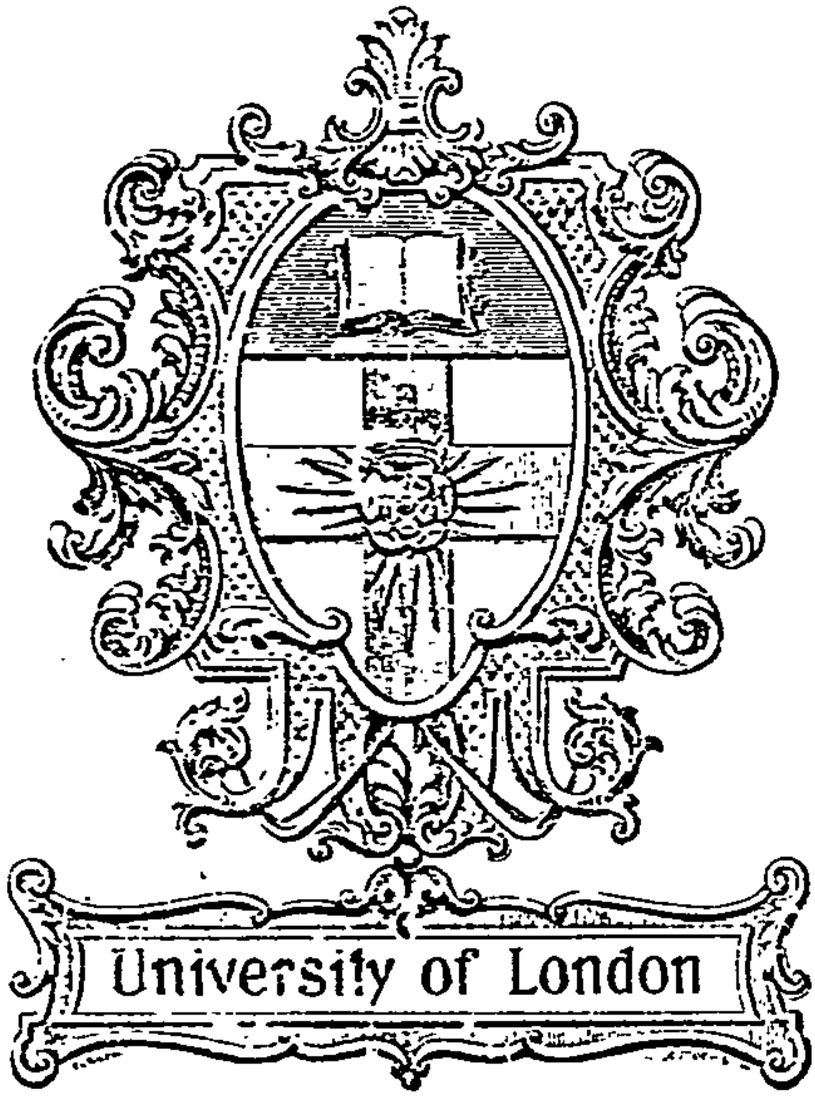


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1903.

DEBATE

ON THE

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY;

CONTAINING

AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

SOCIAL SYSTEM,

AND

OF ALL THE SYSTEMS OF SCEPTICISM

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES,

HELD IN THE CITY OF CINCINNATI, FOR EIGHT DAYS SUCCESSIVELY,

BETWEEN

ROBERT OWEN, OF NEW LANARK, SCOTLAND,

AND

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, OF BETHANY, VIRGINIA.

WITH AN APPENDIX BY THE PARTIES.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

What, then, is unbelief? 'Tis an exploit,
A strenuous enterprize. To gain it, man
Must burst through every bar of common sense,
Of common shame—magnanimously wrong!

Who most examine, most believe;
Parts, like half sentences, confound.
Read His whole volume, sceptic, *then* reply!—YOUNG.

O Lord of hosts! blessed is the man that trusteth in thee!—DAVID.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THERE is a charm in the number three, to which authors, philosophers, poets, and divines are not insensible. Every sentence of a rhetorical cast must have three members, and every noun substantive requires three adjectives to make it expressive, elegant, and sonorous. Hence the good old style of having a preface, introduction, and dedication prefixed to every volume. With the first and second of these we may dispense, as the first speech of each disputant is a sort of preface and introduction for himself. And were I to think of a dedication of this volume, I would be constrained to dedicate it to the whole human family, if I were to be guided by the grand principles of that diffusive benevolence which the side of the question on which I stand suggests. But were I to imitate the inventors of dedications, and select some person to whose auspices I could consign this book, I should be unable to find any one individual to whose pre-eminent virtues I could exclusively inscribe it. But, if either the urbanity, hospitality, and public spirit of a particular city; or, if the orderly behaviour, and christian deportment, of any one congregation, made it necessary for a publisher, such as I am, to inscribe a volume in commendation of one, or other, or both, the city of Cincinnati, and that congregation which for eight days patiently attended upon the discussion, would present claims which neither logic with all its rules of reason, nor rhetoric with all its arts of persuasion, could set aside. But again, something whispers in my ear, if any seven reasons would justify the inscription of this work to any seven gentlemen, to the exclusion of all other persons, for any special attentions paid to the cause, the parties, and the public, the Honourable Judge Burnet, Major Daniel Gano, Colonel Francis Carr, Rev. Timothy Flint, Rev. Oliver Spencer, Henry Starr, Esq. and Colonel Samuel W. Davis, are entitled to it for their attention and dignified manner in which they presided over this discussion. But as there are so many considerations presenting rival calls upon my pen for a special dedication, I must either depart from old usage or take some comprehensive, all-embracing sweep, and dedicate it to every saint and sinner into whose hands it may fall.

But I cannot so easily dispense with apologies as with dedications; for the loose and diffuse style of my speeches requires an apology from myself, as well as a liberal share of indulgence from the learned reader. Being always an extemporaneous speaker, and, on this occasion, every speech of mine, with the exception of the first one, being unpremeditated, many redundancies, expletives, and other inaccuracies in arrangement may be expected, and, I hope, pardoned.

Extemporaneous speakers are generally diffuse in their style, and defective in their arrangement. This is, for the most part, unavoidable; and more especially when a very promiscuous assembly is addressed, and on a subject which ought to be levelled to the apprehension of all. We aimed at being understood; and this required great plainness of speech. It is better to have to claim indulgence from the learned, than to have to incur the censures of the illiterate.

In point of arrangement and style, Mr. Owen had a very great advantage in having the whole of his argument written down. It is true he frequently spoke extemporaneously, but generally his written argument was the text. His written argument was his bible, and his speeches were sermons upon the essential doctrines of his twelve apostles.

Considering the rapidity of my pronunciation, which is said to be surpassed by very few, Mr. Sims, the stenographer, has certainly done himself great honour in the accuracy with which he has taken down my speeches. I have not, it is true, yet read them all; but those I have read, have far surpassed my anticipations. I did not think that any stenographer could take down my speeches *verbatim*, and especially one who was out of practice for any length of time.

Mr. Sims having been for some time a citizen of New Harmony, was well acquainted with Mr. Owen's style; and Mr. Owen being rather a slow speaker it was comparatively easy for Mr. Sims to report his speeches to a word. Mr. Sims did not promise to do this for me; but he promised to give every idea, if not in *ipsissimis verbis*, in terms fully expressive of them.

His fidelity I cannot but admire; for, although somewhat sceptical himself, and once almost persuaded to be an Owenite, and, upon the whole, on Mr. Owen's side of the question, I cannot complain of the least partiality in any one instance. When he failed to report any sentence, he was careful to note it, and thus has given me full satisfaction.

It will afford the reader some satisfaction to know that Mr. Owen has had the opportunity of revising all his speeches. This liberty I cheerfully conceded to him, and he has availed himself of it. He continued in Cincinnati till Mr. Sims got through with his speeches, and he had my assent to improve the style as much as he pleased.

The original copy of Mr. Sims' report, by a stipulation of the parties, is to be deposited with the public records of the county in which it is published; and in case of any cavil by either of the parties or their friends, it is to be forthcoming.

Every thing on my part has been done to give to the public the most faithful and credible report of this discussion. That it might appear in the most impartial form, I offered, with Mr. Owen's concurrence, the right of publishing to the Reporter. I first agreed with Mr. Gould, of Philadelphia: had written, signed, and forwarded for his signature, articles of agreement, authorizing him to publish twenty or thirty thousand copies, if he pleased, as a remuneration for his reporting, faithfully and fully, the discussion. Learning from the newspapers, that Mr. Owen had been in Jamaica or Vera Cruz,

some time in March, he despaired of his arrival at the time appointed, and declined coming on. I made a similar proposition to Mr. Sims of Cincinnati. He declined, and preferred a remuneration in money. Mr. Owen and myself then were compelled to publish the work, and agreed to pay Mr. Sims five hundred dollars for his report.

After the debate terminated, Mr. Owen, about to return to Europe, and not able to attend to the work, proposed to sell his interest in the work. He did so. I became the sole proprietor, and thus the publication ultimately devolved upon me.

After my return home, and my having made some contracts relative to the materials, type, press, &c., Mr. Owen wrote me, that by some means he understood that the city of Cincinnati would have liked that the work had been offered to them for benevolent purposes. He proposed my relinquishment of it to the city corporation. To this I acceded, on condition that the materials I had purchased for the work, should be taken along with the copy-right; or, if not, I would hand over to them the first edition when out of press; they remunerating me for the composition, press work, and paper, on the same terms for which the printers in Cincinnati would have done it. I waited three weeks for an answer from Mr. Owen, through whom I wished the proposition to be made. I am now informed by Mr. Owen, that the proposition was declined by the city council, and therefore I proceed with the publication.

All these arrangements and propositions were made, that the work might be more useful, or less liable to objection. For, from my first determination to meet Mr. Owen in argument, I had purposed to present the result of our interview to the public, for whose benefit it was undertaken, in the most unexceptionable form. And now, when the publication has devolved upon me, I proposed the depositing of the original copy for comparison with the publication as aforesaid. For experience has taught me how usual it is for the vanquished to exclaim against the report.

As arrangements are now made, I trust that all objections will be removed, for I am conscious that there is no ground for them. The arguments on both sides will appear as clear and as forcible to the reader, as they did to the hearer of this discussion.

The discussion sufficiently explains itself as it proceeds. We will neither anticipate nor prejudge for the reader. Let him reason, examine, and judge, like a rational being, for himself.

To the vast and incomparable importance of the question at issue, we can add nothing. It speaks for itself: and the man who has any doubt or hesitancy in his mind upon the subjects discussed in the following pages, and who will not deign them a patient and faithful examination, is unworthy of the rank and dignity of a man. So I decree, and let him who is of a contrary opinion seek to justify himself to his own conscience.

A. CAMPBELL.

THE LAWS OF THE DISCUSSION.

Preliminary arrangements respecting the management and publication of a Debate upon the Evidences of Christianity, between Robert Owen and Alexander Campbell, to be held at Cincinnati, Ohio.

1. That the parties upon the day aforesaid, and during the continuance of the said investigation, commence each day at 9 o'clock, A. M., intermit at 12, recommence at 3, P. M., and continue until the parties agree to adjourn.

2. That the propositions proposed to be defended by the former, and refuted by the latter, be fairly and fully discussed, as stated in Mr. Owen's challenge to the clergy in New Orleans, as already before the public, till each of the parties be satisfied that he has nothing new to offer.

3. That Robert Owen opens the discussion, and Alexander Campbell closes it.

4. That each of the parties shall speak alternately half an hour, without interruption, if he choose to occupy so much time; but it shall be quite optional with him whether he occupy so much time in each address, and that neither party be at liberty to transcend this space without permission of the Moderators.

5. That the aforesaid debate be conducted throughout with the usual decorum and fairness of investigation necessary to the discovery of truth, under the superintendance of a board of Moderators, seven in number, of which each of the parties shall choose three, and these jointly shall choose a seventh. Any three of these, one on each side, being present, shall constitute a quorum.

6. That Charles H. Sims, Esq., be appointed to engross and report the said debate, and to furnish the parties with one fair copy in the space of three months after the close of the said debate. For which, the parties agree to remunerate him on the delivery of the said copy for publication.

7. With regard to the publication of this discussion, it is agreed between the parties that the report made by Charles H. Sims, Esq., stenographer, shall be published jointly by the parties, they being at equal expense in obtaining the said report, and for all the materials, workmanship, and labour necessary to the publication, distribution, and sale of the said debate; and that, as Robert Owen cannot superintend the publication of the work, the correcting of the press, binding, and the delivery of the work, owing to his public arrangements for

the ensuing year, it is agreed that Alexander Campbell shall superintend the publication of the work, the correcting of the press, binding, and the delivery of the work; being held responsible to Robert Owen and the public for the correctness and exactitude with which he shall conform to the report furnished by the aforesaid Charles H. Sims. Which report, when submitted to the revision of the parties, shall be lodged, for safe-keeping and for comparison, with the publication in the hands of the clerk of the county, wherein the publication from the press shall be issued. It is also agreed, that the profits and losses accruing from the publication and sale of the first edition shall be equally divided between the parties.

It is agreed between the parties, that after the sale of the first edition, if it should appear eligible to the parties to publish a second edition, or a third edition, it shall be proposed by Robert Owen or his agent to Alexander Campbell, or by Alexander Campbell to Robert Owen, or his agent, for his concurrence; and that if there should be a concurrence in their views relative to the expediency of such editions, then they shall be undertaken upon the same terms and conditions proposed for the first; but if there should not be a concurrence in the expediency of such republications, then either of the parties, as the case may be, shall be at liberty, at his own risk, and upon his own responsibility, to publish any edition or editions of the work he may deem expedient; the copy-right for the work being so secured as to secure to the parties such an arrangement.

ROBERT OWEN,
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

IN PRESENCE OF

JOHN SMITH,
THOMAS CAMPBELL.

The last article has been annulled by a subsequent stipulation between the parties.

DEBATE

ON THE

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

CINCINNATI, *Monday, April 13th*, 1829.

MR. OWEN rose and said—

Gentlemen Moderators,

IT is necessary on my part to explain the cause of the present meeting.

After much reading and calm reflection early in life, and after extensive personal, and, in many instances, confidential communications with the leading characters of the present times, I was deeply impressed with the conviction, that all societies of men have been formed on a misapprehension of the primary laws of human nature, and that this error has produced disappointment, and almost every kind of misery.

I was also equally convinced, that the real nature of man is adapted, when rightly directed, to attain high physical, intellectual, and moral excellence, and to derive from each of these faculties, a large share of happiness, or of varied enjoyment.

I was, in consequence, impressed with the belief, that I could not perform a greater service to mankind, than to endeavour to relieve them from this grievous error and evil. I made arrangements to apply all my faculties to discover the means by which it could be effected. For this purpose, I instituted experiments in England and Scotland, to try the effects of some of these new principles in practice. I published preliminary remarks on the subject, and submitted them to the civilized governments of Europe and America. I visited various foreign countries, that I might communicate, personally, with the leading minds in each; and I presented an explanatory memorial to the congress of sovereigns, and their ministers, at Aix la Chapel, in 1818.

I held public meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States; and I widely circulated these proceedings in every part of the world where the English language is known.

Finding that these practical experiments exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and that the most experienced, enlightened, and comprehensive minds, when confidentially applied to, admitted the truth of the principles which I placed before them; and doubted only, if the period had arrived when ignorance could be so far removed as to admit of their immediate introduction into practice. I applied myself to discover the best means by which these all-important truths might be taught, and all prejudices removed, without producing the evils arising from sudden and extensive revolutions.

To effect these objects, I felt it was necessary to be governed, through my whole course, as far as times and circumstances would admit, by the laws of nature, which appeared to me correctly true in principle, and beautiful and beneficial for practice.

I, therefore, placed these truths gradually before the public, sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another; but always in the least offensive manner I could devise.

When parties, whose prejudices were by these means aroused, became angry, and reviled, as it was natural for them to do, not understanding my object, I could not be angry and displeased with them, and therefore reviled not again; but I calmly put forth more and more of these truths, that ultimately all of them might be understood.

When the partisans of political parties fully expected I would unite with them in opposition to some part of the existing order of things, I could not join in their measures, knowing that they saw but a small part of the evil, which they fruitlessly, yet often honestly, endeavoured to remove, and consequently erred in the means of attaining their object.

With my views, I could belong to no party, because, in many things, I was opposed to all. Yet I freely conversed and associated with all classes, sects, and characters; and it was interesting and instructive to discover the various impressions which were made on individuals belonging to all parties, by the principles which I advocated. To many, according to their prejudices, I appeared a demon of darkness, or, as some of them said, I "was worse than the devil;" while, to others, I seemed an angel of light, or, "the best man the world ever saw;" and, of course, of every gradation between these extremes.

Amidst these conflicting feelings, I pursued the "even tenor of my way," and turned not from the great object I had in view, either to the right hand or to the left.

I thus proceeded, step by step, until the most important laws of our nature were unfolded; for I early perceived that a knowledge of these laws would soon unveil the three most formidable prejudices that ignorance of these laws had made almost universal.

These prejudices, arising from early education, are district religions in opposition to these divine laws, indissoluble marriages, and unnecessary private property.

Yet the prejudices produced by education, on each of these sub-

jects, are very different in various countries. Among most people, however, these prejudices, whatever form they may have taken, have been deeply rooted, through a long succession of ages, and have uniformly produced the greatest crimes, suffering, and misery; indeed, almost all to which human nature is liable: for the natural evils of life are so few, that they scarcely deserve consideration.

It, therefore, appeared to me to be the time when these artificial evils might be removed, and when an entire new order of things might be established.

Many well-intentioned and partly-enlightened individuals, who have not had an opportunity to reflect deeply on these subjects, imagine that it will be more easy to remove one of these evils at a time, not perceiving that they are three links, forming one chain; each link being absolutely necessary to support the other two, and, therefore, that they must be all retained, or go together.

Instead of these links becoming a band to keep society in good order, and unite men in a bond of charity, justice, and affection, they form a chain of triple strength, to retain the human mind in ignorance and vice, and to inflict every species of misery, from artificial causes, on the human race.

Seeing this, I was induced to develop other arrangements, all in accordance with the divine laws of our nature, and thus attempt to break each link of this magic chain, and thereby remove the only obstacles which prevent men from becoming rational and truly virtuous beings.

In these new arrangements, the countless evils which have been engendered by conflicting religions, by various forms of marriages, and by unnecessary private property, will not exist: but, instead thereof, real charity, pure chastity, sincere affections, and upright dealing between man and man producing abundance for all, will every where prevail.

By pursuing this course, I was, from the beginning, conscious that the worst feelings of those who have been trained in old prejudices must be more or less excited, and I would willingly have avoided creating even this temporary evil, if it had been practicable, but it was not. I endeavoured, however, by calmness and kindness, to turn aside these irrational feelings, well knowing that the parties were not the authors of the impressions made upon their respective organizations, and I strove to prevent any unnecessary pain in performing a duty which, to me, appears the highest that man can perform, and which I execute solely under the expectation of relieving future generations from the misery which the past and present have experienced.

In pursuance of these measures, I last year delivered a course of lectures in New Orleans, explanatory of the principles and many details of the practice of the proposed system.

During the progress of these lectures, many paragraphs appeared in the New Orleans newspapers, giving a very mistaken view of the principles and plans which I advocated. Discovering that these paragraphs proceeded from some of the city clergymen, I put an

advertisement in the newspapers, offering to meet all the ministers of religion in the city, either in public or private, to discuss the subjects of difference between us, in order that the population of New Orleans might know the real foundation on which the old systems of the world were erected, and the principles on which the new system was advocated. These gentlemen, however, were unwilling to enter upon the discussion.

About the same period, Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Bethany, in Virginia, was solicited by a brother minister, in the state of Ohio, to meet Dr. Underhill, who was publicly teaching, with success, the principles of the new system, in the upper part of that state.

Mr. Campbell declined the call thus made upon him; but he offered, as a shorter mode, in his opinion, of terminating the difference, to meet me, and discuss the merits of the old and new systems in public, at any time and place convenient to both.

He, afterwards, on seeing my proposals in the newspapers, to meet the clergy of New Orleans on specific grounds, publicly offered to discuss those subjects with me, at Cincinnati, any time within twelve months from the date of his proposal.

Having occasion, about that period, to pass, on my way to Europe, within twenty miles of Mr. Campbell's residence, I went to see him, to ascertain whether his proposal to meet me in public, emanated from a conscientious desire to discover valuable truths for the benefit of the human race, or from a wish to attain a useless notoriety, by a vain and futile contest of words without any definite meaning.

By my intercourse with Mr. Campbell, I concluded he was conscientiously desirous of ascertaining truth from error on these momentous subjects; that he was much experienced in public discussions; and well educated for the ministry. His superior talents were generally admitted. Under these circumstances, I did not feel myself at liberty to decline the call he had publicly made upon me; I, therefore, agreed to meet him in this city, at this time, that we might, by a fair and open discussion of principles never yet publicly advocated, discover, if possible, the foundation of human errors respecting vice and virtue, and the real cause of the continuance, at this day, over the world, of ignorance, poverty, disunion, crime, and misery; and, if practicable, lay a broad and solid foundation for a union of all tribes and people, that peace, good-will, and intelligence, may every where prevail, and contention and strife cease from the earth.

Such is the origin and progress of the events and circumstances which have produced the present assemblage at this place, and my sole wish is, that it may terminate beneficially for mankind.

I wait Mr. Campbell's confirmation of this statement, as far as he is personally concerned in it.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—

My Christian friends and fellow-citizens!—In rising to address you on this occasion, I feel that I owe you an apology. Do you inquire, for what? I answer, for bringing into public discussion the

Evidences of the Christian religion. Not, indeed, as if either the religion itself, or the evidences of its truth and divine authority, had any thing to fear from an examination, however public, or however severe. Why, then, do you say, apologize for bringing this subject into public debate? Because, in so doing, we may appear to concede that it is yet an undecided question, *sub judice;* or, at least, that its opponents have some good reason for withholding their assent to its truth, and their consent to its requirements. Neither of which we are, at this time, prepared to admit.

It is true, indeed, that we christians are commanded by an authority which we deem paramount to every other, to be prepared, at all times, to give a reason of the hope which we entertain; and not only so, but in meekness, and with firmness, to contend for the faith once delivered to the saints. If, then, it be our duty, either as teachers of the Christian religion, or as private disciples, to be governed by these precepts, not only can we find an excuse for ourselves, but we hope that you also will find an excuse for us in the present undertaking. *Excuse,* did I say? Not excuse only, but more than excuse, both authority and encouragement.

Some christians, we know, think it enough simply to inveigh against sceptics and scepticism in their weekly harangues; while they are protected by custom and law, from the retorts and replies of such as do not believe. This is not enough. If, indeed, all the sceptics in the vicinities of Christian congregations made it a point to attend these weekly discourses, and if their objections and doubts were fairly met, canvassed, and refuted, then this course might suffice. But neither of these is precisely the case. The sceptics do not generally attend the places of worship; and few of the teachers of religion pay adequate attention to this description of character. In some Christian countries, also, too much reliance is placed upon the strong arm of the law; and in this country, perhaps, too much confidence is reposed in the moral force of public opinion.

Scepticism and infidelity are certainly on the increase in this and other countries. Not, indeed, because of the mildness of our laws, but because of the lives of our professors, and a very general inattention to the evidences of our religion. The sectarian spirit, the rage of rivalry in the various denominations, together with many absurd tenets and opinions propagated, afford more relevant reasons for the prevalence of scepticism than most of our professors are able to offer for their faith.

Kingcraft and priestcraft, always german-cousins at least, have so disfigured, or as they suppose, *ornamented* Christianity, so completely disguised it, that many having no taste nor inclination for examining the inspired books, have hastily and peremptorily decided that all religion is the offspring of fraud or fiction. The ignorance of the multitude, and the knavery of the few, are the most puissant auxiliaries of those daring and rash spirits, who undertake to make it appear, that the religious institutions of this country are founded on kingcraft or priestcraft.

I have sometimes been ready to conclude with Bishop Newton in his illustrations of the prophecies, that the unhallowed alliance between kings and priests, of church and state, is destined to be finally destroyed, by a momentary triumph of infidelity: or, to come nearer to his own language, that before the millennial order of society can be introduced, there will be a very general spread of infidelity. However this may be—for here we would not be dogmatical—we are assured that the progress of scepticism is neither owing to the weakness nor the paucity of the evidences of Christianity; but to a profession of it unauthorized by, and incompatible with, the Christian scriptures. These concessions we are compelled to make, from a sense of justice to our cause; but in conceding so much, we give nothing away but what every christian would wish to see done away, viz. the abuses of the Christian religion. Nor will we allow that there is even in the abuses of Christianity, any argument against its excellency, nor any just reason for the infidelity of any one who has access to the oracles of God.

When we agreed to meet Mr. Owen in public debate upon the question to be discussed on this occasion, it was not with any expectation that he was to be convinced of the errors of his system, on the subject of religion; nor with any expectation that I was in the least to be shaken in my faith in the sacred writings. It is to be presumed that Mr. Owen feels himself beyond the reach of conviction; and I most sincerely must declare that I have every assurance of the truth and authority of the Christian religion. I know, indeed, that there is no circumstance in which any person can be placed more unfavourable to his conviction, than that which puts him in a public assembly, upon the proof of his principles. The mind is then on the alert to find proofs for the system which has been already adopted, and is not disposed to such an investigation as might issue in conviction. Arguments and proofs are rather parried than weighed; and triumph, rather than conviction, is anxiously sought for. At the same time, I own I am, on all subjects, open to conviction, and even desirous to receive larger measures of light; and more than once, even when in debate, I have been convicted of the truth and force of the argument of an opponent. Nor would I say that it is impossible that even my opponent might yet preach the faith which he has, all his life, laboured to destroy. But the public, the wavering, doubting, and unsettled public, who are endangered to be carried off, as an apostle says, by the flood which the dragon has poured out of his mouth, are these for whose benefit this discussion has, on my part, been undertaken. They are not beyond the reach of conviction, correction, and reformation. For the present generation and the succeeding, I have been made willing to undertake to show that there is no good reason for rejecting the testimony of the apostles and prophets; but all the reason which rational beings can demand for the sincere belief and cordial reception of the Christian religion.

You must not think, my friends, that Christianity has come down to our times without a struggle; nay, indeed, it took the nations at

first by the irresistible force of its evidence. It was opposed by consolidated ranks of well-disciplined foes. Learned, cunning, bold, and powerful, were its enemies. But experience taught them it was not only foolish, but hurtful, to kick against the goads.

Never was there such a moral phenomenon exhibited upon this earth, as the first establishment and progress of Christianity. The instruments by which it was established, the opposition with which it was met, and the success which attended its career, were all of the most extraordinary character. The era of Christianity itself presents a very sublime spectacle: the whole world reposing in security under the protecting wings of the most august of all the Cæsars; peace, universal peace, with her healthful arms encircling all the nations composing the great empire, which was itself the consummation of all the empires of the ancient world. Polytheism, with her myriads of temples, and her myriads of myriads of priests, triumphantly seated in the affections of a superstitious people, and swaying a magic sceptre, from the Tiber to the ends of the earth. Legislators, magistrates, philosophers, orators, and poets, all combined to plead her cause, and to protect her from insult and injury. Rivers of sacrificial blood crimsoned all the rites of pagan worship; and clouds of incense arose from every city, town, and hamlet, in honour of the gods of Roman superstition. Just in this singular and unrivalled crisis, when the Jews' religion, though corrupted by tradition, and distracted with faction, was venerated for its antiquity, and admired for its divinity; when idolatry was at its zenith in the Pagan world, the Star of Bethlehem appears. The marvellous scene opens in a stable. What a fearful odds! What a strange contrast! Idolatry on the throne, and the founder of a new religion, and a new empire, lying in a manger!

Unattended in his birth, and unseconded in his outset, he begins his career. Prodigies of extraordinary sublimity announce that the Desire of all Nations is born. But the love of empire, and the jealousy of a rival, stimulate the bloody Herod to unsheath his sword. Many innocents were slaughtered; but Heaven shielded the newborn king of the world. For the present we pass over his wonderful history. After thirty years of obscurity, we find him surrounded with what the wise, the wealthy, and the proud would call a contemptible group; telling them that one of them, an uncouth and untutored fisherman too, had discovered a truth which would new-modify the whole world. In the midst of them He uttered the most incredible oracle ever heard. I am about, says he, to found a new empire on the acknowledgment of a single truth; a truth, too, which one of you has discovered, and all the powers and malice of worlds, seen and unseen, shall never prevail against it. This is our helmet, breastplate, and shield, in this controversy. What a scene presents itself here! A pusillanimous, wavering, ignorant, and timid dozen of individuals, without a penny apiece, assured that to them it pleased the Ruler of the Universe to give the empire of the world: that to each of them would be given a throne, from which would be promulged, laws never to be repealed while sun and moon endure.

Such were the army of the faith. They begin their career. Under the jealous and invidious eyes of a haughty sanhedrim at home, and under the strict cognizance of a Roman emperor abroad, with a watchful procurator stationed over them. They commenced their operations. One while charged with *idolatry;* at another, with *treason*. Reviled and persecuted until their chief is rewarded with a cross, and themselves with threats and imprisonment. A throne in a future world animated him, and a crown of glory after martyrdom stimulated them. On they march from conquest to conquest, till not only a multitude of the Jewish priests and people, but Cæsar's household in imperial Rome became obedient to the faith. Such was the commencement.

The land of Judea was smitten with the sword of the Spirit. Jerusalem falls, and Samaria is taken. The coasts of Asia, maritime cities, islands, and provinces, vow allegiance to a crucified King. Mighty Rome is roused, and shaken, and affrighted. Sacrifices are unbought, altars moulder, and temples decay. Her pontiffs, her senate, and her emperor stand aghast. Persecution, the adjunct of a weak and wicked cause, unsheaths her sword, and kindles her fires. A Nero and a Caligula prepare the faggots, and illuminate Rome with burning christians. But the scheme soon defeats itself: for, anon, it is found that the blood and the ashes of martyrs are the seed of the church. So, the battle is fought, till every town of note, from the Tiber to the Thames, from the Euphrates to the Ganges, bows to the cross. On the one side, superstition and the sword; the mitred head and the sceptred arm combine: on the other, almighty truth alone pushes on the combat. Under these fearful odds, the truth triumphs; and shall the advocates of such a cause fear the contest now!

Yes: my fellow-citizens, not a king nor a priest smiled upon our faith until it won the day. It offered no lure to the ambitious; no reward to the avaricious. It formed no alliance with the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye, nor the pride of life. It disdained such auxiliaries. It aimed not so low. It called for self-denial, humility, patience, and courage, on the part of all its advocates; and promised spiritual joys, as an earnest of eternal bliss. By the excellency of its doctrine, the purity of its morals, the rationality of its arguments, the demonstrations of the Holy Spirit, and the good example of its subjects, it triumphed on the ruins of Judaism and idolatry. The christian volunteers found the yoke of Christ was easy, and his burthen light. Peace of mind, a heaven-born equanimity, a good conscience, a pure heart, universal love, a triumphant joy, and a glorious hope of immortal bliss, were its reward in hand. An incorruptible, undefiled, and unfading inheritance in the presence of God, with the society of angels, principalities, and powers, of the loftiest intelligence and most comprehensive knowledge, brighter than the sun, in the glories of light and love eternal, are its reward in future.

But now let us ask, What boon, what honour, what reward, have our opponents to offer for its renunciation? Yes: this is the question which the sequel must develop. To what would they convert us! What heaven have they to propose! What immortality to reveal!

What sublime views of a creation, and a Creator! What authentic record of the past! What prophetic hope of the future! What account of our origin! What high ultimatum of our destiny! What terrors have they to offer to stem the torrent of corruption! What balm and consolation to the sons and daughters of anguish! To these, and a thousand kindred questions, they must, and they *will*, answer, *None;* none at all. They promise to him that disbelieveth the Founder of the Christian religion; to him that neglects and disdains the salvation of the gospel; to him who tramples under foot the blood of the new institution, and insults the Spirit of favour; to him who traduces Moses, Daniel, and Job; to him who vilifies Jesus, Paul, Peter, James, and John; to him who devotes his soul to the lusts of the flesh; who disdains heaven; who deifies his appetites; who degrades himself to a mere animal, and eulogizes philosophy; to this man they promise eternal sleep, an everlasting death. This is the faith, the hope, and the joy, for which they labour with so much zeal, and care, and pain.

Divesting man of all that renders life a blessing, and death supportable, denuding him of all the dignity and honour which have ever been the admiration of the wise and good, and reducing him wholly to the earth, is, by our opponents, the true philosophy, the just science, the valuable knowledge. In their estimation, a colony of bees, co-operating in the building of store-houses and cells, and afterwards stowing them full of the necessaries of animal life, humming from flower to flower, while the sun shines; and, in its absence, sucking the juices which they have collected, is the grand model of what man would be, and what he would do, were he under the benign influence of just knowledge and sound philosophy.

To accomplish this high and glorious end of our being, is the supreme wish of my benevolent opponent. In the prosecution of which he labours to show us that matter—solid, liquid, gaseous matter—is the height and depth, the length and breadth, of all that deserves the name of just knowledge. As for *souls*, and their appurtenances, they are mere nonentities,—creatures of mere fancy, having neither figure, extension, nor gravity: old wives' fables, and ought to be all embarked in company with ghosts and witches, and colonized on the point of a needle on some lofty peak in the regions of imagination.

When, by a philosophic exorcism, he has cast out these indescribable spirits which haunt the cells of our *crania*, and emptied our heads of all their intellectual contents, we are then to make the body, and especially the *abdominal viscera*, the all-engrossing topic of life and death, and the capital item in our last will and testament.

Now let us glance at the method of argument by which this point is to be proved.

1. Man is to be detached from any relation to a Supreme or superior being. All debts of gratitude, or obligation of any sort, to an unseen or intangible agent are to be cancelled by a single act of oblivion; and when he is taught to annihilate the Creator, he is next to be taught that he is himself neither *creator* nor *creature*, but a sort of self-existent particle of a self-existent whole.

2. Lest he should be too uplifted in his own imagination, he is to be taught that he is no more than a two-legged *animal*, as circumscribed by *sense* as a mole or a lobster.

3. That having but *five* senses, it is necessary that these should be analysed, in order that he may be convinced that nothing can be known of which they are not the informers. Thus man, when perfectly reduced to a mere *sentient* being, is prepared to become a *sensualist*.

4. To complete the process of degradation, man is to be taught that he has no faculty, or power of learning or knowing any thing but by his senses, or that he can receive no certain information from the testimony of his ancestors.

5. That all the information which is traditional, or handed down, is false and incredible.

6. As to morality, it is just a due regard to *utility*. Bees are *moral* as well as men; and he is the most moral bee which creates the most honey, and consumes the least of it.

We do not say that these are *verbatim*, or in *propria forma*, the identical positions of my opponent—They belong, perhaps, more justly to some of the fraternity; for you will remember that he confines himself to the following four grand points:

1. That all the religions in the world have been founded on the ignorance of mankind.

2. That they are directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature.

3. That they have been and are the real source of vice, disunion, and misery of every description.

4. That they are now the only real bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family. We shall be somewhat disappointed, however, if in the development, they do not engross the preceding positions.

Were I at liberty to choose a method co-extensive with the whole range of scepticism, it would be such as the following:

1. I would propose to present some philosophic arguments demonstrative of the truth of revealed religion.

2. I would attempt to illustrate and press upon my opponent the nature and weight of the historic evidence.

3. I would then endeavour to show, from the Christian religion itself, its certain divine origin.

4. And, in the last place, I would undertake to prove, from the actual condition of the world, and the prophetic annunciations, the absolute certainty that this religion came from the Creator of the world.

Under these very general heads, or chapters, I would not fear to introduce such a number and variety of distinct arguments and evidences, as I should think ought to silence the captious; convert the honest inquirer; and confirm the weak and wavering disciple. But, in a discussion such as the present, it would be almost, if not altogether, impossible to pursue such a method; and as it devolves upon

my opponent to lead the way, and upon me to follow, I can only promise that I will endeavour, in the most methodical way, to bring forward the arguments which are couched in this arrangement; of which, indeed, a very inadequate idea can be communicated in any schedule.

The preceding synopsis is more general than necessary; but, it is adapted to the vague and diversified attacks upon the Christian fortress by the sceptics of the present school. In the natural order of things, we would confine ourselves to the following method:

1. State, as a postulatum, the following unquestionable fact:

That there is now in the world, a book called the Old and New Testaments, purporting to contain a revelation from the Creator of the universe. Then inquire—

2. By what agency or means this work came into existence. In the analysis of this question we would

1. Demonstrate that the religion contained in this book is predicated upon certain matters of fact.

2. That our senses, and testimony or history, are the only means by which we can arrive at certain information in any question of fact.

3. That there are certain infallible criteria by which some historic matters of fact may be proved true or false.

4. We would then specify these criteria, and,

5. Show that we have all these criteria in deciding this question. This proved, and all that christians contend for, must be conceded. We say, that were we to be governed by the *natural* order, we would confine all our debate to this one question, as detailed in these five items. All this, indeed, will come in course under the 2d and 4th items, in the synopsis proposed. But we cannot refrain from expressing our opinion, that all the rest is superfluous labour bestowed upon us, by the obliquity of the sceptical scheme. And, moreover, we must add our conviction that, supposing we should fail in affording satisfactory data on the other topics, it is impossible to fail in the point upon which the strength and stress of the argument must rest.

In this candid and unreserved way, my fellow-citizens, we have laid before you our views and prospects in the opening of this discussion, which may give you some idea of what may be expected from this meeting. Your patience and indulgence may have to be solicited and displayed, and should we be compelled to roam at large over vast and trackless fields of speculation, and oftentimes to return by the same track, you will have the goodness to grant us all that indulgence which the nature of the case demands.

But we cannot sit down without admonishing you to bear constantly in mind, the inconceivable and ineffable importance attached to the investigation. It is not the ordinary affairs of this life, the fleeting and transitory concerns of to-day or to-morrow: it is not whether we shall live all freemen, or die all slaves: it is not the momentary affairs of empire, or the evanescent charms of dominion—nay, indeed, all these are but the toys of childhood, the sportive excursions of youthful fancy, contrasted with the questions, *What is man? Whence came he?*

Whither does he go? Is he a mortal or an immortal being? Is he doomed to spring up like grass, bloom like a flower, drop his seed into the earth, and die for ever? Is there no object of future hope? No God—no heaven—no exalted society to be known or enjoyed? Are all the great and illustrious men and women, who have lived before we were born, wasted and gone for ever? After a few short days are fled, when the enjoyments and toils of life are over; when our relish for social enjoyment, and our desires for returning to the fountain of life are most acute, must we hang our heads and close our eyes in the desolating and appalling prospect of never opening them again,—of never tasting the sweets for which a state of discipline and trial has so well fitted us? These are the awful and sublime merits of the question at issue! It is not what we shall eat, nor what we shall drink, unless we shall be proved to be mere animals; but it is, shall we live or die for ever? It is as beautifully expressed by a christian poet:

Shall spring ever visit the mouldering urn?
Shall day ever dawn on the night of the grave?

Here Mr. Owen rose and said—

Before I commence the opening of this discussion I will state two axioms, and then proceed.

First axiom—Truth is always consistent with itself, consequently, each separate truth is in strict accordance with every other truth in the universe. Or, in other words,

No two truths, upon subjects differing the most widely from each other, can ever be in opposition or contradiction to each other.

Second axiom—No name or authority, whatever may be its nature, can change truth into falsehood, or falsehood into truth, or can, in any way, make that which is true to be false, or that which is false to be true.

For truth is a law of nature, existing independent of all authority. Thus, it is a law of nature, that one and one make two, and equally so, that as one and one make two, two and two make four, and so on of all the combinations of numbers.

Now, the united authorities of the universe, could not, by their fiat, change these laws of nature, and determine that one and one shall not make two, but three, or any other number.

Here Mr. Owen begins to read the first part of his address.

My friends, for I trust we are all friends, we meet here to-day for no personal consideration; our sole object is to ascertain *facts*, from which *true* principles may be obtained, and introduced into practice, for the benefit of the human race.

The discussion which I am about to open between Mr. Campbell and myself, is one more important in its consequences to all descriptions of men, than any, perhaps, which has hitherto occurred in the annals of history.

It is a discussion entered upon solely, with a view, as I believe, to elicit truth, if it be now practicable, on subjects the most interesting,

to the whole family of mankind; on subjects which involve the happiness or misery of the present and all future generations.

And our intention is, to begin, to continue, and to terminate these proceedings with the good feelings which ought always to govern the conduct of those who seek truth in singleness of heart, and with a sincere desire to find it.

Hitherto, assuredly, all mankind have been trained to be children of some national or local district, and, in consequence, they have been made to acquire errors which create over the world, confusion of intellect, and a necessary fatal division in practice.

We now, however, propose to develop facts, and truths deduced from them, through the knowledge of which, these local prejudices shall gradually disappear, and be finally removed.

We propose further that, through a knowledge of these facts and truths, a practice shall be introduced which shall enable all to become affectionate and intelligent members of one family, having new hearts and new minds, and whose single object through life will be to promote each others' happiness, and thereby their own.

To attain this great end, we shall not now attack the errors of any particular local district; for, by so doing, the evil passions and bad feelings which local errors engender, are aroused and brought into injurious action; but universal truths shall be unfolded, which shall destroy the seeds of those pernicious passions and feelings, and, instead thereof, produce knowledge, peace, and good-will among the human race.

In furtherance of this mighty change in the destinies of mankind, I am now to prove "that all the religions of the world have originated in error; that they are directly opposed to the divine unchanging laws of human nature; that they are necessarily the source of vice, disunion, and misery; that they are now the only obstacle to the formation of a society, over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and affection. And that these district religions can be no longer maintained in any part of the world, except by keeping the mass of the people in ignorance of their own nature, by an increase of the tyranny of the few over the many."

It is my intention to prove these all-important truths, not by exposing the fallacies of the sources from whence each of these local religions has originated; but by bringing forth, for public examination, the facts which determine by what unchanging laws man is produced, and his character formed; and by showing how utterly inapplicable all the religions which have been hitherto invented and instilled into the human mind, are to a being so created and matured.

It will be Mr. Campbell's duty to endeavour to discover error in this development, and if he shall find any, to make the error known to me and to the public, in a kind and friendly manner.

If, however, Mr. Campbell shall not detect any error in this statement, but, on the contrary, shall find that it is a plain development of facts, and just deductions therefrom, and in strict accordance with all other known facts and well-ascertained truths, as I most conscien-

tiously believe it to be, then will it be equally his duty to declare to the public this truth for the benefit of mankind.

After this shall be done, it will become the duty and interest of men, of all other local districts, to ascertain the truth or error of these facts, and of the consequences to which it is stated they will lead in practice, and then, in the same kind and temperate manner, to publish, in the shortest period after such examination, the result, in order to remove error, and establish truth.

It is only by this just and equitable mode of proceeding that truth can be elicited, and made manifest for the good of mankind; that the real cause of disunion and misery can be detected and withdrawn from society, and that, in place thereof, a deep and lasting foundation can be laid, to establish, for ever, among all people, union, peace, charity, and affection.

The facts from which I am compelled to believe that these all-important consequences are to arise, are:

1. That man, at his birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization, and that he has not been permitted to create the slightest part of his natural propensities, faculties, or qualities, physical or mental.

2. That no two infants, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization, while the physical, mental, and moral differences, between all infants, are formed without their knowledge or will.

3. That each individual is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which, acting upon his peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child, and man. Yet that the influence of these circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar natural organization of each individual.

4. That no infant has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence; of whom he shall be born, in what distinct religion he shall be trained to believe, or by what other circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

5. That each individual is so created, that when young, he may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity.

6. That each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impressions that are made on his feelings and other faculties, while his belief in no case depends upon his will.

7. That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization, and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant and disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations should be.

8. That each individual is so created, that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant and delightful at their com-

mencement, and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period, without change, disagreeable and painful. While, on the contrary, when a too rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens, and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual, and moral powers and enjoyments.

9. That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual depend in a great degree upon the proper cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties and powers, from infancy to maturity, and upon all these parts of his nature being duly called into action, at their proper period, and temperately exercised, according to the strength and capacity of the individual.

10. That the individual is made to possess and to acquire the *worst* character, when his organization at birth has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties, and qualities of our common nature, and when so organized, has been placed, from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances.

11. That the individual is made to possess and to acquire a *medium* character, when his original organization has been created *superior*, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* or *unfavourable* impressions. Or, when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed, from birth to death, are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or, when there has been some mixture of *good* and *bad* qualities, in the original organization, and when it has been also placed, through life, in various circumstances of *good* and *evil*. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind.

12. That the individual is made the most *superior* of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, are of a character to produce only *superior* impressions; or, in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions and customs, in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature.

These facts, remaining the same, at all times, in all countries, are the divine revelations to the whole human race. They constitute laws of nature, not of man's invention; they exist without his knowledge or consent; they change not by any effort he can make, and as they proceed, solely from a power or a cause unknown and mysterious to him, they are then a divine revelation, in the only correct sense in which the term can be applied.

Considered, separately and united, and viewed in all their bearings and consequences, these divine laws of human nature form the most perfect foundation for a divine moral code—a code abundantly sufficient to produce, in practice, all virtue in the individual and in society, sufficient to enable man, through a correct knowledge thereof, to "work out his own salvation" from sin, or ignorance, and misery, and to secure the happiness of his whole race.

For, as the first law teaches that, as all men are created by a power mysterious and unknown to themselves, they can have no merit or demerit for their *original formation* or *individual organization;* that, consequently, the pride of birth, or superior physical form, or of intellectual capacity, are feelings proceeding alone from an aberration of intellect, produced by ignorance, and therefore irrational. And the second law teaches us that, as no two infants are born alike, and as they have no knowledge how the difference is produced, we ought not to be *displeased* or to *blame* any individuals, tribes, or people; or to be less *friendly* to them, because they have been made to differ from us in *colour, form,* or *features.*

The third law teaches us, that as each individual, at birth, may be placed, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances to force him to become any of the general characters now known to exist in any part of the world, we ought not to be displeased with those who have been made to differ from ourselves in birth, in language, in religion, in manners, in customs, in conditions, in thinking, in feeling, or in conduct. On the contrary, we are taught to know that this difference, to whatever extent it may proceed, is no more than a necessary effect arising from the general, national, and district circumstances in which they have been placed, modified by the peculiar organization of each individual; and that, as neither the organization of these circumstances were formed by them, to be surprised or displeased, in consequence of their existence, is a certain proof, that we, ourselves, are in an irrational state, and influenced alone by ignorance of our nature. By this law, we are further taught, that all feelings of anger and irritation will entirely cease, as soon as we shall acquire a real knowledge of our nature; that these feelings belong to man only during his irrational state of existence, and that when he becomes enlightened, and shall be made a rational being, they will no longer be found in human society. Instead of these irrational feelings, engendered solely by ignorance of this law of our common nature, we shall, through a knowledge of it, acquire a never-ceasing, never-tiring practical charity, for the whole human race; a charity so efficient, so sincere, and so pure, that it will be impossible for any one thus taught from infancy, to think ill of, or to desire the slightest injury to, any one of his fellow-beings.

