. He did more toward the subjugation of the colonies than any other officer ; and was not only able and enterpising in his military conduct, but estimable in his private character. But after he left the Carolinas, which had been the theatre of his glory, he appeared to have lost somewhat of his former spirit, to have been indecisive in his military enterprises, and if he did not commit great mistakes, to have omitted many opportunities for obtaining great advantages over his then weak enemy. Sir Henry Clinton does not appear to have exerised any con-

pany were first placed in barges, elegantly decorated, arranged in becoming order, and rowed for some time upon the river, with music, and amid salutes from the vessels of war. Upon their landing they were conducted to an area, where they witnessed a tilt and tournament, after the manner of ancient chivalry. The knights, splendidly habited, contended in honor of some of the ladies of the city, who were dressed in Turkish dresses. This being finished, the procession passed through two triumphal arches, erected in honor of general Howe, to a house superbly ornamented, where refreshments were received. A ball then followed, after which were fireworks, and at twelve o'clock a costly supper closed the whole entertainment. The entertainment was perhaps as magnificent as was ever witnessed in this country, and discovered more taste and learning than is often to be found in an army. A minute account of it may be seen in the Appendix to the Chronicle of the Annual Register, for 1778, pp. 264—270.

* By the author of "Letters to a nobleman."

trol over his actions other than that of advice ; yet after the surrender of Yorktown the Marquis implied in a letter, which sir Henry published, that in the measures which had led to this unfortunate issue, his own opinion had been overruled. In a pamphlet, which bears most interesting marks of modesty and candor, Sir Henry Clinton completely invalidated these charges ; and evinced that the selection of Yorktown, as a place for a permanent establishment, which was the particular subject of dispute, was made in compliance with what he deemed the wishes of the Marquis. The reply of lord Cornwallis to this narrative is without asperity ; and shows that several important letters of sir Henry Clinton were not received in time to be of service ; and also that his measures, which certainly were not the best for himself, were taken with the intention of subserving the plans which the commander in chief might adopt.

A valuable history of the revolution was written by Mr. Gordon, who during the war was a clergyman in Roxbury, near Boston. After the contest was at end he went to England, where he published his work, which, although it was unfavorably received by some, and although not recommended by any beauty of style, has the high merits of accuracy and impartiality.

Annals of the events of the war are contained in the valuable work of Dr. Holmes, and also in the second volume of the Collections of the Historical Society. But the only *histories* which have been produced in America, which are of much importance, are those of Ramsay and Marshall. Dr. Ramsay, during the whole war, was in some public station, either in the army as a surgeon, the legislature of South Carolina, or the Congress of the United States, and thus had excellent means of information. His history of the revolution in South Carolina is valuable, not as a narrative of military trans-

actions, but as containing interesting and important facts, which are evidence of the sufferings of the Americans—of the army from want of provisions and want of pay—and of the people from the weakness of their own government, which could not protect them, and from the cruelty of the British, who were most oppressive where they had most power. The public papers connected with his volumes add much to the value of the work. His general history of the revolution is well known, and has such peculiar merits as entitle it to the attention of those who wish to be well informed on the subject of which it treats.

It is a great praise of the Life of Washington to say, that it is worthy of Judge Marshall. It has done honor to our country abroad. Still however it is not difficult to point out some defects in it. His work is styled biographical, but is in fact historical; and the author, by assuming for it only the former modest character, which does not in fact belong to it, appears to have been less careful to perfect it in the latter. In the three volumes which contain the history of the war, we have an interesting and accurate detail of its events. We have a record of all those transactions, which at the time were obvious to the knowledge of all; and the correspondence of general Washington, which is given with much prodigality, affords information upon some of the more secret parts of our history. But we presume most of his readers have lamented its barrenness in the congressional history of the times, and regretted that we know so little of our legislative revolutionary heroes, and of the transactions of the cabinet. The work of Judge Marshall is also defective as a history of the United States, in the information it contains as to the system of government among the colonies under which the first hostilities took place, and by which their independence was declared; as to the nature of the confederation, which succeeded it; and as to the transactions with foreign powers.

We have as yet therefore no proper history of our revolution, still less of the United States : perhaps one is not yet to be expected. It may be that we are yet too near the scenes we wish depicted ; that the distance is not yet such as is best for a philosophic view. We must perhaps wait until those who then lived shall be no more, and until the partialities, irritations and party feelings of those days shall have entirely subsided ; and then characters may be estimated fairly, and events portrayed without prejudice. We may then hope to see the causes of those great events which have taken place in our country more fully unfolded, and those uses made of facts for which alone they are worthy of being recorded. In the mean time, we should endeavour to preserve and increase the records of the transactions of these periods ; and should value each new fact relating to them, not only because it may add to our own amusement or knowledge, but from a regard to its future usefulness. There are probably many now living, whose number is rapidly diminishing, and whose memories are the only repositories of curious and important circumstances, relative to the political or military history of our revolution ; and it is desirable to give perpetuity to this knowledge.

It was therefore with great pleasure that we received the work of general Lee. We knew that he had served in the war with much reputation ; and by one who had been so actively engaged, we expected not only to be made better acquainted with facts already related in other books, but also to be furnished with such new information as a judicious eyewitness would obtain. The campaigns in the southern states, in which he principally served, and of which his work is a history, were as important as any other parts of the war, and in general far more interesting. The battles were numerous ; the achievements of the partizan officers often highly brilliant ; and the constant activity of the armies for long periods produced abundance of incident. It is true that the forces em-

ployed on either side were never numerous; but whether the contending armies consist of a thousand or of a hundred thousand men, all the talents of the commanders may be developed; as great courage may be displayed by the soldiers; and the consequences of events may be equally important to the hostile nations. The operations of war being spread over a vast continent by the plan that was adopted, it was by skirmishes that the fate of America was to be decided.* And the transactions in the southern states certainly had great influence upon the event of the war. It was here that our enemy exerted himself as against our weakest part; here he obtained his greatest successes; and here as elsewhere, he was at last completely foiled. To this day we can perceive in those states the remains of that bitterness toward Great Britain, which was produced during the war by their sufferings; which were the greater, as they were much distracted by internal divisions, and as the power of the enemy was often evinced by cruelty and tyranny. Judge Marshall gives the following character of the war in the south. "The sufferings occasioned by this ardent struggle for the southern states were not confined to the armies. The inhabitants of the country felt all the miseries which are inflicted by war in its most savage form. Being almost equally divided between the two contending parties, reciprocal injuries had gradually sharpened their resentments against each other, and had armed neighbour against neighbour, till it had become a war of extermination. As the parties alternately triumphed, opportunities were alternately given for the exercise of their vindictive passions. They derived additional virulence from the examples occasionally afforded by the commanders of the British forces."—"The disposition to retaliate, to the full extent of their power, if not to commit original injury, was equally strong in the opposite party."† General Lee gives many

* Annual Register, 1781. p. 83. † Vol. iv. pp. 537, 538.

facts confirming these remarks; and in speaking of the conduct of the Georgian militia on a particular occasion, he says, that they "were so exasperated by the cruelties mutually inflicted in the course of the war in this state, that they were disposed to have sacrificed every man taken; and with great difficulty was this disposition now suppressed."* In other parts of our country the miseries of war were severely felt; but here the people were treated not only as enemies, but as rebels.

But notwithstanding our prepossessions, we confess that we were disappointed upon reading the first hundred and fifty pages of general Lee's history. In these pages are contained a short recapitulation of the events of the war previous to the invasion of the south, and the narrative of events in that department during the command of generals Howe and Lincoln; but there is little that is new, and less minuteness throughout than is to be found in Marshall. We began to wish that general Lee had not commenced his history until that period when he himself became an eye-witness; or that he had adhered to his original plan, and written the life of general Greene. Even now, after he has redeemed our good opinion, and inclined us in every thing to think favorably of him, we wish that this part of his work were different from what it is. It is not however without any merit. There are some new particulars relative to an attack on the fort at Red Bank, on the Delaware river, by colonel Donnop, at the time the British were endeavouring to open the water communication between their army in Philadelphia and their navy.† There are also some ingenious remarks upon the character of sir William Howe;‡ and an animated description of the battle at Breed's hill; to his repulse at which, general

* Vol. ii. p. 94. † Vol. i. p. 31. ‡ Vol. i. p. 49.

Lee attributes the subsequent extreme caution of sir William.*

In this part of the work is also the following anecdote, which may interest some of our readers on account of those to whom it relates—general Lee, our author, then a captain, and the illustrious Hamilton, who then had the rank of lieutenant colonel. It took place during the retreat of the American army after the battle of Brandywine Creek.

"Contiguous to the enemy's route, lay some mills stored "with flour for the use of the American army. Their des- "truction was deemed necessary by the commander in chief; "and his aid-de-camp, lieutenant colonel Hamilton, attended "by captain Lee, with a small party of his troop of horse, "were dispatched in front of the enemy with the order of ex- "ecution. The mill, or mills, stood on the bank of the Schuyl- "kill. Approaching, you descend a long hill leading to a "bridge over the mill-race. On the summit of this hill two "videts were posted; and soon after the party reached the

* We were very glad to read the following note, as it vindicates to an individual unjustly forgotten, a high honor that is his due. "The honor conferred upon colonel Prescot [who is mentioned in the "text to have been the commander at the battle of Breed's hill] was on- "ly a promotion in the army soon after established; and this, the writer "was informed by a gentleman residing in Boston who was well ac- "quainted with colonel Prescot, consisted only in the grade of lieuten- "ant colonel, in a regiment of infantry. Considering himself enti- "tled to a regiment, the hero of Breed's hill would not accept a second "station. Warren, who fell nobly supporting the action, was the favor- "ite of the day, and has engrossed the fame due to Prescot. Bunker's "hill too has been considered as the field of battle, when it is well "known that it was fought upon Breed's hill, the nearest of the two hills "to Boston. No man reveres the character of Warren more than the "writer; and he considers himself not only, by his obedience to truth, "doing justice to colonel Prescot, but performing an acceptable service "to the memory of the illustrious Warren; who, being a really great "man, would disdain to wear laurels not his own." Vol. i. pp. 53, 54, "note."

" mills, lieutenant colonel Hamilton took possession of a flat-
" bottomed boat for the purpose of transporting himself and
" his comrades across the river, should the sudden approach
" of the enemy render such retreat necessary. In a little
" time this precaution manifested his sagacity : the fire of the
" videts announced the enemy's appearance. The dragoons
" were ordered instantly to embark. Of the small party,
" four with the lieutenant colonel jumped into the boat, the van
" of the enemy's horse in full view, pressing down the hill in
" pursuit of the two videts. Captain Lee, with the remaining
" two, took the decision to regain the bridge, rather than de-
" tain the boat.

" Hamilton was committed to the flood, struggling against
" a violent current, increased by the recent rains ; while Lee
" put his safety on the speed and soundness of his horse.

" The attention of the enemy being engaged by Lee's
" push for the bridge, delayed the attack upon the boat for a
" few minutes, and thus afforded to Hamilton a better chance
" of escape. The two videts preceded Lee as he reached the
" bridge ; and himself with the four dragoons safely passed
" it, although the enemy's front section emptied their carbines
" and pistols at the distance of ten or twelve paces. Lee's
" apprehension for the safety of Hamilton continued to in-
" crease, as he heard vollies of carbines discharged upon the
" boat, which were returned by guns singly and occasion-
" ally. He trembled for the probable issue ; and as soon as
" the pursuit ended, which did not long continue, he dispatch-
" ed a dragoon to the commander in chief, describing with
" feelings of anxiety what had passed, and his sad presage.
" His letter was scarcely perused by Washington, before
" Hamilton himself appeared ; and, ignorant of the contents
" of the paper in the general's hand, renewed his attention to
" the ill-boding separation, with the probability that his friend
" Lee had been cut off; inasmuch as instantly after he turn-

" ed for the bridge, the British horse reached the mill, and " commenced their operations upon the boat.

" Washington with joy relieved his fears, by giving to his " aid-de-camp the captain's letter.

" Thus did fortune smile upon these two young soldiers, " already united in friendship, which ceased only with life. " Lieutenant colonel Hamilton escaped unhurt; but two of his " four dragoons, with one of the boatmen, were wounded."*

The following account of a most ingenious and courageous stratagem, which was practised by an American officer, is contained likewise in the same portion of the history.

" While the allied army was engaged before Savannah, " colonel John White of the Georgia line, conceived and exe- " cuted an extraordinary enterprise. Captain French, with " a small party of the British regulars, was stationed on the " Ogeechee river, about twenty five miles from Savannah. " At the same place lay five British vessels, of which four " were armed, the largest mounting fourteen guns. White, " having with him only captain Etholm and three soldiers, " kindled many fires, the illumination of which was discernible " at the British station, exhibiting, by the manner of ranging " them, the plan of a camp. To this stratagem he added " another: he and his four comrades, imitating the manner " of the staff, rode with haste in various directions, giving or- " ders in a loud voice. French became satisfied that a large " body of the enemy were upon him; and, on being summon- " ed by White, he surrendered his detachment, the crews of " the five vessels, forty in number, with the vessels, and one " hundred and thirty stand of arms.

" Colonel White having succeeded, pretended that he " must keep back his troops, lest their animosity, already sti- " fled by his great exertions, should break out, and indiscrim-

* Vol. i. pp. 19—21.

"inate slaughter take place in defiance of his authority; and "that therefore he would commit his prisoners to three "guides, who would conduct them safely to good quarters. "This humane attention on the part of White was thankfully "received. He immediately ordered three of his attendants "to proceed with the prisoners, who moved off with celerity, "anxious to get away, lest the fury of White's corps, believ- "ed to be near at hand, might break out, much disposed as he "was to restrain it.

"White, with the soldier retained by him, repaired as he "announced to his guides and prisoners, to his troops, for the "purpose of proceeding in their rear.

"He now employed himself in collecting the neighbour- "ing militia, with whom he overtook his guides, their charge "safe and happy in the good treatment experienced.

"The extraordinary address of White was contrasted by "the extraordinary folly of French; and both were necessary "to produce this wonderful issue. The affair approaches too "near the marvellous to have been admitted into these Me- "moirs, had it not been uniformly asserted, as uniformly ac- "credited, and never contradicted."*

But if it were in our power to make any more acknowledgments of this kind, we should be obliged to forbear; or our readers would not admit our opinion to be correct, as to the part of the volume which we have been considering.

General Lee's account of the siege and surrender of Charleston differs in nothing material from the usual narratives of the same event. This was the only place of any importance in which the Americans sustained a regular siege. The consequences of the capture of the city and the army were of far greater detriment to their cause, than those of the loss of either of the other great cities which were possessed by the enemy.

* Vol. i. pp. 113, 114.

It annihilated for a time the means of resistance ; and gave to the British an important establishment, from which they soon spread their power over the whole of South Carolina. As might be supposed, from the magnitude of the effects of this event, there were not wanting some who were severe in their judgment of the commander who surrendered ; for it is a most common error, to connect the ideas of ill success and ill desert in military affairs. We have now before us a manuscript copy of a letter from general Lincoln to General Washington, dated July, 1780, containing a satisfactory vindication of his conduct We should be glad to give to our readers the whole of this letter, which bears strong marks of the modest and able character of its writer, but its length (sixty pages) forbids it. Nor is it neccessary to spend much time in justifying measures which no person of tolerable information will now condemn. The honorable result of the inquiries into his conduct, and the undiminished confidence of the commander in chief, should satisfy those who are not in possession of better means of judging, that general Lincoln, though he lost a city and an army, lost no portion of his reputation. It may also be observed, that all historians of credit concur in representing the loss of Charleston in such a manner, as not at all to diminish the honor of its excellent and respectable commander : "—so established," says general Lee, " was the spotless reputation of the vanquished general, that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of the congress, the army, and the commander in chief." Notwithstanding we will give some account of general Lincoln's letter of defence in a note.*

The loss of the army at Charleston was followed by all the depressing events which the Americans could have anticipated. In a very short time, and without any resistance, Cornwallis, upon whom the command devolved at the depart ure of Clinton, was master of Augusta, Ninety-six, and Camb

* See note following the review.

den, and thus of the two states of Georgia and South Carolina; and was prepared to advance into North Carolina. In the mean time general Gates was sent to the south, and began to collect a new army. His presence revived the expiring embers of opposition; the spirit of revolt manifested itself; and many of those who had fled from their country upon its subjugation by the enemy, to the adjoining states, returned.

"Among them were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumpter, both colonels in the South Carolina line, and both promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier general in the militia of the state. Marion was about forty eight years of age, small in stature, hard in visage, healthy, abstemious, and taciturn. Enthusiastically wedded to the cause of liberty, he deeply deplored the doleful condition of his beloved country. The commonweal was his sole object; nothing selfish, nothing mercenary, soiled his ermine character. Fertile in stratagem, he struck unperceived; and retiring to those hidden retreats, selected by himself, in the morasses of Pedee and Black river, he placed his corps not only out of the reach of his foe, but often out of the discovery of his friends.* A rigid diciplinarian, he re-

* "Lieutenant colonel Lee was ordered to join Marion, after Greene determined to turn the war back to South Carolina in 1781. An officer, with a small party, preceded Lee a few days march to find out Marion, who was known to vary his position in the swamps of Pedee: sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes in North Carolina, and sometimes on the Black river. With the greatest difficulty did this officer learn how to communicate with the brigadier; and that by the accident of hearing among our friends on the north side of the Pedee, of a small provision party of Marion's being on the same side of the river. Making himself known to this party, he was conveyed to the general, who had changed his ground since his party left him, which occasioned many hours' search even before his own men could find him."

" duced to practice the justice of his heart; and during the " difficult course of warfare through which he passed, calum- " ny itself never charged him with violating the rights of per- " son, property, or of humanity. Never avoiding danger, he " never rashly sought it; and acting for all around him as " he did for himself, he risked the lives of his troops only " when it was necessary. Never elated with prosperity, nor " depressed by adversity, he preserved an equanimity which " won the admiration of his friends, and exacted the respect " of his enemies. The country from Cambden to the seacost " between the Pedee and Santee rivers, was the theatre of " his exertions.

" Sumpter was younger than Marion, larger in frame, bet- " ter fitted in strength of body to the toils of war, and, like " his compeer, devoted to the freedom of his country. His " aspect was manly and stern, denoting insuperable firmness " and lofty courage. He was not over scrupulous as a sol- " dier in his use of means, and apt to make considerable al- " lowance for a state of war. Believing it warranted by the " necessity of the case, he did not occupy his mind with crit- " ical examinations of the equity of his measures, or of their " bearings on individuals; but indiscriminately pressed for- " ward to his end—the destruction of his enemy and libera- " tion of his country. In his military character he resembled " Ajax; relying more upon the fierceness of his courage than " upon the results of unrelaxing vigilance and nicely adjust- " ed combination. Determined to deserve success, he risk- " ed his own life and the lives of his associates without re- " serve. Enchanted with the splendor of victory, he would " wade in torrents of blood to attain it. This general drew " about him the hardy sons of the upper and middle grounds; " brave and determined like himself, familiar with difficulty, " and fearless of danger. He traversed the region between " Cambden and Ninety-six.

"A third gentleman quickly followed their great exam-
"ple. Andrew Pickens,* younger than either of them, inex-
"perienced in war, with a sound head, a virtuous heart, and a
"daring spirit, joined in the noble resolve to burst the chains
"of bondage rivited upon the two southern states, and soon
"proved himself worthy of being ranked with his illustrious
"precursors. This gentleman was also promoted by the gov-
"ernor to the station of brigadier general; and having assem-
"bled his associates of the same bold and hardy cast, distin-
"guished himself and corps in the progress of the war, by
"the patience and cheerfulness with which every privation
"was borne, and the gallantry with which every danger was
"confronted. The country between Ninety-six and Augus-
"ta received his chief attention. These leaders were always
"engaged in breaking up the smaller posts and the interme-
"diate communications, or in repairing losses sustained by
"action. The troops which followed their fortunes, on their
"own or their friends' horses, were armed with rifles, in the
"use of which they had become expert; a small portion on-
"ly who acted as cavalry being provided with sabres.
"When they approached the enemy, they dismounted, leav-
"ing their horses in some hidden spot to the care of a few of
"their comrades. Victorious or vanquished, they flew to
"their horses, and thus improved victory or secured retreat.

"Their marches were long and toilsome, seldom feeding
"more than once a day. Their combats were like those of
"the Parthians, sudden and fierce; their decisions speedy, and
"all subsequent measures equally prompt. With alternate
"fortunes they persevered to the last, and greatly contributed
"to that success, which was the first object of their efforts."*

* We believe that this gentleman is now a candidate for the office of governor of South Carolina.

Vol. i. pp. 164—167.

To these officers, and others resembling them in spirit and patriotism, much of the success which attended the American arms in the southern states, is to be attributed. Traversing the country, they collected temporary bands of the hardy mountaineers, who after some sudden expedition returned to their homes.

"The wallets were filled with provisions, the guns clean-"ed, bullets moulded, and a scanty supply of powder was dis-"tributed out of their scanty magazine."—"Two hours only "were occupied in getting ready to move, which followed "as soon as the horses could be brought from pasture and "accoutred. The grass of nature gave subsistence to the "horse, while the soldier feasted on the homely contents of his "wallet, made and filled by his wife or mother."*

It was by such men, that the complete and secure establishment of the British power in the south was now prevented, until Gates appeared, and collected an army with which he felt able to approach the enemy. This officer, who had obtained a most unmerited degree of reputation by his victory at Saratoga, where such were the mistakes in the plan upon which his antagonist acted, and such his own physical force, that success was insured to moderately skilful exertions, assumed his new command with an apparent confidence in his own superiority, not less inconsistent with modesty, than it appears to have been with justice. One of his first acts as commander of the southern armies was the rejection of the offer of a corps of cavalry; and to this ill judged decision general Lee ascribes in a great measure the heavy disaster which he subsequently experienced. "Calculating proudly," he says, "on the weight of his name, he appears to have slighted the prerequisities to victory, and to have hurried on to the field of

* Vol. i. p. 205.

battle with the impetuosity of youth."* General Lee's remarks upon his military conduct are moderate and just, and free from all asperity. For ourselves, we confess that we feel little respect for the memory of the man who used those base and dishonest means to supplant general Washington in his command, that it now fully appears were used by general Gates.† His ungenerous treatment of the commander in chief, and his presumptuous conduct in the Carolinas, are indications of a character proud, selfish, and weak, which presents a still more unlovely aspect from the necessary contrast which we must make between him and Lincoln, who preceded him, and Greene, who was his successor. General Gates was totally defeated in the first and only encounter which he had with lord Cornwallis, then the commander of the British forces in the south. The loss of the battle of Cambden, and the almost contemporaneous destruction of the force under general Sumpter, who had just gained some important advantages, again dispelled every appearance of powerful resistance to the invading enemy in the states of South Carolina and Georgia, and caused them to be considered as reannexed to the British empire. The remains of the American army reasembled at Hillsborough in North Carolina; and Lord Cornwallis, after some time spent in attention to civil affairs, advanced in pursuit. It was during this time of the prostration of our army, that the importance of those active partizans, who were animated by ardent courage and by true patriotism, was most sensibly felt. The British army was harassed on its march by Davidson and Davie, and the continued activity of Sumpter, Marion, and Pickens, convinced its leader that his conquests were not yet secured. At this period occurred one of the most important achievements of these independent warriors. A party of

* Vol. i. p. 161.

† See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. p. 336. and note fifth. Lee, vol. i. pp. 238 and 390.

the mountaineers, who were assembled under the command of several of the militia colonels, totally destroyed the corps of colonel Ferguson, which was a most valuable part of the enemy's force.* This disaster caused the return of Cornwallis to the neighbourhood of his former position at Cambden.

Gates being recalled by congress that his conduct might be scrutinized, general Greene was appointed to succeed to his command. This distinguished officer had displayed his cour-

* Colonel Ferguson lost his life in this action. He was the brother of the celebrated Adam Ferguson, and was the inventer of a new species of rifle gun. On the morning of the battle at Brandywine Creek, he had the life of general Washington in his power, as appears from the following extract from a letter of his to his brother, Dr. A. Ferguson. The circumstances related occurred while Ferguson lay with part of his rifle-men on a skirt of a wood, in front of general Knyphausen's division.—"We had not laid long, when a rebel officer, remarkable by a hussar dress, passed towards our army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkable large high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them and fire at them; but the idea disgusted me; I recalled the order. The hussar in returning made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the wood towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention, and made sign to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly continued his way. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in or about him, before he was out of my reach, I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty; so I let him alone. The day after, I had been telling this story to some wounded officers who lay in the same room with me, when one of our surgeons, who had been dressing the wounded rebel officers, came in and told us, that they had been informing him, that general Washington was all the morning with the light troops, and only attended by a French officer in a hussar dress, he himself dressed and mounted in every point as above described. I am not sorry that I did not know at the time who it was." See Bisset's History of George III. vol. ii. p. 122, note.

age and ability in a long and honorable service. He was in the battles of Springfield, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, had been opposed to Cornwallis in New Jersey, and was under Sullivan at Rhode Island. He had also served as a quarter master general. In all his duties he had acquitted himself honorably, and obtained an untarnished reputation. "Indeed," says general Lee, "so manifold and important were his services, that he became a very highly trusted counsellor of the commander in chief; respected for his sincerity, prized for his disinterestedness, and valued for his wisdom."* Being now raised to an independent and important command, and placed in a station the duties of which were arduous, his characater underwent a severe test, which rendered it still more illustrious.