By the fourth, fifth, and sixth laws, we are taught, that a knowledge of the principles contained in the preceding laws, is so essential to the well-being of the human race, that it is again and again reiterated, through each of these laws, in every form the most likely to make the deepest impressions on our minds. They express, in language which no one can misunderstand, the ignorance and folly of individual pride and assumed consequences on account of birth, religion, learning, manners, habits, or any other acquirement or qualification, physical, intellectual, or moral; and give an entire new and different direction to all our thoughts, feelings, and actions, and we shall no longer consider man formed to be the ignorant, vicious, and degraded being, that, heretofore, he has been compelled to appear, whether covered by the garb of savage or civilized life.

The seventh law teaches us, that there is no power, and, of course, no right, in one man to attempt to compel another to like or dislike any thing, or any person, at his bidding or command; for this law shows, that liking or disliking, as well as believing or disbelieving, are involuntary acts of our nature, and are the necessary, and, therefore, right impressions made upon our senses. Merit and demerit, therefore, for liking or disliking, for believing or disbelieving, will be no longer attributed to man, than while the human race remains in an irrational state. Marriage, prostitution, jealousy, and the endless sexual crimes and diseases which these have engendered, have arisen solely from ignorance of this fundamental or divine law of our nature; and, in consequence, real chastity is unknown among the greater part of the human race; but, in place thereof, a spurious chastity exists, producing insincerity, falsehood, deception, and dissimulation.

The eighth and ninth laws teach us, the necessity for, and the advantages to be derived from, cultivating and duly exercising all the propensities, faculties, and powers with which nature has supplied us, and the folly of permitting any one of them to lie dormant, unused, or unenjoyed, or to be over-exerted and injured. These laws thus teach us the benefit of well-directed industry, the evil of idleness, and the all-importance of temperance in the use of each of our faculties, physical, intellectual, and moral; and the lamentable error man has committed, through ignorance, in every department of human society. He has divided and subdivided the physical and intellectual faculties among various classes of individuals, while the laws of our nature have determined that the highest happiness human nature is formed to experience, must be derived from a temperate exercise of all its powers of enjoyment.

The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth laws teach us, by unfolding in the most plain and obvious manner, how the varied character of man has been formed; what practical measures must be adopted before man can become an intelligent and rational being: that he must be trained and educated from infancy to maturity, altogether different from what he has been, in order that he may be taught to acquire, without exception, kind feelings, superior dispositions, habits, manners, knowledge, and conduct; the difference between them being in variety and degree, but never in kind and quality. The character will be thus always formed to be good to the extent that the natural powers will permit it to be carried; but as we have been taught, by all the preceding laws, that no individual can form any part of his natural powers, none will be blamed, or will suffer, in consequence of possessing incurable natural defects; but, on the contrary, all will have pleasure in devising and applying means to diminish their inconvenience. By these laws, we are taught, that the proper training and education of the young of the rising generation is, by far, the most important of all the departments of the society, and will receive the first consideration, as soon as men can be found to be rational. That there is but one simple principle applicable to this practice, and it is, to remove all the vicious circumstances now existing in the laws, institutions, and cus-

toms which man, through ignorance, has introduced, in opposition to the laws of human nature, and, in their place, establish virtuous circumstances, that is laws, institutions, and customs, in unison with the divine or natural laws of human nature. These laws teach that all human wisdom consists alone in this mode of acting, and that whatever conduct man may adopt which differs from it, emanates from ignorance, and must be irrational.

And from these divine laws we learn generally, that man is now, and ever has been, a being essentially formed according to the nature, kind, and qualities of the circumstances in which he is permitted to live by his immediate predecessors. That when these circumstances are of an inferior and vicious character, man, of necessity, while under their influence, must become inferior and vicious; and when these circumstances are of a superior and virtuous character, in like manner, while under their influence, he must become superior and virtuous.

The great business of human life, in a rational state of society, will be, therefore, to acquire an accurate knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature, both previous and subsequent to birth; to prepare the means by which all shall be taught to understand the principles and practices by which each of the inferior or vicious circumstances, surrounding human life, may be withdrawn, in the shortest time, with the least inconvenience to all, and replaced by others which shall benefit every one.

The knowledge of this new code will thus speedily lead to a new life, in which all men will be regularly trained from infancy, to acquire the most valuable knowledge, with the best dispositions, habits, manners, and conduct.

Under this new dispensation, their characters will be so completely changed or new-formed, that, in comparison of what they have been, and are, they will become beings of a superior order; they will be rational in all their thoughts, words, and actions.

They will be indeed regenerated; for "their minds will be born again," and old things will be made to "pass away, and all to become new."

Thus, in our day, in part, but more fully and completely in the next succeeding generation, shall the prophecies of the partial knowledge of the past times be fulfilled; not, indeed, by disturbing the whole system of the universe, by any supposed fanciful miracles, effected in opposition to the unchanging laws of nature, but they will be accomplished by the regular progress of those laws, which, from the beginning, were abundantly sufficient to execute in due time all the purposes of that power from which these laws proceed.

The principles and practice thus developed of the new moral code, are a mere outline of the mighty change which it will effect; imperfect, however, as it is, it is yet sufficient to afford some idea of the advantages which a progress in real knowledge, derived from simple facts and almost self-evident truths, can give to the world.

These twelve primary laws of human nature also form a standard, by which moral and religious truth or falsehood can be unerringly

known; for, as truth must be one throughout the universe, no two truths can ever be, at any time or in any place, in opposition to each other, and therefore, all that shall be found, under every varied comparison, to be in unison with these divine laws, must be true, while all that is in discordance with them must be false. By the application, therefore, of this standard, the truth or falsehood of all religious and moral codes will be discovered, and the utility or injury of all institutions will be easily ascertained.

Were we now, in detail, to apply this divine standard of truth to all the past and present civil and religious codes, it would soon become manifest that they have, one and all, originated in times of great darkness, when men were too ignorant of their own nature, and of the most simple laws of nature generally, to detect imposition or error, however incongruous or contradictory one part of it might be to another.

That these religious and moral codes were produced at a period when men were without sufficient experience to "understand what manner of beings they were," and when the wildest and most incoherent flights of the imagination, of some deluded individuals, were received as the inspirations of some single or compound divinity. That these imaginary inspired individuals, themselves deluded by an overheated imagination, or intending to delude their followers, succeeded, at different times, in various parts of the earth, in promulgating by force, fraud, or ignorance, the most unnatural fables, and the most obscure and contradictory doctrines.

And, as such doctrines and fables could not at first be received, except through force, fraud, or ignorance, they have been the cause of shedding the blood of the most conscientious and best men in all countries,—of deluging the world with all manner of crime, and in producing all kinds of suffering and misery.

But, to apply this standard to these systems, fables, and doctrines, in detail, would be to proceed contrary to the plan laid down at the commencement. It would be, to arouse all the ignorant prejudices and bad feelings which these institutions have implanted in the human constitution, at so early an age as to induce many to believe that they really form part of our original organization.

Suffice it, however, to say, that these fables and doctrines, one and all, are in direct opposition to the twelve primary laws of human nature; that, consequently, they run counter to nature, and generally make virtue to consist in thinking and acting contrary to nature; and vice, in thinking and acting in unison with nature. Through these irrational conceptions of right and wrong, these religious laws and institutions have filled the world with innumerable useless, absurd, or horrible forms and ceremonies, instead of the simple practice of virtue in accordance with our nature. They have created such a multiplicity of folly, confusion, and irrationality, that there is no one "that knoweth or doeth what is right; no, not one."

For, instead of producing real knowledge, they perpetuate ignorance: instead of creating abundance, without any fear of want, they produce poverty, or the perpetual fear of it. Instead of permitting

the regular exercise of the propensities, formed by nature to promote health and happiness, they force them, by unnatural restraints, to become violent passions, which interfere with, and disturb every beneficial arrangement that can be devised for the amelioration of society. Thus engendering the worst feelings that can be implanted in human nature, instead of the best. They produce hypocrisy and every conceivable deception, instead of sincerity and truth without any guile; anger and irritation, instead of commiseration and kindness; war, instead of peace; religious massacres, instead of universal charity; hatred, suspicion, opposition, and disunion, instead of confidence, mutual aid, union, and affection, among the whole family of mankind.

And thus, by these contradictory fables and doctrines, with their innumerable useless and deteriorating forms and ceremonies, the earth has been filled with all manner of *strife* and *confusion*, even to the *mad* destruction of whole nations and tribes, creating miseries which it would exhaust language to describe.

And, so long as any of these fables and doctrines shall be taught, as divine truths, by men who have a supposed interest in their promulgation, and in their reception by the ignorant multitude; so long, we are compelled to believe, will all these vicious evils prevail and increase.

It is now evident to me, that all codes or laws, to be beneficial to mankind, and to be permanent, must be, without exception, in accordance with all the divine laws of human nature.

For when human laws are opposed to divine laws, confusion, crimes, and misery are sure to be produced. We have seen that all past and present human laws and institutions are in opposition to those laws, which experience has now ascertained to be the divine laws of human nature, and they have, therefore, undergone continual change, and produced continual disappointment.

When men shall acquire sufficient wisdom or experience to induce them to abrogate all existing laws and institutions which are unnatural, and to contend no longer against the divine laws of human nature, but shall agree to adjust their governments and institutions solely by those laws; then, and not before, will peace be established on earth, and good-will among mankind.

It is the popular belief which prevails, in all countries, in the supposed divine authority for these fables and doctrines, that alone keeps men now in ignorance of their nature,—of the divine laws of which it is organized at birth, and conducted to maturity and death. And this popular belief is produced in each of these countries, solely by the early and long-continued impressions, forced on the minds of the population by the most unnatural and artificial means.

For these impressions are forced into the young mind before the intellectual faculties are matured, when they are wholly incompetent to know good from evil, right from wrong, or truth from error.

It is thus that children are compelled to receive, as divine truths, the fables and doctrines prevalent in the country in which they happen to be born, and live. It is thus that men are made to deride and vilify those fables and doctrines, in opposition to their own, which are also taught in other countries as divine truths, of which it is the most

heinous crime even to doubt. It is thus that men are compelled to dislike, and hate, and contend against each other, even to death, for a difference of opinion respecting some of these fanciful fables or doctrines which were formed in them, without their knowledge, will, or consent. And all this evil and misery has been created, solely for the supposed benefit of the governing few, and of the priesthood. And it is thus that pagans, gentoos, and cannibals; that Hindoos, Chinese, Jews, and Mohametans are made at this day: and, my friends, it is thus, and thus *alone*, that you have been made, and that you are making your children, christians.

Mr. Owen read at this time, fifty minutes, and required a few minutes more to finish this part of his manuscript.

Mr. Chairman states, that, conformably to the preliminaries of the discussion, the addresses of the disputants must be co-extensive in duration.

MR. CAMPBELL rises,

Mr. Chairman—At this stage of the discussion, I do not wish to occupy many minutes in descanting upon the method of debate; but I must beg to be indulged in a few general remarks on the matter, or the *allegata*, of this discussion, and the *method* adopted by my opponent. I do cherish the most kind feelings towards Mr. Owen. I am sorry that controversial rules require me to call him my opponent. This term I use with perfect good-will towards him. I am satisfied that Mr. Owen is doing that which he conceives to be just and right. I take this occasion explicitly to declare that such is my conviction. At the same time I am just as fully persuaded, that the aberrations and mistakes into which he has fallen, are properly referrable, not so much to any want of verity in his documents, as to his loose and illogical reasonings upon what he is pleased to call "*facts*" and "*laws of nature.*"

My friend and opponent has stated some facts accordant with the experience of all mankind. To discriminate his real from his imaginary facts, is not now my object, so much as it is to advert to the method he adopts. His *manner*, rather than his *matter*, now claims my attention. His *manner* is certainly loose and declamatory; and as he does not exhibit any bearing or connexion existing between his *allegata*, and the affirmative proposition which he intends to prove by them, he necessarily imposes upon himself, as well as the audience. Therefore, in order to bring the *allegata* and *probata* of our logical disputation (for I trust this is to be a logical disputation) in a more orderly way before us, it will be necessary for me to advert to the original propositions which have been mutually acceded to, as constituting the topics of the discussion at present before us.

Here Mr. Campbell reads the propositions which Mr. Owen stood pledged to prove:

"TO THE CLERGY OF NEW ORLEANS.

"*Gentlemen*—I have now finished a course of lectures in this city, the principles of which are in direct opposition to those which you

have been taught it your duty to preach. It is of immense importance to the world, that truth upon these momentous subjects should be now established upon a certain and sure foundation. You and I, and all our fellow-men, are deeply interested that there should be no further delay. With this view, without one hostile or unpleasant feeling on my part, I propose a friendly, public discussion, the most open that the city of New Orleans will afford; or, if you prefer it, a more private meeting, when half a dozen friends of each party shall be present, in addition to half a dozen gentlemen whom you may associate with you in the discussion. The time and place of meeting to be of your own appointment.

"I propose to prove, as I have already attempted to do in my lectures, 1st, that all the religions of the world have been founded on the ignorance of mankind; 2. that they are directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; 3. that they have been, and are, the real source of vice, disunion, and misery of every description; 4. that they are now the only real bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family; and 5., that they can be no longer maintained, except through the ignorance of the mass of the people, and the tyranny of the few over that mass.

"With feelings of perfect good-will to you, which extend also in perfect sincerity to all mankind, I subscribe myself your friend in a just cause." "ROBERT OWEN."

"*Mrs. Herries, Chartres Street, New Orleans, Jan.* 28, 1828.

Now, said Mr. Campbell, it is surely illogical to say, that what will logically prove the first position, will logically prove the second. If each of these positions is to be distinctively asserted, the facts and reasonings supporting each, must be as dictinctively adduced. Each position requires a regular induction of facts and documents, to sustain it. There can be no separation of argument from fallacy by the clear, simple rules of pure, unsophisticated logic, if we deal in such loose and general declamations. Our argumentation might thus be drawn out *ad infinitum*, without the remotest probability of ever arriving at any logical conclusion. If truth is to be elicited, for the love of truth, let us close the door against the admission of all extraneous and irrelevant matter.

We have heard some positions, called "twelve facts," or "twelve fundamental laws," stated; but the question *(logice)* is, What are these "twelve facts" to *prove?* How are they logically to be *applied?* To the first, second, or to all these five positions? I must reiterate, that what may logically prove the first position, cannot, *ex necessitate*, prove the last; and that such facts and reasonings as may prove the last, cannot prove the first. We must have a regular logical connexion and dependance between the *allegata* and *probata*. Without this, how can our hearers or readers learn (for this is matter for the press) how much logical argument, how much fact, how much demonstration has been elicited in this discussion?

I now state another preliminary difficulty or objection to our *modus operandi*, which a feeling of self-respect requires me to have removed. It is not improbable, from the turn that things have taken, that there are numbers who at this moment misapprehend the true object of this controversy. From a letter which appeared in the *London Times* last October, it had been stated in the public prints in this city, that I had agreed to meet Mr. Owen, for an object, *toto cælo*, different from that contemplated in my acceptance of Mr. Owen's challenge.

In that communication, I was represented as being about to co-operate with Mr. Owen, in an attempt to expunge the abuses of all religions, and to form out of them all, a consistent and rational religion adapted to all ages and nations. But we shall permit this letter to speak for itself:

"LETTER IN THE LONDON TIMES.

"SIR—*I authorize you to state, that the paragraph which appeared in the Times, and some other London papers, a few days since, purporting to give a detail of my intended proceedings, and which was copied from the Scotsman newspaper, published in Edinburgh, was given to the public without my knowledge, and that it is incorrect in some important particulars. The object of the meeting between the clergy and myself, in April next, in the city of Cincinnati, state of Ohio, in the United States, is not to discuss the truth or falsehood of the Christian religion, as stated in the Scotsman, but to ascertain the errors in all religions which prevent them from being efficacious in practice, and to bring out all that is really valuable in each, leaving out their errors, and thus to form from them collectively, a religion wholly true and consistent, that it may become universal, and be acted upon conscientiously by all.*

"*Neither is it my intention to remove finally from this country, as stated in the Scotsman. On the contrary, I have purposely made arrangements to be, without inconvenience, in any part of the world in which my earnest endeavours to ameliorate the present condition of society shall appear to be most useful, as I do not entertain the least doubt of an entire change being near at hand, in the commercial, political, and religious polity of all nations.*

"*The very small amount of benefits that is effected for the great mass of mankind, with the extraordinary powers for ensuring general prosperity now possessed by society, united with the daily growing intelligence of the population in civilized countries, render, I think, this change not only unavoidable, but not very distant.*"

"ROBERT OWEN."

You will perceive that this representation of this discussion is very different from Mr. Owen's challenge, published in New Orleans, upon which the debate is based. I now put the question to my friend Mr. Owen, categorically, whether I ever did, directly or indirectly, accede to, or propose, a scheme of the character portrayed in this letter? This is a question which Mr. Owen will soon have an opportunity to

meet, and answer. Mr. Owen's simple affirmation or negation on this point will clear up the whole of this preliminary difficulty, and exonerate me from the calumnies of one of the editors of this city. And while on the subject of preliminary difficulties, it is necessary for me to remark, that there can be no development of logical truth without the nicest precision and co-intelligence in the use of our terms. It is a rule of logical interpretation, that all words are to be received and understood according to their most usual and known acceptation; and if there is to be any co-intelligence in the use of *terms* between Mr. Owen and myself, he must not establish a peculiar vocabulary of his own, but permit me to *understand* his terms according to their usual and most ordinary acceptation. Let me not be supposed destitute of a just contempt for mere *verbal* criticism or hypercriticism. I am not contending that, if the law of the state of Ohio should say, that whoever *drew blood* in Cincinnati should suffer death, that this law should be interpreted to apply to the case of a surgeon who opened the vein of a man who fell down in Main-street with a fit. But I *do* contend, that between Mr. Owen and myself, there must be, in the course of this discussion, (if it is to be governed by polemic laws) a co-intelligence, co-application, and co-acceptation of such terms as are of cardinal importance in the questions at issue. For example, the terms *divine, divinity, religion, virtue, moral law, created, Creator,* &c., &c., are to be found in the Christian vocabulary. These terms Mr. Owen uses; but in what sense? In the Christian acceptation, or in a private interpretation of his own? I may very appositely inquire of Mr. Owen, whether he has not a peculiar phraseology of his own, and whether he does not annex a very different meaning to these terms, *divine, divinity, religion, intellectual, moral, virtue, vice, &c.* from what he may rationally suppose is my acceptation of them, and that of *all* other christians? Is it candid or honest to use our terms in a sense different from that we have stipulated? I hold myself bound to render the most precise definition of any term which I may use, when called upon by my opponent; wherefore, I apprehend, that he cannot complain that I should mete out the same measure to him, and insist on the like precision and perspicuity on his part. If Mr. Owen will use bible terms, let him use them in the bible sense, or tell us honestly what meaning he attaches to them. He must either believe in the bible, or he conceives its language superior to all other language, or he would not impose upon our understanding by a parade of words, well approved in the vulgar sense, but rejected in his acceptation. But I confine not this inquiry, nor these remarks, to bible terms only, but to all the current terms in religious discussion, morality, and philosophy. Every thing depends upon precision and co-intelligence in the use of terms. I apprehend it is altogether unnecessary to elaborate this matter any further. Will Mr. Owen have the goodness to explain himself in this particular? The simple, naked question is, Does Mr. Owen use certain very significant terms, such as those specified, in the commonly received significance?

I would appeal to the gentlemen who moderate this discussion,

whether the exceptions I have taken to the course pursued by Mr. Owen, are not reasonable: whether the queries I have proposed to him for solution, are not pertinent and necessary; and, especially, I would request them to decide one important question of order, viz. Whether Mr. Owen is not logically bound to show some logical connexion between the matter he reads, and some one of the positions he has undertaken to prove. The same matter cannot be received in evidence of each position; it must apply to some *one* in particular; it cannot to *all*, unless they be identical positions.

Here it was suggested to Mr. Owen, (whether by the Board or by Mr. Campbell, the Reporter cannot recollect,) that all the arguments which he might be about to introduce in support of any one *of his positions might have exclusive relevance, and pertinence, and logical connexion, with that single position. The Board thought that Mr. Owen was,* logice, *bound to exhibit the logical connexion and dependance between his proofs and positions. (The Reporter believes that Mr. Campbell uttered the last sentence, and not the honorable Chairman.)**

Mr. Campbell proceeded—As matters now stand, every thing is perfectly intangible. There has been nothing presented that mortal man can logically prove or disprove: no matter whether he espouses the affirmative or negative of the proposition. And why? The *why* is as plain as the way to the parish church. The *why* is, that there is not a single *quod erat demonstrandum* logically before Mr. Owen, myself, or the audience. It must, I repeat, be obvious to men of the plainest understanding, that the clear and simple rules of unsophisticated logic, (indispensable to the elicitation of truth in all literary questions,) can never be brought to bear, or to apply in the present vascillating state of the premises. In this *chaotic* state of the premises, what can Mr. Owen's twelve fundamental laws, or, as he calls them, *facts*, prove, even admitting that they carried along with them, internal evidence of their own absolute verity?

Now, were I to admit that Mr. Owen's laws contained a great many facts, (and this I am by no means unwilling to admit,) yet, how can I save any one of these facts from the general wreck which must await his deductions, if he will not place himself *logically* in my power. Must I deny all Mr. Owen's philosophical and mathematical, or other scientific facts, in order that I may place myself in a logical predicament to take exceptions to any two out of the whole twelve?

If Mr. Owen attempt to prove a *metaphysical* position by those arguments which, in the nature of things, can only elucidate a truth in physics, how can I join issue with him? How can this be expected from me? The corollary of the whole matter is this, that if this matter be not *logically* discussed, it cannot be discussed at all in the manner its own intrinsic dignity requires, or in the manner which public expectation, and the deference the disputants owe to the public, would seem to require. And if Mr. Owen will not acknowledge him

* The honorable Chairman so decided.—Ed.

self amenable and conformable to those equitable laws which govern and control all argumentative discussion, it is impossible for me to dispute with him. It is impossible for me to reply to any thing he may advance in a shape so loose, so desultory, and so intangible.

There is no man, and perhaps, never was there a man, more distinguished for *moral courage* than Robert Owen. Let this moral courage now support him; and let him boldly, frankly, explicitly, and logically come out with those premises, if any he have, which I stand here prepared to combat. But, if Mr. Owen will not take an affirmative, logical position, nor sustain those which he promised to sustain, let him avow it, and then I will abandon my vantage ground, and take affirmative positions, subversive of his whole scheme, which I think are as logically immoveable as the rock of Gibraltar.

Mr. Owen well knows if he were to take up a mathematical position and fortify it, he would laugh at, and condemn every other weapon, but mathematical weapons. He would exclaim against all other proofs, illustrations, or reasonings, save mathematical axioms, deductions, and demonstrations. He would tell me that I might as reasonably expect to batter down mud or stone walls with roses, as to adduce Dr. Darwin's "Loves of the Plants" in refutation of a mathematical hypothesis.

Mr. Owen well knows that a mathematical discussion must be argued mathematically: so of botanical, geological, and astronomical questions, and so on, throughout the whole circle of the sciences.

Mr. Owen, in his essay and in his comments upon his fundamental laws of human nature, has brought forward mathematical illustrations; but does he expect to prove to your minds, the fallacy of *Christianity* by *mathematical* demonstrations, by the verity of those laws which establish the mathematical properties of triangles? I contend that the grand question at issue, is a question of fact, chiefly dependant upon historic evidence. Now, can we take a pair of brass compasses, and measure that evidence as we would measure the degrees of any given angle in mathematics; or by addition and subtraction prove it, as we would a question in arithmetic? We cannot measure historic evidences as if they were so many mathematical lines. If this be a mathematical, anatomical, or botanical question, let Mr. Owen, with that candour which he claims as so peculiar and almost exclusively his own—I say, let him at once openly avow which of these it is, and *then*, perhaps, we may be able to discuss its merits, either mathematically, botanically, or physiologically. I aver that the Christian religion is founded upon facts, upon veritable, historical, incontrovertible facts—facts *triable* by all the *criteria* known to the courts of law, in the ascertainment of what is or is not established in evidence—facts triable by all the historic criteria which any respectable historian of ancient or modern times has ever had for his pilots. These facts on which the Christian religion is predicated, either are, or are not, susceptible of proof. Let Mr. Owen impugn them, or put me to the proof. I say, again, rather let him do this, than read irrelevant matter, or loosely declaim against every thing in the general, and

disprove nothing in the detail. If this be a simple question of *fact*, it must be tried and examined as such. It would be unjust to try it before any other tribunal. Mr. Owen would not expect me to ascertain the number of cubic inches in any given tub of water, if he require me to measure it by a pedlar's ell; nor could he expect me to measure the length of a given web by a gallon. Were he to require me to prove his axiomatic mathematical truth that two and two make four, I might reply, that this was axiomatic or self-evident, and therefore incapable of proof, unless he was prepared to deny that this whole is made up of the sum of all its parts. But, suppose he could so *manœuvre* as to put me on the proof, would I go about it in like manner as I would essay to prove the *locale* of Washington's nativity, or as I would essay to analyze the moral qualities of that moral hero? Would I essay to prove an axiomatic truth in mathematics by the same process of reasoning which I would adopt to prove a *topical* fact, or a moral truth. My *caveat* is, that this is purely a question of fact, subject to all the common sense criteria by which all facts ever have been and ever must be tried, and that it is not triable by those criteria which we could rationally institute and recognize as the fair, true, and legitimate criteria of the verity of mathematical, botanical, geological, or even *moral* facts if you please. It is a naked, simple, historic question, and, *ex necessitate rei*, can only be passed through the *historical*, *logical*, and *philosophical* crucibles. Mr. Owen, I think, cannot deny this. As a lover of truth, he is bound to declare whether he conceives me obliged to defend my cause by historic and veritable *evidence*, or by mathematical demonstrations. Only let him tell me what are his rules of evidence; what species of evidence he conceives admissible, and what inadmissible: and then we may happen to light upon tangible and pertinent premises. But, as matters now stand, all must necessarily be air-built; for this plain reason, that there is not one hair's breadth of foundation for either of us to erect any other kind of superstructure upon.

My friend, Mr. Owen, must perceive that here is neither time, place, nor subject for vain, empty declamation. His own tact, discrimination, and knowledge of the world and its concerns, must indicate to him the necessity of our mutually confining this discussion within its legitimate and logical bounds and precincts.

Perhaps I have elaborated this matter to tediousness; but I claim a fair start in this race; and, in conclusion, as my half hour is out, I call on Mr. Owen for a *precise* and *technical* definition of his terms; and for an explanation of the misrepresentation in his letter to the editor of the London Times, if, indeed, that was his letter.

Here Mr. Owen rises to meet and answer Mr. Campbell.

Mr. OWEN said—I see no necessity of replying, at present, to any part of my friend's last address, save so much as relates to the communication which appeared in the London Times newspaper. In regard to that letter, I have only to say, it is my letter, I wrote it, and sent it to the press. When that letter was written, it did not, nor does

it now, appear to me that I stand pledged to prove the fallacy of the Christian religion, separate from all other religions. To me, they all appear one and the same in principle and in general practice, except the difference in the rites and ceremonies, which I deem mere forms. I believe that my words are, that *all* religions of the *world* are founded in error—the Christian religion is embraced in the word *all*. Mr. Campbell should not presume that I have already stated all that may be brought forward, if more shall be required. I think Mr. Campbell will be satisfied after a little while, that I have adhered closely to the spirit of the engagement. When I shall have presented the whole of my views, Mr. Campbell will have an opportunity of discovering the connexion of each part with the whole, and of making a reply accordingly. I have no wish that any thing abstract or metaphysical should make its way into this discussion, to render it too complex for plain men to understand. Let us have nothing to distract our attention from plain and simple truth, and, if possible, from facts and just reasoning from them. In the course of this discussion, I can assure Mr. Campbell that I have not the least desire to avail myself of any advantage which might possibly accrue to me by reason of our having different vocabularies, or of our discordant acceptation of terms; but I shall pursue a straight-forward path to endeavour to elicit truth, and shall explain, where necessary, the meaning which I annex to my letters. As it would be, however, unfair to expect Mr. Campbell, or any other person, to reply, off-hand, to the mass of matter that will be presented, I wish him to take home my manuscript, and to have time allowed him to consider them at his leisure. I do not desire to take any advantage in the present discussion; my sole object is, if possible, to discover truth for the benefit of all.

Here Mr. Owen read the letter to the editor of the London Times, or a part of it.

Now, said Mr. Owen, I believe I have to show, that not only the Christian religion, but also all other religions are founded in ignorance, &c.; if such be the case, I hope to make the truth so plain that all may understand it, and derive the practical benefit from it, which it is my sole object to produce.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—that the object stated in that letter was to elicit all that is valuable in each religion, and to reject all that is false. Now, if it be Mr. Owen's object, by this meeting, to form a new religion, extracted from all religions, and partaking of the excellencies of each, and rejecting all that is erroneous in each of them, I can only say that this is a very different meeting from any that I have ever contemplated. But, I ask Mr. Owen, continued he, did I agree to such an undertaking?

Mr. Owen said—Mr. Campbell agreed to this meeting in the exact terms of my challenge to the clergy of New Orleans, and to no other. But this must elicit all that is true in the principles of all religions, and thus bring out all that is perfect in each.

Mr. Campbell adds—I only wish it to be distinctly understood that

I have never even connived at a convention having such an object in view as stated in the London Times.

Here the honourable Chairman rose and stated, that it was the unanimous opinion of the Board, that the disputant holding the affirmative of any proposition, should distinctively state that proposition; and when stated, that then it should be discussed distinctively, and that all the arguments or demonstrations adduced should be connected with that single proposition, until nothing new could be offered; and when one of the propositions was thus discussed, the second should be treated in the same manner, and in the order stated. In the discussion of the great proposition, whether all religions are not founded in error, the Board would suggest that the discussion might be shortened by narrowing down the proposition, which could be done by substituting the word Christian and Jewish religions for all the religions in the world. In this way, the party holding the negative, might bring all his arguments to bear upon that particular religion which he wished to advocate. The Board have no idea of dictating in this matter, but they merely wish to suggest that the discussion might be shortened by narrowing the propositions as proposed.

To this suggestion of the board, Mr. Owen replied—That, to alter the nature of the discussion, would be rather to increase the length of it. - If, said he, I prove all religions to be erroneous, I prove the Christian religion to be founded in error.

Here MR. OWEN *commenced reading his address.*

You are not, however, to be blamed on this account, any more than the cannibals, gentoos, or pagans. You and they have been placed, from infancy, without your knowledge, will, or consent, within circumstances, not of your formation, which have made each what they are, and all are alike objects of deep commiseration to those who have been permitted to discover the thick darkness of error, which, at this day, veils the most valuable knowledge from men, and, through ignorance thereof, keeps them in sin and misery. And it is the universal belief in these fables and doctrines, thus forced into the infant mind, that is now the only real obstacle to the formation of a society, over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, of unlimited sincerity, and of pure affection.

Hitherto, however, all governments, from the circumstances in which they have existed, have had but two primary objects to attain and secure. The first, to keep the governed or the great mass of the people in the greatest possible ignorance of human nature, and the second, to devise safe means by which the largest amount of their labour could be obtained from them for the use of the governing party. The first object has been always attained by the aid of the priesthood, who have been appointed to instruct the people in some of these fables and doctrines, which, however they may differ from, or be opposed to, those taught in other countries, all governments agree to call *the true religion derived immediately by some revelation or other, from their chief divinity or divinities.*

By these means, the faculties of memory and imagination have been highly cultivated in those countries which are deemed the most civilized, while the superior intellectual faculties, when applied to acquire a correct knowledge of human nature, have been held in no estimation; but, on the contrary, their cultivation for this purpose has been discouraged by every unfair means that cunning could invent, and power apply.

And the success of these measures has been so complete, that in all countries, at this day, man is more ignorant of himself than of almost any thing else by which he is surrounded.

Up to this period, however, no government could pursue any other course with safety, or with the least prospect of being permanent. The circumstances did not exist to permit them to do it. For the population of the world must be governed by force, through their ignorance, or by great justice, intelligence, and good feelings.

There is no permanent stopping place between these two extremes, and the best disposed governments have often felt this truth. Until now, the knowledge and the means to govern a numerous population, through intelligence and affection, did not exist.

Previous to any successful attempt, it was necessary that experience should develop two sciences: first, the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature; the second, the science of the means of creating unlimited wealth, and of its equal distribution.

By the knowledge of these two sciences, properly applied to practice, all men may be easily taught and trained, from infancy, to become intelligent, independent, and happy, and to be governed without any difficulty, through their affections.

These two sciences are now known sufficiently to be applied, with success, to the population of all countries; and, upon investigation, it will be found to be the interest of all governments, to prepare the means, without delay, by which the people, in their respective countries, may be taught this knowledge, in such a manner that all shall be benefited, and none shall be injured.

By these measures being adopted, and openly and honestly made known to the public, all collision between the governments and people will be avoided; all attempts at future revolutions will cease; the governors and governed will be actively engaged in this good and great work; mutual confidence will be acquired, and peace and goodwill will every where prevail.

Were any parties so ignorant of their own interest or happiness, as to desire to withhold this happy change from their fellow-beings, they could not now effect it, except by an increase of the tyranny of the few over the many.

For the knowledge of these sciences has gone forth, never again to be recalled, or to become unknown, by any effort man can make. They are now actively passing from mind to mind, and from country to country; and no human power can stay their course, until they shall pervade all countries and every mind.

Thus, as it appears to me, I have proved that all the religions of

the world have originated in error; that they are directly opposed to the divine unchanging laws of human nature; that they are necessarily the source of vice, disunion, and misery; that they are now the only obstacle to the formation of a society, over the earth, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human race. And, also, that these district religions can be no longer maintained in any part of the world, except by the perpetuation of the ignorance of the mass of the people, and of the continued tyranny of the few over the many.

Mr. Owen having finished reading, he remarked, that—

In consequence of the remarks which had fallen from Mr. Campbell, it becomes necessary to state, generally, that, in my opinion, it is perfectly useless to go into the examination of the verity of any or all the religions against which I am contending; for, if I can show that man is a being entirely different from what all those religions assume him to be, I apprehend that I shall thereby prove all that is incumbent on me to establish. And I trust that I shall be able to show to this assembly, that man is a being to whom no religion, ever yet invented, can apply.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—

Before the discussion intermits, I should like to make a few remarks. I feel much interested in having this discussion brought to a satisfactory issue. Mr. Owen and myself have given birth to large and liberal expectations from this discussion. There are a great many persons who honestly doubt the truths of religion; and these honest sceptics, who are without sufficient evidence to determine their minds, have come hither with a view to be edified by the discussion. Surely, then, we have an object of great importance before us. What now is our progress towards this great object? Mr. Owen read us an essay upon what he calls twelve matters of fact, or divine laws of human nature: suppose now we were to admit all these twelve facts, does this admission oblige us to accede to all the laws and deductions he may superinduce on these facts? By no means. Is Mr. Owen's loose declamation to settle or unsettle the faith of any one? Has he introduced either argument or proof? Who can say that he has? Nevertheless, it appears to me, that Mr. Owen really thinks he has established, in evidence, every thing which he has undertaken to prove. I have a strong misgiving that Mr. Owen is about to give us a view or theory of the world, as foreign to the appropriate subject now before this meeting, as would be the history of a tour up the Ganges. I repeat, that there are, in this assembly, some doubting christians that require to be confirmed, and some sceptics to be corrected. To the confirmation and conviction of such auditors, all our reasonings should tend. All this time I should have been proving or disproving some position bearing upon the great question at issue. Instead of this, I must hear Mr. Owen reading upon a variety of topics, having no legitimate bearing upon the subject matter before us.

During the recess before us, I could wish that the gentlemen mode-

rators would agree upon some course, and compel us to pursue it. Shall I be permitted to speculate abstractly upon the possibility or impossibility of any human being, in any age, having the power to invent any religion? Will it be in order, for me to introduce some affirmative propositions in case Mr. Owen proceeds to read as he has done, essays on human nature, civil government, or a new order of political society? I think I am able to prove that man cannot invent any, even the most extravagant religion in the world. In all religions, I conceive, that there are certain ideas, for the invention of which, man, viewed philosophically, cannot be supposed to possess any powers. Shall I be at liberty to prove this by facts, equal in strength to say the least of them, to any one of those on which Mr. Owen predicates his theory of human nature? I merely ask for permission to take this course on condition that Mr. Owen refuses to be confined to the discussion of his own propositions. If I am permitted to take this course, I will attempt to demonstrate that man is in possession of powers never developed: never even glanced at, in any one of Mr. Owen's twelve divine laws. I will endeavour to show, that in all religions there are ideas, terms, and phrases so supernatural, that no human mind could originate them, according to any system of philosophy taught in the world. If this permission cannot logically be granted, according to the stipulated rules of the discussion, I ask what part of Mr. Owen's address am I to reply to? For I do confess that Mr. Owen has not presented to my mind any thing for it to take hold of, having any argumentative bearing upon any one of his five positions. I confess myself too obtuse to discover the logical bearing of what he has read. I hope, upon his first position, we shall be able, in the afternoon, to take up the subject in a more logical form. For I am now determined to present, with your permission, to this audience, such a body of evidence as shall put it out of the power of any honest inquirer to doubt the truth and divine origin of Christianity.

Here Mr. Campbell stated that the time had expired, and moved an adjournment, which was carried.

Monday, April 13th, 1829.

Afternoon.—The honourable *Chairman* rose, and stated, that the Moderators had felt it their duty to re-examine the challenge given, and the acceptance. We find, said he, that the challenge contains five distinct propositions, separately stated. The first is, that all religions have been founded in ignorance. It is the opinion of the Moderators, that the discussion this afternoon ought to be confined to that proposition, until the subject be exhausted. Then the second proposition should be taken up. It is, therefore, expected that the discussion this afternoon will be founded on, and confined to, this first proposition, viz: "that all religions are founded in ignorance."

Mr. Campbell stated to the chairman that Mr. Owen wished to be informed when his half hour expired.

Mr. Owen rises with the Christian Baptist in his hand, containing the particulars of the challenge and acceptance.

MR. OWEN said—

My friends, I am now here to prove that all the religions ever known from the beginning of time to the present hour, have originated in the general and universal ignorance of mankind. I conclude, that to do this at this period, would be unnecessary, if men had been taught to know what manner of beings they were; how they were formed at birth; and how their characters were afterwards produced for them. Had this knowledge been born with man, it would have been impossible that any one of these religions could have existed for one hour. I shall endeavour to show, that man is a being entirely different from what he has been supposed to be, by any religion ever invented, and that none of these religions apply in any degree to a being formed as man is. And to prove this, we require the aid of no authority derived from testimony from the darkest ages of ignorance, from a period of the world when no reliance can be placed upon any doubtful testimony. We have, on the contrary, only to appeal to ourselves and the facts which exist here at this moment, which exist wherever human beings can be found. I have stated, as a fundamental law of human nature, that man, at birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization; that he has not been permitted to create any part of his faculties, qualities, or powers, physical or mental. Now, if we are so formed that we have not any kind of will or control in the formation of ourselves; of our physical propensities; of our intellectual faculties and qualities; surely we cannot be held responsible for what they have been made for us. How can an infant be made responsible for that of which it was entirely ignorant? Any religion, therefore, which pre-supposes man bad by nature, must surely be founded in utter ignorance of human nature. I do not imagine it to be necessary to take up much of your time in proving that an infant at birth is quite incapable of knowing any thing about his organization or natural capabilities. And yet his character and conduct proceed essentially from them; they are the only foundation of his virtues and vices. Over the formation of these, however, he has had no control, nor in the forming of any thing that belongs to himself. No being, therefore, so created, can ever be made to become responsible for his nature. It is said that there is a difference between men; and this is true: for some men are evidently created superior, and some inferior, in certain natural qualities; but, whether inferior or superior, they were not designed or executed by the individuals possessing them, and they cannot, therefore, deserve merit or demerit for having them, or be made, without great injustice, responsible for them. Every parent, and every individual who has the power of observation, know that there are no two persons born precisely alike; that there is almost every kind of variety in the formation of the human being at birth. They know also, that the individuals themselves could not make the smallest part of this difference; that the children could have no influence whatever in giving to themselves what are called good or bad, superior or inferior, qualities. Let us suppose two infants; one the best, and one the worst, in nature. As neither could make himself,

what are we to say respecting each? shall we praise the one and blame the other? shall we make each responsible for the conduct that must flow from these two different organizations, if left to themselves without culture? I repeat, did either infant make his propensities weak or strong, superior or inferior? If not;—if there ought to be any difference in our conduct towards these infants as they grow to maturity, it ought to be shown in our greater commiseration for the inferior. This ought to be the feeling which all should possess, and which all will possess, when they shall understand what manner of beings they are. If one of our species be made inferior to the other, it is our duty and our interest not only to commiserate him, but to endeavour to remedy the defect of his nature; and when we shall know ourselves we shall so act, because no other conduct will appear to us to be rational. Well, then, if the infant at birth did not make himself, and if the difference discoverable between infants was not made by themselves, surely we cannot say that the infant is responsible either for the one or the other. I feel it unnecessary to take more time to prove the truth of these two laws, or the obvious deductions which every one who reflects must draw from them. And if these things be as I have stated, all religions are founded in error; for their dogmas are in direct opposition to these self-evident truths, and the deductions made from them. These laws of our nature, then, must be erroneous, or all religions are untrue, and founded in ignorance. The third divine law of our nature is, that each individual is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within the influence of circumstances which operate irresistibly upon his peculiar organization; and these circumstances thus stamp their own general character upon the infant and the man; yet the influence of these circumstances is modified by the peculiar organization of the individual subjected to them. Now, I do not suppose that it will be necessary to enter into any very elaborate argument to prove this law.

Is there, I ask, in this varied assembly, composed of individuals born in so many different and distant countries, one individual who can say that he determined the period *when* he should be born, of *whom*, in *what* country, and who should be his instructer? Did any of you determine which, of all the religions of the world you should be taught to believe, or whether you should be born a prince or a peasant? Whether you should be well or ill educated, according to our ideas of education? Or, is there any one here who can suppose it possible that he has ever had the slightest control over any one of these circumstances? Many individuals of this audience have been born in very different parts of Europe and America, and have unavoidably received their local impressions accordingly. But suppose we had all been born amongst a tribe of thorough-going cannibals, would we not in that case have been sure to have experienced great delight in killing and eating our enemies? But if we had been taken soon after our birth to India, and been taught to become gentoos, how many of us could have resisted acquiring a character that would have compelled us to shudder with horror even at the idea of injuring a

fly? Probably not one in this assembly: I imagine no one will doubt it; and if true, does it not prove, beyond all doubt, that we are not the formers of our own character; that we are beings irresponsible for what we are: irresponsible for our feelings, opinions, and conduct? Does it not prove that we are the *effects of causes, irresistible in their influence?* Who amongst us decided that he should be taught to speak English; be instructed in the Christian religion, and belong to his particular sect? If we had happened to have been born in the great circle of Mohammedism, what would have been our character compared with what it now is? And it is not our fault or our merit that this was not our lot in life. No, my friends, we are to all intents, the effects of causes to us irresistible; and when we shall be taught to know what manner of beings we are, this will be to us the most inestimable of all knowledge; it will enable us to open a road for the removal of all the poverty, ignorance, disunion, vice, and crime which every where abound: it will, moreover, open a direct road to enable us to act upon the rising generation in such a manner, that there shall not be one individual trained to remain inferior in society. We shall discover a mathematical mode of training the rising generation, by which they shall be prevented from receiving one error, one bad habit, or acquiring one injurious passion. Yes: this knowledge of ourselves will lead us to know precisely how all this is to be accomplished, and speedily too. But it will effect yet more: it will render it utterly impossible for one human being to become angry with another, or to feel any irritation or displeasure towards any one. All our irritation against our fellow-men arises from our entire ignorance of what manner of beings we all are. Where is there any just cause for anger amongst men? Does my brother differ from me in language, colour, religion, or manners? Did he decide upon the formation of any one of these? Does he, in consequence, differ from me in habits, feelings, conduct? Was he the framer, or is he the controller, of these feelings, habits, and conduct? No: these have all been forced upon him in like manner as mine have upon me. And whenever we shall become only slightly rational, there will be no longer either anger or irritation, or opposition, or disunion, among the human family. Are not the principles which can produce these results deserving our most serious investigation? When they shall be fully developed and well understood, there will be no longer any doubt or uncertainty as to the proper conduct to pursue in all the affairs of life. No fanciful notions under the name of any religion will be permitted to divide man from man, and render the whole race irrational and miserable. In your commercial proceedings, an entire change will take place. A knowledge of the best interests of society will introduce a new practice, and supersede all attempts to buy cheap, and sell dear. There will be no more covert enmity amongst those who are now, by their training and education, endeavouring to grasp at, and monopolize, all benefits to themselves. Then the heart and the hand will be always open: then there will be no necessity for any one to spend all his time, and exert all his faculties, to provide the means of existence for

himself and family, while those who do nothing, or worse than nothing, live upon his labour. This grievous evil will altogether cease. The fundamental principle of human nature stated this forenoon was, "that each individual at birth is so organized, that in infancy he is liable to imbibe false and injurious notions, &c., or their opposites, and to retain them with great tenacity." In proof of this, we have only to notice the details of the measures by which sects, and parties, and conditions of mankind are formed and produced. They are compelled to receive the impressions from the persons and circumstances around them; and after the mental and physical habits have been some time formed, they then often cannot part with them again, except by much labour and suffering. Man has heretofore been a mere passive subject, obliged to receive any impressions which have been made upon his senses; and whatever they may be, whether good or bad, true or false, they are not the impressions, correctly speaking, of the individual, but solely the influence of external circumstances, acting upon an organization which he had no hand in framing, and which he does not understand, and for which, therefore, it would be an act of the greatest injustice to reward or punish.

We have been taught so much error, and have gone, in consequence, so far astray, that it will be a considerable time before our ideas can be made consistent and rational; but when this shall be done, it will be discovered that there exists no cause in nature why any human being should suppress the expression of sensations which he has been compelled to receive. When we shall know ourselves, truth only will be the language of mankind. Neither young nor old, male nor female, will then discover any reason why they should not speak their thoughts and feelings as their nature compels them to receive them.

It is man's ignorance of his nature that has alone produced falsehood:—all the falsehood that has ever existed in the world emanates directly and alone from this source. The religions of the world prevent men from investigating the laws of nature;—they give quite a different direction to men's thoughts, and render them unfit to commence a calm and unprejudiced investigation of themselves. "Know thyself," was the most valuable precept that ever ancient or modern oracle has delivered. And when we shall all be taught to know ourselves, then, and then only, can the world become intelligent, virtuous, and happy. There is nothing to prevent the immediate commencement of a very superior and happy state of society, but the present universal ignorance of mankind of themselves. When you retire from this meeting, you may be assured there is no subject which can occupy your thoughts at all comparable in importance to the serious investigation of what you yourselves are. This is a subject that would be fairly open to every one, except for the early prepossessions which have been imbibed. When you shall be released from the errors upon this subject, that all religions have been forced into the human mind, you will be relieved from a state of darkness, of which now you have not the means of forming any adequate conception.

Now, indeed, you see nothing as it is: you see only as through a glass darkly; and a glass so dark, that no rays of pure light can pass through it.—[*Half hour out.*]

MR. CAMPBELL *rises.*

Mr. Chairman—We shall again indulge ourselves in a few general strictures upon the data before us. With regard to the terms in which Mr. Owen has couched his first position, we have a few remarks to offer. Mr. Owen distinctly asserts that all religions are founded in ignorance. Whether this be a recommendation or disparagement of all religions, is a question of doubtful decision from the words of the position. Let us try this position with a reference to our existing institutions: all schools and colleges have been founded and predicated on the ignorance of man: all testimony has been predicated on the ignorance of man: all the books that have ever been printed, are predicated on the ignorance of man. Are not these facts? But does the existence of these facts cast any opprobrium, obloquy, or disparagement upon books, human testimony, or seminaries of instruction? These terms, then, have nothing in their nature or import, calculated to engender a prejudice against religion.

I do believe that all religion is predicated upon ignorance, using that term according to its legitimate import. And this very consideration proves the necessity of religion. If men were perfectly intelligent with regard to the relations in which they stand to matter, spirit, a future state, &c., there would be no occasion for the institution of any sort of religion. "If," said a distinguished writer, "our reason were always clear and perfect, unruffled by passion, unclouded by prejudice, unimpaired by disease or intemperance, we should need no other guide, in physics or in morals, but the light of nature. But every man finds the contrary in his own experience: that his reason is corrupt, and his understanding full of ignorance and error; and hence is derived to us the necessity of an immediate and direct revelation. If, then, men need a religion at all, they need it because of their ignorance. It was instituted to remove human ignorance, and the necessity of supernatural revelation has ever been predicated on that ignorance." The difficulties my friend, Mr. Owen, presents on the subject of human responsibility, are of no ordinary magnitude. The most profound philosophers of ancient and modern times, have all differed upon this knotted point, "How far does necessity affect human character?" But Mr. Owen's argument ascribes every thing to an irresistible necessity; which necessity, after all, is the operation of a blind and undesigning nature. But let us admit, for the sake of argument, that we could not trace how far we are the creatures of necessity. Suppose we were to fail in showing how far we are irresistibly influenced by extrinsic causes, would this failure, I ask, be sufficient to discredit the whole body of evidence which establishes the truth of Christianity? How many necessarians are there who believe in supernatural revelation? I know that we may fall so deeply in love with a favourite idea, that our passion may transport us far beyond

the limits of common sense and sober reason. But if we are to be governed by common sense, in objects of sense, let us learn a lesson from the experience we have of our liability to err, even when we have the evidence of sense. Errors may exist on subjects of sensible demonstration, which, though discoverable by the senses, often elude detection. It is an axiom in mathematics, that two parallel lines, though projected *ad infinitum*, can never meet in one point. Now this is certainly and evidently true. But where is the man living who, by his eye, or by the aid of the most perfect glasses, can, at one glance, decide whether any seemingly parallels, are perfect mathematical parallels? You might draw them out to a great length, and yet they might not seem to approximate; but it is still possible that, if sufficiently projected, they might, at some remote point, form an angle. How hazardous, then, with our imperfect vision, to affirm that any two lines are perfectly parallel. And yet this is a sensible object, and an object of which we take cognizance by the most perfect and delightful of all our senses. Now, we all confess, that there are inherent difficulties in the ascertainment of abstract metaphysical truths, much more difficult to overcome than those difficulties which appertain to sensible objects. As, then, our mental vision is still more imperfect than our corporeal vision, does it become us at once to decide, with an air of infallibility, a question purely abstract, or to affirm that, in comparing two abstract ideas, they do, or do not agree? How much more irrational to predicate a whole system of scepticism upon a dogma of one metaphysical school, which is more difficult to apprehend than the parallelism of two given straight lines, seemingly running in the same direction? Now, when two lines, seemingly parallel, are presented to my eye, and I cannot decide by a mere glance of the eye, there are other means of deciding such a question, which cannot be applied to a question purely metaphysical; for there is no scale nor dividers by which we can actually measure the agreement or disagreement of abstract ideas. If now, in sensible objects, such difficulties may, and do occur, would it be common sense in me to conclude that an abstract metaphysical position is at variance with experience and common sense, because I cannot set about to prove or disprove it as I would set about to prove or disprove the perfect parallelism of two mathematical lines?

If we are not able to draw the line of demarcation between necessity and free agency, are we therefore to upset all the experience of man in relation to the existence of a God; of a spiritual world; a future state; and every thing connected with the Christian religion?

But we have facts and arguments to prove that, to a very considerable extent, we are not the pure creatures of circumstances. My opponent is himself a living refutation of his own doctrine. He was born in Great Britain, consequently was bred in a state of society very different from that which he is so anxious to induce. Now, the question is, Did his early circumstances make him such a man as he is, or originate those ideas which he is now divulging through Europe and America? He ascribes every thing to circumstances. But he

talks of happiness. Now, let me ask, Has he ever seen such a set of circumstances as would make a man perfectly happy? How did he come by his peculiar ideas? They are the creatures not of circumstances, but of a warm and overheated imagination. This he may never see, owing to the obduracy of that hard-hearted necessity which presides over his destiny. I am willing to make very ample concessions to the doctrine of circumstances. It is a very specious and plausible doctrine, and many honest minds have been deceived by its plausibility. The curious and absurd intellectual aberrations; the strange mental hallucinations of philosophy and system-mongers are unaccountable. Hobbs reasoned himself into a perfect conviction that there was no such thing as right or wrong; that there was no moral difference in actions. Hume convinced himself that there was nothing else in the world but ideas and impressions. Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, thoroughly persuaded himself that matter did not exist: and he framed a beautiful and ingenious theory, of the fallacy of which there was no convincing him. Reed, in his *Essay on the Human Mind*, states that some of the old philosophers, (philosophists I should call them) went so far as to doubt of their own existence. Descartes was one of these. He would not believe in his own existence until he had proved it to his own satisfaction. And how think you did he prove it? Why, said he, *Cogito, ergo sum.* Now this was proof, just as illogical as if he had said, "I have an eye or an ear, and therefore I am." Yet this proof satisfied his mind. It is said of Pyrrho, the father of the Elean philosophy, that so incredulous was he in the testimony of his senses, that he would not get out of the way of any danger, however imminent; that his friends had to take him out of the way of danger; for he would not turn away from the brink of a precipice. But there is no stopping-place to such philosophical reveries. It is not strange that Mr. Owen should diverge so far from the beaten track of common sense. Many philosophers have done so before him. Some of them have gone still farther than he. His case is by no means singular.

I am quite willing to allow that there is great speciousness in the doctrine of necessity. This we may yet find necessary to expose. I am willing to concede many of Mr. Owen's points; such as, we cannot help being born black or white: we cannot choose the period or place of our birth, nor control the circumstances of our nurture and education. But, does it follow, as a logical conclusion, that, because all men did not create themselves, *ergo*, all religions are founded in ignorance? This would seem to be the logical tendency of Mr. Owen's ratiocinations. Godwin, a highly-gifted writer, runs at random pretty much after the same fashion; but he was constrained to stop some miles on this side of materialism. An insuperable difficulty occurred to him in the doctrine of causation. Godwin, in his reasonings on causation, discovered that it was impossible for him to ascertain what degree of power, *thought* exercised over the movements of matter. After exploring the whole area of materialism,

and the popular doctrine of necessity, he discovered that it was most philosophic to make the following confessions or concessions:

"Of the origin of the faculty of thought, we are wholly uninformed. It is far from certain, that the phenomenon of motion can any where exist where there is no thought. The motions of the animal and vegetable systems are the most inexplicable of all motions, simple or complex. Thought appears to be the medium of operation in the material system. The materialists make thought the effect of matter or motion impressing us; but are not these effects again causes? Consequently, thought becomes the cause of the movements and changes of matter. We are universally unable to discover the ground of necessary connexion. It is possible that as a numerous class of motions have their constant origin in thought, so there may be no thoughts altogether unattended with motion. There are but two ways in which thought can be excited in the mind: 1st, by external impressions; and 2nd. by the property which one thought existing in the mind is found to have of introducing another by some link unknown."*

These cardinal points, dimly apprehended, saved him from the vortex of materialism, and afford some wholesome admonitions to our modern wise men who are dressing up anew the long-exploded doctrines of *fate* and *materialism.*

But, to return to the doctrine of circumstances: we have proof, deduced from the experience of every man, that we are not always controlled by the circumstances around us.

Do we not originate new ideas giving birth to new systems? Carry the influences of circumstances, according to Mr. Owen's doctrine, out to its legitimate consequences, and we must cease to be progressive beings; there, is a stop put to our progressive improvability. But it behooves Mr. Owen, before he can establish the truth of his positions, to account for a variety of principles in human nature, in direct opposition to his whole theory. Of these we shall hereafter speak.

I have been very much pleased with the perusal of my friend's "twelve fundamental laws of human nature," which he handed me during the intermission. I have very little objection to any of them, save that which undertakes to settle the amount of influence which the will exercises over our belief. But this is a question which I am not about to agitate at present. But the admission of Mr. Owen's "facts" does not involve an admission of all the reasonings and deductions superinduced upon them. But these very "facts" demonstrate that Mr. Owen has lost sight of the creature man, and of the relations in which he exists and acts. He never takes into view the intellectual endowments of man. No analysis of the powers or capabilities of the human mind has been attempted. It is the mere animal, the external case, which is the mere habitation of the intelligent principle, which engrosses his whole thought and theory. All that Mr. Owen has said of man, might, with the same logical pro-

* Godwin, vol. i. p. 404–420.

priety, be affirmed of a goat. There is scarcely one of these twelve laws that is not as true of the irrational part of the animal creation as it is of man. According to these "divine laws of human nature," man is as effectually deprived of all data whereon to form a judgment, or even a conjecture concerning his primitive origin or future destiny, as is the horse or dog. Now, in laying the foundation of any science or theory regarding the nature of man, we must take into view the whole premises, as well in relation to mind as matter; to things future as to things present. Every rational theory on the nature of man must be predicated, *de rebus spiritualibus*, as well as *de rebus naturalibus*, upon his spiritual, as well as his animal endowments; otherwise a theory predicated on only a part of man, must be defective, and at variance with all experience.

Errors of this kind are very common among theorists. Each of them has some favourite principle, by which he resolves every thing, and to which all his reasonings tend. But every rational theory of man must be predicated upon a strict analysis of the whole man, moral and physical; upon an analysis of his mental endowments as well as his physical faculties; upon an analysis of every thing pertaining to the man—soul, body, and spirit. But these "twelve facts" only prove that all our ideas are the result of mere sensation; that they are acquired, accumulated, and imposed by the influence of external circumstances.

We may yet examine whether such a theory can be predicated upon the principles alleged. Locke, Hume, and all the mental philosophers, have agreed upon certain premises. Mirabeau himself agrees with Locke and Hume. They all agree that all our original ideas are the result of sensation and reflection; that is, that the five senses inform us of the properties of bodies; that our five senses are the only avenues through which ideas of material objects can be derived to us; that we have an intellectual power of comparing these impressions thus derived to us through the media of the senses; and this they call reflection. Admitting this theory to be correct, (Mr. Owen has doubted it,) but if it be correct, that all our simple ideas are the result of sensation and reflection, how can we have any idea, the archetype of which does not exist in nature?

But the question is, Whence are the ideas, which we call religious, derived to us? Neither our sensations, impressions, nor their combinations, have ever been able to shadow out an archetype of a God or Creator, producing something out of nothing. All our ideas concerning creative power have exclusive reference to changes wrought upon created matter. From the preceding sketch, the idea of changing a shapeless piece of wood into a chair, is easily derived to us; it is simply an idea of a change wrought upon the raw material, that being created to the hand of the maker. But, we have an idea of God, of a Creator, a being who has produced the whole material universe by the bare exhibition of physical creative power. This idea, we contend, can have no archetype in nature, because we have never seen any thing produced out of nothing. But we have the idea of the existence

of this creative power. It is to be found in almost all religions. If we appeal to traditionary or historic evidence, we shall find that all nations had originally some ideas of the existence of a Great First Cause. But the difficulty is, how did the idea originate? By what process could it have been engendered? Where was the archetype in nature to suggest (consistently with the analysis of the human mind) the remotest idea of a Creator, or any other idea concerning spiritual things? Locke and Hume admit the almost unbounded power of the imagination. It can abstract, compound, and combine the qualities of objects already known, and thus form new creatures *ad infinitum.* But still it borrows all the original qualities from the other faculties of the mind, and from the external senses. Imagination can roam at large upon the properties of animals, and by abstracting from one and adding to another, and thus combining their respective qualities, it creates to itself images unlike any thing existing in nature. Hence the Centaur, the Sphinx, and the Griffin. But our ideas of all the constituents of these creatures of imagination are derived from our senses and reflections. There is no limit to its vagaries; for, as the poet says, *it can most easily convert a bush into a bear.* But a man, some say, may imagine the idea of a First Cause, and may originate spiritual ideas. But this is impossible from any thing yet known in experience or in philosophy. To form ideas concerning spiritual things, imagination has to travel out of her province. To form the very first idea of a God, she must transcend the visible material world. Nothing so fantastic as the vagaries of imagination, and yet nothing is more circumscribed. My imagination might picture to me a tree, the roots of which are *iron,* the stem *brass,* the leaves *silver,* and the apples *gold;* but if I had never seen a tree growing in the earth, could I possibly have conceived, in the wildest vagaries of my imagination, an idea of this wonderful metallic tree? I, therefore, conceive that it devolves upon Mr. Owen (in deducing his proofs of the first position, that "all religions are founded in the ignorance of man") to show that we possess those powers which can enable us to reason from sensible material objects, up to spiritual, immaterial existences. It behooves him to show that ignorant men, or men in the rudest ages of the world, were competent to invent and establish religion. If it be so that man is destitute of power to create something out of nothing, or to originate the fundamental ideas and terms found in all religions; if he cannot clear up this matter, how can he affirm that all religion is founded upon the ignorance of men? But this is not all: there are a few questions which I now beg leave distinctively to propose to my opponent for his consideration. I will furnish him with a copy of them for his examination during the evening, that on the morrow he may see the necessity of going more philosophically to work, if he intend to debate the points at issue at all:

1. Can man, by the exercise of his mental powers, originate language? And even suppose he could invent names for external, sensible objects, could he also originate the terms peculiar to religion, for which he has no types in the sensible creation?

2. Must not the object or idea exist prior to the name or term by which it is designated? For example, the term "steam-boat," a word invented in our time:—was not the object in existence before this name was found in our vocabulary?

3. Must not the idea of the existence of any particular object be prior to the idea of any of its properties? Or can we conceive of the properties of a thing, before we have an idea of that thing's existence?

4. How, then, do we become conscious of the idea of spirit, our consciousness being limited to the objects of sensation, perception, and memory; and, consequently, all our mental operations being necessarily confined to the same objects?

5. Does not our belief, as well as our knowledge and experience, depend upon our mental operations?

I choose to present the matter in this form in order to elicit from my opponent something like an analysis of the powers of the human mind, which we must have, sooner or later, in this controversy, if either of us will redeem the pledge we have given to this community. [*Half hour out.*]

Here Mr. Owen rises and states that the period has expired for which they can be permitted to occupy the building this afternoon.

Tuesday forenoon, April 14th, 1829.

Mr. Owen rises—

Gentlemen Moderators—You decided yesterday evening, that the part of the subject to be continued by me, was to prove that all religions have been founded in ignorance. It was, I believe, so stated by the Chairman.

I last night received some questions from my friend, Mr. Campbell; but discovering that they are not applicable to the subject matter immediately before us, we will postpone the consideration of them until I have demonstrated the five propositions which I have engaged to prove. Afterwards, I will, if time permit, discuss any metaphysical question, however subtle. But, as you, gentlemen, have decided that we shall proceed to investigate the points agreed upon between Mr. Campbell and myself, I feel bound to abide by your decision.

My friends, I yesterday pursued this point through four of the fundamental laws, upon which I rely to prove all I have undertaken to do, in this engagement with Mr. Campbell. I will now proceed to the *fifth*, viz. "That each individual is so created at birth, that he may be compelled to receive true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and retain them with great tenacity." This is one of the fundamental laws of human nature, which may properly be called a divine law: no man created it: no man knows how it was created: it exists in man at all times, wherever he may be found: it is beyond man's control; and I conceive that that which is beyond human control, to be truly divine, if any thing can be so called. If, then, it be a law of our nature, that infants may be so placed, that without the possibility of resistance on their parts, they may be compelled to receive rational ideas or false notions; they cannot be responsible for what they are thus made to receive, without their consent. When we look at the countenance of those who have been born and reared in

very inferior circumstances of life—of those wholly devoid of education, we discover at once their ignorance before they speak. The expression of their countenances assures us, before a word is spoken, that they are devoid of intelligence. We perceive that their training and instruction have been entirely neglected. Are these men to be responsible for the neglect which they have experienced? On the other hand, let us observe the countenances of intelligent, well educated men, and we shall be compelled to draw the conclusion, that they have been educated amidst circumstances comparatively favourable for the development of their mental faculties. But can these individuals deserve merit for being so placed? Surely man has always been in error on these subjects. The character of the varied circumstances in which they were placed from infancy, is stamped upon the expression and features of both. They were made what they are, by measures adopted by persons, over whom they had no control, and by a power of which they were ignorant.

My friends, whenever you shall consider these things, rationally, you will discover that not one of the religions which has ever been invented, or forced upon mankind, apply to a being who is thus organized. Fortunately for our posterity, we have now discovered that we are so created, that the adults of this or any subsequent generation may form the character of their successors, to attain high physical and mental excellence; and, through this knowledge, we shall soon learn to do justice to human nature. We shall not continue as we have heretofore done, to find fault with human nature, because our parents have allowed us to be trained in all kinds of ignorance and bad feeling. No: we shall discover that we are the effects of causes, as certain and known, as any effects that ever man traced up to the known and ascertained causes.

When we shall learn to know ourselves; when we shall no longer remain in ignorance of what manner of beings we are; then, and then only, shall we know how to estimate the value and importance of a human being at birth: they will be no longer neglected in infancy. We shall be conscious of the necessity which exists, to give the greatest attention to the formation of their ideas, habits, and characters, from the commencement of their existence. Then we shall discover the certain method whereby to make our infants the most superior of human beings—superior in ideas, in habits, in manners, in disposition, and in morals—superior in every thing calculated to improve the condition of society. If, however, these new arrangements were now in the full tide of successful experiment; if they were now even actually consummated, and their happy effects experienced; I would not conscientiously attribute one particle of praise or blame to the individuals who had been the most prominent agents in bringing about such a revolution. No, my friends, we might, with equal justice, attribute merit to the coat which I now wear, because it is black, as to the individual to whose lot it may fall to bring about this new order of things. We can paint any infant black or white, in character, by our care or neglect; but who shall blame or praise the infant for what others perform for him, and not err? No: when once the full truth

upon this subject shall be understood and appreciated, all irrational praise and blame, all those unkind feelings which the present system generates, will no longer exist; there will not be a single motive for a harsh feeling amongst the whole race. Why, my friends, we have been told (and that truly, too,) that the greatest of all virtues is charity. But what kind of charity? Is it a charity for those who happen to be placed in like circumstances with ourselves? Is it a charity for our own particular sect or party? No: the character which is required to form this virtue, can be derived only from this knowledge of ourselves; and through this knowledge it will become irresistible and universal; it will be a pure unalloyed charity, extending to the whole human race. Compare now this charity, which excludes not one human being that ever has been born, with the charity which now exists in the world. And why has not this charity been coeval with our race? Why? simply because from the beginning of time we have been kept in the dark; because, all manner of foul play has been employed to make and to keep us irrational, and to prevent us from knowing any thing about ourselves.

Whenever a spirit more ardent than that belonging to the ordinary race of mortals attempted an investigation of moral and social diseases, there has ever been a government and a priesthood at hand to say to them in a voice of thunder, "Trespass not upon our prerogatives; advance not one step in that direction without *our* permission; know you not that the people *must* be kept in the dark?" But, my friends, how beautiful are the simple truths of nature! They require no preaching, sunday after sunday, year after year, generation after generation, to prove that they are true. A half-dozen sermons upon religion and morals would be quite sufficient to enlighten all who might hear them. This plan of proceeding would certainly save a great expense of time and money, and be a great gain, in many important points of view, to the public. But do not suppose that I wish to excite one angry feeling against the priesthood. They are a class, formed like all other classes, by the circumstances of the societies in which they live, and are no more culpable than any other portion of any other society. I have several friends, whom I highly esteem, who are ministers, not of *one* but of *all* the sects generally known in Europe—men whom I believe to be strictly conscientious; and, with some of these in particular, I live on terms of great intimacy, and feel a great regard and affection for them personally. I have two brothers-in-law who are Christian ministers, and we have always had a sincere friendship for each other. I cannot blame them or other ministers of religion for being made what they are. I feel the injustice of attributing to any of them individually the errors of their sects, or the evils which they create. The responsibility which I have assumed in my continued earnest endeavours to subvert all the religions of the world, and thereby deprive many individuals of their present only mode of support, has been always one of serious consideration. It has occupied much of my thoughts. I have been most anxious to discover a safe and secure mode to prevent priests, lawyers,

physicians, or merchants being injured personally by the change, in mind, body, or estate. I know that the time has now arrived when this change (tremendous as it may and must appear to those who are not prepared for it) must take place; and take place too, rapidly, my friends, unless we can beforehand infuse so much charity as to prompt us to the adoption of the means by which the present individuals in these classes may be supported as long as they live. But I am not without consolation even upon this subject. The peculiar circumstances in which I have been placed, (circumstances which I may hereafter explain if necessary,) enable me to state confidently that the time has passed when it is *necessary* to have any contest about the means of living in comfort, or about any pecuniary consideration. The enormous scientific power obtained within the last half century for the creation of wealth, with the increase of knowledge, upon many other important subjects, will change men's minds on these matters, and introduce a principle of justice instead of the practice of gain. The public may be expected to become rational upon these subjects, and be enabled to guide these two powers to produce a general benefit for all classes. When these powers are developed, they will be found amply sufficient to secure to every child, from birth to death, a full supply of every thing really beneficial for his nature, or that can contribute to his happiness. As we advance in real knowledge, and thus become rational, we shall discover that there can be no cause for anxiety, with regard to pecuniary matters, or rather the means of living in comfort. We shall perceive that, with the ample means now possessed by society, arrangements the most simple and beautiful may be created to produce a superfluity of real wealth for the whole society, so abundant, indeed, that we may all freely use as much as we desire—even then, there will be a surplus, greatly exceeding the wants on all.

My friends, do not suppose that these are chimerical notions, unwarranted by fact. They may be easily explained and demonstrated to be truths, by facts the most valuable to mankind, and capable, when rightly applied, to make the most happy results for the generations to come. This beneficial change is as certain to arrive, through the necessary progress of improvement and advance of knowledge, as that you now hear the sound of my voice. These must be the necessary results of this law of our nature, when understood and acted upon in connexion with the other laws; and I think Mr. Campbell has admitted the accuracy of them all, except the one that declares our wills to have no power to change our convictions, or to force any belief on our minds, contrary to the strongest conviction already made upon them. But, my friends, this law of our nature promulgates a self-evident truth. If men are thus plastic, in childhood, shall we not adopt the same method of moulding them into beings who shall be virtuous, and consequently happy themselves, and dispensers of happiness to others? Why, with a knowledge of this law, shall one inferior human being be hereafter formed? There is surely no necessity for it; not even that one discordant disposition should be formed to

mar the general happiness. My friends, do you not already perceive how much we should all be benefited, if there were no inferior characters amongst us?

We come now to the 6th fundamental principle of human nature which my friend, Mr. Campbell, says he is not quite willing to subscribe to. Now, my friends, I should be very sorry to leave any thing even doubtful or unsettled, either in your minds or my friend Mr. Campbell's. To establish the truth of this divine law of our nature, it is only necessary to adduce facts which every one can comprehend, and must assent to.

Therefore, I trust, that before we separate, not only my friend Mr. Campbell, but every reflecting person here will admit the truth of this law. This 6th law then (which appears to be the present stumbling block) is, "that each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impressions made upon his feelings and faculties, and that his belief in no case depends upon his will." If the human race had not been involved in ignorance the most gross, and if that ignorance had not been continued up to the present hour, no one could have imagined for a moment that he had the power of belief or disbelief at his control.

We are beings so formed by nature, that we are compelled, often strongly against our wills, to believe what we do not desire to believe; to be convinced of that which we have not any inclination to believe, and what we never expect to believe. If any of you now suppose that you have the power to believe or disbelieve, according to your volitions, be so good as to believe, for a few moments, that I am not here;—can any of you do this? But it may be said, that this is a fact, so clear, that we cannot disbelieve it against the evidences of our senses. Well, then, will you have the goodness to control your wills, to believe full and unreservedly that Mohammed was a true prophet sent of God? Now, is there an individual here, who has been able so far to influence his will, as to believe in the divinity of Mohammed's mission? I know that this is impossible. And so it is, my friends, in all the other departments of human belief and opinions. Whenever the human mind shall be rescued from the thick darkness which has heretofore enveloped it, no proposition will be more self-evident, than that our will has no control over our belief and opinions. Whether born in China or Hindostan; amongst christians or Jews; whether in India or in Africa; all men are coerced by this and other laws of our nature, to believe according to the strongest impressions which the circumstances of birth, nurture, and education, have forced upon them. And, my friends, are you aware that this error, taught us from infancy, that our will has power over our belief, is the main pillar of all religions? They have, indeed, no other foundation; and you perceive it is quicksand only. Be assured there never has been a more injurious idea forced into the human mind, than that which has forced it to believe that there is merit or demerit in any opinion whatsoever. We can give to all children true ideas or false notions; for, in this respect, they are perfectly passive. And, indeed, in the universal igno-

rance of this plain simple truth, is it to be found the chief cause of all the massacres, wars, dissensions, and miseries which have afflicted the human race, and the lamentable want of that pure and unrestricted charity which ought to pervade the population of all countries. When, however, we shall be taught to understand, and thereby made cordially to receive the truth, how delightfully shall we communicate with each other: then, my friends, we shall no longer be angry in the slightest degree, because our brother has been placed in circumstances, which coerce him to think differently from ourselves. We shall then perceive that there is quite as much rationality in being angry with him, because his opinions do not accord with ours, as there would be in being angry with him because his features are not exactly like ours. No, my friends, it is just as absurd for us to form our brethren to think as we do, without producing evidence sufficient to create conviction in their minds, as it would be to force every one of them to be six feet high. We can establish a uniform standard for men's height, with as much colour of rationality as we can for their opinions. No man can alter his opinions by his own will. We must, before such a change can be made, receive from some new source, reasons sufficient to create a conviction stronger than that by which he has been previously influenced. It is true, as my learned friend will perhaps say, that men may be more inclined to open their minds to receive, or be confirmed in one set of opinions, and to neglect the means of acquiring, or close their minds against receiving some other opinions, which they have been taught to believe are erroneous and injurious; but our motives for so doing, exist in our minds, independently of our wills. We have been, in such cases, previously prejudiced in favour of, or against, these opinions. Some wills were necessarily formed by these prejudices, and we could no more avoid our feelings, in these respects, than our convictions, when they have been made. Now, I wish to put you all on your guard relative to this fundamental law of our nature, because, as I have previously stated, it is one of the two chief pillars on which the religions of the world rest for support, and if this shall now be destroyed, they must of necessity fall. They have, as I most conscientiously believe, no other foundation of any sufficient strength to retain them in existence. They rest but upon these two pillars, and we shall soon try the strength of the other, which will next come under our view. Let us here pause, my friends, for a moment, to consider the depth of that darkness in which our ancestors must have been involved, not to have discovered, through so many ages, this almost self-evident truth. [*Half hour out.*]

MR. CAMPBELL rose.

Mr. Chairman—The questions which were yesterday proposed to Mr. Owen, very naturally presented themselves from his own premises. He proposed to prove all religions human; therefore, he must show that human beings could invent them. This, I contend, he must do, or give up his first position. But he supposes that I will not insist

upon his attending to them. In this, he is doubtless mistaken, I do insist upon it; and I think he will feel himself compelled to attend to them. But he has promised to take them under his consideration by-and-by. I will just remark here, that his last address is but a repetition of the preceding one. Both amount to this, that man did not make himself, and consequently, is irresponsible; *ergo*, all religions must be false. This appears to be his darling corollary. As to my admission of the twelve "facts," which I did for the sake of argument, I say again, I am ready to admit them all, with the exception already stated. But what of this? Mr. Owen may state twelve *facts*, as he calls them, more about man, and I may admit them all, and yet the original question be just as it was. If Mr. Owen had said that a man has two eyes, two ears, two hands, two feet, &c. &c. and such and such mental faculties, I would admit it. But when admitted, will it follow from these truths, accidents, or properties, affirmed of man, that all religions are false? I admitted at first hearing, most of his facts, because my great object is to admit every thing in any degree relevant or pertinent to the argument, that we may save time, and put the controversy upon the proper issue. But my friend has said that the whole pith of the argument is concentrated in the corollary, that man did not make himself, *ergo*, is irresponsible. Now this dogma puts out of the world, and out of human language, every idea of responsibility of any kind, or to any being whatever. Is this the consummation devoutly to be wished by all necessarians! According to this argument, no responsibility of any sort can be predicated of man, any more than of a stone. This is the legitimate stopping-place of the emancipating principle of the system of unconquerable circumstances. What mighty results! No blame, no praise, no virtue, no vice, no thanks, no gratitude! All our social, moral, natural, and religious relations, obligations and dependencies, are at once annihilated by the besom of this sweeping corollary.

Mr. Owen has dwelt with much pleasure upon the loveliness of those kind feelings which his system is to generate. How short-sighted the philosopher! Will not this principle of necessity inevitably exterminate all good, kind, and generous feelings? Does he lay any basis for benevolent feelings? He inveighs against the bad feelings of society. His system condemns him here. He might as rationally inveigh against benevolent, as malevolent feelings. And I repeat, what basis does he lay for the former, rather than the latter? Do not these principles assume man to be as much a particle of matter as my friend's coat, which he says cannot help being black? Who would think of praising a coat because it is white, or of blaming a coat because it is black? As little commendable is virtue—as little condemnable is vice!!

Mr. Owen views man as just so many pounds of matter subject to all the laws of matter, and in this view his laws of human nature are no more than the laws of a stone. And it is plain that no man *compos mentis* can attribute praise or blame, merit or demerit, virtue or vice, to a stone. It is quite natural for me to like good water, but can I

feel grateful to the fountain or rivulet which slakes my thirst? Can I thank the earth which sustains me with its harvests, or the tree which refreshes me with its fruit and its shade? No: because there is nothing voluntary, nothing moral, in these contributions of nature. This beneficence of the fountain, the earth, and the tree is purely necessary or involuntary. I know that they cannot refuse to render me their tributes. I know that it is a necessary and inseparable incident to the law of their nature that they should be tributary to man. I repeat it, that Mr. Owen's doctrine of irresponsibility lays the axe to the root of that tree from whence spring all our feelings, good as well as evil. Like a rash and unskilful physician, he kills the patient while he kills the fever. All the kind feelings, complacency, affection, and social delights are murdered by the same sword which is unsheathed to stab religion to the heart.

If I could be brought to admit that man is altogether a material being—a pure animal, I could have little difficulty in admitting the whole of Mr. Owen's theory. I could then be brought to believe that all our ideas of our natural, moral, social and religious relations, obligations and dependencies were absurd. I earnestly wish that my friend was more fully aware, than he seems to be, that while he is thus aiming at the extermination of all bad feelings, he is in reality sapping the foundations of society.

But Mr. Owen tells us that the infant man could not help being surrounded with his individual set of circumstances. Well, admit it; but is man ever to remain an infant? If he were always to remain in a state of infantile imbecility, then he might be likened to the tree or to the stone located to the soil, subject only to the laws of mere organic matter. But how few of the human family are controlled by the peculiar circumstances which surrounded their infancy? That they are in some measure affected by them is admitted; but ninety-nine in every hundred rise superior, or fall inferior to their circumstances. I apprehend it to be a capital fallacy in Mr. Owen's theory, that while he originates man in a certain set of circumstances, he leaves him there, and never considers that the adult man is continually *changing* his circumstances, and that there is not a more common incident in human life, nor a more common phrase in human language, than to *change one's circumstances*. We change our circumstances, and our circumstances change us. And while, in one sense, man is as dependent for his future development as for his origination on circumstances, it is just as true that he controls his circumstances with as much ease as Mr. Owen changes his coat, his climate, his food, or his country.

We say that infants, idiots, lunatics, and the *non compos mentis*, are irresponsible, and we have guardians assigned them. All societies agree that these are irresponsible, because they are either untaught or unteachable. But carry out Mr. Owen's principles to their legitimate length, and the conclusion irresistibly follows that all men are reduced to the state of *non compos mentis*—the sage is as irresponsible as the idiot. Irrational animals and vegetables are to be loved or hated, praised or dispraised—are as sociable as responsible, and as irrespon-

sible as philosophers. There can be no responsibility exacted from any human being on these principles, more than from a stone, a tree, a horse, or a dog.

What is involved and pre-supposed in the idea of responsibility? Certainly rationality. We never think of praising or blaming, of rewarding or punishing an infant, until its rational faculties are in some degree developed. When he has been trained to acquire a rational discrimination between right and wrong, then we begin to connect the idea of responsibility with that infant. Common sense, then, teaches us that rationality and responsibility are terms nearly allied, and that the development of the one is inseparably connected with the development of the other. All but philosophists agree that reason can control that which is irrational; that reason is stronger than the laws of attraction or cohesion, and therefore all men who have not philosophised themselves beyond the regions of common sense, are agreed that every being whose reason is developed is responsible for his actions, and that where reason does not exist, or is not developed, praise, blame, or responsibility cannot be attributed. Now Mr. Owen makes all men everlasting infants, or predicates his whole philosophy upon the assumption that the infant, the idiot, and the philosopher are equally irresponsible and equally controlled by circumstances, both of which are as far removed from the regions of common sense and all human experience, as the reveries of Baron Swedenborg. Thus far, right reason and common sense go with us. But when we transcend these limits, both reason and common sense bid us adieu. It is obvious that man in the first instance comes upon the stage under a great variety of circumstances, but it does not follow that he is riveted to those circumstances, or that he may not exalt or degrade himself by rising superior or falling inferior to these circumstances.

But not only are sages and idiots reduced to the same level of irresponsibility by Mr. Owen's system; but it reaches still further. It saps the foundations not only of all human responsibility—of all morality, but also of all obligation to any being in the universe. In the first instance it involves us in impenetrable darkness with respect to our origin. Mr. Owen's system gives us no idea of any origin of our being, or of any relation in which, as creatures, we stand to our Creator. The system not only goes to revolutionize the moral, civil, and municipal policy of all the civilized world, but it proscribes all dependence upon any unknown, unseen cause whatever. This led me yesterday to show that Mr. Owen could not demonstrate his first proposition, without accounting for the relation in which we stand to a superior being, or discarding it altogether. This led me to call on him for an analysis of our mental powers. This, too, induced me to present those five questions to him at our adjournment yesterday evening. This is just the point on which so much depends, and to which we anxiously solicit the attention of my opponent and this audience. But Mr. Owen declines this investigation for the time being, but promises it hereafter.

In the mean time then, as I conceive I have glanced at the items in his last address which have any direct bearings on the proposition before us, I will occupy my time yet remaining, with some strictures on the different systems of scepticism. And I think it will be seen, from the brief notices which we are about to take of them, that so soon as we abandon the Bible, there is not a speck of *terra firma* accessible to human ingenuity, on which any thing worthy of the name of *system* can be built. No system of *nature*, nor of *human nature*, can be presented from the annals of the world, nor from the improvements of modern science, which is not confessedly conjectural, doubtful, and unworthy of any sort of confidence; which is not based purely upon *imagination;* and which only allures from the haven of safety, to the wide and tempestuous ocean of absolute uncertainty, without even promising us compass, helm, or pilot to conduct us to a safe anchorage again. I have rummaged antiquity, and the systems of philosophy, ancient and modern. I have explored these systems, and find them all rich in promise, but bankrupt in accomplishment. They begin with a *perhaps*, proceed with a *may be*, and end with a *perchance*.* But let us take a peep into these treasures.

Scepticism embraces as great a variety of sects as any other of the *isms* of ancient or modern times. The sceptics generally range themselves under one or other of the following general denominations:—deists, theists, atheists, pantheists. The subdivisions are too numerous to mention in this place. It comes with a very ill grace from sceptics to object to Christianity because of the various sects into which the Christian community is torn, seeing they cannot exhibit any thing like a visible unity among themselves, except in opposing

* "The philosophers admitted their own ignorance, and the necessity there was for further instruction. Socrates meeting Alcibiades going to the temple to pray, dissuaded him from it, because he knew not how to do it till one should come to teach him. 'It is altogether necessary,' says he, 'that you should wait for some person to teach you how you ought to behave yourself, both to the gods and men.' Plato tells the Athenians, that they would remain in a state of sleep for ever, if God did not out of pity send them an instructor. Cicero says, 'I do not suppose that Arcesilaus engaged in dispute with Zeno out of obstinacy, or a desire of superiority, but to show that obscurity under which all things lie, and which forced Socrates to a confession of his ignorance.' And all those who in a manner were enamoured with Socrates, such also as Democritus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, and almost all the ancients, were reduced to the same confession. They *all* maintained that no true insight could be acquired, nothing clearly perceived or known; that our senses were limited, our intellect weak, and the course of man's life short. According to Democritus, truth lay buried in the depths of the sea, or in a well without a bottom. Such was the utter uncertainty into which these philosophers had reasoned themselves respecting the nature of God, the immortality of the soul, and a future state, the most important of all subjects, of which barbarians, keeping closer to early tradition, were not so grossly ignorant. Here we may adopt the words of Gibbon, which we should scarcely have expected from such a quarter.

"Since, therefore, the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no farther than feebly to point out the desire, the hope, or, at most, the probability, of a future state, *there is nothing except a divine revelation* that can ascertain the existence, and describe the condition, of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after the separation from the body. But we may

Christianity. I presume there are not to be found upon earth so many writers on any one subject, differing so much from one another, as the sceptical writers. I do not know that there can be found two works extant, under any respectable name, on any one system of scepticism, which do not differ from each other as much, at least, as the Calvinists differ from the Arminians. While they boast so much (especially such of them as believe with Mr. Paine) of the easy intelligibility of the volume of nature, which he sometimes calls the "*Word of God*," (that speaks the same thing in all languages,) one would expect to find a remarkable conformity and coincidence of sentiment amongst the students of this one volume, which needs neither translation nor commentary. Yet none are more unsociable in their sentiments, nor more diverse in their conclusions, than they. The Persian, the Indian, the Hindoo, and the philosopher, all read and understand this volume of nature very differently. There are more versions of the volume of nature, than of the volume of Revelation. Though, they say, it wants no *written* commentary, it certainly requires some prophet or interpreter to explain it. How else came it to pass that all the ancient nations, and all the modern, without revelation, have, from the same premises, come to so many different conclusions! Rome had one hundred and seventeen opinions about the *summum bonum*, in its Augustan age; the Grecian states had almost as many gods as soldiers; and a wit once said, "*It is more easy to find a god, than a man, in Athens!*" But not only did the multiplication of gods and goddesses exhibit the fooleries of the readers of the volume of nature, but the infamous characters they gave their gods, and the crimes they laid to their charge. Their gods were monsters of cruelty, lewdness, and profligacy. The morality learned from this volume was as various and as imperfect as its theology. Human sacrifices were offered upon their altars; their temples were places of prostitution; fornication and drunkenness formed the religious worship of Venus and Bacchus. Plutarch, in some particular instances, recommended as a virtue, that which, in many places, was a common usage, viz. to expose infants to death by cold and hunger, or to be devoured by

perceive several defects inherent to the popular religions of Greece and Rome, which rendered them very unequal to so arduous a task. 1. The general system of mythology was unsupported by any solid proofs, and the wisest among the pagans had already disclaimed its usurped authority. 2. The description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of painters and poets, who peopled them with many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions. 3. The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered among the devout Polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. The providence of the gods, as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, was principally displayed on the visible theatre of the present world. The petitions which were offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo, expressed the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance or indifference concerning a future life. The important truth of the immortality of the soul was inculcated with more diligence, as well as success, in India, in Assyria, in Egypt, and in Gaul."—*Hald's Ev.* v. 1, p. 23.

wild beasts. The Grecian sages gave parents permission to kill their children—and suicide was recommended as a virtue. So teaches the volume of nature.

But I only intend here to notice the divisions amongst sceptics as respects the systems extant.

Some Italian and French sceptics, shortly after the Reformation, or about the time of the Reformation, assumed the honourable designation of *deists*. These agreed in *three things*, viz. 1. To profess no system of religion, and to oppose Christianity. 2. To contend for the existence of one God. And 3. To follow what they called "*the light of nature.*" But, about this "one God," and this "light of nature," they were any thing but agreed. Deistical writers subdivide themselves into mortal and immortal deists; the former denying, and the latter affirming a future state. Dr. Clarke enumerated four grand classes of deists or of deistical writers, all agreeing in acknowledging one Supreme God, but differing in almost every thing else. Lord Herbert stands at the head of the list of the English fraternity, and seems to have aimed, in his book, "*De Veritate,*" at giving some sort of a system to scepticism. His five points are the following:—

1. That there is one Supreme God.
2. That he is chiefly to be worshipped.
3. That piety and virtue are the principal parts of his worship.
4. That we must repent of our sins; and if we do so, God will pardon them.
5. That there are rewards for good men, and punishments for bad men, both here and hereafter.

This English Baron wished to form a universal religion for all mankind, predicated upon what he calls "reason and the light of nature." He was emboldened to publish it in the seventeenth century by a miracle, as he represents it!

Concerning the *theists* we shall only observe, that they are censured more than the deists by Monsieur Mirabeau for approximating more to the superstition of Christians than the pure deists. They *humanize* their god too much; give him too much the character of a governor, and too many of the attributes which are supposed essential to a good governor: whereas, the pure deists make their god rather an indifferent spectator, an uninterested observer of the affairs of this life. Amongst these natural religionists, or theists, there is a great variety. They are as discordant as the speculative deists. The celebrated atheist *Mirabeau* thus castigates them, vol. 2, p. 208:—

"The *theists*, one after another, to explain the conduct of his god, finds himself in continual embarrassment, from which he will not know how to withdraw himself, but in admitting all the theological reveries, without excepting even those absurd fables, which were imagined to render an account of the strange economy of this being, so good, so wise, so full of equity. It will be needful, from supposition to supposition, to recur to the sin of *Adam*, or to the *fall of the rebel angels*, or to the crime of Prometheus and the box of Pandora, to find in what manner evil has crept into the world, subjected to a benevolent

intelligence. It will be necessary to suppose the free agency of man; it will be necessary to acknowledge that the creature can offend his God, provoke his anger, move his passions, and calm them afterwards by superstitious ceremonies and expiations." All these and many more faults does he find with the *theists*.

Thomas Paine, in his Age of Reason, p. 3, gives his creed in one period, "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life." In another period he gives his creed in morality, "I believe the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow-creatures happy." In speaking of the perfection of the *book of creation*, as *a word of God*, or as a revelation, he thus eulogizes it:— "Do we want to contemplate his power? We see it in the immensity of creation. Do we want to contemplate his wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order, by which the incomprehensible whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate his munificence? We see it in the abundance with which he fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate his mercy? We see it in his not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful. In short, do we want to know what God is? Search not the scripture, other than that called the creation."

Mr. Paine did not want to see his justice; and therefore, he failed in telling us what to contemplate in order to discover this. Deists have not so much curiosity on this point. The sceptics of the *atheistical* school are not more unanimous than they of the deistical. It is amusing, if not instructive, to hear or see how these sceptics of the two schools handle one another. Let us take a sample from two of the most notable, viz. Mr. Paine, the *deist*, and M. Mirabeau, the *atheist*. The atheist says, vol. 2. 211, "Is there in any one religion in the world a *miracle*, more impossible to be believed, than that of the *creation*, or of the eduction from nothing? Is there a *mystery* more difficult to be comprehended than a God impossible to be conceived, and whom, however, it is necessary to admit? Betwixt the deist and the superstitious (christians) it is impossible to fix the line of demarcation, which separates them from the most credulous men; or from those who reason the least upon the article of religion. Indeed, it is difficult to decide with precision the true dose of folly which may be permitted them." After this denunciation let us hear Mr. Paine, p. 57. "The only idea man can affix to the name of God, is that of a *first cause*, the cause of all things. And incomprehensively difficult as it is for man to conceive what a first cause is, he arrives at the belief of it, from the tenfold greater difficulty of disbelieving it. It is difficult beyond description to conceive that space can have no end; but it is more difficult to conceive an end. It is difficult beyond the power of man to conceive an eternal duration of what we call time; but it is more impossible to conceive a time when there shall be no time. In like manner of reasoning, every thing we behold carries in itself the internal evidence that it did not make itself. Every man is an evidence to himself that he did not make himself; neither could his father, nor his grandfather, nor any of his race; neither could any

tree, plant, or animal make itself: and it is the conviction, arising from this evidence, that carries us on, as it were by necessity, to the belief of a *First Cause* eternally existing, of a nature totally different from any material existence we know of, and by the power of which all things exist, and this First Cause man calls God." Then he sings Addison's versification of the 19th psalm. These distinguished sceptics are as opposite here, though not so palpably so, as when the former says, *all theology is false,* and the latter affirms *there is one true theology,* and one unadulterated revelation of God, viz. the universe. The deist even puts these words into the mouth of his deity: "I have made an earth for man to dwell upon, and I have rendered the starry heavens visible, to teach him science and the arts. He can now provide for his own comfort, and learn from my munificence to all, to be kind to each other." p. 35. But more contradictory yet, Mirabeau asks, "Can there be a mystery more difficult to be comprehended than a God?" and Paine asserts, p. 54, "The belief of a God, so far from having any thing of a mystery in it, is of all beliefs the most easy; because it arises to us out of necessity." But the French sage, though he so frequently asserts the belief of a God to be the climax of absurdity, is contradicted flatly and boldly by his brother sceptics of the great assembly at Bordeaux, who, in their twenty-five precepts of reason, placed the following at the head of the list:—

"*All nature announces to thee a Creator: adore him. He is everywhere: everywhere he will hear thee.*"

But going no farther into the detail, let us just notice the varieties existing amongst *atheists.* Amongst the ancients, Dr. Cudworth reckons four distinct sects of atheists:—1. The disciples of Anaxamander, called hylopathians, who attributed the formation of every thing to matter destitute of feeling. 2. Atomists, or the disciples of Democritus, who attributed every thing to the concurrence of atoms. 3. The steical atheists, who admitted a blind nature, but acting after certain laws. 4. The hylozoists, or the disciples of Strato, who attributed life to matter.—Dr. Cudworth's *Systema Intellectuale,* chap. 2 mir. vol. 2, p. 300.