"A wide sphere of intellectual resource enabled him to "inspire confidence, to rekindle courage, to decide hesitation, "and infuse a spirit of exalted patriotism in the citizens of the "state. By his own example, he showed the incalculable "value of obedience, of patience, of vigilance, and temperance. "Dispensing justice, with an even hand, to the citizen and "soldier; benign in heart, and happy in manners; he acquired "the durable attachment and esteem of all. He collected "around his person, able and respectable officers; and se- "lected, for the several departments, those who were best "qualified to fill them. His operations were then commen- "ced with a boldness of design, well calculated to raise the "drooping hopes of his country, and to excite the respect of "his enemy."†

At the same time that general Greene assumed the command of the southern army, general Lee, then lieutenant colonel of a partizan legion, composed of horse and foot, was detached from the army of general Washington to join him;

* Vol. i. p. 227. † Vol. i pp. 244, 245

and from this period his history becomes more valuable, and more entertaining. Greene, having placed a division of his force under the celebrated Morgan, advanced in two distinct bodies toward the position of his enemy. Cornwallis sent Tarleton against Morgan, who defeated him at the battle of the Cowpens ;* but at the moment of success, the increase of the British forces, by a large reinforcement, from New York, rendered a union of the Americans, and a retreat, necessary to their safety. The difficulties attending a junction of the

* The battle of the Cowpens was one of the most brilliant that was gained by the Americans during the whole war. The force of Morgan, according to a letter which he wrote to general Greene after the victory, was eight hundred : that of Tarleton was by all accounts at least one thousand, probably eleven hundred. In general Greene's official account of the battle, the loss of the Americans is stated at twelve killed and sixty wounded : that of the British at ten commissioned officers, and one hundred and sixty six rank and file killed, two hundred wounded, and twenty nine officers and five hundred privates, prisoners. This account, so far as it relates to the American loss, is followed by all the American historians, and given by Stedman. The British loss is by some placed at six hundred in the whole, but generally at eight hundred. Tarleton with much disingenuousness thus states the result of the battle, in his Campaigns, page 218. "The number of killed and wounded in the action at the Cowpens amounted to near *three hundred on both sides*, officers and men inclusive. *This loss was almost equally shared;* but the Americans took two pieces of cannon, the colours of the seventh regiment, and *near* four hundred prisoners." For some very just strictures on colonel Tarleton's conduct on this occasion, and on his general character, we refer our readers to Stedman's account of this battle.

While speaking of Tarleton, it may be well to mention a fact expressive of his own ideas of the opinion which was entertained of him among the American soldiers. When the post of Glocester, of which he was the commander, was about to surrender, at the fall of Yorktown, he waited upon Choisé, the besieging general, and expressed his apprehensions for his personal safety, if put at the disposal of the American militia. These fears, as general Lee observes, "indubitably did not grow out of the American character or habit."

forces may be estimated, when it is considered, that the British were between the two bodies; but it was effected with the greatest address at Guilford court-house. The whole retreat, which was continued until Greene had entered Virginia, making a distance of two hundred and thirty miles, was performed with a degree of military skill, which was equalled only by the activity and spirit with which lord Cornwallis pressed the pursuit. Such was the zeal of the Marquis, that he committed to the flames the whole baggage of his army, reserving only a small supply of clothing and waggons, sufficient for the conveyance of hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. The sufferings of the Americans during this retreat appear from the following.

"The shoes were generally worn out, the body clothes "much tattered, and not more than a blanket for four men. "The light corps was rather better off; but among its offi- "cers there was not a blanket for every three: so that among "those whose hour admitted rest, it was an established rule, "that at every fire, one should, in routine, keep upon his legs "to preserve the fire in vigor. The tents were never used "by the corps under Williams during the retreat. The heat "of the fires was the only protection from rain, and some- "times snow: it kept the circumjacent ground and air dry, "while imparting warmth to the body.

"Provisions were not to be found in abundance, so swift "was our progress. The single meal allowed us was always "scanty, though good in quality and very nutritious, being ba- "con and corn meal."*

The post of colonel Lee at this time was in the rear guard; and such was the activity of his corps in its important duties of watching the enemy by night and by day, that he says no one of them could obtain during the retreat more than six

* Vol. i. p. 295, note.

hours' sleep in forty eight. His account of the movements of this detachment is very amusing; and the narrative of the whole retreat is uncommonly interesting.

General Greene having received a few reinforcements soon after he entered Virginia, determined immediately to return to the rescue of the lost provinces. In pursuance of this design, he sent forward a body of light troops, under colonel Lee and brigadier Pickens;* and soon after, himself recrossed the river Dan, and advanced towards Cornwallis. He was not yet strong enough to venture a battle; but he was desirous to prevent the execution of his enemy's design of obtaining recruits for his army, from among the inhabitants of the country

* This advanced party, hearing that Tarleton with a body of troops was at a considerable distance from the main army, went in pursuit of him. On their way, they fell in with four hundred royalists under colonel Pyle, who were in search of Tarleton. Lee, by an ingenious stratagem, passed himself upon them for the British officer, and had well nigh completely secured the whole party, when they discovered the deception, and some of them fired. This rendered an immediate attack upon them necessary, in which, according to general Lee, ninety were killed, and the rest dispersed. Judge Marshall has erroneously stated, that between two and three hundred of them were destroyed. Tarleton charges Lee with *inhuman barbarity* on this occasion, and the British accounts in general represent it in the same manner. General Lee has given a very particular account of the affair, in order, as he says, "to repel the unfounded stigma attached to the officer and corps engaged with colonel Pyle;" and refers particularly to the account of Mr. Stedman. According to general Lee, the termination of the affair was wholly undesigned: an attack was rendered necessary by the circumstances in which he was; and there was no attempt to cut off those who fled. It has been very unjustly therefore represented as "a foul massacre," or an "inhuman barbarity." Though not so designed, it was however in the event of great benefit, by its operation as a check upon the recruiting service; for before this, Cornwallis hoped to replenish his army by means of the royalists; but he was at last compelled to relinquish his conquests, in consequence of the failure of this source of supply, upon which he very much depended.

south of the Dan, many of whom favored the British cause. Some admirable manœuvres on both sides, and some small skirmishes between detachments of the two armies, took place. Colonel Lee was engaged in most of these, in consequence of his having the command of cavalry and light troops. Upon the arrival of the reinforcements which general Greene expected, he found himself at the head of a respectable army, and willing now to try the fate of an engagement, took his position for that purpose. Cornwallis was eager for the contest, and instantly seized the opportunity. The battle of Guilford court-house followed; and the struggle for victory was made by each army in full force. The numbers of our forces were greatly superior; but they were not able to withstand the discipline of the enemy; and the result, honorable to both parties, gave conquest to the British, but success to the Americans; for the loss which Cornwallis sustained in this engagement so greatly diminished his force, and he was so much in want of supplies, that he found it necessary, instead of again seeking the combat which Greene was expecting, and for which he was prepared, to retreat, first to Cross Creek, and shortly after to Wilmington, a seaport town in the southeastern extremity of North Carolina. "Another such victory," said Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, "would destroy the British army."

"The campaign so far," says our author, "presents the "undulation common to war. It opened with the victory of "the Cowpens—an event very propitious to the United States, "which was followed by our perilous retreat through North "Carolina, when for many days the fate of Greene and his ar-"my hung in mournful suspense; and after a grand display "of military science in marches, countermarches, and posi-"tions, in consequence of the bold return of the American ar-"my into North Carolina, concluded with our defeat at Guil-"ford court house. Replenished in military stores, grown

" stronger by defeat, and bolder from disaster, the American
" general is now seen seeking with keener appetite a renewal
" of the conflict, while the British conqueror sedulously and
" sucessfully avoids it."*

General Greene now turned his attention toward Camb-den, where lord Rawdon (now earl of Moira) was posted. Colonel Lee was detached to unite himself with Marion, who was then in the swamps of Black river, closely watched by a body of British troops under colonel Watson. As soon as the union was effected, they laid siege to Fort Watson on the Santee river. The position of general Greene was taken with a view to intercept colonel Watson on his return to the army, and to restrain the operations of lord Rawdon ; until he should be joined by some forces under general Sumpter, which he expected. In these circumstances, with superior numbers, and in a chosen position, he was attacked by his enterprising enemy, and defeated at the battle of Hobkick's hill. The event of the battle was entirely unexpected by Greene, and deeply mortified him, although he himself was deficient neither in watchfulness, skill, nor bravery. But lord Rawdon was too much weakened for pursuit before being joined by Watson ; and then, finding it impossible to bring on another battle, he determined to relinquish his posts, and retreat toward Charleston. Thus did general Greene triumph in his defeats, and compel successively Cornwallis and Rawdon to yield the ground upon which they had been victorious. Lord Rawdon retired to Monk's Corner, at no great distance from Charleston, where he remained waiting for reinforcements. In the mean time colonel Lee and his companions were most assiduously and successfully employed, in breaking up the various small posts which had been established by the British, for the security of the country, and as places of deposit for supplies. His narrative of these expeditions is minute and

* Vol. i. pp. 364, 365

entertaining; and the information is novel, for we have before possessed but brief accounts of these events. After taking the forts, Watson, Motte, Granby, and Augusta, colonel Lee, with his prisoners,* rejoined general Greene, who was then employed in the siege of Ninety-six.† But lord Rawdon having received his expected reinforcements, and advancing to its relief, and an attempt to storm the works proving unsuccessful, it became necessary to relinquish the siege. The conduct of the works of the besiegers of Ninety-six was committed to the Polish officer, Koschiusko, of whom general Lee gives the following character, which we think will not entirely harmonize with the ideas that many probably entertain concerning the man, whose name the poet Campbell has immortalized, although probably it agrees with fact.

"Koschiusko was extremely amiable, and, I believe, a tru-
"ly good man, nor was he deficient in his professional knowl-
"edge; but he was very moderate in talent—not a spark of
"the etherial in his composition. His blunders lost us Nine-
"ty-six; and general Greene, much as he was beloved and

* These prisoners were the garrison of fort Cornwallis at Augusta. Judge Marshall says, that "in the hope the knowledge of the fate which had befallen the fort at Augusta might make some impression on the garrison of Ninety-six, they were marched in full view of the British works in all the parade of military triumph." Vol. iv. p. 526. Colonel Cruger, the commander of Ninety-six, believing that this exhibition was intended as an insult, opened his batteries upon the escort of the prisoners, although they were equally exposed to the fire. We should perhaps have thought from the representation of Judge Marshall, that in this instance colonel Lee had been deficient in delicacy toward his foe, had we not been informed by the latter, that it was in consequence of the officer's mistaking his way, and not in conformity to orders, that the prisoners were marched in view of the besieged. Vol. ii. p. 118.

† So called because it was ninety six miles distant from the principal town of the Cherokee Indians. Lee, vol. ii. p. 96.

" respected, did not escape criticism, for permitting his en-
" gineer to direct the manner of approach. It was said, and
" with some justice too, that the general ought certainly to
" have listened to his opinion; but never ought to have per-
" mitted the pursuit of error, although supported by profes-
" sional authority."*

Lord Rawdon, after relieving Ninety-six, followed for a little time in pursuit of general Greene; but finding that he could not bring him to battle, returned, and shortly after quitted the town and fort, as the position was no longer tenable, from want of the intermediate posts. He marched toward Charleston in two distinct divisions; and the American commander, hoping now for an opportunity for a successful attack, sent colonel Lee to gain the front of the weakest division of the enemy, which was under lord Rawdon, while he himself pressed forward in pursuit. But it was found after much reconnoitering, that even this smaller division was too powerful to render a battle desirable; and he therefore drew off his army to the high hills of Santee, in order to afford them repose and refreshment during the hot weather, which had now commenced. Lord Rawdon, having been joined by the other division of his army, and by a body of troops from Charleston, took a position for the same purposes at Orangeburg; and excepting a few small expeditions against some remaining British posts, in which colonel Lee was as usual actively concerned, the tranquillity of the armies was for some time uninterrupted. And our troops may well be supposed to have needed this intermission of exertion, after so long a period of active and fatiguing motion.

" We had often," says general Lee, " experienced in the
" course of the campaign want of food,† and sometimes seri-

* Vol. ii. p. 119, note.

† "Tacitus (de Moribus Germanorum) observes, that they had a

"ously suffered from the scantiness of our supplies, rendered "more pinching by their quality; but never did we suffer so "severely as during the few days' halt here. [near Orange-"burgh.] Rice furnished our substitute for bread, which, al-"though tolerably relished by those familiarized to it from "infancy, was very disagreeable to Marylanders and Virgini-"ans, who had grown up in the use of corn or wheat bread. "Of meat we had literally none; for the few meagre cattle "brought to camp as beef would not afford more than one or "two ounces per man. Frogs abounded in some neighbour-"ing ponds, and on them chiefly did the light troops subsist. "They became in great demand from their nutriciousness; "and, after conquering the existing prejudice, were diligent-"ly sought after. Even the alligator was used by a few; and, "very probably, had the army been much longer detained up-"on that ground, might have rivalled the frog in the estima-"tion of our epicures."*

We have mentioned that lord Cornwallis, after the battle of Guilford, had retired to Wilmington. From this place it was in his power either to return to the assistance of lord Rawdon, or to march into Virginia, and effect a junction with some troops which were in that state, and which had been placed under his command. His lordship appears to have been aware of the importance of the decision, in respect to his future operations; and general Lee informs us that he manifested much irresolution in the adoption of his plan. Once, he says, Cornwallis had determined to follow general Greene, and commenced his march; but this resolution was altered, he moved toward Virginia, and arrived without any important oppo-

"plentiful table instead of pay—'Nam epulæ, et quanquam incompti, "largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt.' This cannot be said of "us in toto. Like the Germans we had no pay; and instead of plentiful "tables, in lieu, our table was not often plentiful, and seldom agreea-"ble." * Vol. ii. pp. 144, 145

sition at Petersburg. We consider this step as one, which, more decidedly than any other, tended by its consequences to produce the termination of the contest between Great Britain and the United States. It led directly, as is well known, to the most splendid achievement which honored the American arms during the war—the capture of his whole army; and this was most effectual toward convincing the British of the vanity of continuing their attempts for our subjugation. The reasons which influenced Cornwallis to this momentous proceeding, we will give in his own words, as they are found in his answer to the narrative of sir Henry Clinton. He is speaking of the failure of the reinforcements, which he expected from the royalists in Carolina after his victory at Guilford.—"This disappointment, and the wants and distresses of the army, compelled me to move to Cross Creek; but meeting there with no material part of the promised assistance and supplies, I was obliged to continue my march to Wilmington, where hospitals and stores were ready for us. Of this move I sent information by several expresses to lord Rawdon; but unfortunately they all failed. My intention then was, as soon as I should have equipped my own corps, and received a part of the expected reinforcements from Ireland, to return to the upper country; in hopes of giving some protection to South Carolina, and of preserving the health of the troops, until new measures could be concerted with the commander in chief. The march of general Greene into South Carolina, and lord Rawdon's danger, made my situation very critical. Having heard of the arrival of a pacquet from Europe, without any certain accounts of the sailing of the reinforcement, I thought it too hazardous to remain inactive; and, as it was impossible to receive in time any orders or opinions from sir Henry Clinton to direct me, it became my duty to act from my own judgment and experience. I therefore, upon mature deliberation, decided to march into Virgin-

ia, as the safest and most effectual means of employing the small corps under my command, in contributing towards the general success of the war. I came to this resolution principally for the following reasons—I could not remain at Wilmington, lest general Greene should succeed against lord Rawdon, and, by returning to North Carolina, have it in his power to cut off every means of saving my small corps, except that disgraceful one of an embarkation, with the loss of the cavalry and every horse in the army :—From the shortness of lord Rawdon's stock of provisions, and the great distance from Wilmington to Cambden, it appeared impossible that any direct move of mine could afford him the least prospect of relief: in the attempt, in case of a misfortune to him, the safety of my own corps might have been endangered ; or, if he extricated himself, the force in South Carolina, when assembled, was in my opinion sufficient to secure what was valuable to us, and capable of defence in that province. I was likewise influenced by having just received an account from Charles-town, of the arrival of a frigate with despatches from the commander in chief, the substance of which, then transmitted to me, was, that general Phillips had been detached to the Chesapeak, and put under my orders, which induced me to hope, that solid operations might be adopted in that quarter :—and I was most firmly persuaded that until Virginia was reduced, we could not hold the more southern provinces, and that after its reduction, they would fall without much resistance, and be retained without much difficulty."*

General Lee has devoted a chapter to an account of the invasions of Virginia by Arnold and Phillips. The only object of these seemed to be, to depress the spirits of the inhabitants by desolating and laying waste the country ; and the most shameful ravages were committed upon private property. No force adequate to its defence being in the state, there was little oppo-

* Introduction to Cornwallis' Reply, 1783, pp. v—viii.

sition made to this war of depredation. But indications appearing of an intention to make a permanent establishment of the British force in Virginia, the Marquis de la Fayette was detached from Washington's army to its protection. His force, which was not equal to that under general Phillips, and a number of troops collected under the Baron Steuben, who were intended as a reinforcement for general Greene, were all that appeared to oppose Cornwallis when he arrived at Petersburg; but La Fayette was in momentary expectation of reinforcements from the main army under general Wayne. To prevent the junction of these forces, Cornwallis made an ineffectual attempt to overtake La Fayette. Had he acted with his former spirit, he would easily have done it. But we are no longer to look upon Cornwallis as the same character, when we view him in his operations in Virginia, as that in which he appeared to us in the Carolinas. From causes, not entirely understood—either disagreement with sir Henry Clinton, or disappointment as to his own plans, or disgust at a service which he now saw promised no successful issue—he discovered in the new situation which he had chosen, no portion of those talents which had kept the southern states in agitation, and had almost subjected them again to the British power. Two expeditions* were executed by his light troops, which were of no great moment; when Wayne having reached La Fayette, they moved toward the British commander. Neglecting opportunities of striking his still inferior foe, Cornwallis retired upon the approach of La Fayette; and, in conformity to the wishes of Clinton, now directed his attention to the establishment of a post, where a harbour could be provided for ships of the line

* One of these, under colonel Simcoe, was for the purpose of destroying the stores at the point of Fork, and was successful. The other, under colonel Tarleton, was sent to seize the governor, (Jefferson,) and the members of the assembly, convened at Charlotteville. Only a few of the members were captured; and the governor "very readily saved himself by taking shelter in an adjacent spur of the mountains."

during the winter. Moving to Jamestown, he commenced the passage of the river at that place on his way to Portsmouth. La Fayette, having been joined by Steuben, determined to strike a blow upon his enemy when the greater part of his troops should have passed the river. He advanced with this intention to within a short distance of the British army, and conceiving the proper moment to be at hand, he made his attack. But he had been deceived in the information which had been given him, and to his surprise found that the greatest part of Cornwallis' army had not yet crossed the river. He was obliged rapidly to retreat with considerable loss ;* but although he had placed himself entirely in the power of the enemy, he was not pursued by the once enterprizing Cornwallis. Of the character of La Fayette, and of his conduct when formerly compelled to fly before the British commander, general Lee thus speaks :

" In this period of gloom, of disorder, and of peril, La Fay-
" ette was collected and undismayed. With zeal, with cour-
" age, and with sagacity, he discharged his arduous duties ;
" and throughout his difficult retreat was never brought even
" to array but once in order for battle—Invigorating our coun-
" sels by his precepts ; dispelling our despondency by his ex-
" ample ; and encouraging his troops to submit to their ma-
" ny privations, by the cheerfulness with which he participated
" in their wants ; he imparted the energy of his own mind to
" the country, and infused his high toned spirit into his ar-
" my."†

* Judge Marshall implies that the action on this occasion was begun before the orders had been given by the commander ; and that he, having discovered his mistake, would have avoided one, except for its accidental commencement. General Lee however informs us, that Fayette trusted to the report of his observers, and did not know his error till the engagement began.

† Vol. ii. p. 233.

Cornwallis, pursuing the designs of his commander in chief, determined upon the occupation of Yorktown, and of Gloucester on the opposite side of the river, for the security of the shipping; and accordingly employed himself in fortifying these posts. Meanwhile the position of the American troops was taken with the design of preventing his return to Carolina, had he determined on such a movement.* The events which followed the occupation of York, until its surrender to the united force of France and America, must be too familiar to allow us to recapitulate them; especially as our limits would

* General Lee has occupied several pages with remarks upon the probable causes, of what may without hesitation be called the misconduct of lord Cornwallis; and he has discovered a partiality toward him, which, although it has not led him to attempt his entire exculpation, has, we think, caused him to represent sir Henry Clinton too much as the cause of what was wrong. We have before expressed our opinion upon the results of the publications of these two officers. With respect to the selection of Yorktown, we may further observe, that this place was not originally proposed by Clinton, but that he relinquished his design of having some other places fortified, and acceded to the proposal for occupying this, in consequence of the representations of Cornwallis. "At present," says the latter in a letter to Clinton of the twenty sixth of May, 1781, "I am inclined to think well of York. My objections to Portsmouth are," &c. nor did he express any dissatisfaction with this post, until he had surrendered it, when he wrote again to his commander in chief, giving information of his loss. In this letter of the twentieth of October he says of the place which he had surrendered, "I never saw this post in a very favorable light." The best excuse which can be made for the marquis on this occasion is, that he was suffering from the mortification which his misfortune must have produced; and we think that his whole conduct in Virginia may be best explained by supposing him to have yielded to the influence of some cause of irritation and vexation, which carried him from his duty. We do not mean however to imply by any thing which we have said, that we think sir Henry Clinton's conduct indicated consummate generalship, or even that it did not deserve much blame.

not permit such minuteness, as would enable us to give all that novelty to the narrative of them which general Lee has so happily done.

From this portion of the work we make an extract of the following anecdote, which is illustrative of the characters both of Washington and Hamilton.

"An unhappy difference had occurred in the transaction "of business between the general and his much respected "aid, which produced the latter's withdraw from his family. "A few days preceding this period, Hamilton had been en- "gaged all the morning in copying some despatches, which "the general, when about to take his usual rounds, directed "him to forward as soon as finished.

"Washington finding on his return the despatches on the "table, renewed his directions in expressions indicating his "surprise at the delay; and again leaving his apartment, "found, when he returned, the despatches where he had left "them. At this time Hamilton had gone out in search of the "courier, who had been long waiting, when accidently he met "the marquis La Fayette, who seizing him by the button (as "was the habit of this zealous nobleman) engaged him in con- "versation; which being continued with the marquis' usual "earnestness, dismissed from Hamilton's mind for some min- "utes the object in view. At length breaking off from the "marquis he reached the courier, and directed him to come "forward to receive his charge and orders. Returning he "found the general seated by the table, on which lay the des- "patches. The moment he appeared, Washington, with "warmth and sternness, chided him for the delay; to which "Hamilton mildly replied, stating the cause; when the gen- "eral, rather irritated than mollified, sternly rebuked him. "To this Hamilton answered, 'If your excellency thinks prop- "er thus to address me, it is time for me to leave you.' He

" proceeded to the table, took up the despatches, sent off the " express, packed up his baggage, and quitted head-quarters.