Other diversities have occasioned various sects amongst atheists. They have differed as much upon morality, virtue, and vice, as about the origin of all things. Aristippus, Theodorus the atheist, Bion and Pyrrho, denied any distinction between virtue and vice. In modern times, the author of the "Fable of the Bees," and the "Man Automaton," have reasoned away all difference between virtue and vice.—Mirabeau, vol. 2, p. 319.

Indeed, Mirabeau, though one of the ablest advocates of atheism, declares, vol. ii., p. 318, "THAT ATHEISM WILL NOT MAKE A WICKED MAN GOOD."

Bayle, when speaking of the Epicureans, says, "Those who embraced the sect of "*Epicurus the atheist,*" did not become debauchees, because they had embraced the doctrine of Epicurus; they only embraced the doctrine of Epicurus, then badly understood, *because they were debauchees!*" High encomiums on atheism!!

Amongst the moderns, we have had several sects of atheists, or atheistical writers, such as Spinoza, Hobbes, Vanini.

Spinosism, so called from Spinoza the Jew, born in Amsterdam, 1632, teaches but *one substance* in nature; all the bodies of the universe are various modifications of this one substance: all the souls of men are modifications of this one substance: that there is but *one being* and *one nature;* and that this nature, by an imminent act, produces all those which we call creatures. Thus his deity is both agent and patient, creator and creature. No two atheists now living, or who have published any thing to the world, agree in their speculations. Indeed, how can they? There is no fixed principle. The materialists of Mr. Owen's scheme differ in some respect from the materialists of the French school. But, indeed, they differ from themselves. They are not the same theorists in June and January. A change in the thermometer often produces a change in the whole system. An attack of bilious fever, a single emetic, or a cathartic, has been known essentially to change a whole system.

Pantheism is of early, but unknown origin. Some of the pantheists held the universe to be one immense animal, of which the uncorporeal soul was properly the god, and the heavens and the earth the body of that god. Orpheus, one of the most ancient pantheists of whom we read, called the world the body of God, and its several parts its members, making the whole universe one divine animal. Aristotle was pretty much of the same opinion: he held that God and matter were co-eternal, and that there is some such union amongst them as exists between the soul and body.

Polytheists have deified dead men, animals, and even vegetables, and have ascribed to them, honours and attributes which belong to the Creator alone. But there is no boundary to be set to the vagaries of the human mind. At one time, and in some circumstances, it sees a God in every thing; at another time, and in other circumstances it sees a God in nothing. So true is yet found the saying of the unpopular Paul of Tarsus, "Professing themselves to be philosophers, they became *fools*."

My friend and opponent has contributed his mite to the mass of bewilderment which has been read. He has given us a new system of scepticism, perfectly untangible. "Twelve facts" have been asserted, concerning the *materiality* of man. And these facts have been presented to us in such a shape as to strike at the root of all our ideas concerning our spiritual relations.

We are unable to conceive of the immense revolution which must be produced in the mind of one who has been put in possession of all the biblical ideas and terms, by the annihilation of all ideas of God, and the relations to which they give birth. The idea of the existence of a God, and his perfections, once annihilated, and what have you left? On the principles of philosophy, it is just as hard to destroy, as to create a single idea. In philosophy, these two ideas concerning the power of creating, and the power of destroying, are intimately connected, and inseparably interwoven. If I could forget that I ever

had heard the name of God, and could erase from the tablet of my mind all my ideas *of spiritual things*, I am at a loss to conceive what views I could entertain of any object around me. Every thing would be to me a most inexplicable puzzle. But the question which must for ever confound the materialists, of all schools, is, *How did these ideas get into the world?* There must be some way of disposing of them. It devolves on my friend and opponent to explain the origin of those ideas, which have universally obtained amongst mankind, *on spiritual subjects*. It is incumbent on him to avow explicitly, whether he conceives us to be indebted to a supreme or superior being for any thing we possess. Man does not owe his existence to any human being; from whence, then, does he derive it? The *unde derivatur* of man, or the *whence came he*, must be determined before he can ascertain the nature of any of his relations.

The basis of all obligation or responsibility, I hold to be *dependence*. A being, independent of any other, has no rule to obey, but that which his own reason, or will, prescribes. But a state of dependence will, inevitably, oblige the inferior to take the will of him on whom he depends, as the rule of his conduct, at least, in all those points wherein his dependence consists; consequently, as man depends absolutely upon his Creator for every thing, it is necessary that he should, in all points, submit to his will. This I do hold to be the true and immoveable basis of natural, social, and religious obligation and responsibility. Now, if Mr. Owen can prove that we are all *independent* beings, and show wherein we are all independent, he carries out his system to a triumphant issue at once. Only let him prove that we are not dependent beings, and then the conclusion must follow out, that we owe nothing to our Creator, to our parents, our benefactors, or any other creditors. I say, in holding the affirmative that we are irresponsible, he must prove that we are independent. But this will be to wage war with common sense,—with universal experience. I will not consume time in proving a point, which is itself as plain as the proof could be, viz. that mankind are dependent, and therefore responsible.

Mr. Owen supposes the capital error of all religions to be, that they teach, that belief is under the control of the will; whereas, he supposes the contrary. But it would seem that he attaches no very definite meaning to the word *belief*, when he asked you to be so good, as to believe for only five minutes that he did not stand *in propria persona* before you, or that Mahomet was a prophet sent from God.

Mr. Owen certainly errs in his views of faith, or supposes you have an uncontrolled power over your belief, when he asked you to believe without *evidence*, that Mahomet was a true prophet. If I, or any christian, had affirmed that a person could believe without *evidence*, then he might have made such a demand upon you; otherwise he could not rationally have made such an appeal. We contend that *testimony* is essential to faith; and that whether we shall possess the testimony sufficient to constrain belief, very generally depends upon our determination or volition.

But I would ask what idea he attaches to the word *belief*. I am apprehensive that he confounds, or uses interchangeably, the terms *belief*, *knowledge*, and *opinion*. *Belief* always depends upon the testimony of others; *knowledge*, upon the evidence of our senses; *opinion*, upon our own reasonings. I do not, in strict propriety of language, believe by my eyes, any more than I hear by my fingers. I *know* this desk is before me, I do not *believe* it. We *know* that Mr. Owen is here, but we cannot *believe* it. Therefore, for Mr. Owen to ask the audience to believe that he is not now before them, is entirely unwarrantable. I *know* that which is communicated to my *sensorium* through the avenues of my senses; and all that is thus communicated, we denominate *knowledge*. On the other hand, *belief* has exclusive reference to testimony; and *opinion* merely expresses different degrees of *probability;* and after weighing these probabilities, we say that we are of this, that, or the other opinion. I may be of opinion that there is a navigable passage round the North Pole; that all infants who die go to heaven, &c. Opinions result from premises not certain, or are the conclusions to which we are led from all the data before us. But wherever we believe, it must be upon sufficient testimony. In a word, I *know* this desk is before me; I *believe* that Thomas Jefferson is dead; and I am of *opinion* that Symmes' theory is all a mere fancy. I think Mr. Owen will accede to this.

I must just remark, in passing, that it is not difficult to prove the contrary of Mr. Owen's sixth position. That our volitions do, in many instances, determine our belief, or have some influence upon it, I doubt not can be made apparent to all. Suppose, for example, that I am told that some important event has transpired, which, in a pecuniary point of view, is very important to me; my informant, we will farther suppose, is a man of suspected veracity. Now, I cannot believe, nor disbelieve, on the evidence offered. But in consequence of the interest I feel, I determine to examine the evidence, and finally I collect such a body of evidence, as convinces me of the truth of the first report. But, if I had not willed or determined on eviscerating or searching out the truth of my first informant's narrative, could I have arrived at a full belief of the report? Now, the question is, was not my belief of this fact, some way dependent on my volition?—[*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rose.

Mr. Chairman—I perfectly agree with my friend in his discrimination between knowledge, belief, and opinion; but all I have to say, is, that in the case to which he has referred, it was his interest that generated his will, and, therefore, it was his interest that compelled him to investigate. I am also much indebted to my friend, Mr. Campbell, for his learned dissertation upon the opinions of others, for I did not trouble myself very much about a knowledge, in detail, of these opinions before. My researches were not in that direction, after I ascertained they contained so little really useful, practical information. The object I had in view, compelled me to become a

practical man, "to study from the life, and in the original, peruse mankind." I have totally avoided metaphysical reading, because I discovered it was not calculated to relieve society from its errors and difficulties; it has too many words, and too few facts.

Much have I read formerly of this character, that was unsatisfactory, and much have I seen and observed since. In consequence, metaphysical disquisitions which interested me in my youth, have long since given place to the investigation of facts, and legitimate deductions from them, that I might acquire a knowledge of their best application to practice. Many of these metaphysical disquisitions have already continued for thousands of years, and may continue to proceed for millions more, without producing any practical benefit, or bringing us nearer to our object. It is now full time that we direct our attention to facts, and to a just practice founded on these facts. It does appear to me, from all the facts I know, that not only our belief, but our knowledge and opinions are determined for us by the strongest impressions which external circumstances make upon our individual organizations. That no man has, of his own will, by the exercise of his own volition, formed his own knowledge, belief, or opinion. I have never heard a single argument, or seen any fact to prove that man ever forms his opinions by the decision of his will, contrary to the convictions made upon his mind by the impressions which he has received from external circumstances or subsequent intimate reflection, the individual not knowing what would be the result of those reflections until they were completed.

My friends, the next great law of human nature which goes to prove the gross ignorance in which human nature has been kept, and the injurious effects of all religions, is the seventh in my arrangement. It is, "That each individual must like that which creates agreeable, and dislike that which produces unpleasant sensations upon his nature, while, at the same time, he cannot discover previously to experience, what these sensations shall be." When our minds shall have been relieved from the prejudices of a vicious education, when we shall be permitted, without prejudice, to examine facts as they really are, and to infer the rational deductions from those facts, we shall discover, that all the governments of the world, all the religions, all the codes of laws, and all the social and other institutions of mankind, have been founded in the false notion, that human nature was so organized, that it had the power, by its own mere volitions, to believe conformably to its inclinations, and to love or hate according to its will. Now, I contend that no human being has the power of his own will to like, be indifferent to, or dislike any person, or any thing, contrary to the sensations which they produce upon him. Who, in this assembly, when any new food is brought before him can determine before tasting it, whether it is insipid, grateful, or distasteful to his palate? Will not his determination upon this point, depend entirely upon the sensations produced by his food upon his palate after tasting it? If a stranger were announced as being about to come into this assembly, where is the individual amongst you, who is prepared to determine

before he has seen this stranger, whether he shall like, be indifferent to, or dislike him? Would not one and all of you be compelled to receive the impressions which the countenance, the figure, the manner, and the address of this stranger would enforce upon your individual organizations?

Now, those who think they are doing good service to the world, by attempting to disprove the doctrine which I advocate, should consider well these two fundamental laws of our nature. I rest a very large portion of my argument to prove the errors of all religions, and of the truth of the principles which I advocate, on a thorough conviction from the evidence of innumerable facts, that human nature is so organized by the laws of its creation, as to be passive in the reception of its sensations, except so far as it may be influenced by previous sensations of liking or disliking. You have been taught some fanciful notions of what you have heard termed *God, Deity,* or *First Cause,* and you have been taught other fanciful notions of a being who has been introduced to you by the name of *the devil,* who was created by an infinitely wise and good power. Then, my friends, if you have a control over your likings and dislikings, just for the sake of the experiment, endeavour to hate the first, and to love the second. Can any one of you so far control his will as to do this? In common candour, my friends, you must be compelled to acknowledge that you cannot. But you will be pleased to observe, that I, by no means, admit, by any thing I may have said, that any intelligence infinitely wise, good, and powerful, ever did make, (knowing what it was about) a devil, to torment us. No, indeed, I cannot believe any absurdity so monstrous as this. But to return to our subject. We are, fortunately for us, compelled to like that which produces pleasant sensations, and to dislike that which produces their opposites. Then, if there be wisdom in the command, that we should love one another, there is but one practical course whereby to obey it. It is to act consistently with the principle I have now developed, which will lead you to train your children to acquire such qualities as are universally lovely, and then they must be beloved for possessing those qualities. Our nature is such, that when they are so formed, we cannot help loving them; and until they are so formed, it is not in human nature to love them. But we shall soon become acquainted with the method whereby to train our infants, step by step, in such a manner that they shall command our love. And when this shall be the case, the command to do so will become useless. What utility is there in commanding me to love that which possesses qualities which are disagreeable to me? And what necessity is there for such a command, when we know that we have the power to create the best dispositions, manners, and habits in the whole human race, and thus give such qualities as will always insure love or affection from every one? How often have uninstructed, unenlightened men told you that these principles lead to vice? But if ever virtue shall be known and practiced amongst mankind, it will only be through the knowledge of these principles, and through the universality of the practice which they demonstrate to be the best for man to adopt.

There never was, in the imagination of any human being, a collection of facts so truly valuable to the whole of mankind as those which are contained in these twelve laws; each one of them is of invaluable truth. But when united and formed into a system for reforming the character of men and governing them, what a glorious change will be effected for the well-being and happiness of the human race? When this shall be accomplished, as I anticipate will be the case in a few years, how very different will our residence in this world become? How different from any state or condition ever yet witnessed in any former period, or in the present times? There will be then no strife nor contention. Then all will say, "If any of my fellow-beings do not love or respect me, I know the cause is in myself; and, therefore, I will, thus informed, endeavour to remove the disagreeable parts of my character, and set about the correction of all my faults and failings, if the superior knowledge of those who educated me have left any of them tobe now corrected; but I could not be displeased with my fellow-being for expressing a sensation which I had caused him to feel; this will necessarily remove an error too palpable to be entertained." That we should have acted so long upon any other principle, is a proof of the ignorance and darkness in which the errors of religion have surrounded us. But, fortunately, my friends, a steady attention in the investigation of facts, will now enable us to discover the road which leads unerringly to certain happiness; and the means by which to secure it permanently, without the horrible notion, that some of our fellow-beings must suffer eternal torments.

My friends, I do not know what your ideas of Deity may be; but having attended to the relations of human life and human nature, I am compelled to believe that if I knew that one sentient being existed in eternal torment, that knowledge alone would prevent me from being perfectly happy. How, therefore, an all-wise, all-good, and perfect Being, should make human beings thus to suffer, knowing what he was doing when he made them, is too inconsistent to make any conviction of its truth in my mind. To me it appears an extraordinary and unaccountable notion of error—one really too absurd to be longer taught to man, woman, or child.

We now come to the eighth fundamental law of human nature, viz. "that each person is so created, that the impressions made on his organization, although pleasant at first, yet, if continued beyond a certain period without change, will become disagreeable; and when this change is too rapid, it impairs our physical, intellectual, and moral powers and enjoyments."

It is of no use for the human mind to waste its powers and faculties in imagining what human nature *ought* to be, according to the whims and fancies of some men. True knowledge will direct us at once to inquire what *it is*. Of no use is it to imagine that it ought to be, according to our ignorant notion, something else than what it is. We have nothing to do but to inquire what human nature is, what are its organic laws, and how it is formed from infancy to maturity.

We shall discover it to be a universal law, that human nature requires for its happiness, health, well-being, and a change of sensations. If any one sensation were to be continued without change, it would, after a certain time, become as painful as at first it was agreeable. We are, therefore, beings so organized as to require a certain change of our sensations. But when we proceed beyond a certain number, in a given period, these sensations will gradually become disagreeable, and ultimately produce misery instead of happiness. This is another admirable law of our organization. It teaches us, in the most emphatic manner, that to preserve health, spirits, and happiness, we must proceed in all our exercises, in all our enjoyments, to the point of temperance, and not beyond it; or, in other words, that the highest enjoyment of human life is to be attained by a due exercise of all our propensities and capacities at the point of temperance. I will endeavour to develop to you some of the miseries arising from the infraction of this law. Men and women, by the laws of many countries, are made solemnly to promise that they will love each other to the termination of their lives; and yet neither the one nor the other can know that it will be in their power to perform the promise for one day. They commit this error by not attending to this and other unchanging laws of our nature. Where is now the man or woman who has committed this moral perjury, who knew certainly at the time of making the vow, whether they would be able to love each other for an hour? And how much misery has this error produced? How much happiness has it destroyed? Your ignorance on the subject of belief, and of liking and disliking, has produced almost all the evils of domestic life, as well as almost all the dissensions between nations. Ignorance of this law of our nature has divided and subdivided the world into various classes, greatly to the injury of all. One class, which may be called producers, have their physical powers called into action far beyond the point of temperance. Another class, which may be called non-producers, have their memory and imagination overstrained far beyond the natural limits. The former class are subject to innumerable evils, in consequence of their physical powers being over-exerted, and their mental powers being unexercised. The latter class have been, perhaps, still more unfortunate, in having their physical powers neglected, and their memory and imagination too much exercised. And the world is generally divided into these two classes, and their subdivisions. When we shall come to the knowledge of what manner of beings we are, these errors must cease; society will be differently arranged, and there will be but one class trained, and educated, and placed under new circumstances that will enable all to enjoy the full extent of their respective capacities at the point of experience; and that class will have their physical, intellectual, and moral faculties equally cultivated, and duly and temperately exercised. We shall, by acquiring an accurate knowledge of these laws of our nature, begin to discover what real knowledge is, and what is necessary to constitute our true and substantial happiness. At present we do not know

what plan, system, or practice is necessary to constitute our happiness, and therefore we do not know what to adopt to promote it.

Before our meeting in this place shall terminate, I will endeavour to explain what are those things which are necessary for our happiness; that all may know what it is that we should endeavour to attain. [*Half hour out.*]

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

Mr. Chairman—It seems a very hard matter indeed to reason logically when we have nothing to reason against. We require not only to have premises established *from* which to reason, but we must have a definite object *for* which to reason. There is scarcely any thing tangible or pertinent in Mr. Owen's last address, any more than in his preceding ones. He has not put himself to the trouble to investigate or to discriminate with regard to the difficulties involved in our argumentation, if such it may be called. My friend might naturally have anticipated to have been met in the course of this discussion, with "How did man come into existence?" Are we going to extinguish all the lights we have upon this momentous question without presenting a single spark in lieu thereof? If man did not make himself, then, I ask, how came he into existence? Again, we have presented some (as we conceive) insuperable difficulties in the way of Mr. Owen's views of irresponsibility. We have urged upon him this difficulty. We have proved that his theory reduces the idiot and the sage to the same level of irresponsibility. And we did expect (reasonably we think) that he would have adverted to, and at least attempted to remove, this stumbling-block. But Mr. Owen, it seems, has found it convenient to pretermit all notice of this part of our remarks. He has favoured us, gratuitously too, with some very good remarks upon temperance. Assuredly, Mr. Owen knows that there is no controversy about temperance between us; that I have no objection to men's enjoying the blessings of temperance, and of a sound and healthy action of mind and body. But what has this to do with the argument before us?

I presented another difficulty in the way of my unreserved admission of the proposition that "our will has, *in no case*, any power over our belief." I have contended that our will has power over our assent to the verity of a matter submitted to our understandings, as a matter of belief. To this he has paid no regard in his last speech. Volition cannot create the evidence on which belief must be founded, but it can give stimulus and impulse sufficient to put us upon the investigation of the character of that evidence. Suppose, as Mr. Owen states, that it was my interest that did excite me to investigate the testimony offered, am I not at liberty to act according to what I conceive to be my true interest? And, if I so act, do I not act rationally and voluntarily? Seeing my interest, have I not liberty to make a start in pursuit of it? Consequently, our volitions have power in influencing and inducing our belief. In some instances, we are compelled to believe. I might not wish a fact to be true, and yet might be unable to resist

the force of the evidence; and, on the other hand, I might wish it to be true, and yet be unable to believe it, for want of satisfactory evidence. Thus contradictory to our volitions, such is the sovereignty of evidence to compel belief. This we admit most cheerfully; but, from such particular instances, to infer a general and universal conclusion, is a sophism of the most palpable detection. I would not sacrifice a single truth that might appear to combat a favourite point for any momentary triumph.

Philosophers run as much into extremes as any other persons. Because Mr. Owen finds instances where belief is involuntary, or, at least, not dependent upon any previous determination, he asserts universally, that, *in no case whatever*, does our belief depend upon our will. But this we shall, in its own place, still farther develop.

Instead of adverting to the difficulties proposed in my last speech, Mr. Owen told us he could never believe that a good and wise Being could create a devil; yet he could believe that the devil created himself, or that a wise and kind nature created evil. Natural evils and moral evils do exist, from some cause; there are poisons, pains, and death. Yet, with Mr. Owen, there is neither a God nor a devil! Every thing made itself, or all things together made each separate agent!!

"Nor can he endure the idea of misery existing any where. The thought of any sentient being suffering hereafter, would convert his heaven into a place of torment. He has high conceptions of his future sensibilities! They must be much more perfect than at present; for he can sleep sound, and enjoy all animal and social comforts, day and night, without ever thinking or feeling unhappy at the thought—

> "How many feel, this very moment, death
> And all the sad variety of pain.
> How many sink in the devouring flood,
> Or more devouring flame. How many bleed,
> By shameful variance betwixt man and man.
> How many pine in want, and dungeon glooms,
> Shut from the common air, and common use
> Of their own limbs. How many drink the cup
> Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
> Of misery. Sore pierc'd by wintry winds,
> How many shrink into the sordid hut
> Of cheerless poverty. How many shake
> With all the fiercer tortures of the mind,
> Unbounded passion, madness, guilt, remorse;
> Whence tumbled headlong from the height of life,
> They furnish matter for the tragic muse."

He seems now to enjoy himself, unconscious that there are myriads suffering all the fiercer tortures of mind and body, but yet *fancies* that the thought of any human being suffering hereafter, would make him most wretchedly unhappy! His sensibilities are very fantastic.

I will now, for the sake of eliciting investigation, submit an outline of what I conceive to be the constituents of the human being. Taking myself for one of the species, and as a sample of the race, I proceed to examine myself, with a view to discriminate accurately what manner

of a being I am. I look at my exterior—my corporeal powers, and senses. Of the latter, I perceive that I have five. Through these, communications are made to some internal power, or principle, called *the mind*. The mind, through the senses, by what is called sensation, has the power of *perception*, by which I become acquainted with all things external. By *memory*, I become acquainted with all things past; by *consciousness*, I become acquainted with all things internal. All philosophers agree that we have the powers of perception, memory, and consciousness. Now sensation, perception, memory, and consciousness, are just as distinct from each other as the ear, eye, or hand. But these constitute the mind, as our different members constitute the body. These faculties are as distinct in their operations, as are the different members and organs in the animal part of man. I repeat, for the sake of perspicuity and emphasis, that by perception we become acquainted with all things *external*. By memory, we take cognizance of all *things past*. By consciousness, we become acquainted with things *internal*. Such of these as are active powers, act independently of volition. But I ask, have we any *other* powers or faculties, capable of acting independently of volition? I say, *No*. We have, however, the powers of recollecting, reflecting, imagining, reasoning, and judging. These operations of the human mind are dependent upon volition; or, in other words, it depends upon volition, whether I shall or shall not exercise my powers of recollecting, reflecting, imagining, reasoning, or judging. Mr. Owen, it appears to me, confounds our appetites with our higher powers. These I would designate by the term *instincts*. But our appetites, affections, passions, and judgment, affect the will, and determine to action. I hope Mr. Owen will either affirm or deny that we may examine our mental powers, for he seems to overlook them in his system. I beg leave to submit this analysis of our mental powers, in order to ascertain what is the primitive character of the mind. At present we are utterly unable to discover whether Mr. Owen recognizes any distinction between our perception, memory, and consciousness, and our appetites, affections, and passions.

But Mr. Owen has gone so far as to inform us, that our ideas of a Deity, devil, &c., are fanciful. I am glad to hear the assertion, because it may present something tangible. Are we to admit the assertion that the idea of a God is fanciful, or shall we join issue upon this assertion? I have no objections to rest the whole merits of the discussion upon this assertion. This is a tangible position taken by my opponent.

I repeat, that if my opponent can make that assertion good, I will give up the cause I advocate. If he will join issue with me upon this assertion, the scope and compass of this discussion will be much contracted. I conceive that the whole of my opponent's declamation has been entirely irrelevant to the premises before us, and that it has no connexion with the real merits of the questions we are to debate. The question whether all religions are founded in ignorance, is a question of fact—of plain, simple, tangible, veritable, demonstrable fact. A man need not to be a sage before he can become a christian.

The truth of religion depends altogether upon facts—facts which can be apprehended as easily by the unlearned as by the wise. I well know, my friends, that the real merits of this question do not rest where, for the sake of an issue, I have proposed to rest them; but I repeat, that I will rest the whole merits of this controversy upon my opponent's being able to establish the assertion, that the idea of God is a fancy. I know very well that it is very difficult to render a clear and perspicuous demonstration of an abstract and metaphysical hypothesis. Were we as well acquainted with the extent and measure of our intellectual as we are of our physical powers, we could soon settle this controversy. Were I to tell you that I had seen a man take up the Andes in his hand and cast them into the ocean, you would unhesitatingly say that it was false, because you know, by experience, and the most extensive observation, that this is far beyond the measure of any human strength. But when I say that a man could as easily, by the exercise of his own native, inherent, unaided human strength, take up the mountains and cast them into the sea, as he could originate the idea of a God, you would feel a great deal more hesitancy in giving a plump negative to the assertion; you would immediately say, this is a question of much more difficult solution than the former; it is abstract and metaphysical; it is *de rebus spiritualibus*, and not *de rebus naturalibus*.

I did not propose those questions yesterday with a view to puzzle my opponent. As far as I have been able to penetrate these subjects, I am conscious that no man can solve these questions, but by an admission of the principle for which I contend. These questions were, therefore, tendered to my friend in order to bring his own mind to reason upon them, and thereby enable it to arrive at logical conclusions. But I cannot consent to go on with the discussion in this way. I am willing to receive and examine Mr. Owen's ablest arguments in support of his cause. And I do wish, for his own sake, and for the sake of truth, that he would come out in his whole argumentative strength, in advocacy of his proposition. More good than Mr. Owen has ever dreamed of, may result from a correct and fair investigation of this subject. I should like to be told why we should not, on Mr. Owen's principles, love stones and trees as well as men.

Mr. Owen has told us, moreover, that the millennium is coming, when we shall all be *independent;* that is, in his acceptation, we shall have like sympathy for trees and stones, as for each other. Am I not warranted in calling all this impertinent declamation? But I must resume my disquisition upon the old sceptics, as I have nothing before me, in Mr. Owen's last speech, pertinent to our discussion. When my last half hour expired, I was going on to show how the sceptics involve every thing in mysticism. No sceptics ever could agree upon any system of human nature.

"Man is the work of nature," says the philosopher. But who, or what, is *nature?* Of her he appears as ignorant as the deist of his "god of nature." He attempts to define nature. "Nature, in its most extended signification, is the great whole that results from the

assemblage of different matter, of its different combinations, and of their different motion which the universe presents to view." But nature, the mother of us all, is here said to be a child of *matter and motion*. The sage defines her again. "Nature, in a less extended sense, or considered in each being, is the whole that *results* from its essence; *i. e.* of the properties, combinations, motions, or different modifications, by which it is distinguished from other beings." This makes the nature of each being the *result* of its own essence!! But we shall hear his definition of one being, viz. *man*. "Man is, in the whole, the result of the combination of certain matter, endowed with peculiar properties, of which the arrangement is called organization, and of which the essence is to *feel*, to think, to act, and, in short, to move after a manner distinguished from other beings with which he can be compared." Now, if nature be something different from matter, motion, or the essence of particular bodies, can *these* be called nature, or can *she* be called the author of them!! But the sage, feeling the darkness and confusion of his former definitions, gives an extra definition, by way of admonition. "Whenever I make use of the expression, 'nature produces an effect,' I have no intention of *personifying* that nature which is purely an abstract being."

But he talks of the LAWS OF NATURE. Is she a lawgiver? The laws of a stone are just as puissant as the laws of nature. Is nature the governor, and the governed; the *agent* and the *patient;* or is the term *law*, equivalent to the term *nature?!*

There are some who glory in being *rational*, and contemn others as *irrational*. The rationals censure the irrationals for their ignorance of the system of religion which they embrace; or rather, for having any system which they do not fully comprehend. After this, who would expect to hear a person professing to teach and to admire what he calls the SYSTEM OF NATURE, confessing, in piecemeal, his ignorance of the whole of it? Yet such is the author of the system of nature.

We shall now state the dogmas and mysteries of atheism:—

First. Of the dogmas.

1. "The universe presents but *matter* and *motion*."

2. "From the actions and re-action of the beings which the universe contains, result a series of causes and effects."

3. "Man is the work of nature."

4. "Motion is guided by constant and invariable laws."

Now for a confession of ignorance on those dogmas and topics connected with them:—

CONFESSED IGNORANCE OF ATHEISTS.

1. "The different principles of each of these motions are unknown to us, because *we are ignorant* of what originally constitutes the essence of these beings. We know bodies only in the mass; *we are ignorant* of their intimate combinations, and the proportions of those combinations."

2. "If we have a mind to find *the principle of action* in matter, and the *origin of things*, it is for ever to fall back into difficulties, and to

absolutely abridge the examination of our senses, which only can make us know and judge of the causes capable of acting upon them, or impressing on them motion."

3. "We know nothing of the elements of bodies."

4. "The mind most practised in philosophical observations, has frequently the chagrin to find, that the most simple and the most common effects *escape all his reseárches,* and remain *inexplicable to him.*"

5. "*We are ignorant* of the ways of nature, or of the essence of beings; let us, therefore, content ourselves with avowing that *nature has resources which* WE KNOW NOT OF."

6. "If they ask, FROM WHENCE MAN HAS COME: we reply, that experience does not enable us to resolve this question, and that IT CANNOT REALLY INTEREST US. It suffices for us to know, that man exists, and that he is constituted in a manner to produce the effects of which we see him capable."

7. "PERHAPS this earth is a mass, detached, in the course of time, from some other celestial body. PERHAPS it is the result of those spots, or those incrustations, which astronomers perceive on the sun's disk; which, from thence, have been able to diffuse themselves into our planetary system. PERHAPS this globe is an extinguished, or displaced comet, which heretofore occupied some other place in the regions of space; and which, consequently, was then in a state to produce beings very different from those which we find in it now."

8. "We CONJECTURE that the human species is a production peculiar to our globe, in the position in which it is found; and when this position shall happen to be changed, the human species will change, or will be obliged to disappear."

9. "IT IS PROBABLE that man was a necessary consequence of the disentangling of our globe, or one of the results of the qualities or properties of the energies of which it was susceptible; that he was born male and female; that his existence is co-ordinate with that of the globe."

10. "The PRIMITIVE MAN did, *perhaps,* differ more from the actual man, than the quadrupeds differ from the insects."

11. "It is as *impossible for us to know* what they will become, as to know what they have been."

12. "It is not given to man to know his origin, to know the essence of things, nor to know their first principles; but we may conclude that he has no just reason to believe himself a privileged being in nature."

13. "We know not the nature of magnetism, of electricity, of elasticity, of attraction, of cohesion."

14. "The most simple motions, the most ordinary phenomena, the most common modes of action, are *inexplicable mysteries,* of which we shall never know the first principles."

This, which is but a sample, we must give as a specimen of the ignorance confessed by those who pretend to believe that christianity is predicated upon the ignorance of mankind. I have extracted these fourteen assertions in their own words.

NATURAL MYSTERIES OF ATHEISM.

1. The origin of matter.
2. The principle of *motion* in matter.
3. The specific origin of the earth.
4. The origin of man.
5. The elements of bodies.
6. The nature of magnetism.
7. The nature of attraction.
8. The nature of repulsion.
9. The nature of cohesion.
10. The nature of elasticity.
11. The nature of electricity.
12. The destiny of the whole, or any part of the universe.
13. Our belief in no case depends upon our will; therefore, faith or belief is necessary; consequently, original and divine.
14. Knowledge, belief, and opinion, are all *involuntary*. The desire to know a natural principle has no effect upon our will; our consequent volition has no influence upon our knowledge.

The *materialist* has to confess as much ignorance, and to believe more mysteries, than the christian. And this is neither the half nor the worst of it; he has to teach, admit, and contend for a number of absurd mysteries besides those which he acknowledges; which, in fact, are much greater than any taught in the most corrupt schools of christian priests. But they are of another kind, and therefore are not to be compared.

1. The *materialist* asserts, "*that it cannot really interest man to know his origin.*" This is contrary to universal experience, and to the ardent desires of rational nature.

2. The materialist asserts, "that man has no just reason to believe himself a privileged being in nature." This is also contrary to experience, and the most common observation.

3. He has, in any attempt to account for the origin of man, to suppose an absurdity; namely, that there were an infant male and female born, or produced co-ordinate with the existence of the earth, and that these had no parent; consequently, could not possibly arrive at maturity. Experience has taught us, that the first pair must have been adults when first ushered into being.

4. He has to suppose, contrary to all experience, and to all history, that man was not originally like the species now.

5. That there was first an acorn, or a seed, before there was a tree to produce it. Doubtless, all the vegetable, as well as the animal kingdom, was first in its prime before a seed fell into the earth.

6. He is also compelled to suppose matter and motion originally possessed of powers, of which they are now totally divested, and therefore has to reason against all experience. Nature cannot now produce a new genus, or species, in the animal or vegetable kingdom. By what rational evidence can it, then, be shown that ever she possessed such a power?

7. He cannot give any rational account how the idea of God or a Creator, so universally obtained amongst mankind.

8. He cannot show one single instance of either contingency, or the blind laws of nature operating to produce a poem like Homer's Iliad or Milton's Paradise Lost; to produce a house like this one; a steamboat; a ship; a watch; a human eye; a hand; or a picture. Why, then, assert, contrary to all experience and observation, that nature produces the power of creating any thing?

The capital sins of ignorance confessed by the materialist, amount to twice seven. The *natural mysteries* of their creed are also at least twice seven. And the artificial mysteries which they have recently superadded, amount to seven. In this enumeration we have followed their method: we have not gone into the detail. The prominent items I have given in their own words. But there is one *mystery* that ought to be added, which is more than equal to that of *transubstantiation* in its worst aspect. It is this: *Motion*, say they, is a property of matter. But what gives *regularity* to motion? Why does it choose to move in order, or in any uniform course?

Motion was so *irregular* at one time, as to form out of two vegetables, a man and a woman. They sprang up on the bank of a river in Asia. They grew up with their faces towards each other, and when they were fully ripe, a gentle breeze broke them off the stem, and so put them in motion; and thus they formed an early attachment for each other, and have kept in motion ever since. But why motion should have acted so irregularly at that time, and kept so regular ever since, is *the great mystery of mysteries of atheism*.

Before I sit down, I will give you the testimony of Lord Chesterfield, on this creed of the materialists. No man can suppose *him* either a bigot or an enthusiast in religion. He says—

"I have read some of Leed's sermons, and like them very well. But I have neither read nor intend to read those which are meant to prove the existence of God; because it seems to me too great a disparagement of that *reason* which He has given to us, to require any other proof of His existence than those which the whole, and every part, of the creation afford us. If I believe my own existence, I must believe His. It cannot be proved *a priori*, as some have idly attempted to do, and cannot be doubted of *a posteriori*. Cato very justly says: 'And that He is, all nature cries aloud.'" Elegant epistle.—[*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

Mr. Chairman—I expressed, in the previous part of the debate, my total disbelief in the notion that a Supreme Intelligence would create a devil, knowing what it was about. I asserted nothing about the existence or non-existence of Deity, &c. Now, my friends, I am very desirous to conform to the suggestion of the board of moderators, and not to digress from the point of discussion immediately before us, except for the purpose of more ample illustration. We are now endeavouring to prove that all religions are founded in ignorance. Mr. Campbell has stated a strong, practical fact concerning the sectarianism of the sceptics. But I do not conceive myself in the least

bound to depend upon any arguments except those which I bring forward myself. I have not once quoted a sceptic, deist, or atheist to prove one of my positions. I derive my information from a close observation of human nature, and from facts which every one can examine for himself. I have no occasion for any other authority, nor do I wish to resort to any other. For, in my opinion, authority is but of little use, unless it be to give sanction to falsehood and error. It seems that the sceptical opinions of Mirabeau and Paine were at war with each other. Well, be it so: for my part, I know not what scepticism means, unless it signifies a difference of opinion from the speaker. I am simply *a searcher after, and a lover of, truth.* Mirabeau, it seems, has stated that atheism could not make a wicked man good. Right enough, according to his notions of human nature and society. But the system which I advocate, is derived from the laws of nature, which will prevent bad men from being formed. Are there not now bad men and women of all religions in the world? Now, I propose to you a principle which shall prevent the formation in future of any bad men and women; and surely this is a superior principle to apply to practice than either religion or atheism, both of which are mere words.

The ninth great law of our nature is, "that the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual, depend upon the cultivation of our intellectual and other faculties, upon their equal and full development, and upon their temperate exercise." It is this law of our nature that demonstrates that temperance in all things must be the highest point of human enjoyment. Consequently, the education of youth ought to be directed to give every being the habit of temperance. We all know that we are composed of physical propensities, of intellectual faculties, and of moral feelings; and no human being can enjoy the happiness, that of right belongs to his nature, until all these are properly cultivated from infancy to maturity. We have, therefore, my friends, not a metaphysical discussion to attend to; but an invaluable law of nature directing us to the most beneficial, practical result, and declaring to us in the plainest language, that we ought to alter our whole system of society as it is carried on in all countries. In our present system, we have, as formerly stated, but two divisions of society, the producer and the non-producer; the one continually attempting to deceive, and to prey upon the other, and both having their faculties partially and unnaturally developed. The whole system of the world is therefore bad from its foundation. Had we been all trained in the best manner, physically and intellectually, what different beings should we have been from what we now are. Why, my friends, under a rational state of society, the expression of every one of our features will be greatly superior to what they now are. I should be sorry to say any thing offensive, or unnecessarily to wound the feelings of any one; but it is my duty on this occasion, to speak the truth for the benefit of society at large, who will either read or hear of these discussions, and to make known the genuine impressions

which facts have made upon me; and, therefore, my friends, I tell you plainly, and I hope without offence to any, that I have never yet seen, since I had the power of observing, with my present knowledge upon the subject, any feature in the countenance of any human being, that appeared to express the full character of rationality. And my expectation is, that the generation that shall be trained to be rational, will be in all respects different, and greatly superior, in aspect and general character, from the present. More different, indeed, than in your present state of mind, it is possible for you to conceive. When we shall become rational, if I am not greatly deceived, we shall see no feature expressive of dislike, anger, or irritation; no eye that will express want of confidence, or a consciousness that we are attempting to deceive our neighbour. Our faces will become so open, that all our real feelings will be expressed in them, without the slightest shadow of disguise. Every internal movement of the mind will be distinctly exhibited in the finer movements of the countenance; no uncharitable expression will be felt, to leave its impression upon any feature; not one unamiable look, or constrained action, or, consequently, one unamiable gesture in our deportment, that will appear ungraceful, will then be discoverable. How will this change beautify our race in the next and succeeding generations! And all this, my friends, is neither visionary nor very difficult of practice. All that is necessary in order to bring about these desirable results, is to discover and understand what manner of beings we are. Our nature, at birth, is a beautiful compound, which can be moulded into the most elegant or misshapen form; but which of these it shall be, depends entirely upon the knowledge that may be speedily acquired by the respective American and European governments. Heretofore, governments and priesthoods have had the forming of you; and how very inferior, in person and mind, have your priests and rulers made you! Nevertheless, we cannot be rational, and complain of those who have thus formed us; because, they were made to be as ignorant of the right method of training human nature to become rational, as you are now, without additional knowledge upon the subject. This law, my friends, like the other laws, points out to us the importance of infant schools. I do not know whether any of the parties present have ever seen any of those, in practice in the eastern cities, imperfect as they yet are. There are some, I believe, in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. But these infant schools have not been introduced into this country, or latterly into Great Britain, on the principles on which they were originally founded. These infant schools, as first introduced by myself at New Lanark, five years before they were introduced elsewhere, I believe to be the first practical step that has been taken towards forming the human race to become rational. But the priesthood, through their influence, have been enabled to lay hold upon these institutions, and are now moulding the children within them, to their own purposes. But this mode of proceeding will not do much longer. The spread of knowledge is opposed to it, and too much light will speedily appear upon the subject of education, to permit of so much injury being inflicted upon the rising generation. My friends, when these infant

schools shall be properly directed, they are capable of forming, by comparison with the poor neglected infants of the present day, little angels; for, in these schools, under a rational management, they may be trained to acquire, without any failure, the best dispositions, habits, and manners, and the most useful and valuable knowledge. Such qualifications as these, will make angels of any children, except their wings; but these I cannot promise, for they have not yet been invented for them. But, to be again serious; it is certainly most true, that heretofore, men have been quite unconscious of the extent of the infantile powers, and of the effect which, when human nature comes to be known, and well understood, may be produced at a very early period. I have seen several hundred little children assembled together, who were angels in every thing, except the wings: there was no fighting, no quarrelling, no crying; all was peaceful. So that one young female, not more than eighteen years of age, of ordinary acquirements, but having a good disposition, and being fond of children, could with pleasure superintend, for several hours through every day, almost from morning to night, one hundred and thirty of them, from the age of eighteen months up to six years. The infant schools, when well understood, will be discovered to be a moral improvement, of far greater value to society than the steam-engine, or any other ancient or modern physical improvement. But, my friends, I would not have you to introduce these schools until you understand the principles on which they were founded, and upon which only they ought to be established and managed. Had you commenced before this time, you would have commenced in error. But I hope the time is rapidly approaching, when you shall have no error to contend against; when no part of the population will be longer taught to contend against its own happiness. If, as Mr. Campbell admits, human beings are influenced by the circumstances surrounding them, ought we not to begin at once to study the quality of circumstances around us, in order to ascertain if it be possible to withdraw those which produce a bad effect, and to replace them with others of a superior description? Is there any other practical wisdom in the world? If we be in all cases, to a very great degree, the creatures of circumstances, does it not behoove those who undertake to govern and instruct us, to make themselves well acquainted with the nature and character of those circumstances? I have read much of history, I have travelled in many countries, I have endeavoured to bring before me all the present and past transactions of mankind; but I cannot bring to my recollection the government, or the priesthood, which has not entirely neglected this high duty: while this is, *by far*, the most important duty of both, it is, in all cases, the first business to which they ought to attend. While they remain ignorant of this department, every active measure they adopt will tend only to increase the evils of society; for society is very different now from what it was only a few years ago. It could be governed *by* ignorance, *in* ignorance; it must now be governed by intelligence, and made to be intelligent.

It is of no use for different parties to contend any longer against each other in the field of ignorance, opposing one erroneous system against

another. A large mass of the people, in many countries, have become too well informed, to admit much longer, of a continuance of these measures. They have discovered the true sources of knowledge and of wealth, and that they are sufficient, under a good and intelligent direction, amply to supply the human race.

As men receive all their knowledge from without, they can be made intelligent and well-disposed to all their fellows, by a rational education from infancy to maturity. They can be made wealthy through the knowledge and habits which they may be taught, by a rational education directing them to what they require for their happiness, and how to obtain it in the best and most easy manner, by a right application of the enormous mechanical and chemical power for the creation of wealth, now at the disposal of society, and which admits of unlimited increase.

But these invaluable sources of knowledge and wealth cannot be applied with advantage for the general benefit of society under the influence of any known religion. Useful, valuable, practical knowledge can proceed only from an accurate knowledge of human nature; and, to me it appears that these religions and that knowledge are at variance with each other; that all religions are founded in mysteries beyond human comprehension: that all knowledge is derived from an accurate observation of facts, and just deductions from them, and proved to be so by their unvarying consistency. It may be also taught by proper methods to be understood by all men.

The twelve fundamental laws of human nature explain what human nature really is, and the principle by which it ought to be trained and instructed from infancy to maturity, to secure, to every one, superior dispositions, habits, and knowledge.

But each of these laws, when followed out to all its legitimate consequences, is sufficient to prove that all the religions of the world have been founded in ignorance of human nature, and therefore they never have or can make man intelligent, good, and happy. They all continually endeavour to pursue a course opposite to the nature of man; and, in consequence, both are perpetually violently opposed to each other. And, as these religions give an erroneous direction to men's thoughts and feelings, I have been long deeply impressed with the conviction, which has been more confirmed by all I have heard in this debate, "that all religions are not only founded in ignorance of human nature, but they have been and are the real source, through that error, of vice, disunion, and misery of every description; that they are now the only real bar to the formation of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family; and that they can be no longer maintained, except through the ignorance of the mass of the people, and the tyranny of the few over that mass."

The world cannot be benefited by the continuance of errors which affect the well-being and happiness of every individual, whatever may be his rank or condition. All are, therefore, deeply interested in this question between Mr. Campbell and myself. One or both of us must

be in error, and the intelligent of all parties ought, for their own sakes, and for the benefit of their less-informed fellow-beings, to investigate, without partizan feelings, calmly and patiently, the principles which each conscientiously believes to be so true that he is lost in conjectures how the other can believe, as he says he does believe, and wonders that he has not by his arguments already convinced his opponent of his errors.

To me it appears that there are two most important measures which require the whole attention, and the application of all the best faculties of those who attempt to govern and to instruct the population of different countries.

The one is to introduce a rational system of education, by which the character of *every one* shall be well formed, physically and mentally, from infancy to maturity. The other, to give a right direction to the new scientific powers of production; that an independence, relative to the means of a comfortable and happy existence, may be secured to every individual.

Upon every view that I can give to the subject, it seems to me that the condition of the population of most countries now calls loudly for the adoption of these measures; that they may be immediately introduced into practice with great benefit to the governors and governed, to the instructors and instructed, and that to secure success, both measures should be intimately united, and one made to aid the other; indeed it is only by their union, by being so blended together that they shall mutually act and re-act upon each other, that either of them can become practicable. For it is useless and dangerous to enlighten men before they attain the means of securing a happy existence; and it is equally useless and dangerous to give them the means of superfluous abundance without forming them at the same time to become intelligent and virtuous in the proper sense of the term; or, in other words, well-disposed in all sincerity to promote the real happiness of all their fellow-beings, not merely in words, but in their daily conduct.

Happy will it be for the government and people that shall first introduce this change into practice!

By such examples they will shew the means, most delightful too in practice, by which "peace on earth, and good-will to men," may be established, probably in less than one generation. I could enter into extensive detail upon these very interesting subjects.

[Here the honourable Chairman remarked (without wishing to interrupt Mr. Owen) that, in the opinion of the Moderators, Mr. Owen, in his last address, had wandered from the point of discussion immediately before the disputants and the public. The board of Moderators suppose that you ought to prove the falsehood of the existing religions before you proceed to the discussion and explanation of your substitute.]

Mr. Owen replies—That he has intimately studied man, and finds him entirely different in his nature from what all religions suppose him to be. If I prove this to the satisfaction of the audience, I apprehend it is entirely unnecessary to involve myself in all the subtleties

of the unlimited amount of fables and metaphysics with which the world has been inundated. If I am permitted to prove these five positions in the way I conceive to be consistent with right reason, then I shall be ready to enter into any metaphysical disquisitions that may be necessary to elucidate any other truth.

Mr. Chairman said in reply to Mr. Owen—It is not the wish of the Moderators to dictate to you the course which you ought to pursue. The Moderators are perfectly willing that you should rely upon any course of argument which you may think best calculated to sustain your proposition, viz. "that all religions in the world are inconsistent with human nature, as you find it." The Moderators only meant to say, that while you are discussing the proposition, that all religions are false, it would be improper to introduce the *substitute* which you propose.

Here Mr. Owen remarked that he had touched upon the subject of infant schools, and the creation of wealth, simply to illustrate that the population of the world were yet ignorant; that they had not even taken the first step towards training their children to become rational from infancy, or independent in their condition.

Mr. Campbell then said—

Not having heard any argument whatever adduced in the last address, pertinent to the subject at issue, and Mr. Owen having dealt only in general assertions concerning human nature; having rejected the validity of all authority, and having admitted that his system is so different from the existing state of things, that we cannot reason from the one to the other, I now feel myself compelled to adopt some other course.

Mr. Owen places me in a very singular predicament. Had I selected a certain proposition and pledged myself to prove it, I should have felt myself bound, by all controversial rules, to keep to that proposition, until I had either established it, or failed in the attempt. And if, on the other hand, my opponent had taken up an affirmative proposition, and confined himself to the proof of it, I should have felt myself bound to attend to every fact, argument, and demonstration adduced in its support, and either have rebutted them, or acknowledged my inability so to do. But, in the singular predicament in which I am placed by Mr. Owen's course, unless I were to speak of angelic infants, with or without wings; unless I were to speak of subjects derogatory to the dignity of this discussion, I see not how I can take any notice of my opponent's last address. It is necessary that we should reciprocally reach some tangible point of disputation. I trust that Mr. Owen is only keeping back his strong arguments all this while. But if any stronger argument is yet to be offered, for the sake of the audience, as well as for my own sake, I should really be obliged to Mr. Owen if he would soon adduce it.

If Mr. Owen possesses that moral courage or boldness for which his friends so much admire him, he ought to avow at once that all ideas of Deity, and all other spiritual existences, are entirely at va-

riance with the beneficent objects which he has in contemplation to consummate. Let us suppose that Mr. Owen thinks and assumes that the idea of the providence of God, and all the ideas inseparably connected with a belief in the Christian religion, are diametrically opposed to the consummation of his beneficent objects. Assuming this to be Mr. Owen's real opinion, then it behooves him to give us some sort of argument, proof, or illustration, calculated to eradicate such ideas from our minds. If Mr. Owen thinks that our religious (superstitious) ideas, and his social ideas can never exist together in the same mind, this ought to be his course. If he has no objection to the ideas which we entertain of spiritual existences, and of our relation to a spiritual world, he ought to concede to us the right of making deductions from them. But if, on the other hand, he conceives that these ideas interpose an impassable barrier to the admission of his principles into our minds, he ought to use his best exertions to banish these hostile ideas. But Mr. Owen not only eludes the *onus probandi*, which every advocate of an affirmative proposition tacitly and impliedly undertakes, but he cautiously avoids advancing any thing for his opponent to disprove.

Now, I am at a loss to reconcile this equivocal course with what I must think is the honesty, frankness, and candour of my friend's character and disposition. I have advanced certain propositions predicated on all the popular systems of philosophy. I have inquired of my opponent whether he would admit the philosophy of Locke, or Hume, or of any of the philosophers of ancient or modern times, on the subject of man's intellectual and moral powers. To these requests I have not been able to elicit either assent or negation. I am still willing on these topics to join issue with Mr. Owen upon the doctrines of any sceptical philosopher of any school. But as yet he has not asserted one single first principle, except that "we are the creatures of circumstances." I reasonably expected that he would admit, or except to my analysis of the powers of the human mind; but, Mr. Owen, according to his *modus operandi*, pretermits all notice of that analysis. Does my opponent approbate my analysis? Does he assent to its correctness? If so, his conclusions are at variance with his premises. I am apprehensive that it will be necessary for me to do one of two things—either to institute a regular argument demonstrative of this position, viz. "*that it is impossible for man to originate any of those supernatural ideas which are developed in the Christian religion;*" that is to say, I shall have to undertake to prove, *philosophically*, that man could not invent, or originate, the idea of a God, a Spirit, a future state, or any of the positive institutions of religion; that he never could have invented or originated the ideas inseparably connected with the word *priest, altar, sacrifice*, &c.; *ergo*, that these ideas and the words used to express them, are derivable only from an immediate and direct revelation; man having no power, according to any philosophic analysis of his intellectual powers, to originate any such ideas. This I must do, or take up the great question, "*Whether we have reasonable grounds to believe the truth and certainty of the apostolic testimony.*"

To one or other of these topics I shall be compelled to call your attention, if my opponent will not adopt some systematic logical course of argumentation, bearing directly upon the points at issue. One or other of these topics, if permitted, I intend to take up in the afternoon.

We have taken a peep into the different systems of the *free thinkers* (as they glory in the name) of the ancient and modern schools. And now let me ask, What have the sceptics to propose us in room of the Bible? Can they concur in any substitute? Can they offer any system of nature, or of human nature? If they recommend *theism*, they cannot find any two of themselves to concur in defining that system. If they would have us become *atheists*, they cannot harmonize in any one scheme on which men can reason. Indeed, Mr. Owen seems to think that all that is necessary, is to pull down Christianity by reiterated assertions that it is predicated on principles at variance with the nature of man. And having demolished this *palladium* of all refined social enjoyment, and having extinguished all the lights of immortality, man must not dare to think of his *origin*, because it does not "*interest* him to know any thing about it;" nor must he think of his *destiny*, as that cannot afford him any relish for the animal enjoyments of his system. He must not act either the philosopher or the christian. If he were to reason from effect to cause, he might be confounded with some insoluble difficulty upon such a question as, Whether the first man was an infant or an adult; or, Whether there was an acorn or an oak first. Such questions as these might lead him to others more unanswerable still, as, Whether the first man invented language himself, and taught it to his offspring, or whether there was a convention of men co-existent, who agreed upon names for every thing before any of them could speak. But it will be best, under the new economy, to teach that it is a sin, or something worse, for persons to have, or to indulge, any curiosity upon such topics.

Although the sceptic may, in argument, be constrained to admit that no innate appetite or desire in man is so strong as the desire of knowledge; yet, under the new system, he must be taught to view the gratification of this desire as a sin against his own happiness if ever it transcends the properties of matter. Every thing about *spirit* and a spiritual system must be the forbidden fruit in the gardens of sensual pleasure, which are to be cultivated under the new social system.

The systems of nature and human nature, framed by physical men, who have just their five senses to guide them, teach man to consider himself by no means a privileged being amidst the animals around him. He must not consider himself superior to the horse on which he rides; for, if he should think about superiority, this might involve him in great difficulties, and cause him to inquire, to whom he might be indebted for the high rank he occupies in the scale of being. And whether he be superior or inferior, is a problem with them which has not yet been satisfactorily solved. And should it ever occur to him that there is a real difference in animals, not only in figure and size, but also in sagacity, in genius, taste, imagination, reason, &c., he

must never inquire why or how the earth once threw up a small crop of each, and never attempted to do it a second time; and by what peculiar concourse of chemical agents and atoms the first crop were men; and the last, apes or insects.

Nothing astonishes me more than the impotency of philosophy in all matters and things pertaining to a spiritual system: to the origin and nature of all those relations in which mankind stand to the Creator, and towards one another, as immortal beings. And how men, reared and educated within the precincts of revelation, can exhibit so many raw and undisciplined ideas of human nature, to say nothing of the future and unseen world, is still more astonishing. To hear all the sceptics, too, in one conclave assembled, declare their perfect ignorance of the fundamental springs and principles of all their own laws of nature; and, indeed, of the origin of all things, and their destiny: to see them predicate all their systems of infidelity upon such acknowledged ignorance, and then upbraid Christianity, as if predicated upon ignorance of God and man, is a contradiction, or inconsistency, for which I can find no parallel in the whole range of my acquaintance with men and things. If, as they confess, they neither know nor can know, the origin of this earth and all things upon it, how or why do they presume to deny the Mosaic account of it! They profess not to know any thing about it; why then attempt to deny, or oppose the only account of it in the world, which, without philosophy, but with the authority of a sacred historian, presents a credible history of it?

And here it is not unworthy of remark, that all the traditionary accounts of the origin of the universe extant in all nations, evidently, however, stolen from the Mosaic, pretend not to offer their account as a *theory*, but as a *narrative* derived from the original inhabitants of the world, who had it first of all from the Creator himself. I presume the world was more than *three thousand years* old before there was a single theory offered, or a speculation upon its origin. All the ancient accounts are *narratives*, either in prose or verse. No explanations are offered; no speculations presented. They were not the conclusions of reasoners, or philosophers, but the declarations of a witness, and of a super-human one; not a single traditionary account which does not presuppose an original witness of the creation, and imply the necessity of a supernatural relation upon the origin of things. The first philosophers who presume to theorize upon this subject, if they demonstrated any thing, clearly demonstrated this, that their conclusions were *wiser* than their premises. In other words, that they were in possession of previous information upon the subject which they did not derive from reason; and, in defiance of the rules of logic, they had more truth in the deductions than in the data which they assumed. They always remind me of a lad at school who had stolen a penknife, and when pushed by his examiners to account for the knife found in his pocket, in answer to the question, *How he came by the knife*, answered, that he "*found it growing on a tree.*" As just and logical is the reason given for many of those ideas, declared by philosophers to have been derived from their own reasonings, but evidently stolen from

other sources, either from the volume of revelation itself, or from streams flowing from it.

What an honour does the philosopher Mirabeau bestow on the *savages*, who, he says, invented all the religions in the world! vol. 2. p. 13, 14. "In short, it is upon these rude foundations, that are built all the religious systems of the world: although invented originally by savages, they have yet the power of regulating the fate of the most civilized nations. These systems, so ruinous in their principles, have been variously modified by the human mind, of which the essence is to labour incessantly upon unknown objects; it always commences by attaching to them a very great importance, which afterwards it never dares examine coolly."

Priests and *savages*, with him, are the most puissant characters. In spite of all the philosophers, from Epicurus down to Mr. Owen, the priests and the savages give laws and customs, religious and moral, to the most civilized nations of the globe. One would expect, upon this theory, to find that the nearer man approached the savage state, the more exact his views of all religious relations, duties, and obligations. And, if this be true, the converse must; the greater the philosopher, the less the saint; the more civilized, the less religious is man. I must here give Hobbes credit for one truism. "If men," says he, "found their interest in it, they would doubt the truth of Euclid's Elements." I would add, they will, for the same reason too, believe almost any thing—*even that savages civilized the world!*

As the hour of adjournment has almost arrived, I will only add another proof of Bacon's maxim, viz. "*that the worst of all things is deified error,*" taken from the materialist Mirabeau. It is his deification of nature:—

"We cannot doubt the power of nature; she produces all the animals we see, by the aid of the combination of matter, which is in continual action; the harmony that subsists between the parts of these animals, is a consequence of the necessary laws of their nature and of their combination; as soon as this accord ceases, the animal is necessarily destroyed. What becomes then of the wisdom, of the intelligence, or the goodness of the pretended cause to whom they ascribe the honour of this so much boasted harmony? These animals, so marvellous, which are said to be the work of an immutable God, are they not continually changing, and do they not always finish by decaying? Where is the wisdom, the goodness, the foresight, and the immutability of a workman, who appears only to be occupied with deranging and breaking the springs of those machines, which are announced to us as the *chefs d' œuvres* of his power and of his ability? If this God cannot do otherwise, he is neither free nor omnipotent. If he changes his will, he is not immutable. If he permits those machines, which he has rendered sensible, to experience pain, he wants goodness. If he has not been able to render his works more solid, it is that he wants the ability. In seeing that animals, as well as all the other works of the divinity, decay, we cannot prevent ourselves from concluding therefrom, either that every thing nature does is necessary, and is only a

consequence of its laws, or that the workman who made it, is destitute of plan, of power, of stability, of ability, of goodness."—p. 144. v. 2.

"Nature is the cause of every thing; she is self-existent; she will always exist; she is her own cause; her motion is a necessary consequence of her necessary existence; without motion, we could have no conception of nature; under this collective name we designate the assemblage of matter, acting in virtue of its own peculiar energies."—p. 176. vol. 2.

"Let us keep ourselves to the nature which we see, which we feel, which acts upon us; of which, at least, we know the general laws. If we are ignorant of her detail, and the secret principles which she employs in her complicated works, nevertheless, let us be certain that she acts in a permanent, uniform, analogous, and necessary manner. Let us, then, observe this nature; let us never quit the routine which she describes for us: if we do, we shall infallibly be punished with numberless errors, with which our mind would find itself blinded, and of which numberless sorrows would be the necessary consequence. Let us not adore, let us not flatter, after the manner of men, a nature who is deaf, and who acts necessarily, and of which nothing can derange the course. Do not let us implore a whole, which can only maintain itself by the discord of elements, from whence the universal harmony and the stability of the whole has birth. Let us consider that we are sensible parts of a whole, destitute of feeling, in which all the forms and the combinations are destroyed after they are born, and have subsisted for a longer or shorter time. Let us look upon nature as an immense elaboratory, which contains every thing necessary for her to act, and to produce all those works which are displayed to our eyes. Let us acknowledge her power to be inherent in her essence. Do not let us attribute her works to an imaginary cause, which has no other existence than in our brain. Rather let us for ever banish from our mind a phantom calculated to disturb it, and to prevent our pursuing the simple, natural, and certain means which can conduct us to happiness. Let us, then, re-establish this nature, so long mistaken in her legitimate rights; let us listen to her voice, of which reason is the faithful interpreter; let us impose silence on that enthusiasm and imposture which, to our misfortune, have drawn us aside from the only worship suitable to intelligent beings."—p. 178, vol. 2.

Who preaches *implicit faith* and *blind adoration* now? The infatuated sage tells you that you must believe without evidence; that nature never errs, even when mysteries impenetrable hide her operations! And you must worship and adore his goddess, just because she is blind and cannot see you; because she is deaf and cannot hear you! But, to suppose that nature is either rational, good, or kind, would be most abhorrent to all his philosophy. *Blind fate* and *inexorable necessity* is all that is to be feared, loved, adored, hated, or what you please. You owe her nothing; and, after all, she is a "*pure abstract being*," who has no existence, save in the brain of such crazed philosophers! *Sic transit gloria philosophiæ!* But, if permitted, this afternoon we will see what right reason and true philosophy teaches on this subject. [*Adjourned till* 3 *o'clock.*]

Tuesday, 14th April, 3 o'clock, p. m.

MR. OWEN rises.

My friends—In furtherance of our object, which is to prove that all religions have been founded in error, I proceed to expound the tenth law of our nature, which is, "That the individual is made to possess and acquire the *worst* character, when his organization at birth has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties, and qualities of our common nature; and when so organized, he has been placed from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances." This, my friends, is the law of nature that teaches the origin of evil in man. Man becomes an evil being, when his original organization is imperfect; and when, in addition thereto, he is placed amidst vicious or unfavourable circumstances. But can the individual justly or rationally be blamed, because his organization has been thus imperfectly formed? Can he be rationally censured because, with this imperfect organization, he has been so unfortunate as to be cast into the vortex of the most vicious and deteriorating circumstances? And against poor human nature thus unfortunately organized, and thus unhappily circumstanced, what has the ignorance of the world done? Why, it has called these objects of a just and rational commiseration and sympathy all manner of hard names, and inflicted upon them all manner of injustice. In addition to the disadvantage of their *mal-organization*, in addition to the utter impossibility of their resisting the vicious impressions which these unfortunate circumstances have imposed, the laws and the ignorance of all countries heap upon these poor unfortunates, pains, penalties, and every kind of evil. Whereas, had we but known what manner of beings we are, immediately on discovering a fellow-being thus unfortunate in his organization, instead of visiting him with penalties and persecution, we should become fourfold more kind and attentive to him, endeavouring to make amends by our experience and knowledge for his mal-organization. But, instead of this rational course of conduct, the ignorance of man has done every thing in its power to make bad worse. There has been no eye to pity: there have been none to say, we know that you had no control over the formation of this inferior organization, we will, therefore, not call you hard names, but will endeavour to remove from you every deteriorating circumstance. We will place you in circumstances calculated to remedy the evils of mal-organization. Had we been wise and enlightened, had we possessed a true knowledge of the constitution of human nature, this would ever have been the only practice of the world in these cases. But do any of the religions of the world speak in this language, or spirit, to such unfortunates? Do they not, on the other hand, denounce the punishment of *hell fire* upon them?

My friends, if there had existed a spark of true light in the world, such premises, such conclusions, and such practices would never have been dreamed of. Now, where is their demoralizing influence to be found? How, or wherein, do these laws of our nature lead to one inconvenience in practice? On the contrary, might I not boldly ask, where is the code of laws ever invented by ignorant man to be found,

that is at all comparable to them? I call these *divine* laws. And whenever we shall have the wisdom to form our municipal codes of law upon them, they will be framed, not for the punishment, but for the prevention of crime. They will not be written in blood, as all laws now are. And how much easier, and how much better, is prevention than cure? Under all the religions of the world, all the bad passions, and all the inferior feelings of our nature, have been arrayed in arms against that portion of our fellow-beings who are the most legitimate and rational objects of extraordinary care and tenderness, sympathy, and compassion. Under every rational subject, it is plain that these badly-organized and unhappily-circumstanced individuals, instead of being persecuted and tortured, ought to have been most commiserated and attended to. Whether would it be better, think you, to nip bad habits, propensities, and dispositions in the bud, or allow them unchecked to grow up into full vigour and maturity, and then employ a legion of officers of justice, so called, (I call them officers of injustice,) to imprison, scourge, and sacrifice these unfortunates. I say unhesitatingly, that there is not a particle of justice, rationality, or common sense in such proceedings.

We will now proceed to the eleventh law of our nature, "That an individual is made to possess and to acquire a medium character, when his individual organization has been created *superior*, and when the circumstances which surround him, from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* or *unfavourable* impressions. Or when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed, from birth to death, are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or when there has been some mixture of *good* and *bad* qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed, through life, in varied circumstances of *good* and *evil*. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind." Now, my friends, when we look calmly, and without prejudice, at all the past proceedings of our race, and investigate the practical results produced by all the religions of the world, we find that the utmost they have ever attained to in practice, is to form a very mixed and very inferior character. And why? Because the authors of these religions were totally unacquainted with human nature; they knew not what it was, nor how to act upon, or influence it, except by and through its most inferior qualities.

If the inventers of these religions had possessed any true knowledge, they would have devised a very different combination of circumstances from those now found to exist in any part of the world. Having been born in a Christian country, you must necessarily believe the Christian system is superior to any other. But the circumstances which the Christian system has permitted to grow up for two thousand years, have been, in nine cases out of ten, only vicious and deteriorating circumstances for human nature. Those, whose leading you have followed, have been blind; they have not known one step of the way to true knowledge and happiness. And you are all at this moment, in consequence, surrounded with a large portion of the most vicious

circumstances. But I rejoice to say, that no very formidable obstacle now interposes, to prevent these degrading circumstances from being withdrawn, and replaced by others of the most delightful and beneficial character. I trust, therefore, that another generation will not be allowed to pass away in the midst of such circumstances as those in which we have been trained, and in which we all now live. As soon as this knowledge, which we are now endeavouring to develop, shall be received into enlightened minds, they must discover the errors in which they have been trained.

And that discovery will operate upon them so powerfully, that they will be unable to submit any longer to the degradation of their present circumstances. If, indeed, we can discover the means of disseminating this light rapidly and extensively over the world, these changes must happen in a much shorter time than you suppose. But I cannot promise the adults of this generation, that it will be practicable for them so far to unlearn that which they have been taught, or to unassociate preconceived ideas, as to enable *them* to enjoy the full benefit of this change. But, if circumstances shall prove favourable to my plans, I do think our children, whose characters are yet to be formed, may be placed in circumstances which cannot fail to make them happy, and compel them to receive the best dispositions, manners, and habits. But to effect this important change, you must learn to know what manner of beings you are—to know yourselves, and that thoroughly too. Then all that is false in all religions will vanish; wars will cease all over the world; commerce, for a profit, or individual gain *from* others, will no longer exist; disunion, on account of opinion, or of *any thing else*, will no longer be known. Then every child born into the world will be so educated that, wherever we go, we shall be sure to find a good and intelligent being. Who would not desire to witness this delightful change? Do I propose, by the introduction of these principles, to rob you of any thing you have a value for? Surely, the state of society which I have described, will be of far greater practical benefit and utility than any of you or your ancestors ever enjoyed. Who has any interest in opposing this change? Have the governors, have the clergy, the lawyers, physicians, merchants, the army, or the navy? I say, *No*. As *men*, they have a hundred fold greater interest in promoting this change, than as *members* of any class, sect, or party, they can have in opposing it. I, therefore, do not come among you for the purpose of injuring or robbing any one. All I desire is, that you should adopt arrangements through which every individual may be placed in a situation, greatly to be envied by the most prosperous individual under the present system of things. When we shall thus acquire an accurate knowledge of ourselves, where will there be any foundation for disunion, or difference of any kind? Who or what can then prevent us from becoming members of one and the same harmonious, enlightened, happy family? Then we shall not require any of those artificial and inequitable distinctions which now exist, to keep man apart from his fellow. Then we shall have millions of friends, in whom there is no guile, instead of a few in whom we can place but a

partial confidence. When this change shall be consummated, we shall be at home, and have friends in every part of the world. And what is to prevent this change from taking place almost immediately? You have all the necessary materials for it, this moment, in your possession. You have every thing that can be desired, to enable you to effect this change. You have powers of production at your control, a hundred fold beyond your utmost wants, for this purpose; and yet, in consequence of our ignorance of ourselves, and every thing around us, we are contending against each other for our daily bread. All our best faculties are, at this moment, employed in all the professions and businesses of life, in vain attempts to buy cheap and sell dear. What an employment for such beings as we are! Beings who are taught to look forward to an immortality in heaven! And yet how many, now desirous to attend this discussion, cannot leave their occupations for the fear of losing the means by which to obtain a subsistence for themselves and families!

My friend, Mr. Campbell, does not at present perceive how these arguments apply to the subject before us; but to me, they appear to bear directly upon it; and, moreover, that there is no other way to understand the argument, except in this mode of treating it. And Mr. Campbell will discover, in the sequel, that I have not deviated at all from the object before us; but he (doubtless, from the purest motives, and unconsciously to himself,) has endeavoured to lead me astray from the main object, and to induce me to embark with him into the ocean of metaphysical disquisitions, where we might be tossed about for ten thousand years, and then be no nearer the port than we are now.

I wish to keep your attention to facts, and not to advance one step beyond their plain and obvious, or legitimate conclusions. While we thus act, certain knowledge lies directly in our path, and the best practical results must follow. I have directed my mind, day by day and hour by hour, to unravel the mysteries of ignorance in such a manner, as to present the lights of true knowledge plainly before my fellow-beings. I have endeavoured to sift and re-sift all these principles for which I now contend; I have brought them before the most acute and comprehensive minds; I have urged them to try them through the fire, and to detect, if they possibly could, any error which they contained. For I well know, that if they contained one error, or one inconsistency, they must fall to the ground. My friends, you should always bear in mind, that truth and inconsistency cannot exist together. But I have travelled many countries, and have come into collision with minds of the first *calibre* in the world; but never yet met with that mind which could detect error, fallacy, or inconsistency, in one of these principles. If my friend, Mr. Campbell, can detect error in them, and demonstrate that error to me, I will frankly acknowledge that I have been deceived; and I will most willingly pledge myself, both to Mr. Campbell and to you, my friends, that from the moment I am convinced of the existence of a single error or inconsistency in these principles, I will do as much to promulgate the truth which shall be demonstrated to me, and to expose the error into which I have

fallen, as I have done to bring forward the system containing that error. And Mr. Campbell need not fear that there remains on my mind any early impression, which can operate to prevent my declaring the whole truth to any assembly in the world.

After proceeding with this subject in the manner I have proposed it, Mr. Campbell will discover that the points which he wishes to seize upon, will be presented in a manner well suited to his own objects and purposes; but I wish to bring forward my subject in such a connexion, that all who are capable of reasoning accurately may comprehend it. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—We have heard a great deal on the subject of Mr. Owen's experience, and the pains he has taken to test the soundness and practical utility of his principles. But, as he will not admit the legitimacy of any authority, we cannot admit the experience of Mr. Owen as authority. We must examine the question on its own merits. If Mr. Owen had travelled all over the world, fraught with the combined intelligence of the four quarters of the globe, this ought not to influence our minds in the least. We are here assembled, to examine truth coolly and deliberately on its own evidences. Mr. Owen thinks that I desire to lead him from his object, into the mazes of metaphysics; but a single retrospective glance at the course this discussion has taken, is sufficient to show us that the first metaphysical proposition was introduced by Mr. Owen himself. There cannot be a more metaphysical question, than "whether volition has power over belief." I have no *penchant* for metaphysics in the discussion of questions of this sort; nor have I introduced metaphysics into this discussion, any further than the nature of the argument itself requires. He has informed us, that the origin of natural evil is to be found in the elements of the human constitution. Now, if this be true, every plan of amelioration must be impracticable, unless it be a plan to make man over again. Perhaps Mr. Owen has discovered some new elements, or some way of effecting a new combination of elements, in the human constitution. Perhaps he means the four elements of the old school, and that it is the exact apportionment of these which makes man good or evil. If this be the meaning of Mr. Owen, it is obviously impossible to ameliorate the condition of man, unless we can change the elements of his nature. Unless he can apportion the elements of fire, air, earth, and water, he cannot improve our race. If I have mistaken Mr. Owen, I shall be glad to be corrected. But I affirm, that if natural evil is to be referred to the quantum of the four elements of the old, or the forty elements of the new school, or to the modification of these elements in the human system, all improvements are impracticable; unless, perhaps, a change of circumstances might have the effect of graduating these elements in other proportions, in the human constitution.

We have been told of the mal-adaptation of christianity to the

happiness of man; but I hope to be able to show that religion is as admirably adapted to the constitution of human nature, as the eye is to light, or the ear to sound. And I will further attempt to prove that the author of the universe must also be the author of religion, because both are predicated on the same fundamental principles; or, in other words, that the Almighty predicated religion and the universe on the same principles. I presume, that if Mr. Owen did understand the Christian religion, he would not have a solitary objection to it. He may have called popery *christianity*, and identified the Christian religion with papal enormities.* But let the Christian religion be taught in its purity, and cordially embraced, and it will exalt man higher, and render him incomparably more happy than Mr. Owen has ever conceived of.

The *gnothi seauton* of Solon, or "*Know thyself*," is what I desire as cordially as Mr. Owen. I am desirous to analyse the mind and the senses, and thus to develop man. Has Mr. Owen exhibited, in his plan, any thing like a design, or desire, to investigate the physical and intellectual man? Has he taken hold of my analysis of his powers, submitted with the hope of eliciting such investigation? I am willing, yea, desirous to take up the creature man, and analyse him corporeally and mentally; and thus obey the mandate of the philosopher and the apostle—"*Know thyself.*"

He has asked you, my friends, of what he would rob you! His motives are, doubtless, pure. But of what *would* he rob you? Why, my friends, all the attacks that were ever made upon man's dearest rights, and most valued treasures, are mere petty larcenies, compared

* The following note from Mirabeau will prove, if proof be wanted, that the atheists or materialists are most grossly ignorant of what Christianity is. They have called *antichrist* and the *papal apostacy* by the name of Christianity; and suppose that, in attacking and opposing this, they prove Christianity a fable. As well might they ascribe darkness to the sun, or death to life. This materialist says—"The religion of Abraham appears to have originally been a theism, imagined to reform the superstition of the Chaldeans; the theism of Abraham was corrupted by Moses, who availed himself of it to form the Judaical superstition. Socrates was a theist, who, like Abraham, believed in divine inspiration; his disciple, Plato, embellished the theism of his master with the mystical colours which he borrowed from the Egyptian and the Chaldean priests, and which he modified himself in his poetical brain. The disciples of Plato, such as Proclus, Jamblichus, Plotinus, Porphyrius, &c. were true fanatics, plunged in the most gross superstition. In short, the first doctors of the christians were Platonists; who combined the Judaical superstition, reformed by the apostles or by Jesus, with Platonism. Many people have looked upon Jesus as a true theist, of whom the religion has been by degrees corrupted. Indeed, in the books which contain the law which has been attributed to him, there is no mention either of worship, of priests, of sacrifices, of offerings, or of the greater part of the doctrines of actual Christianity, which has become the most prejudicial of all the superstitions of the earth. Mahomet, in combating the polytheism of his country, was only desirous of bringing back the Arabs to the primitive theism of Abraham and his son Ishmael, and nevertheless Mohammedism is divided into *seventy-two* sects. All this proves to us, that theism is always more or less mingled with fanaticism, which sooner or later finishes by producing ravages.

to the robbery he would commit? Of what would he rob us? Why, of the hope of immortality!—of that alone,

> "Amid life's pains, abasements, emptiness,
> The soul can comfort, elevate, and fill!"

Now, are thrones, principalities, and powers—is the empire of the world, and the fame of all ages—equivalent to the *mere hope of living for ever?* The materialist takes us out of the earth, and thither he consigns us back again. But where is the man of unperverted, unsophisticated rationality, who would not give up all the world for the hope of an immortality in heaven?

> ——"Rich hope of boundless bliss!
> Bliss past man's power to paint it, time's to close!
> This hope is earth's most estimable prize;
> This is man's portion, while no more than man:
> Hope, of all passions, most befriends us here;
> Passions of prouder name befriend us less.
> Joy has her tears, and transport has her death:
> Hope, like a cordial, innocent though strong,
> Man's heart, at once, inspirits and serenes,
> Nor makes him pay his wisdom for his joys;
> 'Tis all our present state can safely bear,
> Health to the frame! and vigour to the mind!
> A joy attempered! a chastised delight!
> Like the fair summer evening, mild and sweet!
> 'Tis man's full cup; his paradise below!
> A bless'd hereafter, then, or hoped or gain'd,
> Is all,—our hope of happiness!"

I have now adverted to all the matter offered by Mr. Owen, that, at this time, appears to require my notice. I should now proceed as proposed this forenoon, but, from some hints, I find it expedient not yet to dismiss the mysteries of atheism, particularly with a reference to one point on which sceptics of all schools declaim so much. They will make *experience* the standard, law, and measure of their belief. I will, in part, traverse the area of *mysteries* a second time.

We have been discussing the mysteries of atheism. They are either natural or artificial. In the original, the term [*mysterion*] means nothing but a *secret*, and when divulged, it loses the name of mystery. By *natural* mysteries, we mean natural secrets. These mysteries are not of my creation; they have been collated from the speculations of the atheists—from their own confessions. The secret which atheists are ignorant of, is, the *origin of matter*. This they declare to be inexplicable. The natural principle of mobility with which they acknowledge matter to be endowed; the specific origin of the earth; here they acknowledge themselves at fault. I have given you already three *perhapses* of Mirabeau. They say they "cannot comprehend the natural mysteries of any bodies." While they acknowledge the existence of the magnetic power, they confess ignorance of the nature of it. The principle of attraction, the most pervading law of matter, they say they know not. They know nothing of the great law of repulsion, nor of the law of cohesion, by which particles of matter adhere, in defiance of the general law of attraction. They con-

fess their ignorance of the nature of the law of elasticity, and so of the law of electricity. The destiny of the whole, or any part of the universe, is to them unknown. Atheists make all these concessions.

When we take a view of these items, we discover that all the operations of nature are embraced by these physical principles, and atheists declare that they know nothing about it. Now, to these, Mr. Owen has added that our belief in no case depends upon our will; the consequence of which law is, that faith is as *necessary* as the law of attraction, and must, therefore, be divine: faith must be with him a *divine law of nature*. Does not this truth follow most legitimately? He affirms that faith is as *necessary* as the action of a mill-wheel; therefore, it is a "*divine* principle," and on the same principle the evidences on which faith is founded, must be divine. But knowledge, belief, and opinion are all involuntary!

Now, is this desire of knowledge a natural principle, and has it no effect upon the will? And has our consent or volition no influence upon our knowledge? These are two *artificial* mysteries.

Now, what is the conclusion from these premises? Is it not that the materialist has to confess as much ignorance of his own system, and believe more mysteries than the christian? He has also to contend for artificial mysteries, each of which is absurd: artificial mysteries, which are greater than any that ever have been taught in the most corrupt schools of christianity.

The materialist affirms, that "*it cannot really interest man to discover his specific origin.*" I have no doubt that this dogma was adopted to avoid a difficulty which they knew was invincible. It is conceded that if the materialist's system be true, it is impossible for us to account for our origin; that it is a question beyond the utmost reach of human intellect. Therefore, to suit the exigency of their speculative scheme, they have had the temerity to assume, that it cannot rationally interest mankind to know aught about their specific origin; that the stream of human vitality was not worth tracing to its source. Now, we are often obliged to appeal to the *experience* of man; it is the grand *argumentum ad hominem*. I will therefore ask the whole world—every man, woman, and child in it, if the principle of curiosity be so intensely active upon any other point of human inquiry or human investigation, as it is in tracing up this stream of vitality to its fountain, in order to ascertain the specific origin of the species? It is a point which elicits some of the earliest developments of infantile curiosity, or love of knowledge. "*Who made me?*" "*Whence came I?*" are amongst the first questions put by the infant catechist to his seniors. This monstrous atheistical assumption opposes itself to the most ardent passions of the rational man. There is no animal appetite in man more operative than his moral eagerness in pursuit of knowledge. It makes man a keen hunter; it causes him to neglect his food, his sleep, his ease, and even to forget fatigue, in pursuit of his object. "*Mens agitat molem; et toto se corpore miscet.*" If my opponent so ardently desires that we should know ourselves, let him come out from a school which declares that the *unde derivatur* of man,

or *whence came I*, is matter of no concernment to him. Let him set his face like a flint against a *dictum* like this, "In pursuit of self-knowledge you must not begin at the beginning." Let Mr. Owen's principles be admitted, and there is a total blank in this first and most interesting chapter of man's history. It is all obliterated as unworthy of a place in the volume. "It cannot really interest man to know any thing concerning his primitive specific origin," is the first artificial mystery; and this is the way that the school to which Mr. Owen belongs eulogizes the oracular precept of "*Gnothi seauton.*" This is the first artificial mystery, and this has been invented after the manner of mysteries of the church of Rome. The second artificial mystery is, that man has no just reason to believe himself a privileged being in the scale of creation, over the bee, the bat, the beaver, the butterfly, or the elephant. Does this comport with your experience? Let the word *experience* be received and interpreted according to its usual, most known, and legitimate acceptation, and I am not afraid to abide by its test. Well, then, I ask you, if it comports with your experience to admit that man has no reason to imagine himself a superior being to a butterfly? But why was this asserted by the atheists? Merely from the necessity of the case. The materialists would never have agitated these mysteries, but for the hard fate which attends their system. They discovered that unsophisticated reason would lead man to discover that he was at the head of creation; that here he stands pre-eminently chief; that he is lord paramount over all the irrational part of creation; that all was *made for him*, and subordinate to him. But of this noted dignity we must be divested to make room for a speculative phantom, which exterminates the germ of all feeling, save that of *pity;* if indeed it leaves that branch of human sympathy unscathed. For, in the doctrine of materialism, where can pity find an object? Can I pity a tree when I see it growing crooked, or a stone for the angularities of its shape, or a house for its rude architecture?

But there is a third artificial mystery of the materialists. In any attempt to account for man's origin, he has to suppose that there were an infant male and female produced without parents, who, consequently, must have perished in infancy. Some materialists have actually supposed that the first pair grew up like two plants, as I have before stated. And when these were developed, and began to expand, the leaves became arms, &c., &c., until at length some favourable zephyrs wafted them into each other's arms. They mutually embraced, and thus originated the human family! But in any attempt to account for the origin of man, the modern materialist has to suppose his first ancestors to have been an infant male and female; and, if so, incapable of arriving at maturity! [*Half hour out.*]

MR. OWEN rises.

My friends, I perceived, during my friend Mr. Campbell's last address, that none of you would like to be deprived of heaven. I do not recollect that I expressed any intention of taking away any well-founded hopes of heaven from you. Nor do I know that my assertion denying the existence of, or my opinion that there was a heaven, would make

the least difference in the fact. You have, therefore, notwithstanding all I may have said on the subject, just as good a chance for enjoying heaven as you ever had.

We come now, my friends, to the twelfth and last fundamental law of human nature, viz. "That the individual is made most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best properties, of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth to death are of a character to produce only superior impressions; or, in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions and customs in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature." Now, Mr. Campbell misunderstood me about the ingredients of human nature being the origin of *natural* evil. I stated that some of the peculiar errors of some men arose from their individual organization. And I only applied the remark to *human nature.* And surely we cannot derive the natural evil of human nature from any other source than its defective organization.

It is common to say, that such a one is bad by nature; this only means, that the individual has not the same compound as others. But whenever we shall understand this subject fully, and discover that the most superior character is produced by a combination of the best organization and circumstances, we then have a very important practical object presented for our attainment. The inquiry then becomes, "Do we possess, or can we obtain, through this knowledge, any influence over the future formation of individuals?" I say that we can; and I speak from a knowledge of facts, with which all who are in any degree connected with agricultural pursuits are familiar. It is known to such, that there have been vast improvements in the breed of various kinds of animals; that there is a science by which any animal, whether human or irrational, is capable of receiving great improvement *at birth.* But most unfortunately, in consequence of the general prevalence of ignorance on the subject of the animal man, almost every thing that has been done in this matter has had an immediate and direct tendency to deteriorate the infant man *at birth.* But the knowledge of this science, as soon as we acquire it, will instruct us in the unerring method of obtaining the best raw material for the manufacture of man. It is an object of the highest importance to the welfare and happiness of man, that every child should be born with the best physical, intellectual, and moral organization of which his nature is susceptible. There is a science by which all these may be improved before birth. But the time is coming when we shall have very distinct and accurate knowledge upon these particulars; when we shall know how to cultivate the human being in such manner as to present him greatly improved in his organization at birth. But be this as it may, we have at present the power of withdrawing the most unfavourable circumstances from around all human beings from birth, and these circumstances acting upon our infinitely diversified organizations create nine-tenths of the whole character of individuals.

My friends, you have seen many of the society of Friends in this

country; you have seen Jews, and you have seen Indians. Now the difference observable between the Quaker, Jew, and Indian arises solely from the difference of their external circumstances, in their mode of acting, or their respective original organizations. For were we to take the infants of the Quakers and give them to be brought up by the Jews, they would unquestionably make good Jews, and *vice versa*. We shall, therefore, I repeat, have the power as soon as we acquire the requisite knowledge, to influence the character of every child that is born, to a greater extent than nine-tenths of its whole character.

And if we of the present generation will not exert ourselves to remove the unfavourable circumstances which now exist, the coming generation ought not to be blamed for their characters being ill-formed. If we love our offspring, if we have any regard for the welfare of future generations, we can no longer remain indifferent about ascertaining the true method of forming and educating them; we can no longer supinely leave them to be the sport of such circumstances, as now pervade the world. No! we shall rather devote our whole heart and soul to the investigating and maturing of this all-important subject, which embraces within its scope, all that can be done by man for the improvement of his fellow-beings. My friends, I never consider this subject without feeling that any language which I can command is too feeble to convey an adequate idea of its importance. Nothing can be plainer than the path you have to pursue; you have nothing to do but to make yourselves acquainted with the influence of the circumstances, beneficial or injurious, around you, and to withdraw all those which experience shall prove to be detrimental to our nature. This is the *whole duty of man;* let him perform this duty well, with knowledge and with judgment, and every beneficial result will follow of course. The performance of this duty is plain and simple; there is no complexity about it, and it will soon be understood by every one. But what has been done for the species upon these rational principles? Why scarcely any thing; and nothing at all has been done with a correct understanding of the subject: nor can we advance a single step toward the attainment of this grand object, until we have acquired an accurate knowledge of ourselves.

Now, my friends, you have heard from me very different doctrines from those which are taught by all the religions of the world. You will, of course, institute a comparison between my developments and those which you have received from your public and appointed instructors—from your spiritual pastors. Well, compare them in their practice. You have already seen and experienced what a state of society the different religions of the world have produced. A little trial will convince you what can be effected for the good of mankind by the course which I recommend, by attending to facts instead of imagination. Rely upon it, my friends, that if we allow ourselves to be governed by any thing but experience, we shall inevitably be led into the mazes of error. When once we diverge from the straight-forward path which facts point out, we launch into the wilds of imagination, and every

thing becomes a labyrinth of obscurity, which bewilders the human faculties. Under the old arrangements of society I have never yet met with an individual whose mind was not confused, and whose ideas were not in contradiction with each other. But ever since I was compelled by circumstances to unassociate my early erroneous ideas, since my mind has been regenerated by the removal of these first impressions to their very foundations, and filled with ideas only consistent with these twelve laws of our nature, I have experienced no jarring elements within me; all has been tranquil and harmonious; there has been nothing to wear out my constitution, or create feelings in my bosom, except those unavoidably created by beholding my fellow-beings around me existing in a state of misery, for which I know there exists no other cause but the lamentable ignorance in which they have been trained. Now, my friends, I have endeavoured to show you how these twelve fundamental laws of human nature are in direct opposition to the doctrines inculcated, and always implied by all the religions of the world. My object is to show you that the two systems are perfect antipodes to each other, that they cannot exist together; that either these twelve fundamental laws of human nature are utterly false, or that all the religions of the world are founded in ignorance and error. It is just as impossible to effect a union between these twelve laws and any system of religion extant, as it is to effect an amalgamation between oil and water; there is as little of moral affinity in the one case as there is of chemical affinity in the other. The one is all fact derived from what human nature was yesterday, is to-day, and is likely ever to be. The systems of religion, on the other hand, are derived from the wildest vagaries of fancy; they are but the air-built fabrics of imagination. I call them air-built, for they have nothing but imagination opposed to natural laws to rest upon, and they have been, in consequence, in a perpetual state of change, and they are still hourly changing in men's minds. And most fortunate it is for you, my friends, that they have no other foundation; for neither in their origin, their tendency, their errors, contradictions, or absurdities, are they at all calculated to produce good conduct in man, or happiness for his race. The greatest blessing that can accrue to man is to demonstrate the ignorance on which all these systems have been predicated, so palpably, that, with one accord, mankind should agree to dismiss them from their consideration, as unworthy of the attention of rational beings. But, in doing this, I would guard you against one danger which may and must arise from the course which must be taken to relieve yourselves from error. My friends, there are three distinct states of society. The first is the common one all over the world, in which human nature has been compelled to believe or profess a belief in some district religion or other, and in this state of society, the characters of individuals have been formed upon the principles of this district religion. Knowing these principles, we can to a certain extent, judge what the characters of the individuals composing this society are. But, when we advance one step toward real knowledge, and we can no longer believe these principles, we at the same time withdraw all foundation from

the former character formed for us by religious belief; we become like vessels on the ocean without a helm, chart, or compass to steer by; and this is the worst state in which human nature can be placed. But this is the gulph through which we must pass, if the condition of society is to be improved. All we can do is to adopt measures to shorten this critical period as much as possible. And whilst we are doing this, we are in the second state of society. The third and the superior state of existence will be that in which the individual, having been disabused of the errors implanted by his former religious and other vicious external circumstances, has been taught the correct principles of his nature, when he has been fully and fairly taught what manner of being he is, and his relation to his fellows; then, instead of being worse than the present religious characters of the day, he will rise incomparably above them all; they cannot help sinking almost below estimate in the comparison. In the two first states we shall be irrational. In the third state, every thing that savors of irrationality will be withdrawn; in this state there will be, there can be, none who are irrational in their thoughts, feelings, and conduct. Fear not, my friends, that this change in your minds will produce vice instead of virtue.

This change is absolutely necessary before you can be born again. This is the regeneration which you and past generations have been looking for; and this change can be wrought simply by acquiring a knowledge of these eternal and immutable facts. These twelve fundamental laws of human nature (divine in every sense of the word) demonstrate that all the religions of the world have been founded in ignorance, and are opposed to our nature, when that nature shall be fully understood. Now, my friends, I think I may proceed one step farther, and state that these religions are now the only obstacles in the way of forming a society over the earth, of kindness, intelligence, sincerity, and prosperity in the fullest sense of the term; and now I think I may advance another step, and declare that the light has come among us, and that this knowledge can no longer be withheld from the great mass of the people but by the increased tyranny of the few over the many. But the few can no longer tyrannize over the many. Knowledge is power; and knowledge is passing from mind to mind, from country to country, like a flood. And this knowledge shall spread from one point, as from a centre over every portion of the world, until the knowledge of the truth, or, in scripture language, of the Lord, shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas. This is the knowledge of the Lord, for truth alone is the knowledge of the Lord. It is a knowledge derived from those facts which ever has existed and which exists to this day, as the universal word of the universal cause from whence all effects proceed. When we use the terms Lord, God, or Deity, we use the term without annexing to it any definite idea. Whenever we use this term we annex to it our own peculiar notions, and, in many cases they are strange and wild in the extreme. But, my friends, we do know that it is a law of our nature that we have been so formed that we must acquire all our real knowledge by expe-

rience; and all experience declares that man is what he has been demonstrated to be by the twelve fundamental laws of his nature. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—I should be led to conclude from the argument, (if such it may be called) that the error into which my friend has fallen in his whole process of deduction, is exhibited in one assertion in his last address. His mind has dwelt so long on the influence of circumstances that he supposes that if a child of a Quaker were to be removed into the family of a Jew, and *vice versa*, that in process of time, the two children must inevitably imbibe the faith of the families in which they were respectively reared. Now, I have no doubt this would be the case in very many instances, but not universally. And so it is with most of his facts. They are true in very many instances, but are false in his universal application of them. It is illogical to argue *from* particulars, however comprehensive to such general and universal conclusions. This proposition of my friend's is not a mathematical proposition, which, if true in itself, *must* be true in its most extended or contracted sense. That children may be powerfully impressed by circumstances, it is true; but must we therefore conclude this to be an invariable law of our nature, that they are for ever doomed to the control of the circumstances which surround them at birth? Mr. Owen was himself educated in a family of Episcopalians; is he now an *Episcopalian?* We see that the circumstances of his education could not shackle his active mind. We see that he has broken his chains, and that his emancipated mind now walks abroad, as if it had never known a fetter. This shows that there are some geniuses formed to overcome all disadvantages, to grasp a whole system, as it were, by intuition; that in some minds there is a renovating and regenerating power, paramount even to the influence of circumstances, omnipotent as my friend represents them to be. Now, if this be true in Mr. Owen's regard, why may it not be equally so with respect to countless other persons?

Mr. Owen has attained to the knowledge of certain facts. But on the foundation of a few facts, he has proceeded to erect the superstructure of a whole code of fundamental laws of nature; a divine system of legislation: in fact, to place mankind under a modern theocracy. But none of his laws are more immutable than the one to which we have just referred.