" Although Washington took no measures to restore him " to his family, yet he treated him with the highest respect; " giving to him the command of a regiment of light infantry, " which now formed a part of La Fayette's corps."*

We have mentioned that general Greene had retired with his army to the high hills of Santee. In this secure retirement he remained, till his troops were refreshed and restored to health, when he commenced the march of his army toward the encampment of the British. His progress was tedious, as he had to move far toward the sources of the rivers which intervened between himself and his enemy, in order to secure a safe passage; but having passed them, he advanced directly toward Orangeburgh, where the British had remained, since lord Rawdon had conducted them thither after the evacuation of Cambden. Colonel Stuart, who was now the principal British officer, learning Greene's approach, retired, for the purpose of meeting some supplies from Charleston, to Eutaw Springs; but he had no expectation that he should be so soon overtaken by general Greene, as he was. The American light troops encamped within eight miles of the enemy, and the whole army at seventeen miles distance, without any suspicion of their vicinity having been produced in the mind of colonel Stuart; although no efforts had been used to conceal their march. The Americans even arrived within four miles of his camp before they were discovered; and then commenced an engagement which continued three hours, and was the most fierce and well contested battle that was fought during the southern campaigns. General Greene had gained great advantages, and even obtained possession of the enemy's camp; when the British rallied under the fire from a brick

* Vol. ii. p. 341. note.

house, which they had filled with their troops, and compelled the Americans to retire. But they were not pursued; although they were obliged to march several miles from the field of battle to obtain water. Immediately after the battle, colonel Stuart commenced a retreat toward Charleston, with such rapidity that Greene was unable to overtake him, which clearly evinced his own opinion of the effects of the contest. The British army took post at Monk's Corner, not far from Charleston; while Greene again retired to the high hills of Santee, to restore his troops, overcome by their exertions, and by the intense heat of the season. Thus at this propitious period, did success crown the arms of the Americans in every quarter; and the hopes of the final termination of their sufferings from war were brighter than ever before.

All important warlike operations were now at an end. General Greene, sensible of the superiority which he had vindicated to himself at the battle of Eutaw, determined to act as the conqueror. With the intention of freeing the state of Georgia from its invaders, or at least of confining their control, he detached general Wayne toward Savannah; while he himself moved to the vicinity of Charleston, and soon succeeded in confining the enemy within the limits of the town. The garrison of Savannah was soon withdrawn, and Charleston was at last restored to the possession of the Americans, by a voluntary evacuation; for the prospect of immediate peace was a check upon all military enterprises. With the account of this event the work of general Lee concludes. The last part of it is agreeably filled with minute accounts of the small operations of the armies; and contains a somewhat interesting description of an intended expedition to John's Island.

We presume that we have now given our readers sufficient information, as to the narrative of the events of the war which is contained in general Lee's work. We have also

given several specimens of the numerous and valuable anecdotes by which it is enlivened. Of its style we think a correct opinion may be formed from the passages which we have quoted, and from the long extract which we have given in the former part of this number of the Repository.* We cannot say that he is always judicious or correct in his use of words, or that he is at all times free from obscurity; but he has written in a manner which we think will not fail to interest his reader. We have been pleased with the candor and modesty which he has displayed, in describing the characters of others, and in speaking of events in which he was personally engaged. Much of the value of his work consists in the acquaintance which it gives us with many individuals, by means of such anecdotes as do not often find their way into more studied histories.

Of his own military character he has induced us to form the most favorable opinion; or we should rather say that he has more deeply impressed that which other histories had given us. The excellent and active corps of which he was at the head, the confidence which appears to have been placed in him by general Greene, and the separate commands with which he was often entrusted, are testimonials of his merit. He has made good use of his personal experience to render his work entertaining; yet he is far from any thing like unpleasant self obtrusion. His accounts, we have little doubt, are accurate and faithful. We have been at some pains to compare them, where the same transactions were related, with those of several other writers of the best authority; and when he has differed from these in any particulars, we have often been inclined from the circumstances of the case, to give the preference to his testimony. If we err in the opinion which

* [This extract was the account of the attempt to seize general Arnold, contained in the thirtieth chapter of the Memoirs, vol. ii. p 158. seq.]

we have now given of this work of general Lee, it must be that we speak too much in its praise. It is possible that we may be prejudiced in favor of the author, who has so much amused us, and of the man, who so faithfully served his country during our war, and who has lately excited additional interest, by the courage with which he has exposed his life to the attacks of ruffian violence in the protection of our choicest civil privileges. But we need not hesitate to recommend this book to the attention of all who wish for valuable information with respect to the history of our war, and interesting anecdotes concerning those who were engaged in it.

We cannot conclude our remarks without again expressing our wishes for a complete and philosophical history of the United States. There have been no events more worthy of the most ample commemoration than those relating to the American revolution, the institution of our goverment, and the subsequent state of our country. Our nation was formed under the operation of feelings and principles, which were uncommonly free from the influence of those selfish and violent passions, by which great political changes are usually effected. Our government was established by the deliberate and uninfluenced choice of the people. Such was its nature and the method of its formation, that the attention of philosophers was universally attracted, and the fancies of political visionaries seemed to be realized. Since we have been a nation, our prosperity has been wonderful and unexampled. Our population has been rapidly increased by emigration from foreign nations; and our citizens have grown rich almost without exertion. But we have been inattentive to the preservation of those privileges which were the securities of our public happiness; we have become indisposed to that exertion, and those individual sacrifices, by which alone they could be maintained;—the power which was given to the multitude has been abused; and we are now wretched as a nation, per-

haps even from the natural operation of a system, which was once thought to promise the perpetual enjoyment of every public blessing. What is the fate that now awaits our country cannot yet be determined. It is possible that the people may grow wiser by their sufferings—that peace may be restored to us ; and that a measure of our former happiness may be again enjoyed. But the present state of our affairs may lead, and appears to be tending, to consequences of a very different nature. The spirit of our countrymen may be subdued ; the imbecility of our government may increase ; our national independence may be virtually lost ; and we may become still more degraded as a nation, than our late policy, and those late events which every man who loves his native land has regarded with shame and humiliation, have yet been able to render us. Or it may be, that when the spirit of corrupt ambition, and of unprincipled faction, have gained more ascendency, and are more bitterly felt, the virtuous and patriotic may release themselves from the connexion with a government, which impoverishes, and degrades, and demoralizes its subjects, and cause the bonds which unite our country to be broken. Our fate, it is probable, will be soon determined.—A few years may give birth to events as momentous as those which marked the commencement of our national existence ; but the struggles of the dismemberment of a nation, or its gradual decay and ruin, will make a less uncommon picture in history, than the wisdom and virtue which formed our government, or the happiness which followed its just administration.

Note, referred to page 70,

Containing an abstract of general Lincoln's letter to general Washington, respecting the defence of Charleston

General Lincoln supposes several questions to be asked relative to Charleston; and we will endeavour to give a view of the answers to them, as stated in this letter.

1. "Why was the defence of Charleston undertaken?" To this question it is answered—because it was the apparent wish of congress. When this city was threatened in 1776, they recommended a vigorous defence of it. When it was again in danger in 1779, they sent an engineer to fortify it, and subsequently sent three frigates to defend the harbour. Moreover if the city had been left, the ships of war, and the stores there collected, must have been relinquished; and the enemy could not have been opposed, with such inferior numbers as the Americans possessed, in the open field. By defending it, the enemy was for a time checked, which was a certain advantage; and there was sufficient reason to believe, that if the expected succours had arrived, an evacuation of the city would have always been practicable, without any other losses than would be necessary from relinquishing it without defence.

2. "Why the army, stores; &c. were not brought off when it appeared that the post could no longer be defended?" It appears that the communication between the city and the country was kept open, and therefore, that a retreat was in the power of the Americans, until after the cavalry were surprised and dispersed on the sixteenth of April; and that after this, as a council of the officers in Charleston declared, "a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not rendered altogether impracticable," because—the civil authority was averse to it; it must be performed in the face the enemy, in vessels unfit for the purpose, over a river three miles wide; a passage was then to be forced through

considerable bodies of the enemy to the Santee river; the passage of this river would be very difficult from want of boats; and after having effected it, there would be no security from the pursuit of the British light troops. On the nineteenth of April, such reinforcements were received, and such positions taken by the enemy, as in the opinion of the officers in Charleston, rendered a retreat impracticable. But general Lee considers general Lincoln to have committed an error, in not evacuating the city immediately after the harbour was lost, which was on the ninth of April. The answer to this, as given in the letter of general Lincoln, is, that there had been such repeated assurances of abundant reinforcements, from sources most to be depended upon, as would have made it unjustifiable to doubt that he should receive sufficient to preserve the means of retreat. The whole of the succours ordered were nine thousand and nine hundred men; but of this number only one thousand nine hundred and fifty were received. General Lincoln was thus disappointed in his reliance on those whom he had no right to distrust. Previous to the sixteenth of April, there was no intimation that he would not receive sufficient reinforcements; if he had received them, retreat would have been unnecessary; after that period it was not in his power. These facts we concieve fully sufficient to justify the conduct of general Lincoln, in not leaving the city upon the loss of the harbour.

3. "Whether the necessary supplies of provisions were in time ordered; and why the defence of the town was undertaken with so small a quantity in it?" To this question it is answered—that as salted provisions are not easily preserved in the southern country, the dependence of the army was usually upon fresh provisions, which sufficiently abound, and that adequate supplies could be furnished to the city daily, so long as the communication was open; and in the expectation that it would be retained, the defence of the city was underta-

ken. But moreover, five thousand barrels of pork and as many of beef, and all other supplies necessary for an army of six thousand men, had been ordered in July.

4. " Whether the state of the department was from time to time represented to congress, and the necessary succours called for?" For an answer to this question, general Lincoln refers to the numerous communications he had made to congress, representing the weakness of the American power in the southern states ; and he also quotes a long letter transmitted to congress, dated October, 1779, in which he represents the probability that the British would endeavour to make some permanent acquisitions in this quarter, and states the great evils which would follow from such an event, which he says can only be avoided by a great increase of the strength of the army, which was then two thirds less than that of the British.

5. " Whether the marine arrangement was such as best to answer the purpose intended by congress in sending the frigates to Charleston ?" It appears from the correspondence, which general Lincoln produces, between himself and commodore Whipple, that he used every means of becoming acquainted with the harbour of Charleston, and sought for all proper advice and information as to the best stations for the vessels of war. But it seems that the defence of the harbour had been undertaken without much knowledge of its character. It was believed by congress, and by the public, that ships could be so stationed as to defend the bar ; and on this account he supposes congress were induced to send them. But the attempt to defend the bar was soon found impracticable, and relinquished because there was not water enough for the purpose at the proper positions ; and the next position which was taken, near fort Moultrie, was also given up, in accordance with the opinions of the commodore, because the passage of the bar had been made by the British, with a force much larger than had been expected ;

so that the final mode in which the ships were disposed of, appears to have been rendered necessary by their inadequacy to successful resistance to the enemy's naval force.

6 " Whether the necessary exertions were made to complete the works, and fortifications of the town ?" The ample answer to this question consists of depositions of James Cannon, a gentleman who from his intimacy with general Lincoln had means of observing him, and of Archibald Gamble, who was manager of the public works at Charleston. They are complete and full testimonials of the great exertions, the interest, and industry of the commander, in relation to the erection of the defensive works, and are honorable, not only to his public, but his private character.

7. The last question which is answered in this letter, is— " Whether the defence of Charleston was conducted with that military spirit and determination which justice to their country and themselves demanded ?" It appears that on the thirtieth of March, the enemy sat down before the place, and on the tenth of April, having completed their first parallel, the besieged were summoned to surrender. The demand was refused with promptitude and spirit. On the twentieth, when the second parallel was finished, proposals for surrender from the British were again rejected. On the eighth of May, when the third parallel was completed, a summons was again sent to general Lincoln, upon which he proposed terms of surrender, which not being admitted, hostilities were renewed, and continued until the eleventh, at which time, says general Lincoln—" The militia of the town having thrown down their arms—our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted—the troops on the line being worn down with fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lay upon the banquette —our harbour closely blocked up—completely invested by land by nine thousand men at least, the flower of the British army in Army, besides the large force they could at all times

draw from their Marine, and aided by a great number of blacks at their laborious employments—the garrison at this time (exclusive of sailors) but little exceeding two thousand five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms—the citizens, in general, discontented—the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land—many of our cannon dismounted, and others silenced by the want of shot—a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely succour cut off—we then were induced to offer and accede to the terms executed on the twelfth."

REMARKS*

ON

AN ESSAY ON ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNALS.

A PIECE was published in the Panoplist for July, 1812, with the following title:—"A few remarks on the want of Ecclesiastical Tribunals in Massachusetts for the trial of offending ministers." The writer expresses his feelings and wishes upon this subject in the first sentence, which is as follows—"It is a deplorable fact that there is no tribunal in our churches competent to try an offending minister without his own consent." After saying that the present customary mode of removing such differences as may exist between ministers and their churches, viz. by councils, is inadequate, because it is not in the power of a council to punish the offender by depriving him of his ministerial character, and because "if some will not employ him others may," and "he can gather a church and administer sacraments," and thus, "however depraved, he attaches to the ministry all the reproach of his future immoralities," the writer asks, "is there not something horrible defective in this state of things?" He afterward observes, that "the defect of our present system is still more apparent in the case of heresy. Here a minister is absolutely invulnerable." He thinks that there are no means whatever of punishing an heretical clergyman, especially when his church professes the same opinions with himself, but that it is a duty

* First published in the General Repository, for October, 1812. vol. ii. p. 288.

established in scripture as incumbent on Christian communities, to call ministers as well as people to account for heresy; and that —"A solemn question, interesting to every man that has a part to act for God, is then brought before us: *Ought not such a tribunal to be erected without delay ?*" Three things are stated to be necessary to render this tribunal competent to its proposed objects. 1. That it should have power to depose from office, and to ordain. 2. That it should be a permanent body. 3. That ministers should voluntarily submit to its authority. The purpose of this tribunal is not merely to judge those heretical and immoral ministers who may have submitted to its authority, but to direct and strengthen the orthodox in adopting a uniform mode of treatment toward those heretics who are not immediately under its power. A method of forming the proposed tribunal is suggested; and among other advantages to be gained by it, is mentioned *the promotion of brotherly love.*

We confess that we have read this piece with some feelings of surprise and mortification. We were aware that there were men among us to whom it might be supposed that such establishments would be pleasing; but we were not prepared to see so open and public a proposition for their institution. It is somewhat humiliating to those who are interested in the intellectual character of our country, that such individuals should suppose that their influence is sufficient to execute a design like this; or that they should think that the state of public feeling is such that the suggestion will be tolerated. That these and similar feelings should have been excited in us by this piece, will not, we think, be surprising to any who will consider, what it is in the existing state of things which has probably produced this proposal; with what principles and feelings it must be connected; and to what consequences the adoption of it would lead. We shall notice these things, and we shall notice also some of the arguments which the writer in the Panoplist has adduced in support of his proposition.

The Essay on which we are remarking is itself an indication of something in the present state of things, peculiarly unpleasant to the writer ; and it is explicitly implied, that there are some reasons at the present time for the establishments he advises, other than have always existed. To something now existing hostile to his own views, the writer certainly alludes, when he laments, with a warmth almost ludicrous, that those means which are favorable to their promotion have not been before adopted. " Ecclesiastical domination," he observes, " is of all things, that which we have least reason to fear in New England. The bent of the age is to the opposite extreme. We are much more in danger of anarchy ; it can never be sufficiently impressed on the public mind, that the thing which we have most reason to fear, is a dissolution of all ecclesiastical government and discipline, leading the way to an apostacy, greater than that of Rome. Has not this apostacy already begun to appear ? What do we behold ? Let any orthodox man lay his hand upon his heart, and then say, whether, if sufficient responsibility had been attached to the ministerial character fifty years ago, things would have come to their present pass." The principal evil which such a tribunal as that proposed would have prevented, can be no other than what it is now intended to remedy—the existance and prevalence of what are stigmatized as heretical sentiments. The pride of opinion, which is in no case so strong as on religious subjects, reverence for antiquity, and the fondness for the countenance of numbers, will always render those who dissent from the commonly received notions, objects of aversion—especially to men, whose influence or power is lessened by the diminishing numbers of such as think with them. It was natural therefore that the change, which for a long time has been slowly taking place, and which of late years has been so manifest, in the feelings, the opinions, and the habits of study of many of our theologians, should excite much odium and opposition. In our view however this change is the honest index of the

increase of learning, and the prevalence of habits of thought and investigation. The introduction of the science of biblical criticism has made a new era in the ecclesiastical history of our country. To a taste for this study ; to the greater, and continually increasing facilities which are afforded to students for obtaining theological learning ; and to the diffusion of general literature among us, we attribute the enlarged views and liberal feelings of a great portion of our community. The young theologian does not now search in stale bodies of divinity, or in collections of catechisms and confessions, or in the professed system of a popular leader or of a powerful party, for the tenets he will embrace. He would be ashamed to be suspected of admitting any authority but the bible, or any interpreter but his reason. That a diversity of opinions on speculative subjects should be produced by this noble freedom, is the natural and inevitable consequence of the diversity of human faculties. Another result, which we think natural and necessary, is the prevalence of different, and, in our opinion, far more honorable and more correct views of our religion, than those which we believe were originated and matured in that superstition and ignorance, which at last deepened into the darkness of the middle ages. But to hold our own sentiments with meekness, as the sentiments of an individual, and to be willing to allow to others the same liberty of judging which we ourselves claim, and to believe that each man has a greater interest in being right than another can have in making him so, are the dispositions which generally do, and always ought to accompany such freedom. This tolerating and catholic spirit is extensively diffused through this part of our country. It is indeed much opposed and suppressed, as far as their influence extends, by some, whose narrow, but honest minds, have been too long contracted to be capable of enlargement, and who are instigated most zealously by others, whom their own passions and interests have driven into opposition.

Loud and bitter in consequence have been the denunciations against many of our clergy, for the freedom with which they have thought, and the liberty with which they have spoken. Two instances are yet recent, in which honest inquiry has been followed by all the obloquy that could be inflicted by the condemnation of self-appointed censors, and by all the temporal punishment which they could impose. From similar causes, the characters of many of the clergy of our metropolis and its neighbourhood have been misrepresented, and we may say, infamously misrepresented. The calumnies that have been circulated, have been believed, we suppose, by the credulous and ignorant; and, for aught we know, have, by their frequent repetition, had some effect upon the minds of men of discernment and intelligence who could not themselves be undeceived by personal observation. We have in different parts of our country, heard stories of the kind to which we allude, that were so ludicrously false, and betrayed such profound ignorance, that we were made grave only by remembering the mischief they were the means of effecting, and the criminal deception, the misrepresentations and misstatements of passion, and prejudice, and party zeal, in which they had their origin. But however jealous we may be of the reputation of men, upon whom more perhaps than on any others, depends the respectability of our clergy, and however desirous that they should have the rewards of public approbation, which their learning, their piety, and their assiduity in the discharge of their duties, deserve, we shall not attempt to vindicate them from the charges to which they are exposed. We alluded to this subject, only that we might present a strong and prominent instance of the objects of so much odium, cloaked as it is under the garb of opposition to heresy and zeal for the cause of religion, and an instance likewise of the mode of warfare which has been adopted. Let the character of our metropolis answer for that of her clergy. That its character de-

pends much upon that of its ministers of religion, no one can deny. Let the voices be heard which constantly sound, in distant places, as well as at home, in praise of her ready munificence, her extensive liberality, and the relief which she affords to the wretched, of whatever communion or country. Her institutions for the promotion of human comfort and of literature, are sufficient evidence of the principles which exist in the hearts of those who have the disposal of her wealth either by influence or possession. Above all, let her morality be remembered, by which her citizens are so much distinguished from the inhabitants of most large cities; and which in no small degree must be the result of the exertions of her clergy, and of the kind of instructions which they dispense. Our university has in like manner been assailed, but she has been shielded by the talents and virtues of her guardians; and the inefficacy of the attacks upon her character could not be better evinced, than by the public confidence which is indicated by her present condition, and the patronage she now receives. The reasons why our clergy have been thus reprobated, and our university attacked, are to be found in the notions on religious subjects, which are, or are said to be, maintained, and in the opinions concerning the mode in which those of different religious opinions should be treated, and the degree of importance to be attached to the belief of certain speculative doctrines. In the mode of regarding these things there has certainly been a great change, since a period to be recollected, which we think is to be attributed to the influence of learning and criticism. Most of those who, from want of this learning, or from other causes, do not see the reasons of it, are opposed to those by whom it is promoted. The opinions in consequence which are now entertained by many, on some or all of these subjects, are stigmatized by others as heretical —a term of theological abuse, which it requires no other quality of the mind or of the heart to enable and dispose one to ap-

ply, than that satisfied and undoubting confidence in the correctness of one's own opinions, which is the common result of ignorance and want of examination. It is this great and increasing change which we think has excited the zeal of the writer in the Panoplist. It is to overwhelm this heresy that he would erect his ecclesiastical tribunals; and the statement which we have made will explain his meaning when he speaks of *the pass to which things have now come.* When therefore we consider the character of the men who have been denounced or avoided because they maintain certain sentiments, the places where these sentiments are said to prevail, the apparent causes of their prevalence, and the weapons by which those who profess them have been assailed, we confess, that to us, what is called hatred to heresy, appears to be opposition to sound criticism, to learning, and to catholicism. It is the blasting and destruction of these, which we think the authors of the proposition for ecclesiastical tribunals are aiming at *directly* if not *willingly.* Among those who might associate for their formation, there would be some without doubt who would not be aware of the greatness of the power they were assuming, and of the mischief which they were about to assist in perpetrating. But it would be blind charity indeed to believe, that this plan was only blundered upon, by such as were unable to perceive what consequences would result from its execution; and it would be against our conviction to profess, that its framers were not aware and desirous of some effects, which we should consider as disgraceful to our country, and most injurious to religion.

It must necessarily be a fundamental principle with those who associate themselves for the purpose of judging of the correctness of the religious opinions of others, and for punishing those who may deviate from their own, that there is no doubt that they themselves are right, both in the opinions they entertain, the importance they attach to them, and the power

they assume of coercing those of others. They must believe that they have a full view of the subjects upon which they judge—that they see them in every direction. They must deny that the prejudices of education, the scenes with which they have been conversant, or their occupations in life, circumstances which affect the judgments of other men in a thousand ways, have had any influence upon them. They must suppose that their minds are perfectly pure, and free from any bias, which violent party feelings, or local attachments, which deep rooted prejudices, or bitter passions, or a mean, yet as powerful motive as any, interest, might be expected to produce. They must maintain, that in some way or another, they have been privileged (without perhaps any particular efforts on their part) to escape the influence of all these motives; and that in consequence, by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and by an internal consciousness of being certainly right, they are marked out as the delegates of heaven, to judge, and censure, and punish their fellow Christians, for exercising that liberty on religious subjects, concerning which some of them have heretofore been in the habit of thinking that they are accountable only to God. Such claims have been often made, and the plea on which they are usually founded by vulgar fanaticism, is that of a special, miraculous illumination, which leads into all truth. The writer in the Panoplist however founds his claim to the certainty of being right upon his peculiar fairness of mind, and goodness of heart; a mind, if we understand him, too fair to yield to any prejudice, and a heart too good to be influenced by any improper motive. It is because his heart is so good, and those of his opponents so corrupt, and their minds so blinded by the god of this world, that there are such differences of opinion between him and them: for, as he believes, none of the circumstances which so much affect men's minds on other subjects, can cause any innocent variety of sentiment on topics of religious spec-

ulation. When attempting to answer an objection, that it is difficult to determine what heresy is, he says, that on this point, "There is no necessity for mistake. To a good heart that consults the Great Interpreter, revelation is sufficiently plain. 'If our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not.'"

As a further solution of the same difficulty, he adds, in immediate connexion with what we have quoted, as follows: "But this knot is cut at a stroke. Latitudinarian principles allow every man a right to interpret scripture for himself, and, (if the right is good for any thing,) *to regulate his duties* by that interpretation. Now, one plain duty is, 'to reject' 'a man that is a heretic.' In performing this duty then, every authorized tribunal has a right to its own interpretation of scripture, and must judge for itself what heresy is."

We do not profess fully to understand what is meant by calling the right of private judgment in matters of religion, a latitudinarian principle; we had thought it had been, professedly at least, a principle with all protestants. Undoubtedly however the writer means at least to express his dislike to it, for 'latitudinarian' with him is, without question, an epithet of disgust. Nor do we wonder that those, who are so eager to constrain to their own standard the opinions of their fellow Christians, should thus indirectly express their aversion to that principle of protestantism to which they dare not openly avow their opposition.

But it seems that it is a plain duty, which the scriptures have made binding upon all Christians in all ages, to "reject" a heretic. We shall examine hereafter what the scriptures say with regard to this subject; but it may be well here to consider what it is, which this writer thinks is incumbent upon him and his fellow laborers, with regard to those whose opinions are different from his own. "If you do not," he says,

"call private brethren to account for heresy," "you are transgressors of as plain precepts as are found in the bible." —"For heresy alone Hymenæus and Alexander were delivered unto Satan; though nothing worse appears against them, than an attempt to explain away the doctrine of the resurrection." A much more venial thing, we are probably to understand, than an attempt to argue away some of the doctrines of orthodoxy. He then quotes the following passage from St. John—"if there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is a partaker of his evil deeds."—"This," he says, "the beloved disciple meant for the church in every age; he expected they would determine; and if they mistake the application of the precept, it is their own fault." It seems then that this writer thinks himself not merely privileged, but expressly directed by scripture, to deny to his opponents the common offices of hospitality, and civilized life; to reject them; and at least to cultivate a disposition, if he have not the power, to deliver them over to Satan;—and all this is to be done for the promotion of brotherly love.

These are novel duties to us, but if they are in fact duties enjoined by our religion, we too must endeavour to practise them to the extent of our ability. If Christianity does indeed require, that we should thus conduct ourselves toward those whose religious opinions are different from our own, we have a considerable change to make in our feelings and habits, but still it must be effected. We too must bring ourselves to adopt a course of conduct, and a style of language, toward those who maintain opinions, which we believe the disgrace of Christianity, considerably different from what we have hitherto regarded as correct.

There is something so utterly inconsistent with the spirit of our religion, in men, whom it is no want of charity to sup-

pose are not better or wiser than many others, thus coming forward, and without modesty or reserve, making claim to peculiar sanctity and goodness, and peculiar religious illumination; in those who are taught *not to judge another man's servant*, thus asserting a claim to regulate the opinions of their fellow Christians; in men, probably without any peculiar advantages from natural talents, or attentive examination, pretending to decide so confidently upon questions, with regard to which the wise and the good have been so much divided; in their perverting the language of scripture to justify a course of conduct so wholly adverse to that charity which every page of it inculcates; and in their doing all this under pretence of a zeal for religion, and the promotion of brotherly love; there is something so inconsistent in all this with the real spirit of Christianity, that we turn away from the whole spectacle with some feelings such as we would not wish to have often excited.

Our principles are radically opposed to any institution which would in the least degree repress the most perfect freedom of examination and discussion, and the most entire liberty and safety of professing opinions. It cannot be that these means, which on every other subject lead directly to the discovery and establishment of truth, on the subjects of religion should only lead to error. But the institution of such a tribunal as is proposed by the writer in the Panoplist, would tend to check inquiry, destroy the habit and means of criticism, and bias the judgment. To the existence of this tribunal it is essential that a system of doctrines should be agreed upon by those who compose it; and the system of doctrines which is thus declared to be the true one, and by which all around are to be judged, is that which it is most clearly the interest of all who are within the influence of the tribunal, to adopt. In proportion to the power of this body, is the influence which is exercised over the minds of those around to adopt its creed,

other than that which proceeds from fair examination and honest conviction. This influence will consist in the desire which many will feel to be sharers of the authority which is assumed, that they may become more important, and may indulge their ill-will, perhaps, toward those who dissent from them in opinion. The fear lest they themselves should become objects of its censure, lest they should be denounced and avoided as heretics, will also affect some ; and some may be induced to yield their reason to their interest; or suffer their understanding to be overcome by timidity, on the false and pernicious principle, that it is better to believe too much, than too little. These are the most simple causes of an undue bias; and their operation would be certain and immediate.

To those who are young, and who have yet to form their religious opinions, the dark shade of this establishment would be fatal. To differ would insure disgrace, and free inquiry would be impossible. Their faith would be established in ignorance and credulity, and maintained with bigotry proportioned to the weakness of its foundations. And can it be supposed that those who have once associated for the purposes proposed, will ever disturb their own minds with examination, or test that faith which they have sworn to support, or that they will be ready with arguments to answer and convince their opponents, when they have assumed that they are infallible, and their pride is continually gratified by power, and it is against the deductions of human reason that this power is to be exerted? No. Bigotry, as it is the effect, so it is the cause of ignorance ; and to suppose that theological learning could exist where such power was established, would be contradictory to reason and experience. We state no extravagant consequences ; these are the simplest and most harmless ways in which such an institution would operate :—others will occur to every reflecting mind, which would be the dis-

tressing and terrible, but not the less certain fruits of its maturity and strength.

The writer in the Panoplist was aware that objections might be made. He himself states what they probably would be. Nor does he deny that such consequences as have been here predicted would follow from the execution of his designs; but by the use of some passages of the New Testament, which we shall now more particularly notice, he has attempted, as we have seen, to throw upon Christianity the disgrace of justifying such designs, and authorizing their consequences. "But to call ministers to account for *heresy*," he says, "is a domination over conscience! an intolerant attempt to crush free inquiry! forcing men to adopt your explanations of scripture! denying that the Bible is a sufficient rule of faith without human creeds! foisting technical and scholastic terms into the place of revelation! But not so fast. Do you not call *private* brethren to account for heresy? If not, you are transgressors of as plain precepts as are found in the Bible. 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject.' For heresy alone, Hymenæus and Alexander were 'delivered unto Satan,' though nothing worse appears against them than an attempt to explain away the doctrine of the resurrection." Every person, tolerably well skilled in the interpretation of the New Testament, knows that the meaning at present affixed to the words, *heresy* and *heretic*, is entirely different from that in which they are used in the scriptures; and the argument which is here founded on a false explanation of the language of scripture, might very properly be dismissed without further notice; for we cannot expect that those who would urge it would be benefitted by our criticisms. The Greek word αἵρεσις should always be translated in the New Testament, either, as it most often is in our common version, *sect*, or otherwise, *party*, but never, *heresy*; and

neither this nor αἱρετικος, its derivative, has any reference in its primary meaning to *opinions*, good or bad. Nor do they in themselves imply any thing praiseworthy or blamable, except as circumstances shall give them such meaning.* But by heresy, at the present day, is meant opinions which are, or which are supposed to be, contrary to truth; and by heretic, a man who holds such opinions, however sincerely. Such a difference of signification between the word, heretic, as now used, and the same word as used in scripture, renders the application of the texts quoted in the Panoplist entirely improper, and evinces either ignorance or dishonesty in the writer who makes it. That the use of the first of the texts, and the only one in which the word, heretic, occurs, is utterly unjustifiable, and that it cannot be applied to any but those who are wilfully wrong, and not to those who sincerely believe what is really not true, is also apparent from the verse which follows it—"knowing that he who is such is subverted, and sinneth, *being condemned of himself.*"

But although St. Paul in his injunction to Titus had no reference to those who were only incorrect in their opinions, and therefore gives no support to the argument of the writer in the Panoplist, we are far from denying that he and the other apostles had a right to declare opinions in religion to be false, and to punish those who should teach what was contrary to their instructions. While they lived, there were judges who could not err; there was an authority not to be disputed. But because we attribute such power to the apostles, who were the commissioned teachers of Christianity, who were instructed by Jesus Christ, who were directed by the inspiration of God, does it follow that we are to admit the claim of infallibility in men, who certainly are not divinely commissioned teachers of our religion, and who may be ignorant, and prejudiced, and passionate, and wicked? Does it follow that

* See note on the words αἱρεσις & αἱρετικος, following these Remarks.

we are to submit ourselves to a tribunal like that which is proposed, whose members with so little fitness would assume such high powers?

It is indeed to be noticed that by the very same, and stronger arguments, than they might employ, did the church of Rome defend her usurpations. She used the same arms by which freedom is now attempted to be enslaved; and there was more plausibility and consistency in her pretences. Her followers did not trust in the opinions of any but such as they believed were directed immediately by God. It would certainly be difficult to say, in what respects any thing adduced in defence of the plan in the Panoplist would lose its force when applied to the support of papal authority; and alas, it would also be difficult to show, why such pretensions as are urged by men in our own country should not, if unresisted and successful, terminate in the same wicked and despotic sovereignty, and lead to the same enormities, and fatal effects, as have been witnessed in other countries.

But it is proper that we should mention whatever, beside what we have already noticed, is produced in the Panoplist as argument. The writer thus proceeds:—"Heresy, which is said to be permitted only to make a clear and public distinction between true and false professors, is numbered among the most abominable works of the flesh. All this, you may say, (profanely enough,) is the language of the severe and ardent Paul. What then says the charitable and sweet tempered John, who, it will be allowed, had as much love as any modern latitudinarian? What says he? Only read his three epistles, and you will need no more to convince you that heresy is as decisive a proof of irreligion, and as noticeable by the church, as any immorality. At this an uproar is raised; the cry on every hand is, The council of Trent over again! the horrors of the inquisition! a crusade against free inquiry and the rights of conscience! I leave the exclaimers

to settle this dispute of interjections with Paul and John, and go on to say, that if it is no tyranny to discipline *private* brethren for heresy, neither is it to deal with ministers. What would the objectors have you do, when 'there shall be false teachers among you, who PRIVILY shall bring in damnable heresies, *even denying the Lord that bought them*, and bring upon themselves swift destruction; and (when) many shall follow their pernicious ways, *by reason of whom the way of truth is evil spoken of?*' Permit the gentle John to answer. What says he? 'If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.'" We have already sufficiently answered what is contained in the first sentence of this extract; the impropriety of the second and third we need not illustrate. The principle that ministers are as amenable to human judgment as *private* Christians, we have no inclination to deny; it is to the exercise of any human authority whatever on subjects of religion, that we object. Neither the insinuation nor the argument contained in the quotation from the Epistle of St. Peter are of any force, and that from St. John has no applicability. Those whom St. John addressed had been taught by the apostles themselves, and therefore certainly knew what was their doctrine or teaching. For one to maintain any thing opposite to this, was to deny the authority of the apostles of Christ, and of course of Christ himself. We do not consider a direction to these early converts, to avoid any connexion with one who might come among them denying this authority, and endeavouring of course to seduce them from their religion, as any rule for us in our conduct to our fellow Christians. We do not consider it as a direction how we are to treat those who equally with us acknowledge the divine authority of the founder of our religion, and of his apostles, and who only differ from us in a matter of judgment. in their

mode of interpreting the records of our religion—records which, we do not say, no man of common learning, but no man of common modesty, will pretend to be in every part very plain and perspicuous. Those who *confessed not that Jesus Christ was come in the flesh*,* and who came among these first Christians for the purpose of making converts to their infidelity, were certainly to be received by them in a different manner, from what at the present day we ought to receive all those with whom it is the fundamental principle of their religion, that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh.

We will now finish our remarks upon the essay in the Panoplist. We have thus particularly noticed the claim of its writer to the authority of the scriptures in support of the plan he proposes, because the meaning of the passages which he has quoted is much misrepresented by him; and although we cannot hope to convince men who will argue as he has done, we were unwilling to acquiesce, even in appearance, in such false constructions of that invaluable book. We have not been induced to make these remarks by any apprehension of the success of the project we have opposed. We believe that there is yet too much learning, and virtue, and true religion, among us, to allow us to fear the establishment of any ecclesiastical domination. Nor do we expect at all to check the exertions of those who are desirous to have the power of judging and condemning their fellow Christians. But we wish that the characters and designs of some men who are among us, and who have come before the public with a proposition such as we have shown it, should be understood; we wish that the friends of religion should be aware of the nature of the attempts which they have made, and of the badness of that cause which requires the support of such exertions—which is to be supported by authority and not by reason.

* See the context of the passage from St. John quoted by the writer in the Panoplist.

We would urge all who may think as we do on this subject, to be open in their expressions of the disapprobation which they feel, to be resolute in their opposition to the encroachments and usurpations which they condemn, and to be united and vigorous in their exertions to support the cause of rational religion.

Note, referred to page 115.

Respecting the meaning of the words αἱρεσις *and* αἱρετικος.

Αἱρεσις is applied in the Acts to the Pharisees, αἱρεσις των Φαρισαιων, xv. 5. and to the Sadducees, αἱρεσις των Σαδδυκαιων, v. 17. and by Epiphanius to the sects of the Jews and heathens generally, Εν τῳ ϰν πρωτῳ βιβλιῳ πρωτϰ τομϰ αἱρεσεις εικοσιν, αἱ εισιν αἱδε, βαρβαρισμος, σκυθισμος, ἑλληνισμος, ιϰδαισμος. i. e. "In the first book of the first tome are twenty *sects*, (αἱρεσεις,) which are those of the barbarians, the Scythians, the Greeks, and the Jews." Respon. ad Epist. Acacii et Pauli. The word αἱρεσις is used four times in the Septuagint; Gen. xlix. 5. Levit. xxii. 18, 21. 1 Mac. viii. 30. In the first and last of the passages referred to, it means *agreement* or *compact*, and in the other two, *voluntary oblation*. The word occurs in 1 Cor. xi. 19. "For there must also be heresies (αἱρεσεις) among you." Here the Greek Fathers in general understand it as synonymous with the 'divisions' before mentioned, and as signifying the parties into which the Corinthians were divided in eating the Lord's supper; and this we presume to be its true meaning. It is thus that Chrysostom explains it in his twenty seventh Homily on 1 Corinthians. Αἱρεσεις ενταυθα, ου ταυτας λεγων τας των δογματων, αλλα τας των σχισματων τϰτων.—ὁτι γαρ περι των αἱρεσεων τϰτων ειπε των ϰατα τας τραπεζας, ϰαι της φιλονεικιας ταυτης, ϰαι διατασεως, ϰαι ϰ των της εξης δηλον εποιησεν. i. e. "He [the apostle] is not here speaking of heresies of doctrine, but with reference to the divisions be-

fore mentioned"——" for that he spake of the parties concerning the tables, and of this strife and separation, is manifest from what follows." In a similar manner the passage is explained by Theodoret, Photius, and Theophylact. See Suicer's Thesaurus ad verbum. The words of Photius are—Αἱρεσεις ενταυθα ϗ τας δογματικας φησι, τας περι πιστεως, αλλα τας περι των τραπεζων. Προκρινοντες γαρ οἱ πλϗσιοι τϗς πλϗσιϗς, τϗς πενητας αφιασιν. i. e. " He [the apostle] is not here speaking of heresies of doctrine relating to faith, but of the parties respecting the tables. For the rich, preferring the rich, neglected the poor." Photius ap. Œcumenium, in 1 ad Cor. p. 452. Cicero uses *hæresis* to signify a 'sect of philosophy,' in the third sentence of his Paradoxa. For additional examples of the use of the word αἱρεσις, see Wetstein's note on 1 Cor. xi. 19.

The word translated heresy, in its original acceptation had no reference to opinions, and implied no censure; but meant only, *election*, *choice*, and thence, *a sect*, or *party*. Yet it is evident, that as there are cases in which it is a duty to be united, and it must be wrong to have divisions or sects, therefore αἱρεσις, when applied to such cases, may be a name of reproach. Thus among Christians at the time of the apostles, when there were such ample and certain means of obtaining all necessary direction and information, the existence of differences of any kind was to be severely censured. Therefore in Galatians they are numbered among the works of the flesh. The word heresy in its scriptural sense, as thus used, is not to be applied to those diversities of opinion, which are unavoidable because of the imperfection of human nature. But it is a just use of it, to apply it to those divisions in the Christian community which are promoted by ambitious men for their own glory, and to the disturbance and injury of others.

In the same way may be explained how αἱρετικος obtains a bad sense, though the word whence it comes has none of itself. The radical meaning of αἱρετικος is, one who chooses,

or is fit to choose, "qui eligit vel aptus est ad eligendum;" and thence it comes to mean one who embraces and supports a sect. "Αἱρετικος, inquit Budæus, qui sectam alicujus amplectitur et fovet." See Stephens' Thesaurus. When used as a term of censure, it refers to those men who are desirous of promoting dissensions, the authors of sects, the leaders of parties, without reference to the opinions maintained by them; and has a bad sense only as those parties or sects are improper and injurious to those among whom they exist. The man who honestly holds peculiar opinions is not a heretic in the scripture sense of the word; ("Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo," said St. Augustine, "I may err, but I will not be a heretic;") but he who promotes a separation from him, and thus causes difference and dissension in the church, is a heretic. See, in addition to the authorities above quoted, Dr. Campbell's criticism on the words, αἱρεσις and αἱρετικος, in the ninth of his Preliminary Dissertations, part 4.

ON SELF-EXAMINATION.*

He who wishes to be virtuous, or useful, or wise, must seek to know his own character; he who wishes for happiness must both know and have power over himself, without which it is unattainable. That each one is better acquainted with himself than any one else, is probable; that each one can know himself best, is certain. But either not being conscious of this power, or wanting disposition to exert it, another's opinion is often mistaken for our own consciousness, and the estimation of our character accommodated to the image reflected from another's mind. The opinions entertained concerning us cannot but affect us; and if we are disposed to consider only or principally what is said or thought that is good, or that alone which is bad, distrust of our powers, or a vain estimation of ourselves will be produced. Although then what is said of us may be of some assistance, and what is thought (could we know it) would be of much more, toward estimating ourselves; yet as others are liable to inaccuracy of judgment, as well as ourselves; as they have not the same means of knowing, and even, if they had, as we cannot depend on our judgments of their opinions, or their expressions of opinion; as we have in our full possession the subject of knowledge, and the instruments for examining it; we ought to form our opinion of our character principally from the observations which we can make upon ourselves.

Self-knowledge is to be acquired by honest and habitual examination. We may deceive ourselves as well as others;

* First published in the General Repository, for January, 1813. vol iii. p. 52.

we may be reserved in our confessions when no ear hears them. There are favorite faults which may escape, from being the companions of our virtues; there are vices to which we may be lenient, because they have in them something of refinement and amiableness; and the errors of weakness we may pity rather than condemn; when a good quality which is congenial to our natural disposition, has grown into a defect, we may be insensible to it; and from various motives by which we are actuated we may select those that are good, and imagine that they are the only ones which influence us, when they would be lost to a closer inspection in the crowd of unworthy inclinations. It is not unnecessary then to say that this examination should be honest, or to be impressed with the importance of sincerity and openness in our intercourse with ourselves. Truth, without any of the drapery of prejudice or opinion, must be the test of our actions; and we must reverence our judgment too much to attempt to deceive it, or suffer it to be misled.

It is not only when some unusually strong motives have affected us, when our actions have been attended with important consequences, and have had much in them to interest us, that we must ask, what manner of spirit we are of? Not alone when we are suffering from recent guilt; for the stain is then fresh, and disgusting, and may cover something better, and we may, it is possible, too much condemn ourselves. Nor only when our hearts are elevated and warmed by an act of uncommon goodness; for it may dazzle us: after we have been looking at the sun we see its image on the cloud. Nor again when we are depressed and gloomy; for melancholy is a fog, which is oppressive and chilling, through which the rays of hope cannot penetrate, which obscures vision, which distorts every object, and magnifies what would be beauty into deformity, darkening the path which we are pursuing, and presenting only a prospect of misery and distress—the fearful

monsters of diseased imagination. We then only recollect to condemn. At other times we may behold from the eminence of expectation the fair landscape of futurity, gilded by the rising sun, rich with promises of good that kindle desire and rouse exertion, whose only shades are for calm repose to refresh and invigorate, and which produces delight alloyed only by the regret that we are not already in possession. This is when health has given activity and spirits; or when our cheerfulness is excessive from physical excitement, from much company, from uncommon praises, or the flattering attentions of those whom we love and respect; or when new proofs of the esteem of others make us estimate ourselves more highly, and we adopt the good opinion which we think they express; or when some prosperous event has shed light upon our prospects and discovered new sources of pleasure; or when being relieved from some evil which oppressed us, our steps totter from the relief.—In such circumstances we shall have too much levity for composed retrospection, or be too complacent for fair examination. When we are so partial to ourselves in our estimation of what is to come, it cannot be expected that we shall judge with correctness of what is past.

There may be seasons of despondence when desperation makes us acquiesce in vice—there may be periods of scepticism when, doubting the danger, we may not fear to err; when the mind cannot discern between good and bad, and amid the tumult of passion no voice can be heard but that which prompts us to indulgence;—we may gaze with delight upon the leopard's spots or the adder's skin, and forget the venom and the fang;—in the delirium of guilty feelings, the sting of conscience may be unfelt, and we may be unable to judge of our conduct. At such times we should banish thought from our minds; we should seek safety in flight rather than by combat; we should strive to forget, rather than re-

collect our feelings, fearing to deepen impressions which may otherwise soon disappear.

There are many who, from the constitution of their minds, are incapable of these vicissitudes, who are not liable to the disturbing influence of strong emotions; and there are none who can always remain in such states of mind as have been described. In most persons the passions and feelings are not usually in powerful operation. They rouse themselves and are violent for a season, and then leave the soul harassed by their invasion to recover its exhausted vigor; so that, for the most part, reason *may* possess her rightful sway, and then is the period favorable to an impartial estimation of one's own character.

This exercise must be habitual: not merely an unfrequent and occasional inquiry into our characters, to which circumstances peculiarly favorable may excite us, but a constant and unremitted attention to every action, and to each whisper of conscience. We should uniformly reflect whether we do what we ought. We should determine what we *will do* by considering the great rules of life, which religion affords; and we should judge of what we *have done* by reference to the same guide. We must search minutely into our own hearts; we must detect the motive which would conceal itself, and lay open to our inspection the principles by which we are governed.

In all such inquiries, as are now recommended, every man may consider his character in three relations—as intellectual, social, and religious. As to the first, one's intellectual character, as there is nothing which pertains to them about which most men are more anxious, so there is nothing concerning which they more often mistake. By some strange inconsistency a double error is common upon this subject. First, the learning or knowledge which is the result of patient study, or judicious observation, is attributed rather to the possession of

faculties which are not common, to something which is the gift of nature, and unattainable by those who do not now possess it, than to that labor and mental exertion which is the real source of all intellectual eminence. The second error is, that a man is praised, not for having the fruits of his assiduity, not for being learned, but for possessing talents. He has the reward of merit for that which was confessedly beyond his power to obtain; and very often he who by some accident is thought what is called a genius, although he may be a very idle one, is ranked as superior to him who possesses all that genius can give except the reputation of it. Now these errors are harmless, in so far as this, that a man who obtains knowledge will always obtain praise, though probably this praise will be for the ability to acquire rather than for having exercised his powers; yet again it is injurious because some may be satisfied with the reputation of ability, and content with this, not make those exertions to which the want of it might otherwise prompt them. But the consequence which is perhaps most to be lamented, and which it is most pertinent to the present purpose to notice, is the discouragement, and wrong estimation of one's own character, which may be produced, and the waste and neglect of talents which may follow from such mistakes. Intellectual excellence is one of the favorite objects of the wishes of most men. It is a desire, that not unfrequently is excessive, and exposes them to vanity, and all its ridiculous consequences. There are those against whom few accusations could be brought, which would not be rendered almost inoffensive, provided the charge were accompanied by any acknowledgment of their intellectual superiority. But this kind of excellence is certainly to be sought after, and valued, since it gives a rank in society, which cannot be obtained so easily without it, and especially because it affords greater facilities for the acquisition of what is morally good. It must therefore be very desirable to all to ascertain the just and proper rank of their minds, how far they

are susceptible of cultivation, and how far they are cultivated. This knowledge will preserve those who desire intellectual excellence only because it gives men rank and reputation, from the mortifications consequent upon inordinate self-estimation; and it will assist those in the use of their understandings, who would improve them as the better part of their nature, and as the means of virtue and happiness. Our intellectual character must then be a worthy and an interesting object of self-examination. When we inquire into it, we must be careful to make the test of it, our own observation. We must be firm enough to resist equally the praises of a friend, and the aspersions of an enemy; for none but ourselves have all the means of judging. We alone know what are the subjects to which our thoughts spontaneously recur; whether our minds are commonly employed upon subjects of permanent interest, and great importance; or whether our mental strength is debilitated from inaction, or suffered to waste itself upon trifles. The books and the society which we prefer, and the truths that are impressed upon our memories by what we have read and heard, the degree of inclination which we feel to obtain knowledge, the patience with which we persevere in pursuit of it, and the pleasure which new acquisitions afford, are some of the circumstances we should regard. To be told that we have ability, must not satisfy us; for we may have been observed only in our most favorable states of mind. We must know that of the praises we receive a great part are undeserved; and that there are many, and that we may be of their number, who have enjoyed reputation far beyond their deserts. The expressions of intellectual character are frequently mistaken; because it requires discrimination and good judgement to estimate them correctly. For the same reasons the want of approbation is not to discourage us. Timidity, or awkwardness, or the very desire of showing that we are not ignorant,

may lead us into the most unpleasant mistakes. We may possess all that would command the respect we desire, but may be destitute of the power of easily manifesting it to others. We must therefore recur to the observations which we ourselves have made, if we desire to form a correct estimate of our intellectual character.