At one time, I would think he was preaching to us concerning the millennium; that he was the herald of a better day. Sceptical as my friend is, I must infer that he is a *believer* in the millennium; and, for aught I know, he may be doing as much as a thousand missionaries to induce it. *Cyrus* knew not the God of Jacob; he had no desire to emancipate the Jews. In like manner, Mr. Owen may possibly be an unconscious instrument in the hands of providence. He is consoling himself with the anticipation of a better day, and earnestly persuading us to cherish the same anticipation. And from his own

premises, I would undertake to prove the certainty of the fulfilment of the prophecies of the New Testament, even, I was about to say, by a mathematical demonstration. Mr. Owen tells us that wars shall cease; that plenty shall follow us superabundantly, as the waters of the Ohio; that there shall be no more need for accumulating property to answer our future exigencies, than there now exists for bottling up the waters of the Ohio. Now, all this tends to encourage bright anticipations of future glory and happiness to man. Mr. Owen's *millennium*, we will suppose, has arrived; how long is it to continue? A millennium is a thousand years.

What, now, if we should attempt to prove, arithmetically, the certainty of the prophecies concerning the final consummation of all things? The expectation of christendom is notorious. It is this: that sometime soon, perhaps in the present century, a new order of things, in the political and religious relations of society, will commence; that it will pervade the whole human family; that after its full introduction, it will continue a *thousand years;* and that soon after its completion, the present state of things will terminate, and the multiplication of human beings cease for ever.

Without going minutelyinto the detail, such is the general expectation of christendom, built upon those writings called prophecies. Well, now, should we prove, by an arithmetical calculation, the certainty of such conclusions relative to the final consummation, what will the sceptics say? I do not know whether ever they have been tested upon this point. We shall hear Mr. Owen when I submit the problem. The premises or data are these:—The present population of the earth is estimated, say, at *one thousand millions.* Now, I will leave it to them to furnish the data, or to state what the population was, two, three, or four thousand years ago. They may even furnish me data from the census of any nation of Europe for two, three, four, or five hundred years back. It will give the same result. We shall take the Bible data until they furnish another. But I again repeat, the population of any country, or of the earth, two, three, or five hundred years ago, will give the same result. According to the Bible data, the whole human family, about four thousand years ago, was composed of *eight individuals,* four *males* and four *females.* And to keep our calculation in whole numbers, we shall evacuate Europe and America of all their population, and place them in Asia and Africa, on the population there, which will fill that half of the earth as full of human beings as can subsist upon its surface. We have now got, say, the half of our globe empty and the other half full. Now the question is, if *eight* persons in *four thousand* years fill the *one half* of the earth as full as it can subsist, how long will *one thousand millions* be in filling *the other half?* If, in despite of wars, famines, pestilences, and all the waste of human life, under the corruptions of the last four thousand years, such has been the increase of human beings, what would be the *ratio* of *increase* were all these to cease, and peace, health, and competence to be the order of the day for one thousand years? Why, my friends, there would not be one half acre of land and water upon the face of the

globe for every human being which would live at the completion of the millennium, or the seven-thousandth year from the creation; what I contemplate from these oracles to be about the end of the present state of human existence. Either, then, some desolation must empty the earth of its inhabitants, or the human race must be extinguished. Logic and arithmetic compel us to the former conclusion; but when we add to logic and arithmetic the prophecies of Holy Scripture, we are compelled to embrace the latter. I think no prophecy ever admitted of so certain a calculation, or so exact and definite a computation: in fact, no other oracle in the annals of the world is proved by arithmetic so inevitably and unanswerably as I conceive this to be. If any flaw be in my data, or statement of this question, I hope Mr. Owen will detect it, and give me the opportunity to illustrate and corroborate it still more fully.

Mr. Owen's notion seems to be this: that his twelve laws once proved, the Christian scriptures must tumble to the ground! I have very little scruple or hesitancy in admitting all his facts save one, so far as they apply to the physical constitution of the animal man; and yet I cannot perceive how they contravene any part of christianity. How are we to account for his hallucinations? He supposes that the admission of his twelve facts would prove his five propositions. This is most manifestly a logical error, unless these are identical propositions. Suppose that, by the aid of his first fact, he had made out the proof of his first proposition, will he repeat the same fact to prove the second proposition? Without the most perfect parallelism and identity in the whole five propositions, how can he expect the same facts which prove one of the five propositions, to prove them all?

There is more couched in this speculation concerning the adolescence or infancy of the primitive stock from which man is derived, than a superficial thinker is perhaps aware of. On the hypothesis that the first pair came into existence in a state of adolescence, when they first saw light, they must have had some information concerning their origin. Infants or adults they must have been. If infants, they could never have reached maturity; they must have perished for lack of nurture. They must, therefore, have been adults; and when they saw the creation around them, they must have had some knowledge of their origin,—of the source from whence they derived their principle of vitality,—and their control of the animal tribes around them.

I am now pretermitting the biblical narrative of the primitive origin of man, altogether; and assuming, for the sake of argument, an hypothesis. I say, then, that on the hypothesis of adolescence, the primeval pair must have possessed a consciousness of their origin. They must have remembered when they first saw the sun and inhaled the air, and the first time they ate.

Upon the atheistical premises before us, it would be difficult to prove that our first ancestors would have known what or how to eat. The philosopher is not aware of the consequences attendant upon the extinction of the lights of revelation. To these he owes many an idea which, without them, he would never have conceived. Without the

light of revelation, I do not see how the first pair of human beings would have known how, or what, to eat. Upon what principles would they have set about the process? They might have felt the pain of hunger, without knowing either the cause or the cure. And if they could have learned to eat, from observation or from feeling, they might not have known *what* to eat. The scriptures, without speculating upon any of the causes of things, state facts which lead us to think correctly, if we think at all. Hence we find the revelation was immediate and direct upon this point. God said, "Of the fruit of these *trees* you may *eat*." There is no system of philosophy, except the Christian, which, without professing to philosophize, inducts us into the reason of things, and that generally by telling us only what was done or said.

But we have now before us this proposition, that *the first man must have remembered the first time he saw the sun; ate, drank, and slept.* This he could narrate, and would be most apt to relate to his own offspring; for no information is more gratefully tendered, nor more ardently received, than that which respects the beginning of things. Hence we infer that nothing is more reasonable, than that the origin of things would be the first and most important of all traditions; and so we do not find an ancient nation, whose history has come down to us, that has not some account of its own origin, and most of them some account of the origin of all things. But it is scarcely conceivable that the first pair, remembering and being conscious of the first time they saw the sun, could be ignorant of the author of their existence.

That man was, in his first estate, designed to converse familiarly with his Creator, the scriptures teach us; and not until he became a transgressor, was this familiarity interrupted. Man is inferior to all other animals in instinctive powers; and this truth goes far to convince us that he was not constituted to be governed by *instinct*, but by *reason*. His being now more imbecile and helpless in his infancy than other creatures, only corroborates the account of his fall. For, had he been designed to be governed by instinct, he would have exhibited it in, at least, as much perfection as other animals. Hence it is, that, until reason is developed, the infant man is worse calculated to provide for himself than any other creature.

None of the steps in this argument are long. The first man was an adult. When first he opened his eyes, his reason and his senses were both in meridian strength. He could not but be sensible of his Maker. He must always remember the first time he saw the sun; ate, drank, slept, and awoke. He must often have reflected upon these first acts of his existence. He would delight to tell them, and his offspring would be most curious to hear them. Traditionary information upon these subjects is as natural as walking, talking, eating, or the most ordinary acts of any animal. Man is, therefore, so created and circumstanced now, as to be naturally and necessarily *credulous*. *Credulity*,—for I know no term more expressive of the native bias to receive truth upon testimony—I say, credulity is as natural to man as breathing. This is a wise provision in the constitution of the human mind, that it must, and, with the utmost ease, does assent to testimony;

for, without it, there could be no improvability in man. He would cease to be a progressive being. No child could be educated without it. Without it, the art of the linguist, the logician, the rhetorician, would be unavailing. Human nature would be a *metal*, (if I may be allowed the figure,) that would not polish. But it is a law of human nature, as self-evident and as interesting as any one in Mr. Owen's code, and much more worthy of being called a "law of human nature" than any one of the twelve; that it is natural to man to be assured of truth, or to believe upon testimony. This, more than any one of his twelve laws, distinguishes and elevates man above the brutes. If I did not think it more worthy of being one of the first, I would adopt the lofty style of my opponent, and call it the *thirteenth* fundamental law of human nature. Being first infants, and dependent on our parents and seniors for information, we are, from a necessity of nature, susceptible of progressive improvement, but almost exclusively through faith.

Mr. Owen himself walks by faith in human testimony; and although he may not be conscious of it, he has believed as firmly, and acted as *implicitly*, as any christian ever was required to do. While in Scotland, he heard that there was one quarter of the world called America, and he heard a great many reports concerning it. Now, although there are a great many falsehoods told, and many impositions practised, and thereby faith rendered more precarious and fallible, yet Mr. Owen was able to discriminate the truth, and to rely upon the credible evidence which was presented to him. He had no experience of the climate, soil, products, government, nor all the other circumstances of the country. But so strong was his faith in testimony, and even on that sort of testimony which is often fallacious, that he is moved by his faith to leave his country, friends, relatives, and acquaintances, and trust his property and person upon the mighty ocean; encounter all the dangers of the sea, and deny himself of many comforts for the time being, in quest of that in which he believed. This is as much faith as ever was required of a christian, to translate him out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's own Son. As much faith, as much self-denial, as much perseverance would have led Mr. Owen into a kingdom and country incomparably more desirable than Eden was in all its virgin beauties, in all its primitive excellence, if his faith had reposed upon truth supernatural—truth as certain, and better documented, than was the testimony of those upon whose credibility Mr. Owen started from Lanark for New Harmony.

Before I sit down, may I ask my opponent, for the sake of his own reputation as a logician, and a challenger of the world, to pay some attention to these arguments and topics; that the public may not read them without the form of a reply, or the semblance of a refutation? [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

I shall now proceed, my friends, to another view of this subject, in order to prove all these facts in another direction, to show that there is

no kind of inconsistency or contradiction between one part of the system and another. In the development of one entire new state of things, it will appear that my arguments will apply with still greater force and minuteness.

[*Here Mr. Owen commences reading "an attempt to develop the outlines of an entire new state of existence, founded solely on the divine laws of human nature."*]

All past and present societies of men have been founded in direct opposition to these divine laws, and, in consequence, virtue has generally been made to consist in acting *contrary* to them, and vice in being *obedient* to them.

We now propose for universal adoption, another state of society, in which virtue shall consist in being *obedient* to these laws, and vice in *opposing* them.

These divine laws are—

1. That man, at his birth, has been made ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization, and he has not been permitted to create any part of the propensities, faculties, and qualities, physical or mental, which have been given to him, or which he possesses.

2. That no two infants have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization at birth, and the differences between all infants are formed by a power unknown to them.

3. That each individual is placed, at birth, without his consent or knowledge, within circumstances which, acting upon his peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child, and man; the influence of those circumstances being modified, in some degree, by the peculiar natural organization of each individual.

4. That no individual has had the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world, he shall come into existence; of whom he shall be born, what district religion he shall be trained to believe, or by what other circumstances he shall be surrounded from birth to death.

5. That each individual is so organized that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions from those around him, which shall produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity.

6. That each individual is so organized, that he must believe according to the strongest impressions that shall be made on his feelings; while his belief in no case depends upon his will.

7. That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization; and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what these sensations shall be.

8. That each individual is so created, that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant or delightful at their commencement, become, when continued without intermission beyond a certain period, disagreeable and painful; while, on the contrary, when a too

rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens, and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual, and moral powers and enjoyments.

9. That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvement, and most permanent happiness of each individual depend, in a great degree, upon the proper cultivation of all his faculties, physical and mental, from infancy to maturity; and upon all these parts of his nature being duly called into action, at their proper period, and temperately exercised, according to the strength and capacity of the individual.

10. That the individual is made to possess and acquire the *worst* character, when his organization at birth has been composed of the most inferior ingredients, or natural qualities of our common nature; and when he has been so organized that he has been placed, from birth to death, amidst the most *vicious* or *worst* circumstances.

11. That the individual is made to possess and acquire a *medium* character, when his original organization has been created *superior*, but the circumstances which surround him from birth to death produce continued *unfavourable* impressions. Or, when his organization has been formed of *inferior* propensities, faculties, and qualities, and the circumstances in which he has been placed from birth to death are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or, when there has been some mixture of *superior* and *inferior* qualities in the original organization, when it has been placed through life in various circumstances of good and evil. Hitherto, this has been the common lot of mankind.

12. That the individual is made the most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him during life produce only superior impressions. In other words, when his organization is the most perfect, and the laws, institutions, and practices which surround him are all in unison with his nature.

These twelve fundamental laws will be found, on examination, to be in strict accordance with all existing facts: and in a rational state of society, all the laws and institutions will be founded upon them, and they will govern the actions of all men.

These laws, in the aggregate, demonstrate that man does not form his own physical, intellectual, or moral nature; that, consequently, he can have no merit or demerit for his particular organization in his person, and that all pride or assumed distinction, arising from the possession of them under the most favoured combinations in which they may exist, are irrational feelings, arising solely from ignorance.

These laws also demonstrate that man is compelled to *believe* according to the strongest conviction that can be made upon his mind, and to *feel* according to the most powerful impressions of pain or pleasure which can be made upon his organization. Consequently, that he is a being irresponsible for his thoughts and feelings—irresponsible, whether he has been compelled by the circumstances around

him to believe in accordance with facts, or in opposition to them, or whether he has been formed to love what others hate, or dislike what others approve. All institutions, therefore, formed in opposition to these divine laws of human nature, must be irrational. *All the institutions of men have been formed in opposition to them.*

These laws also demonstrate that man is a two-fold being, whose character and conduct are formed, in part, by the peculiar organization which he possesses at birth, and in part, by the impressions which influence that organization through life.

That the organization of each individual at birth, and the circumstances which influence it afterwards, although generally similar, are in many particulars dissimilar; yet that the difference, whatever may be the extent, does not proceed from the will of the individuals. Consequently, all uncharitableness, all anger and irritation, and all pride for possessing particular feelings, proceed solely from ignorance of the divine laws of human nature, and are therefore irrational.

Again, these laws demonstrate that the character and conduct of every human being, are essentially formed by the external circumstances which are allowed to exist around them from birth to death, although their character and conduct are, in some degree, modified by the particular organization given to each individual at birth.

Consequently, no man can be justly made responsible for what he is, or for any thing he may say or do; he cannot possess merit or demerit for his thoughts or feelings, for he is a being wholly formed by circumstances, all of which, when traced to their source, are, in reality, beyond his control.

He is a being, however, who is evidently organized to desire happiness above all things; and that desire, united with a knowledge of the divine laws of human nature, will form a new train of circumstances, which will enable the men of one generation to adopt practical measures to insure the happiness of their successors.

For these divine laws direct the certain way to happiness, "such as it has not yet entered into the heart of man to conceive." For a knowledge of these laws will create the inclination and power to live in obedience to them, and "perfect obedience" will produce the highest happiness that man can enjoy.

RELIGION.

In this new state of existence, all that is contrary to these divine laws of human nature in all the religions of the world, will be withdrawn, and then true religion, or *truth*, pure and undefiled, without useless and senseless rites, forms, or ceremonies, will alone remain. For many of these rites and ceremonies in all countries, are in direct opposition to the divine laws of human nature.

Some of these rites and ceremonies are weak and childish, others are absurd and cruel, and some are horrid and monstrous. These errors were engendered in the imaginations of men when they "knew not what manner of beings they were;" when they were "babes and sucklings" in real knowledge; when "they did those things which they ought not to have done for their happiness."

The time is now near at hand, when these worse than childish proceedings must give place to the plain and simple "law of obedience," to one uniform practice in accordance to the divine will, or to the divine laws of human nature, and thus shall the "knowledge of the Lord," or of divine truth, "cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas," and therefore mythology, fables, dogmas, forms, and mysteries, founded in ignorance of these divine laws, will soon be banished from the earth. Then men will no longer look through these for better things, as "through a glass darkly," but they will know themselves; and all motive to deception of every kind being removed, "they will know each other even as they are known." And when these false dogmas, fables, and mysteries, and the fundamental errors from which they spring, shall be removed from society, and when they shall be replaced by a knowledge of the simple and beautiful divine laws of human nature, then, and not till then, "shall the man be born again." And when this change shall take place, there shall be no perplexity or confusion of ideas; but, on the contrary, the feelings, thoughts, language, and conduct of all men shall be consistent, and they will always harmonize together.

What is the amount of man's knowledge at this day of those subjects, which he has been trained to call divine?

He knows, through the medium of his senses, that the universe exists, and that those parts of it which he can perceive and understand, appear to him to be in constant motion. That decompositions of the materials of the universe continually take place, and new compositions with or without life, are again formed. That these compositions, decompositions, and recompositions, in endless succession, proceed from a power to him unknown, and therefore mysterious. And of those things which man has called divine, this is the whole amount of the knowledge which he has yet acquired. He may, perhaps, learn more when he shall be taught to "know himself," and obey the laws of his nature, by investigating fact after fact, to the extent that the faculties with which he has been furnished will permit.

At all events, he will be thus trained to acquire a manly and cheerful confidence in the unknown power that every where surrounds him, and in which he lives, moves, and has his being.

But he will discover no motive to be afraid of its extent, or to distrust its ultimate results, and much less to flatter it by ceremonies and forms which are degrading to created beings.

Instead of errors like these being made to engage the attention of our offspring, let us henceforward direct them to contemplate the beautiful expanse around us; to observe the mighty movements within it, to study those unchanging laws by which the germs of organization exist upon the earth, and become gradually perfected, each according to its kind, and again slowly and more rapidly declining, until they are redissolved into the original elements of the universe; commencing again their ceaseless round of new compositions; then let them be taught to reflect how all these movements and laws harmonize together. They will be delighted with the knowledge they will thus

acquire; and the more they know, the more they will desire to act in obedience to these divine laws.

Let us, therefore, now remove far away from succeeding generations, all these useless and degrading abominations, which serve only to debase the great mass of mankind, and to lay their intellectual faculties prostrate before a few of their fellows who, in no respect, are made superior to themselves, except by a peculiar education. And a much better education than any of them have yet received may now be given to every individual of the human race.

But with the knowledge now acquired of these divine laws, we cannot be angry or displeased with any of them, even with those who have thus been trained to be the most rational and cruel; no, not to those who have tortured their fellows, or sacrificed them on the altar of their gods.

Do any of these yet remain on the earth? We must pity them—have charity for them—speak kindly to them—and endeavour by all the means in our power to do them good.

ARTIFICIAL LAWS.

All human laws, as they now exist, are, as we have stated, in opposition to the divine laws of human nature; they presuppose that man has been so organized as to possess the power to compel himself to think as he pleases, and to feel as he likes. All human governments are founded on those notions, and they must lead men altogether astray from truth and happiness; they are therefore not only useless, but highly injurious in every light in which they can be viewed.

Written laws of human invention are necessary, only while attempts shall be made to govern men in opposition to their nature, and contrary to reason.

All the artificial laws and institutions of man's devising, in opposition to his nature, have ever been a curse to the human race, and they may be safely superseded as soon as the rising generation shall become familiar with the laws of their nature, and shall be placed within circumstances in which they may act in obedience to them.

When this shall be done, all motive to disunion, or to create any unpleasant difference of opinion or feeling will cease, and whatever may require adjustment between individuals or communities, will be speedily and satisfactorily arranged by the persons appointed to govern the interest of all equally.

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

In this new state of existence, all private property in persons and things, that is in opposition to the fixed laws of human nature, will cease, and in consequence, selfishness, poverty, and jealousy will terminate.

Instead of submitting to the innumerable evils arising from private property, arrangements will be formed to secure for every one from birth to death, a full supply of every thing that is the best for human nature, taking also into consideration the minor differences formed by nature, in the organization of each individual.

As soon as all unnecessary private property shall be abolished, it

will no longer be, nor appear to be, for the interest of any one, that any thing inferior in quality shall be produced for the use of man.

There will be no inferior cultivation; no inferior houses or buildings of any kind; no inferior roads, bridges, canals, aqueducts, vessels for navigation, or machinery for any purpose; all of them will be constructed of the best materials that can be produced, and they will be planned and executed under the direction of those who shall be found to possess the best knowledge and the most valued experience upon each subject respectively. In short, whatever is to be done will be executed in the neatest manner known at the time, in any part of society; for the talents of each will be applied the most advantageously for the benefit of all.

WAR.

In this new state of existence, wars will terminate as rapidly as a knowledge of the laws of human nature shall be made to extend over the earth.

For war is opposed to the happiness of the human race. It is beneficial for all, that there should be a full supply of the best of every thing for every human being, and that all should be more or less engaged in its production, preservation, or distribution.

But war withdraws the efficient part of the population from producing, preserving, or distributing, and forms it into a most effective power to consume wastefully, to destroy upon a large scale, and to prevent production.

It is the interest of all men, without any exception, that all their powers should be applied to aid in producing the best of every thing for every one, or to be employed in some way that shall promote the greatest benefit.

In the present irrational state of existence, it is, (often among the wealthy indeed,) generally deemed more honourable to be employed in occupations useless or injurious, rather than to be seen making or producing any thing useful or necessary for the existence or enjoyment of rational beings.

Thus war, through all its ramifications, is destructive of happiness, and of the rational faculties of the human race, and yet it has been deemed the most honourable of all employments.

For those men who have been the most successful in destroying the productions of their fellow men, in killing and wounding the greatest number of them, in burning their habitations and property, in creating thereby the greatest extent of famine, and the largest amount of individual suffering and misery, with the most widely-spread destruction of human industry and comfort, have been through all past ages the most honoured and rewarded.

In the new state of existence, all these proceedings will be deemed irrational, and will never be practiced except by those who are insane.

As soon, therefore, as a generation shall be trained from infancy in a knowledge of the divine laws of human nature, all contention will cease, and charity and peace will every where prevail. [*Half hour out.*]

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

Mr. Chairman—It is surely a novel species of logic to argue, that because we shall have better houses, and better schools, and must have new bridges, &c., therefore the Christian religion must be false! To resume the subject of materialism, which is the system of my friend Mr. Owen, it will be necessary to observe, that all the artificial mysteries of atheism have not emanated from the same brain, but from different intellects. In order to make out a system contrary to all *experience* and *history*, some materialists have been constrained to suppose, (finding themselves perplexed to account for man's origin, either on the hypothesis of his coming into existence as an adult or an infant) that man was originally a being very different from what he now is. But whether he has degenerated, or improved, they do not testify. They also suppose another absurdity: viz. that there must have been an oak before an acorn; or, in other words, that vegetables must have existed before their seeds. This would be no absurdity if we admit a Creator who produced, by one almighty fiat, every vegetable in full vigour. But, on any other hypothesis, it is an absurdity. This necessarily follows from their own premises. They also suppose that matter and motion originally possessed powers which they do not now. That because matter and motion cannot now produce new *genera* and *species*, therefore they have not all the powers they once had. This is first to assume a fact, and then to invent, or bribe, or suborn the testimony to prove it. That once they had the power of detaching themselves from other parts of the universe, and forming themselves into organized bodies, but that now they have grown old and feeble, and lost their power.

When they asserted that the material universe had no relation to an intelligent *First Cause*, but was the production of blind chance, or nature operating according to the laws of matter and motion, they were impelled to the above conclusion. Inasmuch as they do not find nature competent to the production of a new species or genus of vegetable or animal matter, they endeavour to excuse their system by asserting that she once possessed powers which she does not now possess. But this monstrous assumption must be taken for fact, to account for any thing on their premises. Yet these persons tell us they cannot believe a miracle, because it is contrary to all experience! But they can believe their own mysteries, contrary to all the *experience* and information of mankind!

> "Deny God; all is mystery besides:
> Millions of mysteries! each darker far
> Than that thy wisdom would unwisely shun.
> If weak thy faith, why choose the harder side?
> We nothing know but what is marvellous;
> Yet what is marvellous we can't believe!"

But the system is liable to another exception. It can give no account of the manner in which the idea of a God became so universally prevalent, while they admit that the idea did obtain universality.

I recollect that I once pressed this difficulty upon the infidel editors of the "New Harmony Gazette."

[*Here Mr. Campbell reads from the "Christian Baptist," a problem addressed to the Editors of the "New Harmony Gazette."*]

A Problem to the Editors of the "New Harmony Gazette."

"You think that reason cannot originate the idea of an Eternal First Cause, or that no man could acquire such an idea by the employment of his senses and reason; and you think correctly. You think also that the Bible is not a supernatural revelation—not a revelation from a Deity in any sense. These things premised, gentlemen, I present my problem in the form of a query again.

"The Christian idea of an Eternal First Cause uncaused, or of a God, is now in the world, and has been for ages immemorial. You say it *could not* enter into the world by *reason,* and it *did not* enter by *revelation.* Now, as you are philosophers and historians, and have all the means of knowing, '*How did it come into the world?*'"

[Mr. Owen asserts, after hearing this problem read, "*By imagination.*"]

I am just now told by Mr. Owen, that the idea of a God obtained this universality through imagination. Now, let us try the merits of this solution. Imagination, all writers agree, has not the power of creating any new idea. It has the power of analysing, combining, compounding, and new-modifying all the different ideas presented to it; but imagination has no creative power.

No system of philosophy that is now taught in any school will warrant us to attribute to *imagination* any such power. Neither Locke nor Hume will allow it; and these are the most respectable in the Christian and infidel schools. We shall hear what each of them has to say upon the power of imagination.

"Although nothing is so abounded in its operations as the powers of the mind, and the imaginations of man, to form monsters, and join incongruous shapes and appearances, it costs the imagination no more trouble than to conceive of the most natural and familiar objects; and whilst the body is confined to one planet, along which it creeps with pain and difficulty, the imagination and thought can transport us in an instant into the most distant regions of the universe. But, although our thought seems to possess this unbounded liberty, we shall find, upon a nearer examination, that it is really confined within very narrow limits, and that *all this creative power of the mind amounts to nothing more than the faculty of combining, transposing, augmenting, and diminishing the materials afforded us by sense and experience.*"
—HUME.

"The simple ideas are the materials of all our knowledge, which are suggested and furnished to the mind only by sensation and reflection. When the understanding is once stored with these simple ideas, it has the power to repeat, compare, and unite them, even to

an almost infinite variety, and so can make, at pleasure, new complex ideas. But it is not in the power of the most exalted wit, or enlarged understanding, by any quickness or variety of thoughts, to invent or frame one new simple idea in the mind, not taken in by the ways before mentioned; nor can any force of the understanding destroy those that are there." "The dominion of man in this little world of his understanding, being somewhat the same as it is in the great world of visible things; wherein his power, however managed by art and skill, reaches no farther than to compound and divide, or decompose the materials that are made to his hand, but can do nothing towards making the least particle of new matter, or destroying an atom of what is already in being. The same inability will every one find in himself, who should go about to fashion, in his understanding, any simple idea not received by his senses from external objects, or by reflection from the operations of his own mind about them. I would have any one try to fancy any taste which had never affected his palate; or frame the idea of a scent he had never felt; and when he can do this, I will also conclude that a deaf man has distinct notions of sounds." "It is *impossible* for any one to imagine any other qualities in bodies, however constituted, whereby they can be taken notice of, besides sounds, tastes, smells, visible and tangible qualities. Had mankind been made with but four senses, the qualities, then, which are the objects of the fifth sense, had been as far from our notice, imagination, and conception, as now any belonging to a sixth, a seventh, or an eighth sense can possibly be; which, whether yet some other creatures in some other parts of this 'vast and stupendous universe,' may not have, will be a great presumption to deny."—*Locke.* Such is Mr. Hume's doctrine, and it agrees with Mr. Locke's and other philosophers'. Now, if this be true, and founded on a strict analysis of the human mind, and predicated on universal experience, how could man have imagined a God? Let us try the faculty of imagination, and prove, by our own experience, its *creative power.* We have but *five* senses: I would therefore ask Mr. Owen, and every one present, if you can, by any exertion of your faculties, imagine a *sixth* sense? What would it be? If you were to imagine any other sense, it must be analogous to those you already possess. You might imagine a being like the fabulous Argus, with a hundred eyes; but you got your idea of eyes from your own sense of vision. You might fancy that you possessed an organ, like that of fame, that would enable you to hear from a greater distance than the eye could reach; but could you have imagined this unless you had derived the simple idea of hearing from your organ of hearing? But a sixth sense, unlike those possessed, cannot be imagined. Now, if Mr. Owen cannot, from his five senses, imagine a sixth, how can he assert that a savage or philosopher could imagine a God? But I call upon Mr. Owen to imagine and report to us a sixth sense.

In the system of causation, natural religionists go upon the ladder of effect and cause, up to the first cause; but to reason *a posteriori*

on this subject, is, in my opinion, fallacious. It is predicated upon a *petitio principii*, inasmuch as it assumes that the material universe is an *effect*. *Quod erat demonstrandum*—the very thing to be proved. I do hope that this debate will put the question between deists and christians to repose. Deism is all founded upon a *petitio principii*—a begging of the question to be proved. Atheism or Christianity must obtain the dominion over every inquisitive mind. When I hear a deist talking about "the light of nature" and "the great god of nature," I am reminded of the school boy who stole a penknife, and when charged with the fact, said, he found it growing upon an apple tree.

This was equivalent to a confession of the theft, since we all know penknives do not grow upon apple trees. In like manner the reasonings of the deists, upon their own premises, show that their conclusions do not logically follow. You might as well look for penknives growing upon apple trees, as for Lord Herbert's doctrine in the mind of a savage. There is no stopping-place between atheism and Christianity.

As we have, perhaps, sufficiently gone into the detail in demonstrating, from the mysteries of atheism, that the materialist acts upon the very principle which he condemns in christians; that is, in believing what he cannot comprehend, and contrary to his own experience; and not only this, but in giving to imagination a power which it does not possess, and afterwards acting according to the mere vagaries of fancy, more than the most enthusiastic christians,—I say, having shown that the materialists assent to, and teach mysteries which they cannot ever explain, believe and reason contrary to universal experience, and follow imagination, while they ascribe these as foibles to others, I will finish my readings and comments upon this system by giving the moral consummation from one of their ablest writers.

You have heard a great deal about necessity. All Mr. Owen's facts have been adduced to prove that we are locked up in the chains of an inexorable fatality. That you may see the moral tendency of this doctrine, I shall read you a few sentences from Mirabeau's system of nature.

"Life being commonly for man the greatest of all benefits, it is to be presumed, that he who deprives himself of it, is impelled by an invincible force. It is the excess of misery, despair, derangement of the machine, caused by melancholy, which carries man on to destroy himself. Agitated then by contrary impulses, he is, as we have before said, obliged to follow a middle course that conducts him to his death; if man is not free in any one instant of his life, he is again much less so in the act by which it is terminated.

"We see then, that, he who kills himself does not commit, as they pretend, an outrage on nature, or, if they will, on its author. He follows an impulse of nature, in taking the only means that she leaves him to quit his pains; he goes out of existence by a door that she leaves open to him; he cannot offend her in accomplishing the law of necessity; the iron hand of which, having broken the spring that rendered life desirable to him, and urged him to conserve himself, shows that he ought to quit a rank, or system, which he finds too bad

to be willing to remain in. His country, or his family, has no right to complain of a member that it cannot render happy, and from whom it has nothing more to hope for itself. To be useful to his country, or to his family, it is necessary that man should cherish his own peculiar existence, that he has an interest in conserving himself, loves the bonds which unite him to others, and is capable of occupying himself with their felicity. In short, that the suicide should be punished in the other life, and repent of his precipitate steps, it were needful that he should outlive himself, and that, in consequence, he should carry with him, into his future residence, his organs, his senses, his memory, his ideas, and his actual mode of existing and of thinking.

"In short, nothing is more useful than to inspire men with a contempt for death, and to banish from their minds the false ideas which are given them of its consequences. The fear of death will never make any thing but cowards; the fear of its pretended consequences will make nothing but fanatics, or pious melancholy beings, useless to themselves and to others. Death is a resource that we must not by any means take away from oppressed virtue, which the injustice of men frequently reduces to despair. If men feared death less, they would neither be slaves nor superstitious. Truth would find defenders more zealous; the rights of man would be more hardily sustained; error would be more powerfully combated, and tyranny would be for ever banished from nations. Cowardice nourishes it, and fear perpetuates it. In short, men can neither be contented nor happy whilst their opinions shall oblige them to TREMBLE!!!"

Such, my friends, is the *necessary* consequence of the *doctrine of necessity*. I propose, to-morrow, all things concurring, to present you systematically with the argument already introduced, demonstrative of the last position; and, after that, to adduce the direct and positive evidences of the truth and certainty of the Christian religion. [*Half hour out.*]

[*"Here Mr. Owen requested the audience not to return home with their heads full of swords and pistols. Mr. Campbell," said he, "has given you a lease of a thousand years of happiness."*]

Wednesday forenoon, 15th April.

MR. OWEN rises.

My friends—The subject in which we finished reading yesterday evening, was *war*. The next subject is one of great interest to all of us: it is *marriage*.

MARRIAGE.

As we have seen that man is so organized by nature, that he must like that which is agreeable to him, and dislike that which nature has made disagreeable, all engagements between men and women, professing to like or love each other, through future unknown changes in both, will altogether terminate. Other and much better arrangements will be formed for their union, agreeable to the divine laws of their nature, and which will put an end to the present prostitution of both body and mind, to jealousy, and to all sexual crimes. The invention of unnatural

marriages has been the sole origin of all sexual crimes. They have rendered prostitution unavoidable. They have erected a spurious chastity, and destroyed all knowledge of pure chastity. For real chastity consists in connexion with affection; and prostitution, in connexion without affection.

The artificial bonds of indissoluable marriage, and the single family arrangements to which marriage leads, are much more calculated to *destroy* than to *promote* affection; and, in consequence, the parties frequently live together in a state of real prostitution, both of body and mind; and by the customs established in various countries, they are obliged to be satisfied with this *spurious* chastity, which is *real* prostitution.

In the new state of existence, that which experience has proved to be really beneficial in marriage, or single family arrangements, will be retained, while all that is injurious and contrary to nature will be dismissed.

By these arrangements, men and women will be equally well educated; they will have the same rights and privileges, and they will associate on terms of intimacy, through their lives, with those only for whom they cannot avoid feeling the most regard and greatest affection.

COMMERCE

Now consists in buying and selling for a monied profit, and necessarily engenders every kind of deception and injustice, under the specious term of fair trading. This kind of traffic will not be known in our new state of existence. The fewest in number, and those especially appointed for the purpose, will make such exchange of commodities, between the different associations as experience shall prove to be the best for all, and every commodity will be exchanged in cases, for the same amount of labour which it contains according to general estimates, accurately made, and applicable alike to all parties. Those who convey the articles from one place to another, and make the exchange, will have their labour added to the previous estimate of labour in them.

The equitable exchange of surplus productions upon this system, will be much better effected than they are now, by less than one per cent. of the present cost to the producers, all of which is deducted from the real value of their labour; and all the degradation and immorality of bargaining will be withdrawn from society.

TRAVELLING

Will be arranged in the new state of existence to give every advantage which can arise from it, while almost all its real inconveniences will greatly be diminished. And all who desire will have the privilege of removing from one association, and from one district to another, under such regulations as will be for the benefit of all the members of the communities.

The accommodations for travelling, by land or by water, will be the best that can be devised for health and comfort, and for promoting the

means of improvement. These objects, by foresight, under a proper system, may be obtained without difficulty.

EDUCATION.

All the advantages which old society has endeavoured to gain from governments, religions, laws, wars, marriages, and commerce, in all of which it has grievously failed, will be attained and secured in the new state of existence, by an entire change of the circumstances by which the whole character of man will be formed by education, from infancy to maturity.

He will be trained and educated, from birth, within circumstances all in unison with the known laws of his nature; he will be early taught to discover and understand them, by the exercise of his intellectual faculties, and to act in obedience to them, by a conviction that they alone can lead to happiness, and by observing the advantages derived from obeying these laws, by those of mature age and experience.

All will thus acquire an accurate knowledge of the science of the influence of circumstances over human nature, and know how to act upon that knowledge in all the business of life. They will speedily learn to know what is essential to the well-being, the well-doing, and the happiness of society. They will soon discover that the great business of life will consist in educating, producing, preserving, distributing, and preparing the means for enjoying. And to do these, in the best manner for the young, middle-aged, and old, the three classes into which society will be divided, will occupy the attention of every one, and be a constant source of exercise, interest, and pleasure to all.

The sacrifice to which men of the present generation must submit, before they can secure the benefit of this new state of existence, is, that they must enjoy their happiness upon principles of perfect equality with all of the human race.

For these enjoyments cannot be obtained under any system of artificial inequality, or separation into distinct classes. The new state of existence will admit of those differences only which nature makes unavoidable, that is, age and knowledge.

This new mode of education will call into full action the physical, intellectual, and moral powers of all individuals, and will form them to be, in consequence, much more competent to the whole business of life than their predecessors in old society.

GOVERNMENTS.

Artificial governments will be required only so long as men shall be retained in ignorance of the divine laws of their nature, and trained to be vicious. A preliminary government will be therefore necessary, while the change is progressing from the old to the new state.

After the change shall have been effected, by the education of an entire generation in the knowledge and practice of the divine laws, a natural government will be formed in unison with them.

It is now evident, that no people can be virtuous, intelligent, and happy, under any despotic or elective governments, or under any modification of them. They must necessarily produce evil continually.

Monarchy is defective in principle, on account of the uncertain character of the sovereign, as well as the extreme inequality it produces in the condition of the governed.

The elective principle is equally defective under the old arrangement of society, on account of the corruption of morals, and the unceasing bad feelings which it engenders.

And any combination of these two modes of government, will necessarily partake of the evils of both. But no government, even the best ever known in old society, can do more than mitigate, for a short period, some of the innumerable evils which an opposition to the laws of nature unavoidably produces.

The existing generation, however, is not prepared for a government in accordance with all the laws of nature. We have been so much injured by the erroneous impressions which have been made on our minds, and by the vicious character which has been formed for us, that the utmost that can be expected in our case, is an approximation, in some degree, towards that which is right in principle, and correct in practice.

A preliminary government must, therefore, be framed for the present generation, to lead it onward gradually, as the mind expands, and the practice improves, until our children shall be fully prepared for one in accordance with all the divine laws of human nature.

And this preliminary government must be made to approximate more or less to the laws of nature, as the parties preparing to act upon the social system shall have acquired more or less knowledge of it.

In this preliminary government, therefore, there must be a modification of the existing laws and customs relative to religion, marriage, private property, responsibility, or rewards or punishments, and of the modes of producing, distributing, and enjoying, as well as of educating those who have been already partially instructed in the false notions and injurious practices of the present systems.

The extent to which these approximations shall proceed towards the perfect laws of nature, must be left to the decision of the united will of the parties, who associate to commence the social or natural system; or, perhaps, to the more calm determination of the person whom they may appoint to administer the new government, until they shall become sufficiently experienced to govern themselves according to the laws of their nature.

It is probable these modifications will be, at first, various, depending in some degree upon the climate, soil, previous habits, and customs; but most essentially upon the progress the whole party uniting may have acquired of the laws of their nature.

It will be readily conceived that in the new state of existence, slavery will be unknown. It will, of course, die a natural death under the preliminary government of the present generation, and in the second generation, servitude also will cease.

After that period, all the domestic operations of the world will be performed by mechanical inventions and chemical discoveries under the direction of the youth of both sexes; a knowledge of which they

will acquire theoretically and practically, as a necessary and important part of their education; and in this respect, all will pass through the same training and exercise. It is probable that this part of the business of life will be easily completed in a manner greatly superior to any thing hitherto known, before these young persons shall be twenty years of age, perhaps at eighteen; and the arrangements may be so formed, as to make that which is now considered a task of slavery by the most ignorant, to become a delightful occupation; in fact, a pleasure and a pastime to the most intelligent in principle, and the most expert in practice.

In this new state of existence, physical and intellectual employments will be held in estimation in proportion as they are necessary and useful; and all useless occupations, as long as there shall be any thing useful to perform, or new knowledge to acquire, will be deemed a waste of time and faculties, to be practiced only by the irrational or insane.

Idleness, the bane of human happiness, will be unknown; it will be wholly prevented by the new mode of education, as it will be applied in infancy, childhood, and youth; while, on the contrary, over-exertion of body or mind will not be practiced, because all will know that temperance in the exercise and use of all our faculties will give the greatest amount of happiness that human nature can enjoy.

OF A NATURAL GOVERNMENT, OR OF ONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAWS OF NATURE.

A government founded on these principles, will attend solely to the improvement and happiness of the governed.

Its first inquiries will be, to ascertain what human nature is, what are the laws of its organization, and of its existence from birth to death.

The second, what is necessary for the happiness of a being so formed and matured.

And the third, what are the best means by which to attain these requisites, and to secure them permanently for all the governed.

We have developed the divine laws of human nature in sufficient detail for the present purpose.

Those things which are necessary for the happiness of a being so formed and matured, are comprised, perhaps, in the following enumeration.

OF THINGS NECESSARY FOR HUMAN HAPPINESS.

1. The possession of a good organization, physical, mental, and moral.

2. Having the power to procure, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to keep that organization in the best state of health.

3. An education which shall cultivate, in the best manner, from infancy to maturity, the physical, intellectual, and moral powers of all the population.

4. The means and inclination to promote the happiness of our fellow-beings.

5. The means and inclination to increase continually our stock of knowledge.

6. The means of enjoying the best society we know; and more

particularly the power of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we cannot avoid feeling the most regard and greatest affection.

7. The means of travelling at pleasure.

8. A release from superstition, from supernatural fears, and from the fear of death.

And lastly, to live in a society in which all its laws, institutions, and arrangements, shall be in accordance with the divine laws of human nature, well organized and well governed. A more detailed examination of these nine general conditions will be found in the appendix.

The third great object of a natural government will be, to devise and execute the arrangements by which these conditions shall be obtained for, and secured to, all the governed.

Its laws will be few, easily to be understood by all the governed, and in every instance, in unison with the laws of human nature. They may, perhaps, be contained in the following

CODE OF NATURAL LAWS.

1. As all men have equal rights by nature, all will have equal rights in the new state of existence; and, therefore, all men shall be upon a perfect equality from birth to death, in their conditions of life.

2. As all men are composed of their own peculiar organization at birth, and of the influence which the circumstances around them from birth made upon that particular organization, and as no man creates his own organization, or the circumstances which surround him in infancy, childhood, and youth, or at any subsequent period of life, except in so far as he is influenced thereto by the impressions previously made on his organization by those early circumstances, therefore no man shall be held responsible for his physical composition, for his intellectual faculties, or for his moral feelings, and consequently, for his character and conduct.

As the society, however, in which he shall be born and shall live, will derive all the benefit of his good actions, and experience all the inconveniences of his bad qualities, and as the society will have, in a very great degree, the formation of the character and direction of the conduct of all individuals under its education and government, it will be alone entitled to all the praise or blame which the actions of the individual may deserve. Beings formed as man is, cannot justly be entitled to individual reward or punishment in this life or the next.

3. As no individual can believe or disbelieve contrary to the strongest impressions made upon his mind, no merit or reward, no blame or punishment shall be awarded to any individual for any opinions, notions, or faith whatever.

4. As man is organized to receive impressions from external objects and internal reflection, according to the unchanging or divine laws of his nature, no man shall be made, in any degree, responsible for his sensations, whether of liking or disliking; loving, indifference to, or hating, of pleasure, of pain, or of whatever character or description they may be.

But all shall be educated from infancy in perfect sincerity, that they may give a faithful expression of their sensations, in order that society may acquire the most accurate knowledge of human nature, and con-

sequently, of the means by which all may be the most improved and rendered the most happy.

5. Each individual shall have his physical, intellectual, and moral nature cultivated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known to the society in which he shall be born and shall live.

6. Every individual shall pass, from infancy, through the same general routine of education and domestic teaching and employments, in order that the highest happiness may be permanently secured for society, and that every one of its members may have, with the least inconvenience, his full share of the best of every thing for his individual nature.

7. The best only of every thing shall be produced by society for all its members.

Because, to do so, will be the most perfect economy; consequently, the best cultivation, the best buildings, the best dress, the best vessels, machinery and manufactures, the best education, and the best amusements and recreation known at the time, will always be provided for the use and enjoyment of every member of the society.

8. As loving and hating, liking, indifference, or disliking, depend not upon the will, but upon the impressions which external objects compel each individual to receive, by reason of his particular organization; there shall be no artificial or unnatural bonds or engagements between the sexes, compelling them to commit perjury under the name of marriage, by promising to love, when they may be compelled to hate.

9. As pure chastity consists in co-habitation with mutual affection, and prostitution in connexion without mutual affection, all children in the new state of existence will be naturally produced according to the divine laws of human nature, and none will be produced unnaturally, as at present, without affection.

10. All children born in the new state of existence shall be, from their birth, under the special care of the society to which they belong.

11. The children of all parents shall be trained and educated together by the society, as the children of one family; and all of them shall be early taught the divine laws of their nature, in order that they may acquire a real affection for each other, and a pure charity, arising from a knowledge of the cause of every difference in person, mind, and feelings, which may exist among themselves, or between them and any of their fellow-beings.

12. All parents shall have free intercourse to and with their children, during the whole period of the formation of their character, which a short experience will convince them, can never be well formed under any single family arrangement.

13. There shall be no unnecessary private property possessed by any one in this new state of existence; but each adult shall have the full use of two private apartments, as long as the party to whom they shall be allotted by the society shall desire to retain them. They shall also retain all clothes, and other things which they may receive from the society, according to its rules, for their exclusive use and consumption.

14. As it is necessary for the attainment of all the conditions requisite to give happiness to mankind, that some certain number of individuals shall be associated, as one family, to give the greatest amount of advantages with the fewest inconveniences, and as it is probable that experience will prove that number to be about one thousand individuals, composed of men, women, and children, in the usual proportions, all the arrangements in the new state of existence shall be devised to admit the formation of associations and communities to consist of three hundred as a minimum, and two thousand as a maximum, to form, instead of single families, the nucleus society, or the natural congregation of men in one place, the best calculated to promote each other's happiness.

15. That the aggregate of society, in this new state of existence, shall be composed of the union of these communities, into such numbers or circles as shall be found, in practice, the most convenient for their general government.

It is probable that very generally they may be united into circles of tens, for more local purposes; into hundreds for smaller districts; into thousands for larger districts; into millions for the most extended purposes; until there shall be no artificial separation between any portion of mankind, to be an obstacle to prevent a union of language, of interest, and of feelings; every obstacle to the union of mankind being an evil.

16. Each of these communities, to secure their independence, shall possess around it, land sufficient for the full support of all its members, when they shall be at the maximum in number.

17. Each of these communities shall be arranged to give, as nearly as possible, the same advantages to all its members, and to afford easy communication with all other communities.

18. Each community shall be governed, in all its general proceedings, by the council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty-five and forty-five; and each department shall be under the immediate direction of a committee, formed of the members of this council; and these members shall be chosen in the order to be determined upon by each council.

There will be, therefore, no selection or election of any individuals to office, after a period when each shall be trained to be more than equal to take his full share of the duties of management, at the age fixed upon.