It is not so when we seek to know ourselves as social beings. We alone indeed can know what are our dispositions toward others; but our value as members of society depends not upon the possession, but upon the exercise and expressions of our kind and benevolent affections. It is an important part of our duty to render ourselves pleasing to others; and so certain is it that if we do this, they will express their satisfaction, that we may consider their manners toward us as a fair index of our own. It is true that it is of the utmost importance that our principles and feelings should be correct; and there is no better mode of ascertaining whether they be so than by applying to them the rules of religion; for they constitute a part of our religious character. But although if our hearts be pure, and our intentions good, we shall probably avoid injuring those around us, yet something more is necessary to render us as pleasing and as useful as we should wish to be. We are to attend to the prejudices and opinions of our fellow beings; we must yield to them in all actions which are morally indifferent; we must endeavour not only to do them good, but to do it pleasantly. Now our success in these exertions must be known from those for whom they are made; and we must wish for the opinions of those who are judicious observers. Nothing can more assist us in these inquiries than a friend. He that possesses one that is faithful in reproof, and sincere in praise, has greater advantages for judging of his external deportment, than any other circumstances can afford. These remarks apply particularly to our manners; but there are other things to which attention must

be paid, from regard to the forms and customs of society, and which may *appear* to be more important. There are donations to be made beside our charities, cares to be assumed which will not benefit us, business to be performed which is not our own, and services to be rendered to the community for which there is no compensation. Many objects demand the attention of a public spirited man, whose obligation depends upon opinion; and he must consult the example of others for his guide in what he does concerning them. When therefore we wish to know our social character, as far as it depends upon these circumstances, we must consult that which in this case is the only rule of action.

But the most important object of self-examination has not yet been noticed. It is above all other things interesting to know in what measure our lives are conformed to the will of our heavenly Father, and to the example of our beloved Saviour, whose blessed memory is the light of our world. Do we view the character of God with complacency? are we penitent for our sins? do we aspire after greater virtue than we possess? are our actions influenced by proper motives? are we acquiring such characters as belong to the inhabitants of heaven? are we willing that our future condition shall be determined by God?—These are questions which are worthy to occupy our minds. They are not to be answered by recurring to any creeds or systems of faith. Virtue does not consist in, or very much depend upon the speculative opinions which we may adopt; for there are but few articles of belief that are requisite to the Christian character, and those are possessed by almost all who call themselves Christians; while controversies and disputes are agitated upon subjects of comparatively little importance. The light which God has given us is sufficient to indicate our duty; and knowing our obligations, we can judge whether we discharge them. The opinions of others will afford us no

assistance in forming this judgment; for all virtue has its residence in the heart, and this is a retreat into which no human eye can penetrate. This is the residence of all our principles and motives; it is upon the nature of these that our character depends; and it requires an attentive and discriminating exercise of the understanding to become properly acquainted with them. Nor will it be beneficial to compare ourselves with others; for their thoughts are as inscrutable to us, as our own are to them. They may be good and seem evil, or be evil and seem good. In short, we can only learn our religious character by examination of our own hearts; and when we reflect upon the great importance and high interest of moral excellence, and the ruin which may follow self-deception upon this subject, we must be convinced that this examination, above all others, is to be performed with the utmost sincerity and fairness.

POETRY.*

" *Lenior et melior fis, accedente senectâ ?*"

Now youth and its thoughtlessness hasten away;
Its careless enjoyments no longer will stay:
Its feelings were ardent, and hopes undefined,
Elastic its thoughts, its affections were kind.
But now, by their influence moulding the soul,
No more they retain their delightful control;
No more hovering round me those visions appear,
That pictured the future unsullied and clear—
Made glory unsought in my path-way abound,
And every exertion successfully crowned;
While true was each smile, each profession sincere,
And nought like applause to my bosom was dear.
Nor thought I that age, which so promising seemed,
Would ever the season of sorrow be deemed:
For yet was untasted affliction and care,
The past was forgotten, the future was fair.
But gone are the feelings of youthful delight,
Departed the visions deceitful and bright,

* *The two following short pieces of poetry were published in the General Repository, for April,* 1812. *vol. i. p.* 341.

Yet passing, they o'er me their influence shed,
And fruit now remains, though its promise is dead.
Thus vanish the blossoms that spring may display,
The hope of the season, the joy of a day.
But though disappointment has sobered my view,
And sometimes a wearisome path I pursue,
When worn with disease, or with studious pain,
The sighs of depression I cannot restrain—
I would not exchange for the joys that are past,
The pleasures mature that forever will last;
The vigor of mind, the engagement of soul,
Of feeling and thought the increasing control,
And, my friend, thy regard, that confiding and kind,
Has enlivened my prospects, my feelings refined,
And has scattered the clouds that once darkened my day,
By the cheering attentions affection can pay.

TO MY FRIEND, * * * * *.

Drive the frown from thy brow, from thine eye chase the tear,
And again let thy smile mildly beaming appear;
For the sighs of despondence thy bosom that heave
Only add to the sorrows they seek to relieve.
O! wouldst thou that life should appear as to youth,
When the vision of hope seemed the promise of truth,
When each feeling exulting was quick with delight,
And each thought of the future unclouded and bright—
O! wouldst thou to thee such expectance were given,
Enjoy it, 'tis thine, 'tis the prospect of heaven!

EXTRACT*

From the valedictory oration delivered by Mr. Eliot at the Commencement of Harvard University, August, 1812, when his class were graduated as Masters of Arts.

The following mention of Mr. Buckminster, and an allusion to the late Dr. Eckley and Mr. Emerson, were introduced in an address to the Governor of the commonwealth, and the Overseers of the college, of whose body they were members.

Sed dum vos aspicio, non sedes vacatas morte lugebo? Simeon non est—Josephus mortuus est—et *Benjamin* quoque eripitur. Heu magna lux nostra abest! Ille abest, qui quondam nec temere nec timide in omni pro litteris aut religione inter primos incessit! Certe manent qui bona et grandia volunt agere et agent—sed ubi est alter Buckminster? Gloria nobis fuit! Ingens inter nos emicuit! Nobis manent desiderium, et memoria, et exemplum ejus: et restat etiam, ut, cum ille ereptus est, amicitia et consiliis arctius conjungeremur, et pro viribus nostris omnium bonorum damnum omnes supplere conemur.

* First published in the General Repository, for October, 1812. vol. ii. p. 313.

PART II.

CONTAINING PIECES NOT BEFORE PUBLISHED.

SERMON I.

ON THE VALUE OF OUR REASON, AND ITS COINCIDENCE WITH REVELATION IN WHAT IT TEACHES AND REQUIRES.

JOB xxxii. 8.

THERE IS A SPIRIT IN MAN, AND THE INSPIRATION OF THE ALMIGHTY GIVETH THEM UNDERSTANDING.

THE expressions of God's benevolence to us his creatures are so numerous, that it is seldom that we recollect him as the author of all our blessings. When our lives are preserved from any great danger, when we escape from any great evil which appeared unavoidable, or when we unexpectedly come into possession of any great good, the most thoughtless of us will thank God, and almost unconsciously acknowledge the important truth of our entire dependence upon him. But that the air we breathe is wholesome, that to supply our bodily wants affords us pleasure, are equal proofs of his care and love, with what may appear to us remarkable providencies, or uncommon interpositions. Every motion of our bodies, or exercise of our minds, is a source of admiration to the philosopher, and may be a proof of the most benevolent design to the pious man.

Of all the gifts of God to us, there is none which deserves our most perfect gratitude more than that of reason. By this we are elevated above other creatures, and made to resemble superior intelligences; and it is this which conforms our na-

tures to the image of God. To illustrate its value, let us consider how much of all that renders life pleasant originates from and depends upon the existence and exercise of this faculty. It will not be necessary to my purpose to dwell upon what would be the consequence were we, like idiots, to be entirely deprived of it. It is evident that then, with the present structure of our bodies, we must cease to exist. By the mere exertion of physical force, we could not be secure from bodily dangers; and the food which is necessary for the support of life cannot be obtained without skill. But to contrast our situation with that into which we should sink, were we to possess intellectual powers in no greater degree, or be capable of no higher exercise of them, than many human beings whom we class in the lower orders of mankind; or to consider how far superior we are to those who have preceded us, by means even of their own intellectual exertions, may impress us with a sense of the value of our rational powers.

The knowledge of nature, by which we are taught to procure the means of supplying our wants or gratifying our desires;—the arts by which we provide for ourselves food, and shelter, and clothing, and surround ourselves with comforts and conveniences; and those of which the ends are decoration and refined amusement;—all skill in agriculture and commerce;—the sciences, that give rules for the improvement and perfection of art, and enlarge and dignify our minds by their study;—our delightful literature;—our laws, government, and the economy of society—these all are the indications and results of that inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding. In these things we surpass not only those nations whom we consider ignorant and barbarous, but the most refined and cultivated people of ancient times. Not that we are superior in our powers to those who have preceded us, but because we possess the result of their labors together with our own inventions. In ancient times, the great

mass of human knowledge was slowly accumulating; and this is now possessed by us together with all that we have added; so that the conclusions which were drawn from long reflection, and the rules of conduct which were taught as the results of the highest philosophy, are now possessed by the schoolboy, and practised upon by those who are least improved. For, by his noble intellectual powers, man is enabled not only to improve by his own experience, but to grow wise by the example and precepts of others. The rational being is born to the inheritance of the knowledge of his ancestors. He becomes with facility master of inventions which it required the labor of ages to perfect. It is by this gradual increase of the stock of human knowledge, that we are superior to those who have preceded us in the most glorious periods of their history. For though we are dazzled by the representations of their splendid achievements, and their works of wisdom and genius, the ancients were indeed rude and ignorant in comparison with those of modern times. They knew not that the earth moved; they supposed that the torrid zone was uninhabitable. They were unacquainted with the wonderful uses of the magnet;—the art of printing was not known—and they had no public institutions for education. And if they were not in possession of things like these, which to us are the fundamental and elementary means of so large a portion of all our most valuable knowledge, and of all our social and domestic blessings, it would be easy to deduce a thousand minute particulars in which we infinitely excel them; for the existence of all of which we are indebted to the exercise of the understanding, and of which we are able to avail ourselves, when they exist, only by means of our rational powers.

Our reason then is admirable, because it enables us to acquire knowledge by which we can supply our wants and desires; and especially for the power which it gives us of retaining the acquirements of others, of profiting by their inven-

tions in art and their discoveries and improvements in science and philosophy. It thus opens to us a noble prospect of the melioration of the human character and condition, and shows us a tendency to good, which we can hope will operate with continually less and less opposition. There is in rational beings a promise of constant and indefinite improvement, so that we may look forward to a distant period, when those results and conclusions which now are the greatest reward of the labor of the scholar, shall be known to all; and the laws and principles which are now shrouded in the obscurity of science, shall be open to the view of every one.

But the excellence of reason will be still more apparent, when we consider it as the guide to truth, the rule of moral action, the only means of receiving divine communications, and as the interpreter of the revelations of God. The destination of the spiritual part of man, or of his soul, his relation to God, and in what the excellence of his nature consists, are subjects to which the thoughts of men have been in all ages directed. To us, whose doubts are removed almost ere they rise in our minds, who are instructed by a voice from heaven in the knowledge of our immortal existence, the dim and uncertain light which reason casts upon these subjects, may appear little better than darkness; and we are indeed elevated to a most glorious superiority over those who were unblessed with revelation. Yet, though this be so, still there is nothing which produces more reverence for the human understanding, than the conclusions to which some of the heathen philosophers arrived on the subject of religion—than their attempts, unsatisfactory and imperfect as was their success, to discover and to comprehend the character and counsels of God, the purpose and duration of our existence, and in what consists the perfection of the human character. But praised be God!—all that they feebly believed, and faintly hoped, and much more also, is now familiar to the meanest Christian

It is by reason that mortals have been able to hold converse with God, and to receive his laws. It is to man as a rational being that all revelation is addressed. It is by reason that we can judge of the evidences of our religion, understand what it reveals and what it commands, be influenced by its sanctions, enjoy its blessings, and be animated by its promises.

Being then deeply impressed with the value and excellence of our intellectual powers, it becomes an important inquiry, what are the duties which arise from the possession of them; for with every blessing God has connected corresponding obligations. I answer—that it is our duty to cultivate and improve our reason; to regard it as the inspiration of the Almighty; to follow its unbiassed dictates, as the guide which he has appointed to lead us to happiness; and to believe and act in all respects according to its directions. The force of this obligation in the common affairs of life is admitted by all men; for all profess to be under the control of reason. Even those whose deliberate actions, and whose whole course of life, are in opposition to the judgment of the wise, are never without what they think a reason for their conduct; and no principle or opinion is maintained which is not professedly founded upon the dictates of the understanding. But it is not so generally agreed that we are to follow this guide in matters of religion. Here the use of reason is thought by some to be superseded by revelation; and it is supposed that obedience to the one is inconsistent with submission to the other. It is most true that by reason alone we have no light afforded as to some, and that we are but imperfectly instructed in all of the great truths relating to our moral condition and expectations; but the opinion I mention extends much further. It is thought not only that reason recommends many things which religion condemns, but that many religious observances and duties are not capable of the support of reason

But is it not a more rational supposition, that since God at all times designed his human creatures for virtue, and the happiness connected with it, and inspired them at their creation with a faculty by which they are able to choose between good and evil, and regulate their conduct according to the designs of their Maker, that all the religious truths which he may reveal will be in perfect conformity with the knowledge which they may already possess by means of right reason. If we were in expectation of another revelation, we should look for more complete and full information on subjects to us still obscure and doubtful; but can we conceive it possible that a commissioned teacher from God should contradict any thing which we now believe on the authority of God's word at former times? It would be impious to suppose that we could be thus trifled with, or have been deceived by our Maker; and shall we entertain the idea, which is not less derogatory to his character, that without altering the objects of our existence, or making any change in the means of happiness, he would contradict those laws and principles of action which we adopt in conformity to our reason—the faculty which he has given us for our guide? Such opinions must have their foundation in ignorance either of the dictates of the understanding or of the truths of revelation, or in ignorance of both. For we might as well suppose that two divine revelations should be inconsistent and contradictory, as that the dictates of reason, which is the inspiration of the Almighty, should contradict the injunctions of a religion which he has communicated.

Between these two sources of religious knowledge there is the most perfect harmony. Without reason we could know nothing—without revelation our knowledge would be insufficient. The one provides the foundation, and roughly designs the plan; but the other completes, polishes, and perfects the superstructure. It is a chief source of the credibility of our religion, that its truths are such as had before been al-

most, or imperfectly discovered—or that they can, now that they are revealed, be shown to be antecedently probable, by striking analogies with that part of nature with which we are acquainted; or be supported by such arguments, distinct from that of their original, as are almost or quite sufficient to compel our assent.

I shall now request the attention of my audience while I attempt to illustrate the truth, that reason and religion require us to believe and act in the same manner—that reason would lead us as far in the same path which religion points out as her natural weakness would permit, and that when enlightened and strengthened by revelation, it is necessary that she should continue to accompany, assist, and secure us to the end of our pilgrimage.

1. Religion requires us to believe nothing that is not perfectly consistent with reason. I shall here instance the two most important and fundamental doctrines of revelation—the doctrine of the unity of God and the perfection of his attributes, and that of a future retributory state. The importance of the knowledge of the unity of God will be recollected when we advert to the Jewish religion. It was one of the principal ends of this dispensation to keep this truth in remembrance, and there is no one which is so often repeated in the Old Testament. But it is a truth at which philosophy never arrived. Idolatry and polytheism were at the foundation of all the religious systems of heathen antiquity. The absurdities of the popular belief were indeed too great to obtain the credence of all her sages; and their doubts and avowed incredulity as to the faith of those around them, and their aspirations for divine illumination, remain to confirm our own creed, and animate us with gratitude for the blessings of revelation. But when this great doctrine is once taught to us as it is in Christianity, with what a firm embrace does reason grasp the truth, and how are the arguments accumulated to

render it indisputable! It is now so deeply impressed on our minds, so combined with our philosophy, that were it possible we should be convinced that Christianity was of human invention, and that God never revealed himself to the world, yet this truth would remain immovable; we should still raise our souls to heaven and say with unwavering faith, "To us there is but one God, the Father," even though we could not add "and one Lord Jesus Christ." We may speak in a similar manner concerning the other doctrines respecting God which are taught us in the holy scriptures. They find not a mere cold reception into our belief; they have to overcome no sentiment of improbability; but they are confirmed and supported by innumerable arguments from the structure of the world, of the beings with which we are acquainted, and from the nature and constitution of our species. We perceive manifestations of power in the material creation so great that we call it infinite; indications of wisdom to which we can affix no bounds; and we are so constantly experiencing the paternal and benevolent care of the Supreme Being, that we must all most feelingly acknowledge that God is love. How different would be the state of our faith were God represented in the scriptures as a malignant and cruel being who was pleased with the misery of his creatures; or like the gods of the Epicureans, indifferent to his creatures, withdrawing himself from the care of his creation, and leaving us to ourselves. Then indeed would revelation be inconsistent with reason; but now their voices harmonize; and the truths which would command our submissive reception as the word of God, are confirmed in our minds, by considerations which reason presents and which ought alone to convince us.

The other Christian doctrine which I will instance as in the highest degree rational, is that of a future life. It is one that more than any other survived the lost remembrance of early revelation among pagan nations. We perhaps cannot

find a system of religion from which it is excluded. But it was retained without any strong and practical belief of its most important circumstance,—that the future life is retributory; and although it was not entirely without its influence upon the human character, yet till Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light, all beyond the grave was uncertain obscurity. The evidence upon which we receive it, the declarations of our Saviour, confirmed by his own resurrection, is such as almost to prevent the occurrence of a doubt; and we can now bring in proof of it so many analogies, and by it can remove so many difficulties, that our belief is too firmly established for us to relinquish it, did we regard the doctrine as unsupported by revelation. The changes of their mode of existence which we witness in other animals; our capacities for improvement which cannot here be fully exercised; the tendencies to the perfection of our nature which we observe, and which are now opposed by accidents that may be removed; the vigor of the soul amid the decay of its earthly vehicle; and the eager desire of a continuance of existence, are facts which our reason offers to confirm this most interesting truth. But it is principally recommended to our belief as a solution of the fact, otherwise mysterious and inexplicable, that there is evil in the world. How otherwise can we reconcile to the character of God, the sufferings to which the virtuous are exposed almost equally with the wicked, or how could it appear that God punishes sin, when those who habitually practise it sometimes pass through life in external prosperity, and seem to die without expiatory pain; or how would be manifested the advantages of continual improvement in virtue, if at the moment when the greatest excellence was attained, all existence were to cease. It cannot surprise us that the sublimest reason should be humiliated and baffled by such questions, when it was uninformed as to the great

truth which alone can solve them; but we must wonder at that being who calls himself rational, who can, after this solution has been revealed, continue to doubt that man shall live though he die, or that can believe the doctrine of a future life inconsistent with reason.

It is not necessary to mention particularly any other doctrines of religion. The character of God, and the immortality of man, are at the very foundation of Christianity, and whatever other truths it inculcates may be shown to be equally credible, and equally conformable to the dictates of reason.

2. I now proceed, secondly, to consider, whether any duties are required of us by religion which do not perfectly recommend themselves to our understandings. There are some virtues, as honesty and truth, which are so essential to the existence of society, that the benefits which they procure to us in this world have always been sufficient to produce at least a professed regard to them; and it may be shown that obedience to all the other requisitions of God will produce such present good effects as to make it our interest to observe them. Our heavenly Father in giving us laws intended to produce such characters as in most respects would sufficiently repay our obedience, even if this were our only life. He has closely connected virtue and happiness; and it is rarely the case that the one can be promoted by departure from the other. And this union may be traced in almost all our duties, although it is not equally apparent in all at first sight. Let us take, for instance, that of self-denial. If any have thought the injunctions to this duty unreasonable, it must have been from ignorance of its nature or of their own interest. For all the desires and propensities which God has implanted in our natures, there are provided the proper and adequate means of gratification, but to all are affixed certain bounds, depending on their own intrinsic value, and the circumstances in which we live; and if we pass these appointed

limits, our enjoyments will cease, and pain only will occur to us in our immoderate search for pleasure. Excessive indulgence of any one desire will not only effectually destroy in us the power of gratifying it, but diminish our capacity of pleasure from other sources. Now in far the greater number of instances where this virtue is to be practised, the whole of Christian self-denial consists in abstinence from such excessive indulgence of our desires and appetites, as would either destroy the pleasure of such indulgence, or cause us to neglect the pursuit of some superior good; and is not this a discipline to which every wise man would subject himself even without the religious sanctions by which it is now made so obligatory?

The reasonableness of the requirements of religion with regard to our affections and conduct toward God and toward our fellow-men, may likewise be easily displayed. When we become acquainted with the existence and character of God, it is the first dictate of reason to secure his favor. Any imaginable suffering which should continue during this life only, we should wisely endure to obtain the good will of a Being who would give us eternal happiness in another world; and now when God commands us to do nothing inconsistent with our present welfare, is it less wise to comply? The love and gratitude which he requires, and the constant reference of our actions to his will, are but the voluntary offerings of a well regulated mind. The expressions of these dispositions in prayer and praise are natural, and would be sufficiently recommended to us by their propriety without the annexation of any rewards to them; but those of you, my friends, who are habitually attentive to these duties, have become endeared to them by the blessings which our bounteous Parent has made dependent on the exercises of devotion;—and does not reason enjoin to us to seek our own happiness? Again, what are the requisitions of religion with respect to others that

are unreasonable? Not that we should love them; for love is a most grateful affection. Not that we should do them good; for thus we obtain friends without whom life would be solitary and desart. Not that we should forgive and even love our enemies; for thus we disarm their ill will, and save ourselves from the tortures of malignant passions. And if in society there be any thing pleasing, if friendship have any charms, if we have any desire of reputation, and if we prefer the smiles and blessings to the dislike of our companions, shall we not do to others as we would that they should do unto us? We are most intimately connected with our fellow-creatures; we depend upon them for much of our worldly prosperity, and for the choicest enjoyments of social life; but without their confidence and kind affections we lose all the benefits they can bestow. And can we more effectually inspire them with the dispositions which we wish they should have toward us, than by acting with a regard to their welfare? It is seldom that the love of any one is not returned; there are none whom we cannot bind to us by favors; and these are the methods which are appointed by religion to obtain the good will of men. The sacrifices which compliance with these rules may sometimes require, will usually be recompensed by the good affections and regard of those for whom they are made; but although for kindness we receive ingratitude, and are reproached, and reviled for our benevolent actions, there is still left us in the temper from which these actions ought to proceed, and which they will tend to strengthen, a reward sufficiently great in itself; so that were the feelings of all around us to be depraved, and love to be felt by none but ourselves, and all the social affections of others to become extinct, it would still be the unhesitating and exalted injunction of reason to forgive our enemies, and be kindly affectioned to all our fellow-creatures.

If then, my friends, reason is so noble a faculty, we must

wish to possess it in its strength and purity; and we shall therefore cultivate and improve it, and avoid every thing that may blind or bias it; and if it thus directs the performance of all that Christianity requires, what excuse can we have for disobedience to the commands of God?

SERMON II.

ON THE ADVANTAGES OF A REGARD TO RELIGION CONSIDERED MERELY WITH RESPECT TO THE PRESENT LIFE.

1. TIM. iv. 8.

GODLINESS IS PROFITABLE UNTO ALL THINGS, HAVING PROMISE OF THE LIFE THAT NOW IS.

IT is not an uncommon error among those who are unacquainted with the nature of true religion, to think that whoever would be influenced by its motives, would practise its duties, or regard its sanctions, must give to it an attention that is inconsistent with any considerable regard to the usual objects of human pursuit; that it subjects its votaries to many restraints which are not conducive to their present welfare; that at least it renders necessary abstinence from many enjoyments which neither harm others, nor are injurious to ourselves. These notions incline those who indulge them to defer the time of commencing their religious course to some distant period. But religion, so far from requiring the devotion of all our time to its concerns, is intended to direct us in the performance of the business of life; to guide us to the best means of obtaining every lawful object; to encourage us in industry; to make us useful members of families and of society; and, in short, to enable us so to conduct in all the relations of life as probably to secure to us most present happiness. It must then be acknowledged to be very unwise to delay for a moment to conform our actions to its rules; since certain and immediate benefit will be the result of so doing.

It is my intention in the following discourse to impress these truths, by showing how much more happy those may be who are influenced by religious motives, and endeavour in all situations to perform their duty, than those who are destitute of so noble an aim, and act only on principles of policy or self-interest, without regard to their religious character. But let it not be thought to be my object to persuade you, that those who are truly virtuous are entirely happy; that religion is a security against all suffering; or that moral excellence can be obtained without exertions and sacrifices such as must be made in pursuit of superiority of any kind. Those who seek for riches are active and assiduous in their business—the ambitious subject themselves to great cares, and have to surmount many obstacles to their progress—and to be learned requires the denial of many enjoyments, and the habit of laborious industry. To be virtuous also, it is necessary to be patient, active, watchful, and self-denying. But no more, nay, even less labor and fatigue is requisite to obtain the favor of God, than many submit to without a complaint for the sake of the good opinion of men. The pleasures to be relinquished, and the pains to be endured, to procure for ourselves the advantages of virtue and religion, do not imply greater sacrifices and sufferings, than those which must be sustained for most of those objects which men desire.

All then which I would assert, is, that religion is a good, which is worth the exertions it requires, for the sake of its effects upon us in the present life, without taking into consideration its consequences in another world. Let us then consider the causes and objects of human actions, in the different periods of life, and what would be the effect of superadding to these the motives and ends which religion presents.

1. Children are not usually much influenced by regard to any distant good—their impulses to action are derived from some present excitement. They are only distressed by the

sorrows of the day, and are happy in the expectation of tomorrow's enjoyment. For many years they are generally unincumbered by any cares for their own support. The objects which they pursue are the gratification of their yet untired senses, and amusements full of noise and frolic. They are soon however disciplined to some exertion; and being engaged in the same pursuits with their equals in age, the desire of excelling is early to be observed; and emulation and ambition are cherished in their minds, as the means of inducing them to do their duty. But they commonly desire superiority only from the natural love of notice and distinction, and as the means of procuring the smiles of parents, the approbation of masters, or the indulgences grateful to their age. At this period, which is called the age of purity and innocence, the formation of the future character is commenced; the passions which as yet have only displayed themselves in transient expressions, will soon manifest their deeply rooted power. It is then in the season of childhood and youth, that unless the reason has been cultivated as far as possible, and fortified by correct principles, that we become the slaves of our senses, and form habits of vice, from the effects of which upon our present happiness, no future virtue can preserve us. If no religious feeling exist in the heart at this period of life, if the sense of duty have not been well formed, the love of pleasure will strengthen itself into a corrupt and selfish affection; the desire of excellence will degenerate into envy; and all regard to future happiness will be sacrificed to the follies of a day.

From the evils to which the young are exposed on account of the power of their passions, the weakness of their reason, and their want of foresight to discern the connexion between the present and the future, there is no certain preservative but religion. The follies and vices to which they are liable are such as unfit them for useful occupations, for simple

pleasures, for enjoyments derived from their own minds. Religion would prevent these evils; and to this end requires the restraint of those passions which overwhelm such as indulge them; it forbids those excessive pleasures which destroy the taste for their repetition; it prevents those distempered emotions that harass the mind; and inspires such benevolent feelings as secure the heart from anger, malice, and envy.

As there is no period of life so much exposed as that of youth, it is desirable that it should be particularly secured from danger by religion; and in order that religion may have any effectual influence, it is necessary that its principles should be inculcated during childhood; that as soon as the understanding can comprehend its fundamental truths, they should be taught; and that the warm affections of early life should be directed to such objects as will not by any future inspection be found unworthy of them. Not that the mind when first feebly expanding itself, should be loaded and confused by metaphysical speculations, by doctrines which cannot be understood, or by the principles of a theory which is abstruse and perplexing; but that it should be informed of such simple and intelligible truths, as the existence of God, his paternal regard for us, and constant providence, a future state, and our obligation to observe the rules of morality. Let those who wish it instruct their children when their minds are mature, and when they have imbibed these elements of religion, in whatever schemes or systems of divinity they may admire; but the infantile understanding is no more fitted for the reception of profound theological speculations, than for the study of the highest branches of scientific truth. At least let children be preserved from the mazes of religious controversy.

But let us suppose, that by the honest care of parents or friends, the youth is instructed in his obligations to God and

his fellow-creatures; that he is taught the means of virtue, and inspired with the love of it;—he will save those who are interested in him from the pains of disappointed hopes, from the dreadful anticipation of his future disgrace and sufferings, from the prospect of his life spent in pleasures that poison his happiness, and vice that destroys his understanding, and deprives him of all that respectability which well employed talents would ensure, and of his death rendered terrible by the agonies of a guilty conscience. But if this should make those who have the care of the young, anxious for their own sakes to make them virtuous, much more, my young friends, are you interested to preserve yourselves from vice by means of religion, on account of your own welfare. There is nothing in religion which should repel you. Far from denying you enjoyments, it would lead you to greater happiness than you can otherwise obtain. It would save you from all the sufferings of anger and ill-temper; it would give you cheerfulness and ease of mind; it would make you pleasing to those whom you love; and it would gain for you the affection and favor of God, who is your Father. And consider how unhappy the neglect of religion will make you. You will be tormented by the violence of your passions; you will indulge in pleasures that will eventually cause to you disease and pain and want; and if you should afterward endeavour to become virtuous, you will have to suffer the shame and humiliation of repentance; you will have to make far greater exertions than are now necessary, and will obtain much less present enjoyment in return. "Remember then your Creator in the days of your youth."

2. Religion will be not less useful to those of mature years, who are engaged in the business and cares of the world —who sustain the relations of citizens and masters of families. These seek for reputation, or wealth, or power. They may be governed in their conduct by the laws of their country, by the laws of honor, the customs of society—or by the rules of

religion. The three first are wholly insufficient to preserve them from many things which may embitter their own lives, and render those about them wretched. They enjoin no government of the heart, no attention to the wants and wishes of those who can return only their thanks and blessing, no self oblivion, or sacrifice of private advantage to the public good. They are all very incompetent to supply the place of religious principles. A portion of morality is essential to the existence of society, and perfect virtue would secure its best condition; yet there are many who seem in their intercourse with each other, to endeavour to do with as little as possible. All those vices whose bad effects upon their present condition are not so immediately apparent, are tolerated by them without condemnation; and the law of honor has given its sanction to some practices which are opposed and condemned as well by reason as revelation, and are in reality as hostile to happiness in this world, as they are to that character which is required for enjoyment in another. But religion on the contrary would regulate the heart and the affections, would teach us to consider ourselves as but individuals of the community, and to seek much of our own happiness in the welfare of the whole. The extensive influence of such sentiments would be most propitious to the production of harmony and good will, and would secure to us the purest joys that society can afford. It would free our domestic relations from the operation of all those sources of disquiet and trifling vexation, which often deeply and permanently affect their peace; and it would enable us to place such confidence in those who might conduct public affairs as we can now only imagine. Such a state of society would remove all the evils which we sustain in consequence of the corrupt passions and vicious indulgencies of those with whom we are connected; and in order to its existence, it is requisite that we ourselves as well as others should be holy and virtuous. Inasmuch as we pos-

sess the dispositions enjoined by religion, although others be destitute of them, we tend to produce this excellent harmony and love.

But religion is not recommended to us only by the advantages which it procures to us as members of society. It not only does not interfere at all with the honest pursuit of wealth, or honor, or power, but is often of the greatest assistance to men in their endeavours to obtain these objects. A man once detected in a fraudulent transaction is sure to be punished by the distrust of others, and by the inconvenience and loss which will be the consequence of it; but he who by his uniform conduct evinces that he has integrity, and who shows that it is founded on a principle that is invariable in its influence, which will allow no compromise of honesty for gain, that is, on a regard to the favor of God, and who has no inordinate desire of accumulating wealth, will most probably ensure to himself as much prosperity as his abilities admit. It is not said, that a man who is honest will certainly become rich; but that if he have equal advantages with one who is not so, it is much the most probable he will succeed better in his labors.

Nor does religion conduce less to a man's reputation in this world. For however much some may affect to deride its obligations, and exult in their freedom from its restraints, there is no character which receives more homage from mankind than that of the man who is truly and rationally religious. There is no character with which one can appear with more generous complacency before his fellow-men, and presume on their unreserved approbation and respect. Nor can greater weakness of mind be manifested than by an attempt to conceal one's religious feelings, than which no others can so ennoble a human being.

As to power, all such as is inconsistent with virtue, it must be vicious to seek, and if obtained is of worse than no value; to the attainment of any other, religion is no obstacle.

A large and important proportion of the power that men possess consists in the influence which they derive from their characters; and if, as has been said, religion renders a man more respectable, it assures to him also, in proportion to his talents, a greater share of power. Or if the religious man be entrusted with authority, its continuance is rendered more secure to him by the confidence which all must have in the goodness of his intentions. If then religion interfere with no pursuit by which happiness can be obtained, if it will assist us to procure those things of this world that are most desired, and enable us to possess them in peace of mind, and with the approbation of conscience—is not religion worthy the attention of a man in the vigor of his life ?

3. It will be necessary to make but few remarks to impress upon your minds the cold and comfortless condition of a man advanced in life who is without religion. It seems to have been agreed by universal consent, that in the decline of life the spirit and feelings of religion should have more exclusive possession of the mind, and be more fully expressed in the actions; and a profane, an immoral, or an irreligious old man is to thinking men of all classes an object of abhorrence. In the aged, the fire of youth is extinguished, the energy of manhood is gone, the senses are obtuse, the passions are at rest, and serenity, composure, and seriousness seem appropriate and decorous. The charms of vice are no longer visible; the objects which once drew his attention from serious subjects, now cease to interest; the friends who once cheered and consoled are now fast sinking into the grave; the scenes of past life are fading from the memory; and the world refuses its enjoyments to him who must so soon leave it. And if the departing recollection of joys that are gone does not leave behind it the anticipation of future happiness; if the affections have no objects but those in this world whose bonds are loosening and separating; if in debility which will

not be followed by strength, and in sickness which can never be removed, there is no hope in God, how cheerless must be the situation of decaying age. But from this picture, turn to see the aged Christian, whose life has been spent in imperfect but sincere endeavours to perform the will of God. This world and its pleasures are receding from his grasp; but his mind is illumined by the splendor and glory of that to which he is approaching. The departure of those who have been his companions in this life produces no feelings of loneliness or solitude, for God is his friend, and is ever with him. In his sickness and his pain he is consoled by the hope of the happiness which sickness and pain are every day bringing nearer. He is grateful for the enjoyments the world has afforded him; he is contented in the prospect of leaving it; he sees the approach of death without dismay; and he expires perhaps with bodily suffering, but with joy in his heart.

We may see the sinner exulting in prosperity, and the virtuous man depressed and afflicted during life, and may be unable to discern the marks of retributory Providence; but we again observe them in the hour of death, and we no longer doubt; for there is no dispute whose condition is now to be preferred. On this subject the feelings of all men are the same; the good and the bad have no separate opinions. It was in the very act of disobeying the Almighty, that the exclamation was heard from Balaam—"Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

I hope, my friends, that what has now been said will have some effect either to confirm, or to produce the belief, that religion is of great benefit to a man in this world. But I have been able to give but a very inadequate idea of this benefit, unless my remarks may have excited you to reflection. I have mentioned but few of the many circumstances in which it is apparent; and I trust there are many of you who have noticed the imperfectness of my enumeration, since I have said

so little of those pleasures which may peculiarly be called religious pleasures—as the approbation of one's own mind, the complacency of conscious rectitude, the satisfaction flowing from love to God and love to man, from the performance of the duties of devotion and benevolence;—but I have preferred to mention only such advantages as could be estimated by those who have no religion. I have endeavoured to show to those who love this world, that "godliness has the promise of the life that now is;"—and let it not be forgotten that it has the promise also of the life that is to come. Let all remember that I have been speaking of a very inferior excellence of religion; and that its chief end is to prepare us for perfect happiness in a more exalted and glorious state of existence. If the whole of this short life were to be spent in misery in order to secure the favor of God, we should be wise to choose it for the sake of those enjoyments which he has put in our power to obtain, and should be beyond all measure compensated by their fruition. But the God of Christians, our heavenly Father, has no complacency in the sufferings of his creatures; and in nothing does his benevolence appear more conspicuous, than in this provision, that the path of duty in this world shall be the path of happiness.

In this path may we all walk, and may it finally lead us to the presence of Almighty God.

DISSERTATION I.*

ON THE MESSAGE OF JOHN THE BAPTIST TO OUR SAVIOUR, AND OUR SAVIOUR'S DISCOURSE CONCERNING JOHN.

Matth. xi. 2—15,—Luke vii. 18—30.

WHAT is here written, are some remarks from various sources, illustrative of the passages in Matthew and Luke which contain an account of John's message to Jesus, the answer of our Saviour, and his discourse concerning John. They are arranged in the order of the narration.

Matth. xi. 2, 3.† "Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?"

Art thou he that should come—ὁ ερχομενος? This is a phrase used by the old prophets to designate the Messiah,‡ and appears to have been a common style of mentioning him in the time of our Saviour

Wakefield, after Limborch,§ has given to this question, the following translation. "Thou art he that is to come, can

* This, and the following dissertation, were one of a number, which Mr. Eliot wrote for the exercises in the interpretation of the New Testament, which the resident graduates at Cambridge, students in divinity, began to attend to, under the direction of Professor Ware, during the time of Mr. Eliot's residence there.

† Luke vii. 18. ‡ Whitby in Matth. § Doddridge in loc.

we look for another?" This may be defensible; not however in the sense which he assigns to it in his Evidences;* as we may conclude from considering the object of John's message.

This was either for his own satisfaction, to remove his own doubts; or it was to remove the doubts of his disciples. It has been believed that John, deprived of all his honor, and suffering the pains of imprisonment and want, was overcome by the scruples which suggested themselves, so that he thought—'Why am I suffered to remain so long in this misery, and danger? I did hope that this was he who should free both me, and the people.'†

If John indulged such thoughts as these, he either doubted that Jesus was the Messiah, or he mistook the nature of his kingdom. That he could not have any doubt as to his being the Messiah, I think appears from a consideration of what had preceded. He knew that he himself was the forerunner of the Christ. It had been revealed to him that he should know the Messiah. He did supernaturally know him, and pointed him out as "the Lamb of God," "the Son of God," and said of him, that he was "above all," and that 'God gave not the spirit by measure to him.' He saw the Holy Spirit descend upon him at his baptism. It was not possible that after such repeated proofs of the character of Jesus, John could have any doubt that he was the Messiah. Nor is it probable that his ideas as to the nature of Christ's kingdom were so erroneous, as to lead him to such thoughts as have been supposed. Did he himself appear as the forerunner of a conqueror? Was his poverty and humility, was his preaching, consistent with the character of a precursor of temporal power? All that John taught was perfectly consonant with what our Saviour taught; and not at all favoring the idea that he expected that Christ's would be a temporal kingdom. He foretold that his baptism would be a spiritual one. It

* Remark 24. † Wetstein in Matth.

appears also from what he himself said, "He must increase, but I must decrease," that he expected the diminution of his authority and consequence. And if John knew that Jesus was the Son of God, divinely commissioned, would he have murmured that he was neglected by him, and sent a message that in such circumstances would have been reproachful and insulting?

But to the other supposition, that this message was for the conviction of his disciples, I see nothing to object. They may with more probability be supposed to have been ignorant of the nature of Christ's kingdom; or to have thought it improbable that John would have been suffered to remain in prison, if Jesus were the Messiah. They perhaps had been admirers of the severity of John's mode of living, and were displeased at the freedom of Christ's conversation, so different from John's austerity.* "John came neither eating nor drinking."—"The Son of Man came eating and drinking." To remove their doubts, John sends them to Jesus himself, to ask, "and hear what he would say to the question"† which they proposed in his name.

Matt. xi. 4–6.‡ "Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." As the message was from John, though for the sake of his disciples, so the answer was to him. It is here noticeable, that Jesus urged his miracles as a proof of his divine commission. The argument from these was peculiarly forcible, not only because they are the only certain test of supernatural power, and divine interposition, but because their master John did not work miracles. The observations of Cappe on this subject are worthy of attention. "The mir-

* Doddridge in loc.

† Cappe's Remarks and Dissertations, ii. 151. ‡ Luke vii. 22, 23.

acles of John," he says, "had John wrought miracles, would have delayed that revolution, [i. e. the turning from John to Christ,] might have created doubt and distraction, and instead of gathering the people to Jesus, might have diverted their attention from him. The disciples of John, we find, were disposed to make comparisons between him and Jesus; and some of them were not without doubts and difficulties concerning the pretensions of Jesus. Had John wrought miracles, it is likely that their doubts would not have been less, nor of less duration; they would not have been solved either so easily, or so speedily."* For these reasons mentioned by Cappe, the argument from Christ's miracles was particularly forcible to John's disciples, and at least decisive of the superiority of Jesus; and we cannot but here remark, that in this instance, as well as in many others, it is to his supernatural powers that Jesus principally appeals for proof of his divine mission.—We have here also a specimen of another forcible kind of evidence, that which is drawn from the internal character of Christianity. All the miracles which Christ mentions, were benevolent actions; they were for the relief of sickness, and pain, and want; and this is a characteristic which we should expect would belong to the works of a divine messenger. But above all, "To the poor the gospel is preached." For the religion which he taught, its founder sought no support from the powers of this world. The great were not courted, the rich were not flattered. No formalities were used to appease the haughty Pharisee; no licentiousness was indulged to gain the luxurious Sadducee; nor was the favor of the multitude sought, but by preaching to them the gospel. In his answer, then, our Saviour first gives evidence of his Messiahship by adducing his miracles; he then implies the nature of his kingdom by saying, that to the poor the gospel is preached; and lastly he cautions the dis-

* Remarks and Dissertations, vol. ii. pp. 149, 150.

ciples of John, as well as all others, against yielding to prejudice, and refusing the evidence he gave. Exceptions might be, and were taken against our Saviour, on account of his original, his parents, his native place. "We know this man whence he is, but when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth." The meanness of his condition might offend, for he had not where to lay his head. His miracles—they were said to be wrought by evil powers. His conversation—that was with publicans and sinners. The great did not support him. And every zealot for the law objected to his religion, because it claimed to be of far higher value, and more universal benefit, than that of Moses. On all these and many other grounds, would the Jews object to Jesus; for on all these subjects were their prejudices opposed. Therefore, says our Saviour, "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me," or, "Happy is he, who shall not stumble at me."*

Matth. xi. 7—9.† "And as they departed, Jesus began to say unto the multitudes concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold they that wear soft clothing are in kings' houses. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea I say unto you, and more than a prophet." The preaching of John attracted great multitudes into the wilderness; and many who had followed him were perhaps now present. Our Saviour tells them that they were not, when following, and hearing the preaching of John, engaged in any trifling pursuit; they did not go to see the shaking of reeds, or the wavering of human intentions; the character of John did not vary: nor did they find one whom luxury and riches had enervated and debased; but it was a prophet whom they sought, one greater than a prophet. John's supe-

* Wakefield. † Luke vii. 24—26.

riority to other prophets appeared in the miraculous circumstances of his birth, in his having himself been the object of prophecy, in the greater clearness and decision of his predictions, and the nobleness of their object, in the character of his exhortations to penitence and change of life,—but particularly and principally in the high office which he held as the precursor of Christ.

Matth. xi. 10.* "For this is he of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee." This prophecy is in Malachi iii. 1. But it there differs from the quotation, it being, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before *me*." This diversity has given rise to an argument for the doctrine of the Trinity. Olearius† thus argues from these passages. "The way (דרך) is his who comes. He whose way it is, says in this place," in Malachi, "that he will send a messenger before himself to prepare his way; and thus he who comes, and he who sends is the same. That he who sends is יהוה, the great God, is acknowledged; for it is in his name that the prophet expressly speaks. And if therefore it can be proved that Christ is he who comes, it is demonstrable from this passage, that Christ is Jehovah, the supreme God, since he who comes and he who sends are the same, and it is manifest that he who sends is called Jehovah in this place?—In the passage of Matthew, he who sends is distinguished from him before whose face the messenger is sent, but nevertheless so that they are the same. For since the Father and Son are the same, both the Father and Son can send at the same time, and whom the Son sends before his face, him the Father sends also." Wonderful support of a wonderful proposition!—The difficulty which arises from the prophecy not being quoted literally, may be removed by supposing with Grotius, that the words are somewhat altered,

* Luke vii. 27. † Wolfius in Matth.

without the meaning being affected. The way of God and the way of Christ, the coming of God and the coming of Christ, are figuratively the same. The teaching of Christ was the teaching of God; the miracles of Christ were performed by the immediate power of God; the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Christ are the same.

Notwithstanding Christ had spoken thus highly of the character of John, and also said, "Verily I say unto you, among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist;" yet he adds, "Notwithstanding, he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he."* This may be understood in several ways. "John may here be compared with the immediate disciples of Christ, and first ministers of his word; and even the least of these, after the passion and resurrection of Christ, and the mission of the Holy Spirit, might be said to be greater than John, inasmuch as their knowledge of Christ was more complete." Or he may be compared "with those who at present live under the Christian economy, who are greater than John, because they who have known Christ crucified, and again restored to life, enjoy greater light than he."† There are some also, as Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Euthymius, and Witsius,‡ who apply the word μικροτερος to Christ himself, so as that the meaning of the passage may be understood to be, 'He who is now in a state of humiliation, and as it were of degradation, who is less in age, and posterior in ministry; or—he who is thought by his Jewish enemies to be least in the kingdom of God, is superior to John, and greater than he who is approved by them.' I will also mention the opinion of Photius,§ that this was a question, meaning thus; 'Shall the least in the kingdom of heaven be greater than John whom I have so highly commended?' I

* Matth. xi. 11.—Luke vii. 28.

† Wolfius in Matth. ‡ Wolfius in Luc.

§ Suicer Thesaurus, art. Βασιλεια Tom. i. coll. 666, 667.

am not prepared to make any remarks upon the phrase, kingdom of heaven, nor is it here necessary. The passage may without such criticism be understood; and may in short mean, not a superiority to John, in dignity of office, or importance of commission, but in privileges and knowledge—a superiority arising from understanding better the truths of Christianity, and the more full possession of its glorious hopes.

After this high praise of the Baptist, it is added, "And all the people that heard him, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him."* Wakefield thus renders this passage, "And all the people, and the tax-gatherers, thankfully received the kindness of God, and listened to John, and were baptized of his baptism; but the Pharisees, and the teachers of the law, rejected this intention of God towards them, not receiving John's baptism." The passage is thus made a continuation of Christ's speech. It has however been understood as containing the words of the evangelist, and thus explained; 'Those who had listened to John's preaching, and had been baptized by him, being gratified at what Christ said of him, and understanding the greatness of his character, thanked God, that they were thus certified, that they had done right; while those who had not been baptized opposed the will of God to their own injury.'† Grotius however, with most modern expositors, considers the passage as spoken by our Saviour, and interprets it thus, "The publicans and vulgar people celebrated with their warmest praises and thanks, this distinguished goodness of God, who, contented with their penitence had determined, mercifully to forgive all their former sins, and had manifested his purpose as well by John, as by him who had been announced by John."—"On the contrary, this same thing was condemned

* Luke vii. 29, 30. † See Poole's Synopsis.

by those who esteemed themselves more wise and holy than others, relying on their ritual observances, and specious actions." They rejected the council of God toward them. Griesbach has removed from the text the words beginning the next verse, "And the Lord said," which words rather implied that the discourse had been discontinued; and thus obviated the only objection to considering the passage as having been spoken by our Saviour.

Matthew proceeds, as if in confirmation of John's greatness. "And from the days of John the Baptist, until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."* "And these words also," says Lightfoot,† "make for the praise of John. That he was a very eminent prophet, and of no ordinary mission or authority, these things evince; that from his preaching the kingdom of Heaven took its begining, and it was so crowded into by infinite multitudes, as if they would take, and sieze upon the kingdom by violence. The divine warmth of the people in betaking themselves thither by such numberless crowds, and with so exceeding a zeal, sufficiently argued the divine worth both of the teacher and of his doctrine." But this interpretation is not admitted by all. There is a total disagreement among expositors both with regard to the meaning of βιαζεται, *suffereth violence*, and of βιασται, *the violent*. Some understand the former word as does Lightfoot. Others interpret it as meaning, The kingdom of Heaven has been powerfully operative, or rather, has been preached with great force. Others have supposed that the enemies of the gospel, and their attempts to destroy the rising religion, are here alluded to.* But this latter is not a natural interpretation. With regard to βιασται, *the violent*, "I," says Wetstein "understand by βιασται, the publicans and soldiers, (see Luke iii. 12–14.) who

* Matth. xi. 12. also Luke xvi. 16.