19. At thirty-five years of age, all who shall have been trained from infancy in the communities, shall be officially called upon to undertake their full share of the duties of management, and at forty-five they shall be excused from officially performing them.

20. The business of the council shall be, to govern all the circumstances within the boundaries of its own community; to endeavour to improve them, by removing continually the circumstances most unfavourable to happiness, and replacing them by the best that can be devised among themselves, or that they can obtain a knowledge of from all the other communities.

21. The council shall have full power of government in all things, as long as they do not act contrary to the divine laws of human nature. These laws shall be their guide upon all occasions, because, when understood, they will prevent any unjust or erroneous decision or proceeding.

22. If, however, (which is deemed scarcely possible,) this natural council of government shall ever attempt to contravene the laws of human nature, the elders of the community who have passed the council, shall call a general meeting of all its members, above sixteen years of age, who have been trained from infancy within the communities. At this meeting, the conduct of the council shall be calmly and patiently investigated; and if a majority of its members shall afterwards determine that the council has acted, or attempted to act, in opposition to the spirit of these divine laws, the government shall devolve upon the members of the community who have passed the council, and who are under fifty years of age, united with those members who have not entered the council, who shall be above thirty years of age.

23. All other differences, of every description,—if, indeed, it be possible for any to exist in such communities,—shall be immediately determined and amicably adjusted between the parties, by the decision of a majority of the three oldest members of the council; except when the difference shall exist between members of the council, when it shall be in like manner decided by the three members who have last passed through the council.

24. As soon as the members of these communities shall be educated from infancy in a knowledge of the divine laws of their nature, trained to act in obedience to them, and they shall be surrounded by circumstances all in unison with these laws, there shall be no individual punishment or reward.

All those educated, trained, and placed, must of necessity, at all times, think and act rationally, except they shall become physically, intellectually, or morally diseased; and in this case, the council shall direct the best mode of cure, by removing them into the hospital for bodily or mental invalids, until they shall be recovered by the mildest treatment that can affect their cure.

25. The council, whenever it shall be necessary, shall call to its aid the practical abilities of any of the members under thirty-five years of age, and the advice of any of the members who shall have passed the council.

The individual Spartans were not the legitimate subjects of praise or blame; they were not, any more than any other people, the formers of their own character, but their characters were formed for them by the circumstances introduced by Lycurgus. [*Half hour out.*]

Wednesday forenoon, 15th April.

Mr. Campbell rises.

Gentlemen Moderators—I am perfectly aware of the difficult circumstances in which my friend's course has placed you. You have

been selected by Mr. Owen and myself, for the express purpose of moderating this discussion, with the fullest confidence, on both our parts, in your ability and impartiality. To insure the most perfect impartiality, you were mutually selected. I am well aware, therefore, that you must feel yourselves responsible to us and to the community, for your course in the management of this discussion. I have not the slightest reflection to make upon your mode of procedure: it is reasonable and consistent. You have entered your protest against Mr. Owen's course in this debate; in that it has been irrelevant, impertinent, and out of the purview of the discussion contemplated, and to which the public have been invited. You also perceive my difficulties. I came here to reply to my friend's arguments in support of his own theses; the obvious scope of which was the subversion of all religion. I came here prepared to show that my opponent was not able to make good a single point which he had assumed; that he could not adduce a single logical proof in corroboration of his positions; therefore, I could not have been expected to open this discussion. This was not a supposable case. Had I known that I was to have taken the affirmative, I should have come forward prepared with some plan of argument, in which my opponent might have joined issue with me; and I would have led the discussion in such manner as would soon, in my opinion, have led us to rational conclusions. Surrounded with these difficulties, gentlemen, it appears necessary that some decision should be made on the course of investigation.

Yesterday I introduced a series of arguments, calculated, in my opinion, and in that of the public at large, to subvert Mr. Owen's propositions. He would not argue the merits of one of my positions. For two days Mr. Owen has been presenting a great variety of topics, which he might have introduced as pertinently in any other discussion as the present. I have taken up his own positions in his own terms, and agreed to rest the merits of the controversy upon his own *allegata*. But as I stand pledged to subvert Mr. Owen's whole theory, I proposed yesterday to introduce a regular and connected argument, without paying any respect to any thing which might be offered by him, unless it were pertinent to the subject matter in debate. This morning we have had a disquisition upon marriage, commerce, and a code of natural laws, none of which has any bearing upon, or logical connexion with the question at issue. I therefore ask you, gentlemen, to allow me to pursue what I deem the only correct course under present circumstances, and to declare your opinion of Mr. Owen's course in the management of his part of this discussion. Perhaps this will be equally necessary for your vindication as for my own, inasmuch as the whole proceedings may become matter of record. It was part of my original plan, that every morning a brief condensed view, or recapitulation, should be presented of the arguments and positions of the preceding day. On reviewing the outline of the course already pursued, I have made up the following abstract.

RECAPITULATION.

Mr. Owen's capital position, on which he has laid so much stress,

is, that man, because he does not make himself or his circumstances, is an irresponsible being. In opposition to which, we have urged this consideration—that, admitting its truth, it follows that infants, idiots, madmen, philosophers, and the common-sense part of the community, are all alike capable or incapable of society and moral government, because man has no more control over his own actions, than a mill-wheel has over its own revolutions. This was, as I conceive, reducing his argument to an absurdity.

His next capital position is, that all religious institutions and all civil governments are erroneous, because they are predicated on human responsibility; they require man to have more control over his own actions than a mill-wheel has over its own revolutions. In opposition to both these positions, we have urged that man is constitutionally responsible, because *rational;* that all the circumstances which can surround any human being, the savage and the citizen, concur in suggesting to his mind, in the very first dawnings of his reason, his dependence and consequent responsibility. No human being can possibly be placed in any circumstances which do not impress upon his whole intellectual nature a sense of dependence and responsibility. Suppose a child born in a palace or a wigwam; in either case, the circumstances around him must, as soon as reason dawns, suggest to him a sense of dependence upon his protectors. This sense of dependence begets the idea of responsibility; and this principle of human nature is the foundation of all moral obligation, of every social compact, of all civil and political security.

A favourite corollary, which Mr. Owen deduces from his views of necessity, or the fact that man did not create himself nor his circumstances, is, that neither praise nor blame, merit nor demerit, can be ascribed to man. We have also shown that there can be no such thing as gratitude nor kind feeling, charity nor benevolence, due to any human being, more than to the fountain or rivulet which slakes our thirst, or to the tree which yields us its fruit. This I yesterday illustrated, by showing that Mr. Owen's plan of cultivating the kind feelings, would extirpate all feeling—and that, as to sympathies, we should stand, towards each other, like trees in the forest.

In preparing an amelioration of the condition of society, and consequently society itself, Mr. Owen asserts that the circumstances which now surround us, are of a vitiating, or of an *irrational* and anti-natural character; on which we remark, that, as the circumstances which surround us are either *topical,* arising from our location, or *social,* the vitiocity must be in the one or the other; not in the former, because it is natural; consequently, it must be in our *social* circumstances. Now the question which he has not answered, and which we know he cannot answer, is, *How came the social circumstances to be irrational and anti-natural, seeing necessity, or what he calls nature, has introduced them?*

The scriptures explain to us both the cause and character of these preternatural circumstances. Mr. Owen does not—cannot. The scriptures, too, adapt themselves to these preternatural circumstances,

and bring men out of them. Mr. Owen's scheme is not adapted to them, neither can it educe man from these preternatural circumstances; because predicated upon an entire subversion of the laws of our nature, dependence, obligation, religion, individuality, matrimony, and the whole influence of natural relations, arising from these things; consequently, unable to educe us from these preternatural circumstances.

Another rallying-point to which Mr. Owen often resorts, is, that it is impossible for rational beings to be virtuously happy, under a government which involves perpetual, partial pain and misery. (The illustration of Mr. Owen was, that if he could believe one sentient being was suffering eternal torment, it would mar his peace of mind.) On this hypothesis, no man ever was, and no man ever can be happy; for the more virtuous, the more happy! That is, if virtuous happiness is to be made to depend upon our feeling ourselves existing in such circumstances as to preclude all possible pain in any sentient being whatever; or, if sympathy and virtue must make us miserable on beholding any kind of sentient suffering, the inseparable connexion between virtue and happiness must thereby be destroyed. If I were afflicted with that morbid sympathy which the theory of Mr. Owen contemplates, the sight of a broken finger or a dislocated joint would make me miserable. On his hypothesis, I could not be happy if a single instance of pain existed in the world. On the hypothesis that the more virtuous we are, the more acute and morbid our sensibilities, there can be no happiness nor enjoyment in the practice of virtue.

From some people with whom I have reasoned on the subject of future happiness, I have heard whole theories of religion predicated upon the idea that the mercy of God is not reconcileable with the idea of punishment, present or future. This system has been predicated upon their view of God's mercy. I have hinted to them the danger of founding a theory of religion upon their imperfect, and, perhaps, inaccurate ideas of the character of God; and that however correct their views of divine justice or mercy, contemplated apart from all other perfections, yet the compound attributes of the divine character were beyond human comprehension. We must judge of the divine attributes from what exists in nature before our eyes, as well as from what is said in scripture. We have frequently requested such reasoners to reflect that animal and mental pain existed to a very great extent. We have asked them to imagine a great field, an *immense area*, in which all the animals of the various genera and species in the universe that were suffering pain and disease, were congregated, what millions of suffering creatures, grouped together, each according to its kind, do we see in this *immense area*. To a man of morbid, or even of well-regulated sensibilities, what a sight is here presented! What painful sympathetic feelings are excited! If the very idea that the saddle on which I ride injures my horse's back, makes *me* feel excessively uncomfortable, how would the actual sight of all these millions of suffering animals, congregated within the limits of an undivided area, affect me! I shudder at the thought. And yet the beneficent Creator of the universe has this sight before his eyes

continually. They stand, in all their agonies, night and day, before Him; and not a painful throb of their hearts, not a single spasm of nerve or muscle, that His all-seeing eye does not observe. The argument deduced is, that if it be compatible with the divine government and attributes, to tolerate such a scene of animal suffering perpetually before him; how can we infer from these premises, that the future punishment of man would mar the felicity of his Creator, or be incompatible with his character? This will be received as a logical argument by all those who believe in future punishments. But the divine Author of our nature has so constituted us, that we are not to be made miserable by the contemplation of temporary or perpetual, partial pain and misery. He has most beneficently established an inseparable connexion between personal virtue and personal happiness,—between personal vice and personal misery; and this may well be called a divine law of human nature. But my friend's hypothesis would lead us to conclude that, just in proportion as we become virtuous, we must become unhappy.

If there has been any argument offered by my opponent, in support of his premises, it amounts to this, "Because *religion* is not predicated upon the sciences of botany, agriculture, chemistry, geology, and others; because it does not make provision for the improvement of the breed of animals, that is, of men as well as dogs and horses; because it does not assimilate social man to the savage in a state of nature, without property, save his bow and arrow; because it did institute matrimony, and does not absolve men from the obligation of the marriage contract, and all other moral and civil contracts; *ergo*, it is not divine, not true, not worthy of universal reception." I affirm that from the reasonings before us, this is the logical force of the argument.

[*Here the Chairman rose and stated that Mr. Campbell had made an appeal to the Board of Moderators, and the Board desired to know if you wish the point to be now decided, before the argument progresses. This decision seems now to be necessary, after advancing whatever you may wish to offer on this point.*]

Mr. Owen rose and said—This meeting was called in consequence of my undertaking to prove certain positions, and Mr. Campbell engaging to disprove them. At our first interview at Cincinnati, I proposed to Mr. Campbell that I should state the whole of my arguments first, and having gone through with them, that Mr. Campbell should reply at full lengh; but Mr. Campbell wished that each party should speak but half an hour at a time. Knowing that the truths I had to advocate were plain, and incontrovertible, I could have no objection to Mr. Campbell's taking the course he suggested; but, in consequence of our having to speak for half an hour, Mr. Campbell has been replying to something he knows not what. Most probably Mr. Campbell expected that I should have taken up the arguments which he anticipated, and which he had prepared himself to refute. Had we proceeded as I suggested, Mr. Campbell would now have been in possession of the whole of my arguments, and I think by this

he would have also been convinced of their incontrovertible truth. When I have got through my arguments and illustrations, I will place my manuscript in Mr. Campbell's hands, and allow him his own time fully to consider them. This is the first morning that Mr. Campbell has attempted any answer to my arguments; and this shows that I was perfectly correct in my view of the order of this debate, which I opened to Mr. Campbell at our first interview. Mr. Campbell is now beginning to come to the point.

[*The honorable Chairman rose and said—I can only observe, that the Moderators are of their former opinion, that they consider the subject now under discussion, to be the first proposition in Mr. Owen's challenge, that is, "an offer to prove that all religions were founded in ignorance," from whence the implication arises, that they are all false. From the beginning we have been of opinion, that the rules of fair discussion required that each party should confine himself strictly to that single isolated proposition; and of this opinion we still remain, "that it is incorrect and illogical to deviate from the course just designated." The Board are unanimously of opinion that Mr. Owen's* first *proposition is the only one in controversy, and that each party should confine himself to matter strictly relevant and pertinent to* that proposition. *That in order to observe the established controversial rules, the party holding the affirmative of this proposition should proceed to demonstrate that all the religions now existing in the world, originated in ignorance, and are founded in error. And after he shall have demolished all the religions, the Board consider that it would be proper for the party holding the affirmative of the proposition, to offer a substitute for the system abolished, to state what the new system is, and the consequences resulting from it; because, until the fallacy of all existing systems be detected and demonstrated, it does not follow that all the anticipated advantages of the* new *system may not be the legitimate results of the existing systems.*]

Mr. Owen remarked—Having heard your wish on this point, I have strictly conformed to it: all I have been saying goes to prove the past and present ignorance of man; when I shall have exhausted this part of the discussion, I shall then adopt any course which the Board may suggest.

Mr. Campbell rose—Gentlemen Moderators, I agree perfectly with you in the sentiment that it would be incompatible with your feelings and the dignity of this controversy, to dictate to the disputants what course they shall pursue. I am perfectly aware of the delicacy which you must feel in exercising any thing like dictation in the course of this controversy; all that I wished, was that you would express your views relative to the manner in which the controversy has been conducted, so that they might be recorded; and that I might be authorized in adopting the course which I have suggested.

I conceive, Mr. Chairman, that I am entitled to so much of my time as has been occupied by the Board and disputants in the discussion of interlocutory topics.

[*Mr. Campbell is allowed fifteen minutes to make up his half hour.*]

Mr. Campbell then rose and said—Yielding to the circumstances in which I am placed, I now propose to submit to your consideration an analysis of the infant man. It is certainly true, as Lord Bacon observes, that "all our valuable knowledge of this world has been gleaned from minute observation;" therefore, an analysis of our corporeal and mental endowments, is indispensable in arriving at any thing like a correct view of the creature man. I intend not to elaborate this matter, but merely to glance at the five senses of man, regarding them as the only means to the soul or mind of man through which we acquire all our simple and original ideas of the universe around us. My object is, to demonstrate from a brief analysis of human capacity, the utter impossibility of man's originating those supernatural ideas which are necessarily involved in the frame and institution of every system of religion. I know that the system of *natural religion* is predicated upon the hypothesis, that man, by the exercise of his natural reason, is capable of arriving at the knowledge of God, and the relations to him and one another. In order to establish the true line of demarcation in this matter, I affirm, first, that there is a God, all nature cries aloud through all her works. But we must have ears to hear this voice; in other words, all things around us and within us prove the existence of God when that idea is originated. 2. I affirm that all nations have derived their ideas of Deity, (and there is no nation without these ideas) from *tradition*, and not from the *light of nature*. 3. I deny that man, in possession of but five senses, and with no other guide but the light of nature, could ever have originated the idea of Deity. But it is more than probable that no human being having but five senses would be a fit subject for an experiment whereby to ascertain whether it were in human nature, unaided by the light of revelation or tradition, to originate the idea of a God; because all who have a full organization, have *heard* of a Creator. Therefore, the matter is to be demonstrated on purely philosophic principles. Now, the admissions are, *that all nature vouches the existence of God; that the tradition concerning God, is the common moral property of all nations.* And the negative is, *that man cannot originate the idea of God.*

Now it is conceded on all hands that we have but *five senses*, and that these five senses are the only avenues though which intelligence, concerning material things, can reach us. These are the senses of *seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, and feeling.* For example, let us take the sense of smelling, as the most simple of all our senses. Now there are in nature many substances possessing odorous properties. Upon a chemical analysis we discover that these *odours* are nothing but small particles of matter, sometimes exceedingly minute. These particles falling off from the bodies, are pressed into the atmospheric air; in the process of respiration, they reach our sense of smelling. They penetrate the nasal membrane, and strike upon the olfactory nerve, and the impressions which the impulse of each of the odorous particles makes upon this nerve is communicated to the sensorium. Bring a rose into a dark room, within the reach of this sense, and

although we cannot see it, we know it is there, because the odorous particles flying off and commingling with the atmosphere of the room, we inhale them. This impression made upon the sensorium, by means of the impulse of each particle upon the sense, we call sensation. Though it be a digression, I would call upon the materialist to reflect upon the wisdom and design manifested in placing this sense exactly where it is. Air is the real *pabulum vitæ*, but were it not for the *locale* of this sense, being in the very channel through which this fluid passes into our lungs, how could we discriminate between the salubrious and insalubrious qualities of the air we inhale? We know the extent to which the most minute *miasmata* may affect our health; and although many of the odorous particles are so minute, or so weak in their impulse as not to be sensibly felt, yet still all the grosser and more common impurities are detected by this sense. Now had the *locale* of this sense been in the *hand*, it would have been useless for the preservation of health and life. Its position, therefore, proves wisdom and design in its formation.

But to return, odours are material things; small particles of matter, flying off from bodies, so small as to be invisible. Now, had we not this organ, we should be deprived of all those ideas which come by that sense. We could not, without the sense of smelling, have any more ideas of odours than a human hand could have of music. It would be impossible to communicate to a man, born without the sense of smelling, any idea of odours, because he would be without archetype or analogy for the conception of any such idea. The corollary then is, that all our ideas of this class are derived through the medium of this sense. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen resumes reading.

Each of these nine conditions appear to be necessary for the happiness of man, and it is almost useless to state that they cannot be obtained under any of the governments, religions, laws, or institutions by which the characters of men have been hitherto formed, or by which they have been governed.

These conditions cannot be obtained in any society in which merit or demerit are attributed for any belief, or faith whatever, or for liking or disliking any person or any thing.

On the contrary, happiness can be obtained and secured, only when every member of society can freely express his thoughts and feelings, and when all men shall understand the laws of human nature so well, that none shall be offended by thus acquiring an accurate knowledge of the sensations which nature compels his fellow-beings to receive.

And these conditions can be enjoyed, only when a knowledge of the laws of our nature shall remove all personal pride and individual selfishness, with all desire to possess any unnecessary private property.

And also, when men and women shall not be required to perjure themselves, and promise what they have not the power to perform, before they enter into the married state; but when, on the contrary,

all shall live and associate according to their affections, and shall be trained, educated, and governed by reason, instead of force, fraud, and cunning.

We will now consider each of these nine conditions, deemed requisite for human happiness more in detail.

FIRST CONDITION.

Of possessing a good organization, physical, intellectual, and moral.

It is evident, on reflection, that the happiness of every individual is materially influenced by the faculties which he derives from nature at birth.

When these are physically weak, or intellectually, or morally defective, greater care and attention are required through infancy, childhood, and youth, to strengthen the first, and improve the others, than are necessary, when the organization, in these respects, is more perfect at birth.

And as the application of the most favourable circumstances, after the birth of the individual, cannot fully compensate for defective natural power, it becomes absolutely necessary for human happiness, that measures should be adopted to prevent the production of any inferior organization in the human race.

There is a science which, when it shall be better understood, and the ignorant prejudices of mankind will permit it to be properly applied, will, to a great extent, effect this ground work of human happiness, for it is the only foundation on which it can be permanently secured.

This science has been already partially applied with success to improve the physical qualities of many animals, and there can be no doubt of the extraordinary beneficial changes which may be made in the human race, when their knowledge of this science shall be rightly applied to improve their physical, intellectual, and moral powers.

The most valuable animal known by man, is man, and it is far more important for his happiness that he should be produced, at his birth, with all his varied powers in the best state, than that the breed of horses, cattle, sheep, and dogs should be improved.

It is not, however, intended that the breed of these latter animals shall be neglected, for, in a rational state of society, no inferior animal, vegetable, or any other thing, will be produced when that which is superior can be obtained.

Consequently, the greatest attention will be given to this science, in the new state of existence, that, as far as it is practicable by human knowledge and industry, a good natural material may be obtained for all purposes, but, more especially, that the most superior physical, intellectual, and moral materials of the human race may be obtained at birth.

Under the present irrational notion of the world, this science is of little use anywhere, except as it is applied partially to improve the breed of some of the inferior animals, and the qualities of some vegetables.

For the existing laws and institutions create only ignorant preju-

dices, which not only retard every natural improvement, but by their exclusive tendencies deteriorate the whole breed of man.

In a new state of society about to be formed in accordance with the divine laws of our nature, arrangements will be made to give man the full benefit of this important science, for without it he cannot possess the best of every thing for human nature.

SECOND CONDITION.

Of having the power to produce, at pleasure, whatever is necessary to keep the natural organization of man in the best state of health, which includes food, exercise, habitation, dress, occupation, rest, recreation, and amusements.

All will admit that the present laws, and institutions, and practices of mankind, do not permit these requisites to health, and consequently to happiness, to be obtained anywhere, by the great mass of the population in the best manner.

The customs of the world are now such, that nine-tenths of the people, in all countries, can procure only the most common necessaries to support life; while, if the governing powers of these countries understood their own interest as individuals, they would know that it is injurious to each member of every community, that any thing whatever should be produced inferior, while the power is possessed to have it superior.

It is the interest therefore of the governing powers, as well as of all others, that every man shall possess not only the best organization at birth, but that he shall be supplied, through life, with the best food, habitation, and dress for human nature; and that arrangements shall exist to enable him to enjoy proper exercise, rest, recreation, and amusement, and that he shall be occupied, through life, in the best manner to promote his health and happiness, and to benefit society.

Accordingly, in the new state of existence, permanent arrangements will be made to secure these objects.

THIRD CONDITION.

Of an education to cultivate from infancy, the physical, intellectual, and moral powers in the best manner.

So little has been effected upon this subject by the laws, institutions, and customs of men, that nearly the whole of the human race are, at this hour, more ignorant of themselves than they are of most objects around them, while it is the first interest of all, that they should be early taught to know themselves—to learn what manner of beings they are.

Hitherto, none have had their physical, intellectual, and moral powers cultivated, from infancy, in the best manner, but every obstacle which cunning could devise or force apply, has been placed in the way of the mass of the people, in all countries, to prevent them from attaining knowledge. Consequently, the population of the world is now in a most degraded condition, little better, indeed, than beasts of burden, toiling uselessly from morning to night, without understanding for what object. It has acquired a very small part only of

the powers which it might be made to possess, probably not more than one out of a million, or many millions; for when all the best faculties of the human race shall be cultivated as they ought to be from infancy, the human mind trained as it has been, is incompetent to estimate the extraordinary results that may be attained. A statement greatly within the truth on this subject would now startle the most sanguine.

Therefore, in the new state of existence, arrangements will be formed, not only to obtain for man the best organization at birth, a regular supply of the most wholesome food, the best habitation and dress, with the best means to enjoy exercise, rest, recreation, and amusement, but arrangements will also be formed to bring out into full action these extraordinary new powers, by training and cultivating from infancy to maturity, the physical, intellectual, and moral faculties and qualities of all in the best manner. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—As this is so much of the evidence to be adduced in support of my friend's first proposition, I presume that I must submit to hear it read; but I shall protest against its being read five times to prove the five positions. If it had the charm of being a *new* theory—if it had not been detailed to us before, and its practicability and utility had not been tested by experiment, we might with more patience and interest listen to the outline. But the experiment made in the state of Indiana has gone much farther to dissipate the influence of the illusions of my friend's philosophy upon the public mind than he is aware of.

I shall now proceed to our brief analysis of the five senses. Next to the sense of smelling is that of *tasting*, as respects simplicity in its use and operation. By this sense we become acquainted with the qualities of *aliment*, so as to discriminate the qualities between what is agreeable or disagreeable, conducive or prejudicial to health. The Author of nature has wisely ordered the *locale* of this sense also. Located elsewhere than where it is, it would be valueless to the animal man. When a material, vegetable, animal, and sometimes mineral substance, is presented to the discrimination of this sense, the particles are solved by the *saliva* which is its adjunct. This saliva, which always moistens the organs of taste, is one of the most universal menstruums in nature, and possesses the power of solving all the aliments necessary to animals, so as to enable the tongue to discriminate the qualities of the object, as pleasing or displeasing, healthy or the contrary. The impressions made upon this organ are immediately communicated to the brain, and an idea of the savors of bodies necessary to life or health is thus acquired. Thus, after a little experience, we are enabled to discriminate the nutritious and unwholesome properties of all aliments. It is true that this sense may be much obtunded, and that it has been grossly perverted; but it is the safest criterion by which to ascertain the healthful and agreeable properties

of aliments. Whatever may be the extent of our ideas of savors, or tastes, they are all derived through the medium of this sense.

Feeling, being not so local in its design, but more local in its object, is wisely and beneficently transfused through the whole animal system; and through this avenue of intelligence we become acquainted with the tactile properties of bodies; their roughness, smoothness, hardness, softness, &c. All these sensations, through this medium, find their way to the sensorium. The wisdom of transfusing this sense generally is as obvious as the specific location of the smell and taste. This sense, however, is not equally transfused, being most exquisite in the most useful organs, particularly in the organ of vision. It is obvious, that if we could conceive a man were born without this avenue to intelligenee, closed up he must ever remain in ignorance of all the tactile properties of bodies, and he could never originate the idea of material *tangibility*:—the thing is physically impossible.

The sense of *hearing* is given to us that we may discriminate all the vibrations and motions of the air. Every impression made upon the outward ear, reaches to the *tympanum;* and conformably to the impulse given to it, it gives us the idea of the whole *gamut* of harmonious, or discordant sounds. We all know that a man born deaf can have no idea of the nature of sound, and therefore can never be taught the art of speaking, which is simply the art of making such an impression upon the auricular sense, as to communicate our ideas to others, through the medium of that sense.

We come next to *seeing*. This most perfect and delightful of all our senses, is, in like manner, admirably adapted to its specific object. It is the avenue of intelligence, through which all our ideas of colour, magnitude, and distance, are derived to us; and the impressions made upon this sense reach the sensorium through the optic nerves.

Now, it is only necessary to name these five senses, and their respective uses, in order to discover in them all that beneficence, wisdom, and design which suggest the idea of a supremely intelligent First Cause, manifesting its wisdom and benevolence in the animal organization of man, to discover that man has been endowed by his Creator with an organization which enables him to elicit every valuable property of matter. We discover an admirable adaptation of these senses to the conception of all ideas of colours, sounds, odours, tastes, and tacts; and that all our intelligence on these subjects is derived through these five channels.

The conclusion, therefore, from these premises, is, that a man born without any one of these senses, must ever remain destitute of all ideas derivable through it: that a man born deaf, dumb, blind, and without tactability, has all these avenues to intelligence closed up, and must therefore remain an idiot all his lifetime. Is it not self-evident that a blind-born man can never acquire any idea of colours, nor a deaf-born man any idea of sounds? But, if we would suppose a man born destitute of all the five senses, he would not only be

idiotic, but he would be a lump of insensible matter. Well, if all the ideas we have of sensible objects are derived through these *media*, there must be a model or archetype of each of these ideas presented to the appropriate sense. Before I can have an idea of the colour or odour of a rose, it must be brought within the jurisdiction or cognizance of my ocular and olfactory sense. Therefore, every writer who has undertaken to analyse the senses, has come to the conclusion that we cannot have an idea of material objects, or the qualities of matter, that is not derived from the exercise of our senses upon the material objects around us. Well, now, this being the basis of all our knowledge, the powers which we call rational, or intellectual, are necessarily circumscribed by the simple ideas thus acquired. The senses put us in possession of all the materials which the intellect has to work up: in like manner as the raw material must first be put into the hands of the manufacturer, before it can be manufactured for the various uses of life. All mechanical or intellectual ingenuity is unavailable without the material. There can be no ship without timber: no penknife without metal. Thus a child, from the time its powers of discriminating sensible objects begin to be developed, acquires a fund of materials, or simple ideas, on which its intellect begins to operate.

In consequence of inattention, we imagine that children are making no advances in information during the first months of their existence. But a superficial observer can form no idea of the important acquisitions of knowledge made by an infant in the first few months after its birth. It is employed most industriously in learning to use its hands, to move its different members, to adjust its different senses to their proper objects. The minute observer will notice its first efforts to trim its eyes so as to have a discriminating vision; he will remark how its soft, pulpy fingers are in almost continual exercise in order to acquire a discriminating tact.

There are many mysteries existing in our animal economy which have never yet been developed. We well know, that upon the first presentation of a candle to the vision of an infant, there is one distinct and separate impression made upon the retina of each eye, precisely as if two candles were in the first instance presented to the vision of the infant. How comes it then to pass that the infant mind has such a power of minute attention, as very early to have a consciousness of the presence of but one candle. There are many secrets yet inexplicable in the operations of each of these senses. I will mention one which the wisest physiologists have not yet been able to explain. It is well known that there is no anatomical connexion between the nerves or muscular systems of either eye; that the muscles which control the movements of either eye, are as independent as those which move either arm; yet we turn both eyes involuntarily at the same moment to any particular object, giving precisely the same turn to both our organs of vision. This is as perfect in the new-born infant as in the full-grown man. The mind appears in its first acts to possess a sort of innate power over the

organs of vision. From the first dawn of rationality, the mind appears conscious that illusion has been practised by the singular phenomenon of two distinct impressions upon the retina of either eye. No one has yet fathomed these physical mysteries of animal economy, nor is it any part of my present business to attempt to fathom them. It is enough for me to establish the position that all our ideas of sensible objects are derived from, and only derivable through, the five senses; that the mind begins to operate upon these materials as soon as they are presented to the senses, and that this gives us the first intimation of the existence of infantile intellect. Having rather stated, than analysed, the power called *sensation*, let us turn our thoughts a moment to *perception*.

The mind forms ideas in accordance with the sensations impressed upon the brain. The mind is perfectly conscious of the existence of these impressions; they are communicated directly to the *sensorium*; and here begins the intellectual process of reflecting upon, comparing, and recalling them; then presenting them in different views, separating, abstracting, combining, and generalizing them. All this is in the natural operation of the intellect on the objects presented to it by sensation. Thus it is that we derive our ideas of sensible objects, and thus we begin to reason upon them. *Therefore*, we cannot *imagine a sixth* sense:—we cannot conceive what it would be. The reason is, that we have never seen any animal possessed of it. Had we been endowed but with four senses, it would have been equally impossible to conceive of a fifth sense, with but three, of a fourth. These are truths which I think must be palpable to the plainest understanding, and which require no philosophic subtlety in their elucidation. Now, to expect a man destitute of the light of revelation to have ideas not derivable through any of his senses, would be as absurd as to expect a man, without the organs of vision, to have all the ideas of colour possessed by those who enjoy the very clearest vision. You might as reasonably expect a person born deaf, to have all the ideas of harmony, as a man destitute of supernatural revelation to have the ideas of God and a spiritual system. Without seeing or hearing some supernatural personage, all natural objects would be inadequate to originate any spiritual ideas. Many experiments have been made upon the deaf who have been restored to hearing, to ascertain whether, by the other senses, and all the reasonings which the mental powers were capable of, they had acquired any idea of God; and all have concurred in attesting the utter impossibility of acquiring such, without the aid of revelation. No, my friends, the man on whom the light of revelation has never beamed, can no more conceive of those ideas, which, in a system of spiritual religion, are native, inherent, and discoverable, than the deaf-born man can be moved by the "concord of sweet sounds." It would be as rational to talk of seeing by the hand, or hearing by the tongue, as to talk of knowing God without a communication from himself. We can by things already known, be taught things not known; but there must be a teacher.

But I must tell you, while speaking of *revelation*, that, perhaps, I am misunderstood; and certainly I am, if I am supposed to use this term in the vulgar sense. For, now, it is usual to call the whole Bible a revelation from God. I must explain myself here. There are a thousand historic facts narrated in the Bible, which it would be absurd to regard as immediate and direct *revelation* from the Almighty. Paine defines revelation very accurately, although he did not believe we had any, properly so called. He says, p. 14, "Age of Reason." "Revelation cannot be applied to any thing done upon earth. It is a communication of something which the person to whom that thing is revealed did not know before;" and, I add, could not otherwise know.—(That intelligence which could never have been derived to us through the agency of our senses.)—"Consequently, all the historical and anecdotal part of the Bible is not within the compass and meaning of the word revelation."

Revelation, from the import of the term, must be supernatural. But the historic parts of both testaments present a great variety of topographical and historic facts and incidents; colloquies between friends and enemies; of apostles, prophets, and patriarchs; and of distinguished persons, good and evil; wars, intrigues, amours, and crimes of every dye. Now, it would be neither philosophical nor rational to dignify and designate these colloquies, narratives, or geographical and biographical notices, by the term *revelation*. The term revelation, in its strict acceptation amongst intelligent christians, means nothing more nor less than a divine communication concerning spiritual and eternal things, a knowledge of which, man could never have attained by the exercise of his reason upon material and sensible objects; for, as Paul says, "Things which the eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive, has God revealed to us apostles, and we declare them to you." Now, the corollary is, that for a man to whom this divine revelation has never been made, it is as impossible to acquire ideas of spiritual and eternal things, as for a blind man to admire the play of colours in a prism.

In the Old Testament, to distinguish the ordinary information from the divine communications, such intimations are made as "*The Word of the Lord*," or, "*A message from the Lord came*" to such a person: sometimes, "*The Lord said.*" But, in the New Testament, the phrase, "*The Word*," or "*The Word of the Lord*," or "*The Truth*," is almost exclusively appropriated to *the testimony which God gave concerning the person and mission of Jesus Christ.* It may also be remarked, that in a volume such as the Bible is, and having the object which it professes, it was necessary that the worst deeds and the best deeds of all sorts of men, in all sorts of circumstances, should be detailed. It *teaches* us man; it develops human nature; it *reveals* to us the character and purpose of the Maker of the universe. Moreover, the persons who are employed to make these communications are so supernaturally guided as to make them infallible witnesses in all the facts they attest, as well as all the communications concerning supernatural things. The ridicule which some

ignorant sceptics have uttered against the contents of the book, under the general title of a revelation from God, as if it were all properly so called, is, if it have any point, only directed against their own obtusity of intellect, and negligence in making themselves acquainted with the most important of all books in the world.

Our reasoning upon these premises must therefore necessarily be in the following order. Objects of sense are presented to the infant mind; it perceives them; begins to reflect upon them, and after exercising its powers of discrimination, it arrives at certain conclusions respecting them. And this leads us to notice the intellectual powers of man. First, *Perception*, by which we become acquainted with all things external. Second, *Memory*, by which we are enabled to recall things past. Third, *Consciousness*, which acquaints us with all things internal. Perception has present, sensible objects for its province. Memory is the record which we have of the past; but consciousness has respect only to things present. I perceive a numerous assemblage now before me, and I am *conscious* of my own thoughts at the time. I *remember* that there were such and such persons here yesterday. These three powers, perception, memory, and consciousness, are the primary powers of the mind. Over these three, we have shown that the will has no power: that they are independent of volition. For example, I often have perceptions contrary to my volitions; matters written upon the table of my memory, by singular association, will involuntarily present themselves in a vivid manner before me; and it certainly is felt by all, that our being conscious of our own thoughts, depends not upon any act of the will, but upon the constitution of mind itself. But in exercising the faculties of recollecting, reflecting, imagining, reasoning, and judging, I discover that all these are subject to the control of my volition. For example, in exercising the faculty of imagination, I can, at will, transfer the external peculiarities of one animal to the body of another, and thereby create any kind of imaginative monster; I can by imagination take the head, trunk, and arms of a man, and put them on horseback and thereby present to my mind's eye, the fabulous Centaur. But this license of imagination is entirely under the control of my volition. I can recollect only by making an effort, and consequently must determine to make that effort. I can reason only when I decide to reason; and my placing myself in the attitude of a judge, is as much in obedience to a previous determination, as the eating of my supper, or my going to bed. These matters are so plain to those who do reflect, that to demonstrate them, appears something like an insult to the understanding of such an audience as this.

I was about to state some facts in proof that the deaf cannot form an idea of God, a future state, or of a human spirit. But I am informed my half hour is out.*

* From some cause, these facts were not given in the debate. The next speech failed to call them forth. I shall just state one case here, as a specimen of the documents alluded to. I believe all experiments yet made upon such persons have proved that faith, or the knowledge of God and of a Creator, has come by

MR. OWEN again commences reading.

FOURTH CONDITION.

Of having the means and inclination to promote continually, the happiness of our fellow-beings, as far as our power can be made to extend, and also to assist in increasing, as far as practicable, the enjoyments of all that has life.

The governments, religions, laws, institutions, and practices of the world, have not been yet devised to promote the happiness of man, or the comfort of animals. They have been contrived, rather to insure the misery of man and the discomfort of animal life. The very supposition that man was organized by nature to give him the power to think and feel according to his own pleasure, was of itself, when carried into practice, as it has been by all tribes and people, quite sufficient to stay any progress towards the happiness of the human race.

This single mistake respecting human nature is abundantly sufficient to disunite all mankind, and to make them secret or open enemies to each other. For, while each man or woman is taught to believe that every other man and woman may, if they please, think and feel as they do, it becomes natural for them to be angry with *hearing*. "*By faith*," Paul said, and not by *reason*, "we know that the worlds were made by the word of God." This case is extracted from "The Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences," at Paris :—

"The son of a tradesman in Chartres, who had been deaf from his birth, and consequently dumb, when he was twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, began on a sudden to speak, without its being known that he had ever heard. This event drew the attention of every one, and many believed it to be miraculous. The young man, however, gave a plain and rational account, by which it appeared to proceed wholly from natural causes. He said that about four months before, he was surprised by a *new* and pleasing sensation, which he afterwards discovered to arise from the ringing of bells; that as yet he heard with one ear, but afterwards a kind of water came from his left ear, and then he could hear distinctly with both; and from this time he listened with the utmost curiosity and attention to the sounds which accompany those motions of the lips, which he had before remarked to convey ideas or meaning from one person to another. In short, he was able to understand them, by noting the thing to which they related, and the action they produced. And after repeated attempts to imitate them when alone, at the end of four months he thought himself able to talk. He therefore, without having intimated what had happened, began at once to speak, and affected to join in conversation, though with much more imperfection than he was aware.

"Many divines immediately visited him, and questioned him concerning God, and the soul, moral good and evil, and many other subjects of the same kind: but of all these they found him ignorant, though he had been used to go to mass, and had been instructed in all the externals of devotion, as making the sign of the cross, looking upwards, kneeling at proper seasons, and using gestures of penitence and prayer. Of death itself, which may be considered as a sensible object, he had very confused and imperfect ideas; nor did it appear that he had ever reflected upon it. His life was little more than animal, and sensitive. He seemed to be contented with the simple perception of such objects as he could perceive, and did not compare his ideas with each other, nor draw inferences, as might have been expected from him. It appeared, however, that his understanding was vigorous, and his apprehension quick; so that his intellectual defects must have been caused, not by the barrenness of the soil but merely by the want of necessary cultivation."

those who, they imagine, will not, from obstinacy or some worse motive, believe what *they* believe, or who do not like, dislike, love and hate, according to their notions of right or wrong.

It is upon this error that all governments, religions, laws, institutions, languages, and customs have been formed, and by it they have been all made so complex and irrational. And it is solely owing to this error that the world has been so long divided against itself; that it has been always armed for its own destruction, and rendered wholly blind to the natural, and therefore easily attained means of happiness.

Instead of this confusion of intellect, and consequent division of feelings among the human race, man will be trained "to know himself" from infancy, and he will then acquire the inclination to promote the happiness of his fellow-beings, and the means by which to apply the inclination to practice.

FIFTH CONDITION.

Of the means and inclination to increase, continually, our stock of knowledge.

As men acquire experience they learn the value of real knowledge; they discover that it is the only solid foundation for virtue and happiness, and that it is the true source of power. Hitherto, the book of nature, or of real knowledge, has been sealed in such a manner that no man has yet dared to open it honestly and fairly for the benefit of the many.

Innumerable books, however, said to be of divine origin, have been spread over the world, and palmed upon the public as books of real knowledge.

The fables which they contain have been made to fill the minds of men with all manner of error, and to compel them to commit all kinds of evil, as at this day, as is evident to all who can reflect without prejudice.

All these spurious books of divine origin are full of high sounding words in praise of virtue, and learning, and religion; but we now discover, by an unerring standard of truth, that the authors of these dogmas and mysteries, did not know any thing of real virtue, knowledge, or religion; or, if they did, that they purposely devised these fables to deceive mankind, to keep them in ignorance, that they might be more easily governed, and made to support the governing few in luxury and idleness, to the injury of all parties.

It is now evident that the reign of these mysteries is rapidly passing away; that it is about to be superseded by knowledge derived from tangible facts, by the only kind of knowledge that ever can be of real benefit to mankind.

Now when this description of knowledge shall be taught from infancy to all men, they will have pleasure in acquiring it, and the farther they proceed, the greater will be their gratification, and the more ardently will they desire to pursue it.

The acquisition of the knowledge founded on facts, in unison with all other facts, and its truth proved by its accordance with the know-

ledge previously known and ascertained to be true, will create a continually increasing desire to add, day by day, to the stock acquired in childhood and youth, and thus will the inclination be formed, and permanently established, to seek to progress in real knowledge through life.

In the new state of existence, effectual means will be devised to satisfy the desires. Every individual will have the benefit of the best libraries, laboratories, instruments, and implements to assist him in his studies. Men of the most experience, and best minds and dispositions, will be always ready to aid the younger in every branch of knowledge, while all the means will surround the population to enable them to prove the truth of their theories by practice.

The acquisition of real knowledge will accumulate enormous power to the human race, and to its extension, age after age, there can be no assignable limit. It will be the legitimate means of agreeably and beneficially changing men's sensations; of opening new stores of pleasure which will never satiate, and they will be led on, step by step, in the path of real knowledge, and made more and more acquainted with that power which gives them an existence and hourly support.

In fact, the chief design in the new state of existence, will be to train the young in the best manner, and to provide the means for all to increase, continually, in the most useful knowledge, and to create the desire to make the greatest attainment in the most valuable pursuits.

SIXTH CONDITION.

Of the means of employing the best society, and more particularly of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom we feel the highest regard and greatest affection.

Without this power, whatever may be the other advantages accumulated around any society, their condition cannot be satisfactory. All who have had extensive experience, know that by far the largest share of happiness arises, through life, from the society of those to whom we are compelled by nature to feel the most regard and the strongest affection.

With this privilege, few things beyond the simple necessaries of life are requisite to insure a considerable degree of satisfaction of mind, and a nearer approach to happiness than power, wealth, and knowledge combined, can give without it.

But as the world has hitherto been governed, how very few have possessed the privilege of associating, at pleasure, with those for whom they were compelled to feel the greatest regard and strongest affection! How few enjoy it at this moment over all the world!

All past institutions have been formed apparently with the intention of obstructing, as much as possible, the happiness that nature designs man should enjoy from his social feelings, by implanting so deeply and widely the seeds of affection among the human race. For all the artificial arrangements made by man, in all countries and at all times, appear to be purposely calculated to destroy the pleasures arising from sincerity, confidence, and affection.

The division of society into governors and governed, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, into single families, into sects and classes, and into numerous tribes and people, taught to have opposing feelings for each other, tends to deteriorate society, and to give a wrong or unnatural direction to all the kindlier feelings of our nature, and to render it difficult, or almost impossible, in most cases, for individuals to associate, at pleasure, with those for whom they cannot avoid having the most regard and strongest affection.

In the new state of existence, this great evil will not be known; every obstacle to the free, open, honest communication between mind and mind will be removed. In this state of society, all intercourse between human beings of both sexes, and of all ages, will be, at all times, what is now termed confidential; that is, they will express, under all circumstances, their genuine thoughts and feelings without any reservation whatever.

Not feeling the necessity for disguising their sensations, they will never acquire the habit of doing so. While, under the existing institutions, almost the whole communication between man and man, and nation and nation, is a continued system of insincerity, by which they endeavour to deceive each other; and when they succeed, it is to their own injury.

The necessity which exists under these institutions to cover our real thoughts and feelings from others, is, of itself, sufficient to degrade man below the inferior animals, and to inflict misery on his whole race.

By attending to the feelings of children, we discover that man is most powerfully impelled by his nature to be honest and sincere, and not to hide or be ashamed of any of the sensations which, by his formation, he is compelled to receive. It requires constant watching and great care, on the part of those who are around children, to prevent them from expressing all their sensations, and telling the whole truth, upon every subject, as far as they know it, and still more exertion to force them to acquire as much practical deceit, as the irrational customs of the most civilized nations require.

All this degradation and subjugation of the very finest and best feelings of human nature will altogether cease in the new state of existence. For all the practical arrangements, and all the institutions in this state, will be in unison with the laws of nature, and when the results of this union of practice and principle shall be enjoyed, it will be felt to be an act of insanity, or a real aberration of the human faculties, whenever any individual in conversation with man, woman, or child, shall not express the genuine sensations which the existing circumstances make on his organization. These sensations alone, are to him truth; and as soon as men shall be trained to be rational, and shall be under institutions and within circumstances in unison with their training, truth alone will be known among them.

And under these arrangements, all will know precisely the impressions which their conduct makes upon others, and a stronger stimulus to every kind of excellence cannot be given; it will effectually purify

the thoughts and feelings of all, and produce a perfection of conduct throughout society, of which the present ignorant, degraded, and irrational race can form no adequate conception.

When sincerity and truth, and consequently rationality, shall be alone known among men, it will be soon ascertained by experience whether nature intended to give man happiness, by limiting or extending his affections; whether she intends him to confine his most exclusive feelings to one of the opposite sex, or to divide it with more than one, and with how many.

However this may prove by experience, we may be assured, when no artificial obstructions shall exist, that the dictates of nature are those which she intends shall alone influence to actions that shall the most effectually promote real virtue and happiness.

Nature, which is now thwarted in every advance to urge the human race to knowledge and happiness, will persevere, until her righteous laws shall be alone obeyed, and they will ultimately direct the intercourse of society as wisely for the well-doing, well-being, and enjoyment of the human race, as she has ever done among the whole of the animal and vegetable existences, which are, in this respect, subject to the same general laws.

One thing is most evident, that nature, by keeping the power of making new impressions to herself, never intended that man or woman should perjure themselves by promising to each other that their sensations from and for each other, should continue without change until death.

In the new state of existence, this crime also of perjury, will be unknown, for there will be "no indissoluble marriages, or giving in marriage;" on the contrary, all will, at all times, possess the power to associate with those only for whom nature compels them to feel the most regard and strongest affection.