† Hebrew and Talmud. Exercit. upon St. Matthew.

before lived by violence and rapine; but now, yielding to the serious admonitions of the Baptist, struggled against themselves, and endeavoured with all their power to remove the stains which were upon their characters, and amend their lives by repentance. They siezed on that, [viz. divine knowledge,] which seemed properly to belong to the priests, levites, and rabbis." Others understand by the violent, those who sought the blessings of Christianity with strong desire. Perhaps on the whole the following interpretation of this metaphorical language, which is authorized by Schleusner, may be preferred. 'Since John has preached, religious zeal has been generally excited, and things pertaining to divine knowledge have been assiduously pursued, and obtained by all who are eagerly desirous of them; they now being openly taught, and not confined to the learned and great.'*

Matth. xi. 13.† "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John," or, "All the prophets and the law were your teachers until John."‡ That is, the annunciations and allusions of scripture were not realized until John came. There appears to be here a contrast between the obscurity of prophecy, and the clearness of the knowledge attainable in consequence of the presence and instructions of Christ. Wetstein says, "To prophecy and to see are opposed. (Inf. xiii. 16, 17.) All the prophets obscurely and enigmatically announced those things which John in part saw, but which you now clearly behold." Our Lord here declares, that what was the constant subject of prophecy, and implied continually in the law, had begun to take place at the coming of John. Thus obscurely acknowledging himself to be the Messiah, and John to be his forerunner.

Matth. xi. 14. "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias

* See Schleusner on the words, Βιαζω, Βιαστης, Αρπαζω.

† Luke xvi. 16. ‡ Wakefield.

which was for to come." If John was the predicted precursor of the Christ, and John had born testimony that Jesus was he, it followed that Jesus was the Messiah. This our Saviour knew would not be readily acknowledged: he therefore says, "if ye will receive it," i. e. "if ye will bear that I should tell you the truth."* But a difficulty here occurs: John denied that he was Elias. I will endeavour to remove it. The prophecy of Malachi is very express that Elias should be the precursor of Christ. "I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord."† This is rendered by the LXX, "Behold, I send unto you Elias the Tisbite;" and if the original Hebrew had been thus written, the expectations of the Jews could not, it would seem, have been more decidedly directed than they were, to a literal appearance of the prophet Elijah. In his dialogue with Justin Martyr, Trypho declares, "All we Jews expect the Christ to be a man, and that Elias will anoint him at his coming;" and it is one of the objections to the Messiahship of Jesus, that he was not preceded by this prophet. The fathers of the Christain church, not knowing how better to remove this difficulty, admitted that this prophecy was yet to be fulfilled, and in its literal sense. They said that it related to the second coming of Christ, previous to which Elijah would appear. "As John," says Chrysostom, "was the precursor of Christ at his first coming, so Elias will be the precursor of his second." Theophylact argues to the same conclusion from Matth. xvii. 11. where Jesus says, "Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things;" "When he says," observes this father, "Elias will come, he shows that he has not yet come; for he will come the precursor of his second advent, and restore to the faith of Christ all those Jews who are found obedient."‡ And this he says, notwithstanding Christ immediately added,

* Clarke's Paraph. † Mal. iv. 5.

‡ Suicri Thesaurus, verb. Ηλιας. Tom. i. col. 1318.

"Elias is come already." This however he interprets, when explaining the passage we are considering, in the following manner. "If ye will receive it, i. e. if you will judge with a sound mind, and not invidiously, this is Elias, whom the prophet Malachi said would come, for this precursor and Elias have the same ministry; the one is the precursor of the first, the other of the second advent."*—Indeed the opinion, that Elijah himself would appear to precede the second coming of Christ, seems to have been almost universal among the fathers. "Tradit tota patrum antiquitas," says La Cerda; and the same is affirmed by other writers.†

I will not spend time in refuting so idle a notion. It is not easy to find in the New Testament a more express declaration than that, 'this [John] was the Elias which was to come;' he in whom the prophecy of Malachi was fulfilled; he who was 'to convert the heart of the fathers together with the children, and the heart of the children together with the fathers:' If John denied that he was Elias, he denied truly; he was not the Elias whom the Jews expected, the prophet returned again to this world. If Christ affirmed that he was Elias, he affirmed truly; he was the Elias whom the prophets had predicted, who came in the spirit and power of Elias, and to whom the name of that prophet had been figuratively applied. That this name was figuratively used in the passage of Malachi, would be the only idea that would occur to a rational interpreter of the scriptures. The Jews however, there is abundant evidence,‡ expected from this passage a literal advent of the ancient prophet. It is this notion of the Jews that John contradicts; and from this cause only, an apparent opposition is produced between him and our Saviour. In a similar manner may be explained how it was, that when our Saviour declares John to have been a prophet, he himself

* Suiceri Thesaurus, verb. Ηλιας. † Whitby in Matth.

‡ See Wetstein's New Test. vol. i. pp. 382, 383.

tells the Jews, in answer to a question proposed by them, that he was not *the* prophet, i. e. not some particular prophet other than Elijah, (probably Jeremiah, see Matth. xvi. 14.) whom they intended by their question.

Our Saviour having thus given proofs that he was the Christ, first from his own miracles, and then from the fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi in John the Baptist, proceeds to exhort those who were present at the declaration of such glorious truths, to reflect on and understand them.

" He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE, CONCERNING THE CURE OF THE BLIND NEAR JERICHO.

Matth. xx. 29—34. Mark. x. 46—52. Luke xviii. 35—43

THE part of our exercise* upon which I have written, is that in which is contained the accounts of the cure of blindness which our Lord performed in the vicinity of Jericho. These accounts are given by three of the evangelists. They are so similar, that we must believe that they relate to the same event; yet it is their discrepancies only upon which I shall remark.

I say that we must believe that these accounts relate to the same event; because they have many circumstances in common which it would be difficult to suppose accompanied different events. The particulars in which all three of the historians agree are the following.

1. Christ was in the neighbourhood of Jericho.

2. The person or persons who were blind sat by the way side. Mark and Luke, who speak only of one, both mention that he was a beggar.

3. The exclamation of the persons mentioned by the different evangelists, is almost exactly the same: 'Have mercy on us, (or, on me,) Jesus, thou son of David.'

4. They were rebuked by the multitude.

* See note on Dissertation I. p. 160.

5. They notwithstanding continued their cries more earnestly.

6. Jesus stopped, and called to them.

7. The question which he asks them, and the answer which they make, are precisely the same, except as to a slight difference of phraseology.

8. They follow him after being cured.

These, separately considered, are not important particulars; but it would be exceedingly remarkable, if they should have repeatedly occurred in the same succession; and should have been selected by three distinct writers to designate different events. But the conclusive arguments against such a supposition are, the connexion with the other parts of the history in which the narration occurs, which is the same in each of the evangelists; and the fact that but one account is given by each; whereas, had the events been different, we might expect to find them distinctly mentioned by at least one of the evangelists.

But these things notwithstanding, it has been supposed, because of the differences which exist, that there were three separate miracles performed near Jericho, one of which only is mentioned by each of the sacred historians. This, according to Calvin, was the opinion of Osiander, who was at the head of those curious harmonists* who, believing each of the evangelists to have written in chronological order, suppose that the same events took place twice or thrice during the ministry of Christ.† Calvin explains and explodes this opinion in the following manner. "Osiander seemed to himself to be very ingenious in making four blind men out of one. [he should have said *two*.] But nothing is more frivolous than this explana-

* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. p. i. ch. 2. sec. 6.

† In this supposition Osiander was partly preceded by Austin. See Middleton's Reflections on the Variations in the four Evangelists. Works, vol. ii. p. 48. 4to.

tion. Because he perceived that the evangelists differed in some words, he pretended that one blind man was restored to his sight as Christ entered the city, and that a second, and two others, were cured as he departed thence. But all the circumstances so agree, that no man in his senses would believe that they related to different events. Truly, (not to mention other things,) after the companions of Christ had endeavoured to silence the first, and contrary to their expectation, had seen him cured, they shortly after tried the same thing upon three others. But it is unnecessary to enumerate the particulars, from which it may readily be perceived that one and the same thing is related"*

If then these narratives relate to the same fact, we must endeavour to account for the discrepancies between them. Of these there are two; one with respect to the place where the cure was performed, the other concerning the number of those who were cured. These I will consider in their order.

1. Matthew and Mark agree in stating this cure to have been performed after Jesus and his disciples had left Jericho, or as they departed from it. Luke says, that it was when they were drawing near to it. He uses the word εγγιζειν, which Grotius† asserts, means not only *to approach*, but *to be near*; and he thus would reconcile the writers, by supposing Luke not to have expressed any thing but simply proximity, without specifying whether of approach or distance. But Campbell‡ gives it at his belief, that when εγγιζειν is followed by the preposition εις, as it is in the present instance, it always means to approach. This opinion, and the fact that mention is made by Luke immediately after the narrative of this cure, of Christ's entrance, and passage through Jericho, go far to the discredit of the explanation given by Grotius,

* Calvini Comment. in Harm. † Comment. in Matth.

‡ See his note on Luke xviii. 35.

which has been adopted by Le Clerc, and Whitby, and is mentioned without disapprobation by Clarke, and Macknight.

The following solution is given by Le Clerc. "It may be," says he, "that while Christ was going to Jerusalem, he stopped some time near Jericho, and often went in and out of the city; there being no reason why he should hasten, as the passover was yet distant. This passage then may be thus understood: Christ, when he first went out of Jericho, and was yet *near* to the city, which circumstance [viz. that of his proximity] Luke mentions, cured this blind man; and then returned to the city, by another gate, as it would seem, and went to visit Zaccheus."*

"My conjecture," says Calvin, "is this; that as Christ approached the city the blind man cried out to him; but when on account of the noise, he was not heard, he sat down on the road which led out of the city; and then at last was called by Jesus. Luke therefore taking up the story at its beginning, does not carry on the narration connectedly, but makes a transition over Christ's stay in the city. The other two writers relate the events of that time only which was immediately connected with the miracle."†

In Bowyer's Conjectures, a solution is given by Markland, which is adopted by Wakefield in his translation of the New Testament, who renders Luke xviii. 35. as follows: "Now, while he was at Jericho, nigh unto Jerusalem" &c. This supposes an ellipsis in the original after εγγιζειν αυτον, which is to be supplied by the words εις Ιεροσολυμα. This supposition is thus defended by Wakefield in his note on the passage:—"we must remember that Jesus is making the best of his way to Jerusalem; and that Jerusalem, the great theatre of the subsequent transactions, was constantly in the mind of the historian. This therefore is the place to which Jesus was gradually approaching, and had now almost reached, as Mr.

* Comment. in Luc. † Comment. in Harm.

Markland judiciously observes." But, says Campbell, speaking of this mode of understanding the passage, " A liberty so unbounded is not more agreeable to the Greek idiom than to the English. It is alike repugnant to the idiom of every tongue, to authorize an interpreter to make a writer say what he pleases. Such licenses are subversive of all grammar and syntax."*

Macknight mentions three methods of explaining this difficulty. The first is the same essentially with that of Le Clerc, which has been given, and depends upon the admission of that meaning of εγγιζειν εις which has been considered. The second is, that Jesus entered Jericho at noon, at which time the blind man of whom Luke speaks cried to him for a cure; but without obtaining any answer. That Jesus came back in the evening, when this blind man, and another who had joined himself with him, again besought him to heal them, which he did. To the objection, that no mention is made of any time elapsing between the request of the blind and the cure, he answers, that such kind of connexion is common in scripture. Whether we are to suppose however that such kind of connexion exists in this place, is to be determined by its apparent probability.

The third supposition of Macknight is, that there were two Jerichos, the one being the ruins of the ancient Jericho, the other a new city which was near the site of the old one; that the beggars were sitting on the road between the two towns, and that Jesus might be said to have performed their cure either as he was leaving one, or as he was entering the other, according to the pleasure of the historian. That there were two Jerichos we may allow; whether they were near to each other, we do not know. If they were so near as Macknight supposes, it is not probable that, at the time of their

* Campbell's note on the passage.

existing together, there was no difference in their names; so that when one was between them, he might properly, and in common language, be said to be going to and to be coming from Jericho.

Such are the solutions that have been given of the first of the difficulties that occur in the passage we are considering. They are sufficiently labored and ingenious; but one cannot so readily say that they are sufficiently satisfactory. I will now mention the second discrepancy and the solutions proposed for it.

Matthew mentions two blind men who were cured; Luke and Mark agree and mention only one. There are two principal modes of accounting for this difference; one of which is, that one of the blind men was more distinguished than the other; the second is, that it is not uncommon in scripture for one person only to be mentioned where more than one was concerned. The following is Calvin's explanation, which is a part of the same note with what was before quoted from him. "Of the second difficulty," says he, "the solution is easy. We have elsewhere seen that one demoniac is mentioned by Mark and Luke as healed where Matthew speaks of two; and so it is here: nor is there therefore a disagreement; but rather the conjecture is probable, that when at first only one man implored the assistance of Christ, another was excited by his example; and that at this time sight was given to two. Mark and Luke mention only one, either because he was more known than the other, or because his cure was as signal an instance of the power of Christ as the cure of both. Certainly Mark seems to have preferred one on account of his being better known, as he mentions his own and his father's name also."—"This appears to me the reason why Mark and Luke mention only one, and are silent as to the other who was of inferior importance. But Matthew, who was an eye witness, would not omit even the one least known." Calvin has here

expressed almost all that has since been said by the generality of commentators to solve the difficulty. Grotius, and many others, agree in the conjecture that one only was mentioned because of his superior notoriety.—Austin is quoted by Middleton as saying, that Mark has chosen to speak only of one of them, "because his story was more known and famous in that city: as it is evident, he says, from the mention of the name of the man and of his father also: whom he supposes to have been reduced from some flourishing state of life, to this miserable condition of blindness and beggary: whose cure therefore made the miracle as notorious as his calamity."* This opinion of Austin is also quoted by Macknight.

The words υἱὸς Τιμαίου, *the son of Timeus*, are made of some importance in the preceding explanations. On these words Wakefield has the following note. "There can be no possible doubt of the words υἱὸς Τιμαίου being the interpolation of some conceited scribe, who had a mind to shew that he knew the meaning of the Syriac word. For our evangelist to say, *Bartimeus, son of Timeus*, were the same as if an Englishman should say at once, *He was William's son, son of William*—of the same person."

In addition to what precedes, I will also mention the opinion of Lightfoot, whose solution applies to both of the difficulties in these accounts; and concerning that which we are immediately considering, is different from the one most commonly received. Christ, he says, "healeth one blind man as he entereth into Jericho, of which Luke speaketh, and another as he goeth out, of which the other two. Matthew indeed speaketh of two healed as he came out of Jericho; comprehending, it may be, the story of him that was healed on the other side of the town, and this, together in one story, for briefness' sake. Or if there were two healed on this side of the town, Mark

* Augustin. de Consensu Evangelist. Lib. ii. §. 125. Middleton on the Variations, p. 36.

only mentions one, because he rather aimeth at shewing of the manner or kind of the miracle than at the number: as we have observed the like before."*

Such are the difficulties that occur in the passage of scripture which we are considering; and such are the explanations by which it has been attempted to remove them. There is yet another very simple answer to any queries on the subject, which may or may not be recommended to you by various considerations; and this is, that there was some mistake made by one or more of the writers. With respect to the first of the difficulties, Michaelis says, "I confess that I am wholly unable to reconcile the contradiction, and must therefore conclude that St. Luke, who was not an eye-witness to the fact, was in this instance mistaken."† If commentators, says Middleton, "would but candidly own, as some few of them indeed have done, that the contradictions of the evangelists, like to those of all other authors, were owing to want of accuracy in recording circumstances of little moment, or to slips of memory, or to different informations, all would be easily and naturally accounted for, without any real offence or hurt to the authority of the gospel."‡ Whether this opinion be thought correct or not, it certainly can never be justly said of those who hold it, that they weaken the authority of scripture, or are wanting in respect to its writers; for the authority of no profane historians would ever be questioned, because of such trifling discrepancies; which in fact are continually found among such as relate the same events. Nor if we allow that these are real inaccuracies, are the designs of the narration at all obscured by them; so that it is less evident, that Jesus Christ had power to do mighty works, and that his actions were benevolent and kind.

* Harmony of the Four Evangelists. Sec. lxix. Works, vol. i. p. 250.

† Marsh's Michaelis, vol iii. p. i. ch. 2. sec. 4.

‡ Middleton on the Variations, p. 49.

EXTRACTS

FROM A JOURNAL AND LETTERS WRITTEN DURING A TOUR TO THE FALLS OF NIAGARA, MONTREAL, AND QUEBEC; IN THE SPRING AND SUMMER OF 1812.

*Jemima Wilkinson.**

JUNE 9th. At 5 o'clock on Tuesday morning, I set out with Mr. —— in a single horse waggon, for the town of Jerusalem, (about 23 miles southeast of Canandaigua,) in which is the residence of Jemima Wilkinson. We were provided with an introductory letter by Mr. —— which was addressed to the Universal Friend;—we were told that she acknowledges no other name. So bad was the road, which is for several miles through the woods, where the path is hardly perceptible, that we did not reach the house till after 12 o'clock. It was by far the best house we had seen since we had left Canandaigua; but the reverend lady is nevertheless about to remove to a much better one, which is now finishing. As we did not find the Friend at home, we walked to the top of the hill on which the new house stands, and found it to be most spacious and elegant. It is three stories high, and has six rooms on the floor. The groves and forests around, and the whole scenery of the neighbourhood, are uncommonly beautiful, and fit to nourish the enthusiasm of its inhabitants.

* Where not particularly noted, the extracts are from the journal of Mr. Eliot.

Upon perceiving the return of the carriage of the Friend, we again went to her house; and were surprised at finding at the door, a coach which would not disgrace by its appearance a rich citizen, with a golden star on each side, and with the letters U $\overset{*}{\dagger}$ F separated by a cross, with a star above, on the back. Notwithstanding the lady had received our letter as soon as she came home, we were suffered to wait in her kitchen three quarters of an hour, without any offer of refreshment, before we were admitted to an audience.

At last her prime minister appeared to conduct us into the presence. Her name is Rachel Mellen; she is from Pennsylvania, and has yielded a considerable fortune for the use of the Friend. When I saw Jemima Wilkinson, I was at first impressed with the idea that I saw a man. For her stature is large, her face full and without feminine fairness, and her dress masculine. She wore a loose black gown, which was open before, and wrapped round her, the back of which was ornamented in the manner of a clergyman's gown, and she had on a black cravat, beneath which appeared a white one, whose ends hung over her bosom, like ministerial bands. Her head had no covering, and her hair was combed back, and curled at the ends. She rose to meet us, and shook hands with us. As soon as we were seated, I observed that the end of our visit was to gratify our curiosity, and obtain such information as she would give us as to the peculiarities of her religious tenets, and her modes of worship. She took no notice of my implied inquiry; but our conversation was for a time upon unimportant subjects. She replied however to several questions as to her opinions on particular subjects of theology, with sufficient verbosity, with a confused mass of scriptural quotations, and almost always with obscurity, which sometimes was impenetrable. Her command of the contents of the Bible, and her readiness in the use of scriptural language were surprising. She used few expres-

sions which could not be found in the sacred books. When we pressed her too closely, her refuge was declamation, which continued till our patience was exhausted, and the object of our inquiry lost. Her claims to a divine commission, which were not openly stated, but clearly implied to us, it was particularly difficult to induce her to defend. She appeared somewhat offended when I told her, that I knew of no other test of divine authority but miraculous power; nor would she explain to me how I might detect imposition. But she said to me, that no one should presume to take the office of a minister of religion without being convinced that he was called by inspiration to its duties, and that the service which was for lucre was of no value. I was rather disgusted with the common-place rant of enthusiasts which she made use of on this topic; especially as on other subjects she displayed rather uncommon ingenuity. I could not discover that her opinions differed from those of the Quakers, except that she assumed for herself the honor of a divine appointment,—for what special purpose I heard not. Of the character of this woman, I thought that I obtained sufficient knowledge, and this was my principal purpose in visiting her. Like most of the false pretenders to religious superiority, I believe she makes her claims to uncommon inspiration in sincerity. But I am satisfied that she is neither impeccable nor immaculate. She is ambitious, and selfish. She has not thought it unworthy of her character to amass a large fortune by the donations of her followers; and she is not ashamed to spend it in the indulgence of her pride and luxurious appetites. She keeps a carriage among followers who can hardly earn their subsistence; she can see from her great palace no dwellings but log houses; and the food which supplies her table is such as I presume those around her seldom taste. Her natural disposition I believe to be passionate, tyrannical, and overbearing; and her worst feelings have been nurtured by the fop-

pery of the attentions which she has received, and the eminence to which she has raised herself. Her mental powers are vigorous. She has acuteness and cunning, and must be skilled in human nature, to have gained such an ascendancy over so many minds. I was astonished at the dexterity with which she evaded our questions, and at the same time endeavoured to entrap us. The mixture of sincere regard to the forms, and even in some degree to the realities of religion, and of assumed sanctity, which appeared in her deportment and conversation, tended to produce in my own mind some momentary doubts of the justice of my views of her character; and I do not wonder that such imposing manners, and such artfully supported pretensions, should produce upon those who are weak in intellect, and inclined to superstition, submission to her as a leader, and devotion to her as a religious guide. Her adherents, who have been drawn from various parts of the United States to this spot, that they might be united in a society and neighbourhood, are, if I may trust to the information of those who live near them, of this character; and they are not estimable for their industry, or attention to business. They do not at present exceed one hundred in number, and they are not increasing. Their enthusiasm was perhaps excited by the love of novelty, and the submission which they voluntarily made, will not probably be imitated by their children.

Treatment of Strangers.

June 10th. I had during the whole ride, no companion but the Frenchman who had been with us the day before; but he was quite an entertaining one. The character of his nation was most conspicuous in him. He had conceived a strong prejudice against the Americans, because he had not received such attentions from them while travelling as he expected.

He several times offended me by the harsh manner in which he condemned my country; but he taught me the importance of being attentive in small things to strangers. There is a feeling of destitution and friendlessness which depresses a stranger in a foreign country, and renders him susceptible of a thousand uneasinesses where no offence was intended; and if hospitality were not obligatory as a duty, there would be sufficient reason for being attentive to strangers, to prevent their mistaking the meaning of actions. But there is no good deed which has a greater certainty of present reward, than that which gives the solace of friendship to one who is alone in a strange land. The want of such kindness is sure to be felt; and the bestowing of it never fails to produce gratitude in a person of any good feeling. If there be any habit in which I shall improve in consequence of travelling, I think it will be in my mode of receiving and treating strangers; since I have so often experienced how much the stranger is in the power of those about him;—much more frequently, because I was alone. I endeavoured to remove the impression which this Frenchman had received, and exerted myself, and with some success, to please him. He did not want intelligence; I found that he had an acquaintance with most of the distinguished authors of France and Germany, and as far as I knew them myself, and could judge of them, I approved his opinions.

The falls of Niagara.

June 12th. On crossing the river Niagara in the ferry-boat, the current was very perceptible toward the falls. The boat was drifted as much as a quarter of a mile in crossing from Black Rock to the landing place on the British side. The road to the falls was wholly on the bank of the river, whose current was rapid, and the motion noble. Before we

reached Chippeway, when we were about three miles from the point of our destination, the first appearance presented itself which indicated our proximity to the cataract. This was the cloud of spray which rose from a gap in the woods, far above the highest trees. We saw a broad expanse of water extended before us, entirely skirted by the forest, except in this one place, where volumes of vapor were rising in the air. We were surprised at this sight, as we were approaching the falls on a road which was above the level of the water before its descent, and the cloud which we perceived we knew must arise from the bottom of the cataract. The direction of the wind prevented our hearing so much of the noise of the falling waters as we probably should had the wind been more favorable; but when we were at least six miles from them, it was distinctly audible. The sound was distant and heavy, but it did not indicate a powerful cause, except when we reflected on its distance. We soon saw, as we proceeded, the agitation of the current as it approached the chasm, which was caused by rocks beneath. The angry tumult with which the waves rushed forward, seemed to indicate their indignation and unwillingness at being forced to approach the spot where they were to be dashed below. The sun was partially obscured, and there was much of gloom and horror in the scene. It was before us with little variation, except in the deepness of the impression which it produced, while we were riding round a bay into which the river bends, thus becoming much wider than above. Having passed this, we left the immediate bank for the tavern which was near. We stopped at it but a short time, for we were full of expectation, and anxious to behold what had been admired by so many. But I felt no solemnity or gravity. I was exhilarated by my anticipations. We passed to Table Rock, first down a steep hill, and then through mud and woods for a short distance. The descent we had to make was evidence of the slope in the

bed of the river from Black Rock. We had there landed where the water was almost level with the shore; the road thence to the falls was without any perceptible ascent; but we were now perhaps as much above the top of the cataract as from the top to the bottom of it. When I reached Table Rock, whose name is familiar to all, I had a complete and perfect view of the Falls of Niagara. Though to be tired of looking was impossible, yet I was in a hurry to go, that I might descend the ladder, and see and do all that I could. We proceeded rapidly for half a mile, (having stopped to leave some of our clothes,) on the bank of the river, occasionally having fine views of the falling torrent, till we reached the spot where we were to descend. The ladder, which is perfectly secure, carried us down about fifty feet; and we landed on a mass of broken rocks, which had fallen from above, upon which we were to proceed to the sheet of water. Fallen trees and stones were mingled rudely together, and our footing was insecure, because every thing was wet and slippery with the spray, which fell like dew to a great distance. Our progress was laborious and difficult, but hurried. We occasionally stopped for a momentary view, and I sometimes picked up a stone, or peeped into the crevices of rocks, where I could see tempting masses of crystals placed beyond my reach. We passed two men who were waiting with their spears to catch sturgeons from the turbulent and foaming waters. We also noticed a sulphur spring which oozed from the precipice at a considerable height, and tinged the rocks with yellow. We passed on over the loose stones, which often gave way under our tread, and bruised our feet; and which several times caused me to fall where falling was not very safe. When we had come within fifty feet of the falls, the spray fell upon us in greater quantities; and we were aware that we should get thoroughly wet if we went any further. I left my hat under a rock, and we went on with

increased difficulty. The wind was in such a direction that the water was blown against us in great quantities. It was not now by the spray, but by the drops which fell loosely at the edge of the sheet, that we were wet. I do not think that so much water ever falls in a shower as descended around us. We were instantly upon reaching it drenched as though we had waded into the river. We saw near us the dark and terrific cavern between the sheet of the cataract and the rock behind. The wind is said always to rush from it with great force. It was now more strong than usual, and drove the rain upon us with great violence; but we endeavoured notwithstanding to get behind the falling sheet of water. Our uncomfortable situation, and the force we had to oppose, compelled us to retire, that we might gain strength and resolution for a new attempt. The second time we advanced further, till we were almost prevented from breathing by a torrent of wind and rain more powerful than I had ever opposed. By such resistance, our difficulty in standing was increased. We were upon the steep side of an immense heap of loose, slippery, and sharp stones, which were washed at the bottom by a flood, to have fallen into which would have been certain destruction; and the chillness and fatigue again exhausted us. But we had not yet attained our object; and I thought the necessary labor would be repayed by the remembrance of our situation. We went forward a third time, prepared for what we had to resist, and I was certain of being between the sheet of the cataract and the rock. We went hand in hand, and it was not timidity or weakness that made us desist. At a time when there was less wind, the same exertion would doubtless have carried us further. There is perhaps a cavity throughout the whole extent of the sheet; but human strength could not support a continuance in it for many minutes. When you look at it without, you see it filled with the rebounding water whirling in every direction. When within, your senses are overwhelmed. your strength

overpowered, and resolution is in vain. I am glad I went as far as I could both because it is pusillanimous to desist from an attempt at what has been performed by others, and thus debilitating to the mind; and because it is well to have been in all situations which excite strong feelings or require much energy, that we may test our strength, and be confident in our powers. We were certainly as expeditious as possible in retracing our difficult steps, and changing our wet clothes. We secured ourselves from taking cold, by copious draughts which had no unpleasant influence upon us, so great was our fatigue. No effect remained but a want of repose, and a great degree of soreness, which I felt in consequence of my falls and bruises. This was not diminished by sleeping on the floor with only a thin bed upon it. To this I was compelled by the arrival of Mr. ——, for whose convenience we willingly relinquished better lodgings.—I have said nothing of the noise of the cataract, and it is because it was so little an object of my immediate attention during the moments I have been describing. As it increased upon us at our approach so gradually, we were at no time particularly affected by it. When on Table Rock, we talked without difficulty. When we were not near the falls, we were unconscious of the sound, unless our attention was called to it. The time when it was most powerful was while we were below; but then we thought but little of it; although much of the effect produced upon us was no doubt owing to it. Except when we were nearest to the sheet of water, we could always hear each other speak; and the greater loudness of voice which was necessary was not thought of.

The next day, Mr. —— returned to Buffalo, and intending to take a more leisurely survey of the falls, I went to Table Rock with Mr. —— and his family, where we remained an hour. The brightness of the light was painful to my eyes, and prevented my observing with that steadiness of attention

which is requisite to the perception of all the beauties of this awful scene; but I saw the great outlines of the noblest picture that nature displays, to elevate the soul of man, and produce in him reverence for the Creator of all things.

When upon Table Rock, I stood so that I could reach the edge of the water as it moved to the precipice. On my right hand, I could see the river to a considerable distance where it was smooth and undisturbed, and spread into a broad and noble expanse; and I could see it advancing toward the place of its principal descent in agitated rapids, which seemed to rage in pride and anger, and with their savage and hostile aspect to threaten the beholder, although impotent to injure him. From this rugged bed the torrent pours in what is called the Horse-shoe falls, from their incurvated form. These are bounded on one side by Table Rock, and on the other by a small island which separates them from the smaller falls. The latter are one uniform sheet of foaming water, descending over a ledge, which makes a large angle with the eastern bank of the river. A straight line drawn from this angle, will extend over the water descending over the little falls, along the perpendicular precipice which bounds the separating island, and will not terminate till it has crossed a considerable part of the sheet of water belonging to the Horse-shoe falls, which bend at the distance of about a third part of their whole breadth from the island, in an acute angle toward Table Rock. The outline of the whole would therefore be represented by a fish-hook; so that when on Table Rock, I was at its point, opposite to me was the southern end of Goat island, at my right hand the angular and irregular incurvation called the Horse-shoe falls, and on my left the even and beautiful sheet called the Little Falls. When I speak of a sheet of water descending in these places, I am not strictly correct, for the water falls in columns, which indeed are a sheet in appearance when at a distance, and are connected, but do not

present an even surface. It is not possible to describe the splendid appearance of these foaming columns or the immense cloud of white spray which, encircled with rainbow garlands, rises from the place where they are received into the bed of the river, or the milky turbulence of the stream not yet recovered from its violent concussion; and could I invent a description, that should be worthy of the subject, could I mimic by the noblest language the greatness and beauty of the scene, and excite expectations higher than nature can fulfil, yet the life of reality would be wanting, and the description would be utterly inadequate to produce the impressions which delight the actual beholder.

The view of the falls from the shore below the ladder is in some respects a better one than that from the upper bank: for a better idea of the height of the cataract may thus be formed; but the view from Table Rock has this great superiority, that it includes a prospect of the river during its agitated course previous to its arrival at the precipice. But notwithstanding the water is so much troubled by these rapids, part of it when falling is, for a small part of the descent, free from any appearance of foam, and is of a deep sea-green colour, thus being contrasted with the perfect whiteness of the rest. I was not able to discover whether there were any rapids above the lesser falls. Their appearance is uniformly white, and the descent perpendicular and even, till they reach a heap of huge rocks which have fallen from above. The force with which the water falls must render the channel of the stream below very deep. I was told that at Queenstown where the falls formerly were, it is four hundred feet to the bottom. I presume that the excavation of the rock behind the sheet of the Horse-shoe falls, is caused by the dashing of the water returning back when it reaches the bottom.

There is one remarkable effect of the cataract which remains to be noticed. It is the shaking of the earth. I per-

ceived this most sensibly when leaning against the partition of the house. It was such a motion as would be produced in a mill by the machinery when in operation.

Voyage on Lake Ontario and down the St. Lawrence.

(Extracts from a letter.)

Lake Ontario, June 17.

——I AM becalmed on Lake Ontario, after a most dilatory progress for three nights and one day. Yes, three nights and one day—for the first 36 hours in which I was on board were spent in my birth, where all was night to me. It was not so much from sickness as the apprehension of it***** To day the weather has been fine, but I have been most perfectly listless, and have spent my time in lolling on the flour barrels with which the deck is covered, and reading Spencer, with which I am just as much, and in the same way, interested as you told me I should be.******

Brownville, June 18.

How strange have been the adventures of to day! I wrote to you last night in the close cabin of the little vessel in which I was sailing, when my only fellow traveller, (an Irish gentleman, well-informed, much-travelled, and polite, whom I fortunately met with at Queenstown,) was asleep in his birth; and after I myself had crept into my corner, I laid awake an hour, thinking of my studies, and the pursuits of home, as if I had been engaged in my domestic employments —but now I am—I will tell you where when I come to that part of my story. I laid in bed as long as I could; for the long days are very tedious on board ship; and after rising made some most excellent chocolate; and then as we had a good wind was quite contented, and lolled on my barrel couches, and read Spencer, and gazed on the shores of the

lake, which were now contracting into the river St. Lawrence; and thus passed the day until near noon; when our approach to a schooner which our captain knew, and which he was prepared to hail for some news about war, drew me to the bow of the vessel, where I viewed at my ease the manœuvres of the stranger. We were within speaking distance, when a pistol was fired from the vessel that we were meeting, and we were ordered to "fall to." Our captain, poor, timorous little man, was terrified, our three hands were in consternation, and I was full of wonder, for I had nothing to fear. The captain exclaimed that there was war, and that we were taken as a prize; and upon seeing a boat approach with a file of soldiers, I went forthwith and put my money in my pocket, and locked my trunk, and then came on deck to wait the event—which was, that as soon as was possible, we (myself and fellow passenger) were dismissed as innocent travellers, and put with our baggage on board a boat, and carried to a shore, which for aught we knew was as desolate as Robinson Crusoe's island—except indeed that we saw one house. All this was a fine frolic to me; for it was something new, and quite an adventure. I was however sorry, that instead of being captured by a vessel of war, it was a mere packet like our own vessel that seized us; and that instead of being taken as enemies, we were stopped for breaking the non-intercourse law—and not by an officer in his Majesty's service, but by a revenue officer. The fact was, that we were in a British vessel, and had trespassed upon the sacred waters of the United States. We fortunately found the house to be a good tavern; and hearing of an officer's being stationed with some troops near the place, we sought him for advice, and found him to be an obliging man, and to my great consolation, a cousin of our own Mr. ———. Our vessel, after trying to reach Sackett's harbour, was anchored off the shore; and the revenue officer landed, and treated us with politeness. We invi-

ted him, and some others whom we thought might be useful to us, to come to the tavern, and by means of some brandy obtained a thousand promises of assistance to further us on our voyage****. It is our plan to go tomorrow to Kingston, by means of a boat which we have hired, and there wait for some Canadian traders.

Friday, 19.

Still I am in the same place as yesterday; for wind and weather, on which seamen are so particularly dependent, forbade our departure this morning. They promise however to favor us tomorrow. I employed the forenoon pretty busily in writing, the afternoon in strolling, and sailing in a small boat, and I hope to spend the night in sound sleep. I wish that all your dull weather days may pass with as little ennui as I have experienced to day******.

Saturday, 20.

Excuse me, my dear friend, if I add to this mass after the fatigues of a most tedious day, that I may domesticate myself in a new situation, and dissipate the languor that pervades my faculties. I am now at Kingston in an excellent tavern. I left Brownville, at 7 o'clock in the morning, with my fellow traveller, and two men to conduct the small flat-bottomed boat in which we were. Of two ways by which it was possible to reach this place, the longest was taken, because of the wind, &c. The first ten miles we sailed, but then reaching the lower end of Grand Island, a high wind, and a heavy swell, opposed us; and our boatmen, whom we suspected of an intention to get more money from us, stopped the boat, to wait as they said for a change of wind. I submitted patiently till I was tired of reading; and then I gave vent to all my indignation, and at last obtained my object; and we commenced a laborious passage of fifteen miles, which was all to be passed by means of oars. I found that the greatest deficiency

in the men with us was want of spirit. They made several stops, complained of the labor of their progress, and plainly told me that they did not expect to reach Kingston till the next day. Well, the only resource that I percieved was a lodging in the woods; and to this I had made up my mind, after offering in vain to my companion to land on the British shore, and walk eighteen miles to Kingston. But fortunately several showers broke down the swell in some measure, and the wind was partially lulled, and we went slowly on, and to my great disappointment and pleasure, we debarked at our destined port before 8 o'clock. I assure you that I have felt quite heroic to day, and have often congratulated myself on the memorable situation in which I was. My greatest vexation has been, that I really have suffered no hardship that I can tell of; for though sometimes wet by the spray, and sometimes exposed to the rain, I was perfectly contented, and was in better spirits than any of the others. And surely I had more cause of satisfaction, for I knew there was one who would be interested in whatever befel me, and pleased whenever I was pleased with myself—good night.

Monday, June 22, *Terra Incognita.*

I am almost unwilling to begin another page for fear of fatiguing you, or rather from a more selfish feeling, that what I have written is not better worth your reading. But I love to write to you, and you must bear with my infirmity. I had just finished writing to you on Saturday, when my fellow traveller came to me, and told me that a boat would sail the next morning, and that there was no prospect of another opportunity for several days. I had calculated much on the pleasure of spending the Sabbath where I could rest, and attend church, and was unwilling to be disappointed. But I thought it was best to go, and accordingly went on board the boat about 6 o'clock. We had five men to conduct the boat,

which was loaded with barrels of potash. They were very civil, but spoke only French. The day was fine, and the wind fair; and my seat, or rather my couch, (for I was extended at full length,) was comfortable, being made of blankets &c. by the boatmen, with my trunk for my pillow. I did not move from it till the boat stopped at night after a voyage of fourteen hours. We had provided a basket of stores of bread, butter, a leg of smoked venison, and some brandy; and from these we made our unchanging meals, except that we had some of the boatmen's salt pork by way of luxury *******. At night after landing the wind was fair, and to our surprise we had to embark again. I was not at all unwilling; for I was well, and we had a bed made of hay and an oiled cloth, and a blanket, and a bear skin; and though I could feel the ribs of the barrels, yet I slept five or six hours very comfortably. I have not however been well to day, from want of rest, and the extreme heat, which has burned my face and pained my eyes. Complaint however I have discarded*****. I am now at a decent house, about sixty miles from Montreal, in which I am to stay till 12 o'clock, and it is now 9—so good night. I have passed some of the rapids to day with much disappointment; they being merely a turbulent current. The greatest however comes to morrow.

June 23, *Montreal.*

And the greatest I have now passed with pleasure rather than alarm, and with wonder at the exaggerations of those who have described them to me. I am at last, *post varios casus et tot discrimina rerum*, at Montreal. I was called this morning at 3 o'clock, and except the heat of the sun and the want of food, (for a dog, or something worse, ran away with our meat and bread in the night, and left only crackers enough for breakfast,) have had nothing to disturb the enjoyment of a fine day. I reached this place about half

past 5 o'clock, and you may be sure amply repaid myself for twelve hours fasting.

Canadian Boatmen.

At length my voyage was over. It would have been unpleasant to any one but myself; but as I had expected difficulty, and thought not of being comfortable, I was prepared for all the hardships which I experienced; and I was constantly in a fortunate state of mind, which enabled me to laugh at what was untoward, and be contented with my situation, because it was at least affording me experience of men, and modes of life, different from any I had observed. Few opportunities are indeed more favorable for the attainment of the two great objects of a traveller's attention, the knowledge of men, and the observation of nature, than the voyage I had just finished. I was on one of the noblest rivers in the world, and had continually the most beautiful scenery in view upon its banks; and the men with whom I was, are a race unlike any other. They have the least expansion of mind, the most debasing superstition, and utmost poverty in their mode of life. They knew nothing but how to row their boat; I could not learn from them the names of the villages which they had passed a hundred times. It was not unnatural that such beings should be Catholics, nor that they should believe that crossing themselves secured them from danger when they were in the rapids. As the river is frozen in the winter, these people can follow their buisiness of boating only in the summer. They are paid for each trip about $8·00; and they generally make one from Montreal to Kingston and return in ten days. In the winter they cut wood, and do service for the farmers. With all their exertions they are enabled to live in a way with which they appear, from their cheerfulness and good

temper, to be contented, although it must be of the most wretched kind. I could not but remark from observing these men, how little but what is in the possession of every one is made necessary for happiness by a kind Providence. The hopes of religion are certain enjoyment, that may be possessed by all who wish it; so that each station in life may be equally pleasant to those who have known no other. But though the means and sources of happiness are in the possession of all, yet those who are in the higher ranks of life may have pleasures of a more exquisite and refined nature, for which their gratitude should be greater; although those who are below them have no reason to complain that they have not enjoyments which they cannot understand.

Death of Mr. Buckminster.

(Extract from a letter)

Oh my friend, how dreadful is the news which has just burst upon me in the newspaper. Mr. Buckminster—he is dead. I never mourned a death so much. There is a great chasm where he stood His country should lament the loss of the glory of its literature, the honor of its clergy—and we, my friend, must deeply feel the disappointment of the expectations which were indulged of such a man. As scholars, as christians, as connexions of our beloved college, as one another's friends, we, and those around you at Cambridge, must sympathize in grief. I do not use too strong language when I say that I feel grief for this melancholy event. It is to the bright views which religion gives us of another state, that we must resort for consolation; and we must feel double obligations to perform our part of duty since so much ability is lost.

M' Tavish's tomb, at Montreal.

After dinner, I walked with the two former gentlemen about two miles from the city, to visit the tomb of M' Tavish. This is on the side of a considerable mountain. After passing a large and noble house, which was erected, but never finished, by Mr. M' T. and advancing a little way into the woods, the tomb appears, which is a stone building twenty feet square, one side of which is formed by, or is contiguous to, a rocky precipice, which projects with rude and romantic grandeur above and around it. Upon this precipice is erected a column of stone, of such height that it is visible above the trees from the city, in commemoration of the virtues of Mr. M' T. and the gratitude of his nephews. The scene cannot but impress any one with calm solemnity by its wildness and beauty, and produce such feelings as I should wish might be felt at my own tomb. Mr. M' Tavish was once in a low station in life, but by his abilities and exertions obtained riches and rank, and by his virtues, respect. He died in the height of his prosperity, and in the vigor of his years; and has left an only and very young son upon whom his large property is entailed.

Catholic College at Montreal.

July 2d. Having delivered my letter of introduction to the Curé Saulmér, I went to him the next day at 2 o'clock, according to appointment, to visit the seminary. The building for its use is a remarkably large one. It is said to cover more ground than any one even in the United States; and from my own knowledge I had no reason to doubt it. It is capable of lodging 120 pupils, and their instructors, of affording many rooms for recitations, a chapel, dining hall, kitchen &c. beside rooms for the library, museum, apparatus &c.

The form is that of a straight line crossed by two others of equal length, at each end. M. Saulmér introduced me to the superior, M. Roque, who carried me to see the various parts of the building. We first went to the Chapel, which was rather better as to neatness of ornament than the great church which I had seen. I then saw a room for the recreation of the larger boys, in which was a pulpit where an officer was always present, and which was hung round with maps, in order that they might dispute while they were playing, as I was told. There was also in the apartment a small altar hung round with many pictures. The amusement of the students is apparently much consulted. I was afterward shown a place for the smaller boys, where they might play; and a large garden is attached to the building. There is also in one of the suburbs of the city a large garden owned by the priests, where the scholars are allowed to resort once a week. The next place which I saw was one of the dormitories, which was a spacious room containing at least twenty five beds, which were small mattrasses on narrrow bedsteds. A lanthorn which burns all night, and a clock were near the door; and in the middle of the room was a desk, from which some one read to the boys after they were in bed, that they might sleep like christians, as M. Saulmér pleasantly observed. A door opened from this room to another in which one of the officers slept. I saw also one of the rooms for the small boys, which was fitted as common school rooms are, with desks and benches. I was next carried to the room containing the museum and philosophical apparatus. The museum was rather destitute of curiosities, being composed of shells, and small trifles of such common kind, and containing even minerals. The apparatus was also very incomplete. The instruments were all small, and did not appear adequate to the accompaniment of a full course of lectures. I then saw the library, which contained perhaps three or four thousand vol-

umes. Among these were a great many sets of the same classics. The books were many of them such as I knew, the common works of history &c. and there were many of Popish theology. But in a mere walk round the library I had little opportunity for judging of what it contained. After passing several rooms where classes were reciting, I came to another dormitory, and then to the refectory, or commons hall. I was pleased with its cleanly appearance. To each student was allowed the luxury of a glass mug and a towel. An elevated seat was at one end for an officer, and in the middle of one of the sides a desk from which there was reading during the meal. I could not but approve the care which was apparently taken to occupy every moment of a student's time in some intellectual manner. It was with difficulty that I learned any thing of the mode of instruction, or of the means of supporting the institution. The funds of the seminary are in the hands of the Popish clergy. They originally bought the whole island of Montreal, and endowed the churches, and monasteries, and this institution. They are said to be still wealthy; and this is proved by the small payment which is made by the pupils. For tuition in the various branches which are taught, and for board for ten months and a half, the charge is only 15l. 15s. or $63, a dollar being equal to 5s. in the currency of Canada. Scholars are received very young, and instructed in the first rudiments of learning. They continue in the college as long as they please, perhaps eight years, such being the period necessary for a regular education. The number of those who live in the building which I saw, is 120, and there are 150 more who board in the city. They are distinguished from other persons by a uniform not very scholastic. They are all dressed in large blue coats made like surtouts, so as to conceal their forms, the seams of which are marked by white cord, and which is bound round their bodies by a sash of various colors, red and white, such as is worn by the Canadian

boatmen. While I was with them, the Superior and M. Saulmér spoke to several of the younger boys, and from the kind and pleasant manner in which they addressed them, and the cheerful and smiling answers of the lads, I judged favorably of the discipline of the institution.

The number of instructors is, as nearly as I could learn, twelve, being six young priests, three priests of regular standing, and three lay tutors. A Superior or President is over the whole, but has no share in the instruction. The course of studies is as follows. The first year, the students are taught thoroughly the French and Latin grammars, and the explication of the Epitome of sacred history, have continual exercises in the rules of the Latin language, and attend to geography. The second year, they study the syntax of the Latin language, explain the class book, "de viris illustribus," attend to sacred history, and likewise continue the study of geography, with the exercises above mentioned. The third year, the study of the construction of the French and Latin languages is continued; the books explained are Cornelius Nepos, or Selectæ è profanis, or Phædrus; and an abridgment of profane history is likewise studied. The fourth year, they are applied to the study of Latin poetry, read Virgil, Horace, Quintus Curtius, Sallust, and attend to the mythology of the heathens, and modern history. The fifth year, they study belles lettres, and read Cicero, with the authors of the preceding year. The sixth year is occupied with rhetoric, and the explication of the same authors. The two last years are employed in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and a course of physics, that concludes by astronomy, and experimental philosophy. Besides this regular course, the young men who have a taste for the study of the Greek language, are instructed in its general principles.

Thus much time is employed in learning little; but it must be acknowledged that what is taught is of greater conse-

quence than what is omitted. I was much pleased with M. Saulnér who is the Curé of the city, for he was sincerely polite, and apparently amiable.

Conclusion of the journal.

Thus was finished a journey, in which I had travelled 1775 miles, and which occupied 59 days. I had my share of fatigue, vexation, and hardship; but I constantly enjoyed myself; for hardship was new to me, vexation amused me, and by fatigue I was seldom dispirited. I saw a variety of country, much of which was uncommonly interesting; I made many acquaintances which afforded me pleasure; I received numerous and unexpected attentions which gratified me. But could I only say that I have been pleased, I should remember my journey with far less satisfaction than now that I can add that I have been instructed. I have acquired knowledge of a part of my country. I have obtained some of that information which is local, and in such a journey easily collected. I have seen many men, and by the observation of their characters, have enlarged and corrected my views of human nature. Above all, I have received much dicipline which must be beneficial to me. The restraint and self-government which have been necessary, the pleasantness of manners, and the patience, and endurance, which I always found so convenient when I practised them, the exertion of mind, and support of character, which were often required for long periods, and the resistance of irritable feelings, in all which I was more disciplined by the advantageous circumstance of being alone on my journey, these are the great benefits on which I congratulate myself.

I have been guided in my way, I have been protected in danger, I have been blessed with pleasures, by that great and good Being, who has made man for pure enjoyment, and has ordained that he shall be most glorified, when his creatures are most happy.

Boston, 8 *May*, 1814.

DEAR SIR,

THE following lines, found among the papers of my deceased son, which I did not see till this day, were written by him on the death of that worthy and excellent character, the late Chief Justice Dana—and were intended to have been presented to his daughters—but they were not offered for the reason assigned by the writer, in a letter to the only friend to whom they were communicated—in which he modestly says—"But you see I did not succeed well enough to risk my credit." I flatter myself no risk can now be incurred by their being printed; and that they will form a proper conclusion to the small volume of his writings.

I am, Sir,

your obliged friend and h'ble serv't.

MR. ANDREWS NORTON. S. E.

WHEN despondency's gloom overshadows the soul,
And the feelings are loosened from reason's control,
Where judgment should guide, when impressions direct,
When you cannot forget, and 'tis pain to reflect—
Let a current of tears wash thy sorrows away,
And time shall the tempest of passion allay;
While the rainbow of hope shall be formed for relief
By religion's mild rays on a shower of grief