SEVENTH CONDITION.

Of travelling with convenience and advantage.

To have the means of travelling at pleasure, or of removing without inconvenience from one district to another, is essential to the full enjoyment of happiness.

This benefit will be provided, in a very effectual manner, in the new state of existence, by arrangements which will be equally advantageous for the traveller and for society.

The arrangements which will be formed under this new mode of existence, will be so formed, that when any country shall be regularly settled under its regulations, the traveller will have an opportunity of resting in any direction in which he may proceed, within two miles of the last association or station he may have left or passed.

He will find, in all these places, whatever can be necessary to his comfort; the same as he enjoyed in the association or society from whence he commenced his travels. It will not be necessary for him to encumber himself with luggage of any description; there will be supplies of all he will require, ready for his use, in each society, and

these, as before stated, will be within two miles of each other, in whatever direction he may travel.

These journeys must be, of necessity, subject to general regulations, which will apply equally to all of the same age; for it is evident, all cannot travel at the same time. But it is probable that more than all who wish to change their position at one time, may leave their station without inconvenience.

As long as travellers do not go out of the territories occupied by the associations who have embraced the new mode of existence, they will not require money or extra provisions of any description; because they will be equally at home, wherever they may wish to stop, for a longer or shorter period.

The only condition to which they will be liable, is, that they shall occupy themselves, as long as they remain in their new situation, in the same manner in which they were employed in their former association.

When the change is in progress, from the old to the new state of existence, money of the countries to which the traveller is about to proceed will be supplied to him from the public treasury.

But rational as all these reformed or re-created beings will become under the new circumstances by which they can be surrounded, no funds or labour of the societies will be uselessly expended. They will all distinctly perceive that a well-arranged economy, in the whole proceedings of these communities, is the true foundation of the highest and most permanent prosperity.

Whatever temporary difficulties may arise, at first, in bringing all the requisite arrangements for travelling with ease, comfort, and general benefit into practice, a little experience and perseverance in right principles will soon overcome them. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—There is a land in which there is no sickness, in which eating, drinking, and sleeping are unnecessary. I am well aware that in an argument so abstract in its nature as the present, we cannot go into such details as to make every topic perfectly apprehensible to all. We have been attending to a brief analysis of our external senses, and internal faculties. To aid the least accustomed to this kind of reasoning, we shall present the substance in a new form. Let us imagine that there are five worlds, and that we have a distinct organ, calculated exclusively for the use of each distinct world; that there is a world of colours, cognizable by the eye; a world of sounds, cognizable by the ear; a world of odours, cognizable by the olfactory sense; a world of savors, cognizable by the taste; and a world of *tacts*, that is, of the tactile properties of bodies, all the ideas belonging to which world are cognizable only by the sense of feeling. Now these five worlds make up this one material world, and all the properties which belong to it; and he that lacks one of these organs or senses, is for ever debarred from that world of which it is the door.

Sensation is the name which philosophers have given to the exercise of these senses, or rather, to the operation by them which makes us

acquainted with the material world. *Perception* is the name given to those acts of the mind which discriminate the different sensations or impressions made upon our senses. It is called the faculty of perception, to distinguish it from other faculties, such as memory or imagination. By this faculty we become acquainted with all things external; but to-morrow, all the ideas of to-day derived through the faculty of perception become the objects of memory, that having respect exclusively to the past. Next comes *consciousness*, which is like an internal eye, enabling me to take cognizance of my recollections, reasonings, and all the operations of my intellect, such as reflecting, comparing, discriminating, and judging. These are the primary intellectual operations, and they are all necessary in order to arrive at certain conclusions on material things, or the dominions of these five worlds. But, then, there is the world of spirits, which no man could imagine, and of which these five worlds do not afford an archetype, or sensation, or perception. Of this world we have many ideas, thoughts, terms, and conversations, and the question is, *How did we come by them?* No window or door has been opened to us in the department of sense. Where are the organs, the senses, the *media*, through which we have derived these ideas? Not by the eye, the ear, nor the taste; for these are our corporeal senses, and cannot take cognizance of spiritual existences. For all our ideas of spiritual and eternal things we must, therefore, be indebted to some other power.

The human intellect has no *creative* power. It can only reason from the known to the unknown. We can augment almost *ad infinitum*, but we cannot create. And so it is in the material world: it is a law of physics, that one new particle of matter cannot be created. We can change and modify; we can convert a fluid into a solid, a shapeless piece of wood into a polished piece of furniture; but we can neither create nor destroy one particle of matter. And just so it is in the operations of our intellectual faculties upon sensible objects. Conceding to my friend that imagination ranges wildly through the intellectual world; yet all philosophic sceptics and christians have admitted, that although imagination may "body forth the forms of things unknown," it is only by analogy to things already known, that they can be "turned to shapes," and receive "a local habitation and a *name*." Imagination is, to the intellectual world, what mechanical ingenuity is to the natural world. In neither, can any result be elaborated without a stock to begin upon. Our position is, that imagination can do no more with ideas, than mechanical ingenuity can with metals, wood, and stone; that the intellectual, as well as the mechanical artificer, must have his subject before him. Hence, it is utterly out of the power of imagination to originate the idea of spiritual existences, or even to invent a name expressive of a spiritual idea.

But to give the argument its plain, practical application and greatest force, we must contemplate another endowment of man. I mean the faculty of speech. This topic is intimately connected with the preceding. What is this faculty? It is the power, not only of giving utterance to our feelings, but of giving names to things. How did we

come by the use of speech? Is it *natural* to man to speak; or is not language rather purely an *imitative* thing? I may show this tumbler to an infant, and thus afford matter for its perception, memory, and consciousness to operate upon; but will its perception, memory, or consciousness enable it to give a name to this vessel? I may, perhaps, hazard the disapprobation of this audience, by asserting that speech is not natural to man. Groans and inarticulate enunciations, expressive of passion or feeling, are natural to almost all animals; but man differs from them all in the following respect: they all have a systematic expression, uniformly the same; but man, without language, has such groans and sighs, and expressions of feeling, without system. The speechless babes have no uniformity of this sort. But the horse, the ass, the cow, the sheep, the goat, the swallow, the sparrow, have, wherever found, the same language of passion and feeling. The nightingale and the lark sing the same song all the world over. But when we speak of language, we mean not enunciations indicative of feeling, but names for ideas or sentiments. But let us ask, how do infants learn to speak? Do they speak as naturally as they see or smell? Surely not. They sigh, groan, cry, and laugh naturally, but *imitatively* they speak. Speech is the result of education, of training, and of the imitative faculty of man. It has been experimentally demonstrated, that a man who has never *heard* the articulations of the human voice, can never speak. A child may be born with the most perfect organs of speech, and yet be born dumb, and continue dumb through life, in consequence of the imperfection of its auricular organs. Dumbness is the necessary consequence, the inseparable adjunct of deafness from birth. If there be a language of nature, it is a language of inarticulate sounds, which all abandon so soon as they learn to speak. This is a *fact* of vast consequence in this argument. Admitting that there is a natural enunciation of feeling, and a language of pains and joys, this language is abandoned when what is now called human language is taught. All philosophers have been baffled in their attempts to account for the origin of language, and all nations have concurred in declaring that speech was the gift of the gods. The most ancient of the Egyptian writers (and these are of higher antiquity than any other extant,) concur in declaring that they are utterly unable to account for the origin of human speech, without referring it to God. The impossibility of inventing an universal language is very obvious; because, in order to invent a new language common to all, all must be congregated, and a conventional vocabulary must be adopted: for instance, they must agree unanimously that this glass shall be called *tumbler*. But how could they be congregated, or enter upon this business, without the possession of that identical universal language which the scheme contemplates? There is no speculation on the origin of language to be found in any of the schools, that warrants the conclusion that man, by the unaided exercise of his native, inherent powers, could have attained to the use of speech; or that language could have been communicated to man, in the first instance, by any but a divine instructor. Speech, like

faith, comes by the ear; whatever comes by the ear is derived; therefore human language is derived. Whatever is derived is not natural; human language is derived, therefore human language is not natural. In proof of the syllogism, the deaf cannot speak. The idea of any thing must necessarily be precedent and anterior to the invention of a name for it. All nations must have had an idea of deity, before the word *god*, in their respective languages, could have been invented. Fifty years ago there was not to be found, in all the books and all the vocabularies in the world, such a word as *steam-boat;* and why? because, at that period, the *idea* of *steam-boats* had not been conceived; consequently no name could be annexed to an idea which had no existence. How then were the ideas and names of God, spirit, altar, priest, sacrifice, derived to man? The idea of these, and all positive acts of religious worship, must necessarily have existed antecedently to the invention of names to express them. The conclusion is irresistible, that the invention of the terms by which spiritual ideas are expressed, must have been posterior to the conception of the ideas themselves; that as these ideas could not have been derived through the *media* of the five senses, they must have been communicated in some other way; and that both the ideas and names of spiritual things must have been matter of divine revelation. By a reference to the Old Testament, we shall find these facts fully established in evidence. And if the Bible facts did not support our reasoning, we would, nevertheless, be constrained to regard it as logical and demonstrative as any that can be brought to bear upon an abstract speculation. But I am not compelled to rest the truth of this reasoning upon metaphysical deductions. We have matters of fact to go upon. The Bible tells us most emphatically, that the first colloquies ever held upon this earth, were between the great Creator and our first ancestors, *viva voce.* The book of Genesis tells us, that the first pair *talked* with God: hence the inference from the fact, that God first *taught* man to speak, is, that the art of speaking is not native and inherent in the family of man. Newton has sagely observed, that God has given us both reason and religion in the gift of speech; that the power of ratiocination is but an adjunct of the faculty of speech. There is no logical objection to the *dictum* of Newton, that God gave to man both reason and religion, in the gift of speech. I presume that it would be very difficult to prove, by any process of philosophical reasoning, that man could correctly reason, or have spiritual ideas, without the use of speech. In truth, we think by words, and infants think by things; and let him who imagines he can think without terms, make the experiment.

But for these purposes, it is not necessary that man should have an extensive vocabulary. He only requires two lessons—first, the elementary ideas; and, secondly, the elementary words significant of them: and then, who shall prescribe limits to the range of his intellectual powers? He will soon multiply his conceptions and his terms beyond the powers of numbers to express. But he must have the data, or some stock, to trade upon.

Moses tells us that God called the animals in paradise around Adam,

and that he tried Adam's skill in speech, by requiring him to give names to them. He gave them names; and we are told that Adam's nomenclature was *correct*. But we can trace the phenomenon of language up to the root, although we cannot, on philosophic principles, account for the origin of language. We find, in Europe, twenty-seven languages; and by tracing them up, we find that they are kindred branches from three roots; that these three roots of European languages are scions of one single stock, is highly probable, and that this root was Hebrew. Whether this root was Hebrew, or some other eastern language, is more matter of philological curiosity, than of importance to our argument. But there can be no question, that all languages are traceable up to the same fountain.

In the nomenclature of animals, respect was had to the qualities of the animal; therefore the idea of the distinguishing characteristic of the animal must necessarily have existed before the animal itself could have been designated by any specific name. If the Hebrew was not the first language ever spoken, it has, nevertheless, internal evidences of having been predicated upon these primitive elementary principles, as illustrated in the nomenclature of animals.

In Hebrew, the zoological nomenclature is always analogous to the characteristic quality of the animal. "Thus the original Hebrew names of many of the beasts and birds of that region are apparently formed by *onomatopœia*, or in imitation of their natural cries or notes: so the general name given to the tamer animals, sheep and kine, was BEME, in which sound the lowing of the one, and the bleating of the other, seems to be imitated; so the name of the *common ass*, ORUD, and of the *wild ass* PRA, resembles their braying. The name of the *raven*, OREB, was doubtless taken from its hoarse croaking; of the *sparrow*, TSIPPOR, from its chirping; of the *partridge*, QUERA, from the note she uses in calling her young; and the murmur of the *turtledove*, is exactly expressed by its Hebrew name TUR, and evidently gave rise to it. Many other instances of the kind might be produced; but these are sufficient to show, at least the great probability, that some of the first names given to the several tribes of the animals were derived from their respective notes."

But the instances already adduced are sufficient to show, that in the primitive formation of language, respect was had in the nomenclature of animals, to the analogies and accordance of articulate and inarticulate sounds. But this was not the only plan adopted in the primitive nomenclature of animals. The primeval nomenclators not only took cognizance of the vocal peculiarities of animals, but also of their characteristics. Hence the *camel* was called *gimel*, because supposed to be of vindictive temper. A sheep was called *rachel*, because of its meekness; a ram was called *agil*, because of its agility; in like manner, a goat was called *sair* from its being hairy.

Thus they took the vocal and other qualities of animals, and from their observation of these they formed their zoological nomenclature. Well, then, the analogical argument goes to prove, and, indeed, compels us to conclude, that the annexation of the names of God, spirit,

angel, altar, priest, and sacrifice, must have been posterior to the conception of the spiritual ideas which these terms express. The corollary to be derived from analysing the five senses and this superadded gift of speech, is, that we can neither have ideas concerning spiritual things, nor names, without the aid of immediate and direct revelation; that, without revelation, we could no more conceive of these ideas than we could invent names for them. The child born in France, we know, by experience, will acquire the language of that country; the child born in Italy will speak Italian, because they are artificially taught to speak the mother's language; but if language was natural to man, all children would speak the same language. On the hypothesis that the first pair were created in a state of infancy, or of adolescence, the difficulty concerning the origin of language remains equally inexplicable.

Children at birth, it is said, have been excluded by circumstances from all access to the sound of the human voice; and after arriving at maturity, it has been discovered that they have no more of the gift of speech than brutes have; and from all the premises before us, the conclusion follows out irresistibly, that speech is as legitimately the subject of divine revelation as religion itself; or, to express the conclusion in other words, the inevitable inference is, the idea of God, spirit, altar, priest, and sacrifice, is older than the names. But in two ways only can ideas be communicated: first, by presenting the archetype, or that which produces the idea to the external sense; or, secondly, by *speech*, describing the thing to be revealed or communicated by something already known. Now, as the language of a people is the only infallible test of their improvement and civilization, so the name of God, altar, priest, victim, found among the most savage tribes of antiquity, incapable of abstract reason or sentimental refinement, is a positive proof that none of them did ever invent the idea. This would be as decisive proof, were all the premises clearly understood, as the discovery of a gold or silver coin or medal, found amongst a people ignorant of metals and their natures, would be that they were not the makers, but the finders or borrowers of this coin. I boldly assert here, and I court objection to the assertion, that every principle of sound reasoning, and all facts and documents in the annals of time, compel us to the conclusion, that the idea and name of God first entered the human family by revelation. No man ever uttered a sentence more unphilosophic, more contrary to human experience, observation, and right reason, than Mirabeau, when he declared that *savages* invented the idea and name of God and spiritual existences. He might as well have averred that savages, without fire, without a mould, and without metal, made the first gold coins.

Wednesday afternoon, 15th April.

MR. OWEN rises.

My friends, I proceeded this forenoon, as far as the eighth provision necessary to human happiness: I have, therefore, only to read the eighth and ninth, in order to finish all I have before me; and then

my friend Mr. Campbell, and myself, may come, perhaps, to closer quarters.

[*Here Mr. Owen reads to the end of the Appendix, and his half hour is out.*]

EIGHTH CONDITION.

Of release from all superstitious fears, supernatural notions, and from the fear of death.

In the new state of existence, all children will be taught to perceive, to investigate, and to compare facts, and to deduce accurate conclusions, by comparing one fact carefully with another. The foundation of the human mind will thus rest upon a knowledge of facts, all in unison one with another; and its formation will proceed, day by day, by adding a clear perception of one law of nature to another, until each mind will thus acquire for itself an increasing standard of truth, which will guard it from youth against the reception of errors of the imagination. In minds thus cultivated, superstitious or unnatural fears will never enter. They will never become so irrational as to imagine any laws of nature for which they can discover no fact, but they will study to acquire an accurate knowledge of those laws to the extent their minds can investigate them; and knowing, as they will speedily learn, that truth is one throughout the whole universe, and that there can be no opposition or contradiction between any one truth and another, their minds will soon attain so much strength and knowledge, that an error will not find admittance therein.

Every error presented to a mind so trained and formed, will be immediately compared with the true ideas already received by the study of facts—of facts, the truth of which all are compelled to admit, because they have been previously found, after the most severe investigation, to be in strict accordance with all the ascertained laws of nature. This comparison will soon detect its fallacy, by showing its opposition to these established facts, or to the unchanging laws of nature; and, in consequence, it will be as impracticable for the mind to give it reception among its true ideas, as for the stomach to receive the most loathsome food when attempted to be forced into it.

The human mind will thus become, for the first time since its existence, sane and rational; for all the ideas with which it will be filled, will be in unison with each other. There will be no complexity or confusion among them: all will be harmony within.

There will be no jarring between natural feelings and imaginary divine commands, in direct opposition to those feelings; for it will be known that the natural feelings of the human race are the divine commands, and that whatever is opposed to them is error—is superstition—is an invention of ignorant men, whose class is opposed to the well-being and happiness of mankind, who are trained from their youth to deceive them, to fill them with fear and dread of nonentities, which they describe according to the wildest fancies of the most absurd imagination.

None of this ignorant and mischievous proceeding will be found in the new state of existence. Nothing that is unknown, or that is

incomprehensible to the human faculties, will create any other feeling than a cheerful confidence; that the best has been, is, and will be done, that the materials of which the universe is composed permit to be done.

Every aberration of the human intellects will be, at once, detected by the standard of truth, formed in every mind, of a sufficient number of facts, all in unison with each other.

This standard will guard the mind, in the new state of existence, against the reception of all incongruous notions and absurd combinations of ideas. Superstitious and supernatural fears will entirely cease, and all will readily acquire correct ideas relative to the decomposition of all materials, compounds, and organizations.

Were it not for the irrational, imaginary notions, which, for numberless ages the population of the world has been compelled to receive as divine truths, there would be no fear of death among mankind.

It would become obvious that the materials, of which the earth and atmosphere are composed, modified, as they probably are by the influence of the solar system in which they revolve, are continually undergoing the changes of composition and decomposition according to the fixed laws of nature, which alter not their eternal course, in the slightest iota, through any of the forms or ceremonies, or wordy wanderings of the human race.

Are we not justified in saying that it is a necessary law, of all other laws of nature, that no change has ever been or can be made in the eternal laws of the universe? That the least change in the laws by which the universal mechanism and chemistry of nature perform their united operations, would create a chaos and confusion that would disturb and destroy its one universal movement that preserves the harmony of all existences?

Can these laws be rendered variable and uncertain for man, an insect upon an atom, as he exists upon the earth, compared to the eternity of space, with its endless systems of suns and planets, revolving, sphere beyond sphere, unchanged and probably unchangeable? No! the composition and decomposition upon the earth, when viewed without the vanity and presumption arising from ignorance of the laws of nature, will be found to differ not in man from any other vegetable or animal compound. He is composed of the self-same materials, and he is again decomposed, and becomes part of the general mass from which every earthly compound continues to be formed.

And this is a law of impartiality and justice, which, when it shall be fully comprehended, will lead, not only to universal charity in practice from man to man throughout the globe, but it will fill him with benevolent and kind feelings for all that has life; it will give him, in fact, a fellow-feeling for all that exists around him.

He will know that he is perpetually changing particles of his own existence with all objects among which he moves, whether animate or inanimate. He will, therefore, avoid giving unnecessary pain to any thing that has life. The worm and the insect are his kinsfolk; they are from the same original stock of materials, and in the next decom-

position will unite again as children of the same origin, proceeding from one common parent, who is alike interested in the general happiness of every being formed from the universal mass from whence all come, and into which all return.

No! man is not an exception to the general laws of nature; he is born and he dies, and "the place which knew him, knows him no more."

There is not one single fact, except in a slight extension of some of the same faculties, different in the formation and decomposition of man, from any other earthly compound and decomposition; and when men shall be disabused on this subject, they will be great gainers in practice.

They will no longer vainly expend their time and faculties upon imaginary future existences, which belong not to their nature; but they will at once apply themselves, heart and soul, to make a paradise of their present abode, that each generation in succession may enjoy it continually, without any ignorant fears for the future, except that of creating some permanent cause of misery during their lives; such as slavery, cruel and unjust laws, or irrational institutions and customs, to inflict punishment on their progeny; or, in other words, on that which constituted part of themselves, and for which they would have, if rightly instructed, a fellow-feeling.

This view of our existence is similar to the desire we have been taught to have, to provide abundantly for our children and immediate descendants.

The latter is now an ignorant and selfish desire, created by an artificial state of society, while the other will evince a true knowledge of human nature and generate dispositions of unbounded love and charity—not in words, but in practice, for the whole human race, present and future.

This view of human nature will put an end to the pride, vanity, and selfishness of individuals and families; it will destroy all notions of superstition and of unknown supernatural agencies, until some tangible and consistent facts respecting their existence, if they do exist, shall be acquired. And more especially of their interference in human affairs, in opposition to the unerring laws of nature.

It will also annul all the unreasonable fears of death, or of our accidental or natural decomposition, which are now so unwisely instilled into the minds of children, almost as soon as they can be made to receive these injurious impressions. Man is thus made a mental coward, and filled with all manner of fears of the imagination, against which he knows not how to defend himself. He is thus made so weak and irrational, that he continually torments himself and others through life, without producing any counteracting benefit.

Instead of being thus abused in childhood, he ought to be taught from infancy the plain truth on this, as well as upon every other subject.

He would then know what to expect, and he would be always without fear or dread of any kind, prepared for that change which all nature

undergoes; and his happiness, during life, would not be disturbed with apprehensions and fears of what would become of him after decomposition.

He would comprehend the truth upon this subject, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and in consequence, his mind would be firm and sane at all times; he would be free to act, without a selfish motive, what the world now calls a noble and generous part to all his fellow-beings, but which conduct would then become the common practice of the human race.

NINTH CONDITION.

Of a state of society, in which all its laws, institutions, and customs shall be in accordance with the laws of human nature, or with the divine laws by which man is formed and governed.

Any society in which the laws of man have been made to oppose the divine laws of his nature, must, of necessity, exist in a state of continued crime, disunion, and misery.

All societies of men have been so formed, that at this day they all exist in crime, disunion, and misery. In all of them the divine laws of nature have been misunderstood, or disregarded, and men have busied themselves in vain, in devising artificial laws to alter their unchangeable nature, and improve the work of a power beyond their faculties to comprehend.

It is evidently the whole duty of man, for his own sake and for the benefit of his race, to find out the laws of his nature, that he may first know what manner of being he is, and then form all his institutions to be in strict accordance with these divine laws. He will then, by the natural progress of knowledge, bring about a new state of existence, in which the duty, the interest, and inclination of all will be, at all times, one and the same feeling; in which all will possess in security, and without opposition from any quarter, a full supply, at all times, of whatever is essential to the happiness of human life.

Under the supposition that these principles are as true, and their practice as beneficial as I have stated, it becomes a question of permanent interest, to know how this change—a change greater than all which have preceded it—can be accomplished, not only without injury to any, but with permanent advantage to all. To me it appears that this change can be effected the most easily, by the union in the first instance; of some of the leading governments, and of the heads of the chief sects of religion, in the adoption of general measures to direct the new arrangements upon an extensive scale; but in a manner so gradual, that no shock shall be given to the interests or feelings of any portion of society. And in forming these arrangements, no attempt should be permitted to be made to displace the individuals who are at the head, or who administer any of the existing governments.

No member of any church should be deprived, during his life, of the support and emoluments which he now derives from it. No one deriving his support from other professions, should be in any degree curtailed in the advantages which he derives from his present station in them. No one employed in any business shall be called upon

or expected to do more than his present occupation requires him to perform. No one shall be required to do any thing contrary to his former habits.

It is unnecessary that any of these evils should arise, or be allowed to take place, because there is a power in society, which, when directed, will be found much more than sufficient to supply all the wants and wishes of mankind, without it being necessary to adopt any of these temporary evils, or in any degree to diminish the small portion of happiness which, under the existing systems, had fallen to the lot of any individual.

The unused and misdirected powers of society are far more than sufficient to satisfy the wishes of all mankind, as soon as they shall learn what is requisite to make them happy, and shall know what it is their interest to desire, and the best means to obtain and secure it.

Thus have I endeavoured to sketch the outline of the causes of the past and present errors and evils among men; to deduce the principles of human nature from acts which change not, but which remain the "same yesterday, to-day, and for ever;" to show how those principles may be beneficially applied to practice, for the advantage of mankind, and how this change may be gradually effected throughout society, without injury to any individual of any class, sect, party, or country. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—I did not know that in undertaking to encounter Mr. Owen with controversial weapons, I was to combat with a *divinity*. I did not know that his twelve laws were to be received and interpreted as divine revelations. He has claimed the power of forgiving us and himself all sins, originating in his own singular and eccentric course, during the whole prosecution of this argument. He has laid claim to the high attribute of understanding the secrets of all hearts. He says that his facts and premises are of such a dignity and high import, that none of us are able to comprehend; and seems to insinuate that there are as many mysteries and incomprehensibilities in the new revelation which he promulgates, as in the old one, which we have all been taught to receive.

But, with all due deference to Mr. Owen's new light of revelation, I must protest against the liberties which he takes with our oracles. He seems to be very fond of quoting from them. This must proceed either from a desire to mislead us, by passing off these sentences as expressive of his meaning in the commonly received sense of them, or from his conviction that there is no book so eloquent and sublime as the Bible; and thus directly compliments the book which he opposes.

I did expect, in this contest, to have had to encounter the much boasted reason of the sceptics. In their zealous adoration of reason, sceptics have ridiculed us as mere dupes, for revering the light of the sacred volume. I did expect that argument, deduction, reason, proof, the most exact and philosophic definitions, and the most minute analysis of the physical and intellectual man, would have been adduced by my

opponent in this discussion. I was expecting to meet this formidable array of controversial forces; but, to my utter astonishment, I have not yet been encountered by a single syllogism. So far my opponent has offered us neither logical premises nor conclusions. Well, perhaps we must overlook all this, and anticipate a new order of things. I have regretted the necessity of introducing the argument which I have nearly brought to a close, because it is neither adapted to the taste nor apprehension of a popular assembly. But I have been obliged to be somewhat abstract in these disquisitions, because the scope of the debate seems to require it, and the debate itself is contemplated to be matter of record. It is only after the whole premises are submitted to calm and dispassionate reading, that you can form a correct estimate of the validity of each argument. I should, therefore, never have thought of introducing an argument of this abstract character before this assembly, did I not expect the whole to be published, and the grounds on which the cause of eternal truth is to be placed against the fancies and cavils of distempered minds, fairly laid before the youth of this generation.

In introducing an argument like this in a popular assembly, we have to imitate the pedagogue who first teaches the alphabet, in order to give his pupils the art of reading. We have to adduce the alphabet of mental philosophy, in order to lead you to relish and apprehend the truth of our reasoning upon our external senses and mental faculties. But in purely abstract and philosophic topics, this course must be pursued. I must, then, go over the ground which I have taken in this argument, so far as it has been prosecuted, with the hope, that if Mr. Owen will not take notice of any issue that may be tendered to him, some other person may present me with some solid objections, in order that these premises may be tested throughly, by fair and logical arguments. We have, then, endeavoured to show, by a very brief analysis of our senses, that we can have no simple ideas, except those derived through sensation and reflection; that the powers of the mind, in all its operations, are confined to ideas and impressions, acquired by perception and consciousness; that, although we may compound and remodify, almost *ad infinitum*, we cannot originate an idea entirely new. We have shown that speech is neither natural to man, nor to the invention of man; that infants must be *taught* to speak by a slow and regular process; that names are applied to things and ideas, in consequence of the pre-existence of the ideas in the mind; that the idea must always necessarily precede the name; and that we have experimental proof from infants, and from those born deaf, subsequently restored to hearing. And here I will remark, for the sake of illustration, that no infant has ever been known to speak any language but that which it has been taught; nor to attempt to give a name to any thing till some mother, nurse, or other instructer has designated that thing by its appropriate name to the child. I have stated that it was universally known that a man born deaf could never be taught to speak until his deafness was removed, because the power of speech can only be acquired by the ear, and not by any

other organ; that if it were natural to man to express himself in language, and give names to ideas and sensible objects, all men would attempt this, the untaught as well as those who have been taught to speak. In the philosophical transactions of several European and American societies there are instances on record of persons born deaf, being brought to hearing after they had attained the age of twenty-five or thirty, and then taught the use of speech. These persons have been interrogated whether, previously to their restoration to the faculty of hearing, and their acquisition of the power of speech, they had ever, from their observations on the visible universe, derived any idea of an invisible Creator; and, *una voce*, they have declared that idea never entered their imaginations. This tangible fact is to be found in the records of all the cases in which this cure has been performed.

This is the only experiment that it is possible to make in a case of this kind; for we cannot find a human being possessed of a full organization, whose mind has not, in some way or other, been enlightened on this subject by tradition. We cannot find a man, perfectly in a state of nature, who never heard the sound of any human voice but his own: if we could, he might be a fit subject to experiment upon, after teaching him the use of speech. This is all the proof that the nature of the argument requires or directs; and it must be by this time logically established in the minds of those who can appreciate the argument. It has been presumed that we might arrive at the idea of a First Cause by a process of reasoning *a posteriori;* but there is a palpable *petitio principii* in this argument, since it assumes that the material world is an effect, and if an effect it must have a *cause*, which is the very position to be proved. So far reason and experience correspond with revelation. I rest a very important point of the argument here; for if this be argument, and not fallacy, (and I wish to hear all objections to the argument) then Paul's was an axiomatic truth: "By *faith* we are assured that the universe was made by the word of God." He does not say by *reason*, observe, but by *faith*. No christian can demur to the mode of reasoning which has for its object the establishing a conviction of the truth of what Paul says, when he affirms, that *by faith we know the universe was made by the word of God;* when he affirms that *the world by philosophy never knew God.* Thirdly, we have further proved from the analysis of our intellectual powers, that faith, or belief, is not more necessary or independent of our volition than knowledge and experience. This is a very capital point of the argument, and goes to subvert the whole of my opponent's theory of faith. Faith, then, I say, has been proved to be as dependent on volition as knowledge and experience; because all the faculties employed in examining evidence, and acquiring knowledge, are subject to our volitions. The moment I determine to push my investigation into any department of knowledge of which I am ignorant, that moment I summon my energies to the work. The moment testimony is presented to me, I call all my faculties to the examination of that testimony; and my volition is just as operative in my examination of testimony, as it is in my researches into any favourite department of

science. Such, then, is the argument which I have submitted to you, as deduced from these premises. We may now naturally lead you as we proposed, to the direct evidences of the positive truth of revelation; a duty which I hoped to have been called to at the onset.

My friend and I have been sailing in company so long, and have at length arrived where we can bring our artillery to bear against each other. I have just now arrived at the point upon which I did suppose all the merits of this controversy were to rest. But while speaking on the incapacity of the human mind to originate ideas entirely new, I cannot pretermit this opportunity of illustrating a theory, common I believe to both christians and sceptics, by a reference to my friend's proceedings. We have, then, asserted that the human faculties have not the power of originating any thing new, and Mr. Owen's social theory corroborates the assertion. I would, therefore, ask Mr. Owen to answer this question, Did he, or did he not, some forty years ago, originate this theory from his own observation of human nature; or was it not suggested to him by the circumstances which Christianity threw around him in Scotland? That this theory originated in the religious circumstances at that time existing in Lanark, we have good reason to believe. It was the christian benevolence of Mr. Dale which prompted him to invent a plan for the education of the children of the poor. By instituting a system of co-operation, Mr. Dale was enabled to sustain five hundred poor children at one time, who were collected in the manufactories which he controlled, and were there maintained and educated by his philanthrophy. And to these circumstances instituted by Mr. Dale, is Mr. Owen indebted for the origination of his new views of society. And this is another proof that we can only acquire the knowledge of new things from things already known.

We come now, in regular prosecution of this subject, to the consideration of an innate power in human nature. I do not know that I am able to designate this power by its appropriate name; but there is a native, inherent power in human nature of believing upon testimony. This power is sometimes called *credulity*, which is as inherent in the infant mind as any other faculty. Now, upon this credulity, are predicated all systems of instruction. Were it not for this innate principle of credulity in human nature, there could be no docility in children. Were it not that they have the power of receiving instruction upon testimony from their teachers, all intellectual improvability would be impracticable. And here commences the line of demarcation between mere animal instinct and the intellectual progressiveness of man. He is by nature a progressive animal, and there is no *ne plus ultra* in his intellectual progress. But all this boundless improvability in man has its source in his credulity. If he had not the power of believing what his parents, and all others who may stand in a didactic relation to him, instructed him in, it would be as impossible to fructify his mind, as it would be to teach a goat to speak. This power, by whatever name it may be called, is, in its operations, the most gigantic moral power with which man has been endowed. Now the theory of my opponent pretermits and keeps out of view this impor-

tant faculty of human nature; he has not predicated a single one of his facts upon it; nay, he has had the temerity to affirm that the only use of authority was to give countenance and support to that which was false and erroneous. I believe my friend volunteered this eccentric affirmative proposition, because he was well aware that the faculty of believing or disbelieving the verity of facts as reported, is the principle germ of improvability in man. To this fact we are indebted for almost all we know. If Mr. Owen could erase from the tablet of his mind all that he has acquired upon the testimony of others; if it were possible for him to be deprived of a native, inherent faculty, which is *inalienable* from his nature, and to be made dependent for his acquisitions of knowledge exclusively upon his own observation and experience, he would not have one idea for ten thousand which he now has, and for which he is indebted to his power of belief upon testimony. Here is no exaggeration. If the difference could be computed, it is probable I should be found to have fallen short of the mark. There is not a savage "running wild in the woods," untutored and untamed, who does not owe more of his information to the faculty of receiving truth upon testimony, than to all the experience of his life multiplied by thousands. What is the legitimate import of the term *experience?* *Experience* is neither more nor less than another name for memory.

Suppose I should, by some accident, some concussion of the brain, be deprived of the faculty of *memory*, what would my *experience* be worth after I had forgotten all that I had ever heard, seen, read, or acted? And yet this experience is the mighty engine by which my friend expects to overturn every thing predicated on testimony!!* [*Half hour out.*]

* While reading over my debate with Mr. Owen, which I see is a good deal in the style of my extemporaneous harangues, I perceive a good many unnecessary repetitions, and a too great diffuseness in the argument, (though I hope this defect will be advantageous to the common reader, as it will keep the argument longer before his mind, and relieve him from much abstract thinking); and at the same time I discover what I conceive to be a still more forcible proof of the argument against the *deistical* notion of *natural* religion, or the supposed power we have to originate the idea of God, spirit, angels, heaven, and a future state. I gave one forcible proof, as I think, in merely asking Mr. Owen to originate the idea of a *sixth sense.* This, I think, is an irresistible proof, that the human mind, however cultivated, has not the power of originating an idea entirely new. But perhaps the following puzzle will carry conviction farther and deeper than any argument yet adduced upon this subject.

We know *three* worlds—one by sense, and two by faith—I say we are in possession of *ideas* concerning three worlds; the present material world, possessing, as we now think, various combinations of forty elements. This is the mundane system. The other two worlds are *heaven* and *hell*, or a state of future bliss, and future woe. Besides these, from some expressions found in the scriptures concerning the intermediate state from death to the resurrection, some have fancied a state called *purgatory.* This is, however, only in part fanciful, because there is a state of separation of spirit and body, which was the data for this idea. But now I ask all the atheists, and sceptics of every name, to fancy any other world—a fourth world—and to give us a single idea of it not borrowed, in whole or in part, from the three already known. If, with all the intellect which science and philosophy have given them, they cannot do this, how, in the name of com-

MR. OWEN rises.

I wish to have the official copy of the points of debate, that I may adhere strictly to them.

[*Mr. Campbell hands the document to Mr. Owen.*]

My friends, I deem it the first duty of those who are contending only for the truth, to concede every thing they possibly can to an opponent. I therefore most readily concede to Mr. Campbell, that the Christian religion was the foundation of the social system. When I was very young, I was very religious. At seven, eight, nine, and up to ten years of age, I only read what are called *good* books. But at ten years of age I became convinced, from these books, that there was error somewhere. I discovered so much contradiction between different religions, and between the various sects of the same religion, that I became convinced there was some great error pervading the whole subject. I was very desirous to distinguish truth from error, and studied, with great industry, for the three following years; that is, until I was thirteen years old, with a determination, forced upon me by my early impressions, to find, if possible, a religion that was true. But the more I read and reflected, the more errors and mistakes I discovered in religion; and, therefore, the more I differed from christianity and all other religions; until at length I was compelled, sorely against my will, to believe christianity and all religions to be founded in error. There was no relation, no congruity between them and facts; between what they taught, and what I knew and felt to be true. Therefore, Mr. Campbell's surmise that the Christian religion was the foundation of this system, is perfectly correct; but it was not founded in the *truth* of the Christian religion.

Finding that no religion was based upon facts, but that all of them were in opposition to facts, and could not therefore be true, I began to reflect upon what must be the condition of mankind, trained from infancy to believe in these errors, and to make them the rule of their conduct. I argued thus with myself:—As I am very certain that religion is not true, therefore something else must be true, and it is mon sense, can they say that savages, when they had but this globe, or a knowledge of one world, could originate two others? If but two worlds, earth and heaven, had yet been known, without revelation, it would have been just as difficult to have originated a third, as it is now to originate a fourth. If, then, any sceptic, deist, or atheist, in these United States, will tell me what a sixth sense or a fourth world would be, I will then concede that this philosophic argument is not conclusive; till then I must think that it is: till then I must think that it exterminates every system of scepticism in the world. Here I must retort upon all atheists, in a way which their own system teaches me. You, gentlemen, deny that there is what we call a Creator, and that you are creatures. But, in truth, you give to man all the powers we give to God; you believe and teach that we christians have created two worlds out of nothing, and filled them with inhabitants. The atheists, for their bodies and *souls*, (if they have any) cannot get along with their own system without a *creator*. They give to christians all the attributes which christians give to God. They say that we christians have *created two worlds* out of nothing, and have filled them with inhabitants, by the mere strength of our omnipotent imaginations!! If this be not good logic, on their premises, I will consent to go to school again. Will some of the club show us that the conclusion is illogical?

highly important to discover what it is. With a view to this discovery, I read five hours per day, for twenty-five years, until, I believe, I collected all the facts which are of value on these subjects, in the English language, during a great part of the latter period, exclusively under the influence of an earnest, honest, ardent desire to discover and elicit the truth. I knew that there were certain facts and deductions from them, upon which all parties were agreed. I thought it, therefore, highly probable that those points on which all parties had agreed were true; and these I recollected for the sake of reference and comparison. But when I came to an idea that was not in unison or accordance with them, I felt myself, as a lover of truth, bound to examine it carefully, because I very early discovered that truth was always consistent with itself. If, therefore, I found, by close investigation and extensive comparison, that the new idea to be examined was in strict consistency and congruity with the other truths previously received into my mind, it was added to the original store. And thus I went on, with great diligence and perseverance, until I had collected a great stock of ideas, all in unison with each other. And it is from this stock of ideas, and from no other source, that I have been enabled to discover the ignorance in which we and our ancestors have been trained. I did not go into Scotland until seventeen years after my mind had passed through the greater part of this process. I was a thorough sceptic for seventeen years before my removal to Scotland. In regard to Mr. Dale, there never was, perhaps, a man of kinder or more benevolent feelings. After I was his son-in-law, we became very intimately acquainted with each other's real views and feelings. Our objects were precisely the same, but by the difference of our organization and circumstances, we were compelled to take different roads to obtain them. I admired his character and conduct, and I believe he had a great regard and affection for me: for, in his last illness, he was desirous to receive his medicine and chief attendance from me, although he well knew how much I differed from him on the subject of religion, and although he had a number of religious friends about him. But this is a digression produced by Mr. Campbell's observations.

My organization, no doubt, differs in some degree from others; and certainly the circumstances which have acted upon that organization have been most peculiar. I do not know to what extent my organization differs from others, but the circumstances in which I have been placed, acting upon this organization, have been the causes which have produced all the occurrences and proceedings of my life, and my character and conduct, such as it has always been, before the world.

But to come to the point. I have stated that there are twelve fundamental laws of nature not derived from any authority whatever, but from facts which I defy all the world to disprove. Mr. Campbell admits that these facts are true, but contends that they do not contravene or oppose the faith and doctrine of christianity. Well, if my friend can convince me that there is no contradiction or discrepancy

between these twelve laws and christianity, I shall then become a christian indeed. But to me, with such ability as I possess, and with all the power of attention and discrimination which I can exercise on the subject, no two things ever did appear more strongly contrasted and opposed to each other than these twelve laws and Christianity: to me they appear to be perfect antipodes to each other. If my friend Mr. Campbell can reconcile them, it is more than I can do. I shall listen with patience and great interest to the proofs which he may adduce on this point; because, if he can prove that there exists no discrepancy between the two systems, he necessarily will make me a christian. My present conviction is, that these twelve laws of human nature differ, *toto cælo*, from Christianity; that these twelve laws demonstrate, in the clearest manner, that all the religions of the world are founded in the ignorance of man, with regard to himself; that all the religions of the world are, therefore, Mr. Campbell, [*turning round to him*] directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; that there is not the remotest connexion or affinity between these twelve laws and any religion existing on the face of the globe; that, on the contrary, all religions are in direct opposition to them; that these laws, when rightly understood, and fully and fairly carried into practice, will produce "peace on earth, and good-will to man;" will create a new state of society, in which every individual composing it, shall be simple and virtuous in his habits, highly intelligent, possessing the best dispositions, and enjoying the highest degree of human felicity.

I do say farther, that these religions are now the only obstacles which oppose themselves to the formation of a society over the earth, of virtue, intelligence, and charity in its most extensive sense, and of sincerity and kindness amongst the whole human family. These are my general deductions from the premises before us. Were I to go into all the detail, I fear I should occupy too much of your time; for I have as much of these details to bring forward as would occupy your time for a fortnight, were I alone to speak. These details go to show, step by step, throughout their whole progress, how injurious all your religions are to yourselves; that they cause you and your children to continue, like your ancestors, in total ignorance of yourselves, and that they involve you in every kind of disunion which generates the worst feelings and passions, and creates all those little under currents of misery with which we are but too familiar.

But we shall now bring this discussion within a narrower compass. I have stated these twelve laws as succinctly and distinctly as words for that purpose occur to me. Now, if Mr. Campbell will only show me that one, or all, or any, or either of these laws are contrary to fact, or in unison with christianity—from that time forth he makes me a christian!

Now it will be Mr. Campbell's duty to prove, either that these twelve laws of human nature are not derived from facts, and in unison therewith, or he must prove that these laws and christianity are one and indivisible. I take it for granted that Mr. Campbell gives up

all other religions except the Christian. But were I to go to any other country with my challenge, I could find no champion willing to defend any but his own; therefore, I can only be met formidably by the religion of the region or district where they happen to be. I should be told in one district, "We will not contend with you for the truth of the religion taught by Confucius, by Moses, or by Mahomet; but we will contend with you to the death for the divine truth of that holy religion which has been delivered to us of this district, and to our fathers from time immemorial." The attachment of the inhabitants of the different regions of the earth to their respective religions, seems to be but a mere local kind of attachment. When asked why they believe their peculiar religion to be the only true one, they reply, "Because we have been born in this part of the world, and have been taught that we ought so to believe." At present I shall say no more, having placed the matter thus plainly before you. Mr. Campbell has now a fair opportunity to prove that these twelve laws are not based upon facts, or being founded in truth that they are in unison with christianity. I do think it would be unfair to ask Mr. Campbell to proceed forthwith in reply to the mass of matter which has been presented; but that I ought to put my document into his hands and allow him ample time to digest and refute it. Mr. Campbell has now either to lose his cause altogether, or to make me a christian.

In reply to a dictum *from the Chair, Mr. Owen said—*

I willingly adopt the suggestion from the Chair, and shall proceed to-morrow to demonstrate the opposition between christianity and these facts, although Mr. Campbell ought, as he engaged, to show their accordance with each other.

Mr. Campbell rises.

I am glad there is now a probability of coming to close quarters with my friend and opponent.

[*Here the Honourable Chairman rose, and stated the impression of the Board to be, that the affirmative of the proposition now in debate rests with Mr. Owen. Unless he make out the affirmative that his facts are irreconcileable to the Christian religion, he fails to establish his proposition. The bare proof or admission of the twelve facts by no means establishes the proposition of Mr. Owen. It is one thing to lay down facts and prove them to be true, and another thing to ascertain the legitimate results from these facts. Mr. Owen succeeds but in part when he proves his facts. If the argument were to be suspended, Mr. Owen's proposition would not be sustained. Holding the affirmative of the proposition, Mr. Owen's* onus probandi *is not only to show that his facts are true, but that they are irreconcileable to Christianity and all other religions assumed to be veritable systems.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

Mr. Chairman—I accord with this view of the Board, and shall proceed to-morrow to demonstrate the discrepancies between Christianity and these twelve facts.

Mr. Campbell rises again.

Mr. Chairman—In the mean time I ask to be indulged with permission to prosecute the argument which I have thus far introduced. When I sat down I had got to the position that all the experience of man amounted to no more than his memory; but this is to be understood *sub modo*. When I defined experience thus, I meant to exclude every particle of knowledge derived from faith in testimony. I meant *personal* experience in the strictest sense, and had reference only to the precise *quantum* of information to be acquired by *individuality* of experience. But as we have advanced thus far towards the true point on which Christianity is predicated, I deem it important to aid my opponent by adducing facts, additional to his twelve, in evidence of the verity of the Christian religion. I require the concession of only one postulatum in order to establish the verity of the Christian religion. That postulate I will couch in the following terms: The Christian religion, as well as the Jewish, is predicated upon certain matters of fact, or rather these religions being predicated upon certain matters of fact, it follows that, if these facts be true, the whole system of the Christian religion must be true. Well, then, my postulate is, that the Christian religion, as well as the Jewish, being predicated upon matters of fact, it follows logically, that if these facts are proved to be true, the religions predicated upon them are thereby demonstrated to be equally true. In producing our deductions concerning the truth of christianity, it is necessary first of all to have respect to the Jewish religion. This is not an inquiry into any matter of abstract, or philosophical, or mathematical, or political speculation. The seven sciences have nothing at all to do with it. The subject of inquiry is now, what is or is not *matter of fact?* We are fully warranted in premising that the question concerning the verity of christianity is exclusively a question of fact, to be tried by all the rules of evidence which govern our decision upon any question of historical fact derived from times of equal antiquity. We contend that every faculty of mind, and every mode of reasoning that can be brought to bear upon any question of fact, may be legitimately exercised upon all the facts connected with the Christian religion. Let us then adduce these facts.

In the first place, it is recorded that in the days of Moses, the children of Israel amounted to six hundred thousand fighting men, exclusive of the old men, the females, and the children; most probably the whole Jewish population, at that period, did not fall short of two millions. At any rate, we have the fact that six hundred thousand fighting men passed out of Egypt, and walked through the Red Sea; that they reached Mount Sinai; that there they saw a visible manifestation of Deity; that they heard his voice proclaim the decalogue; that they were fed with *manna* in the wilderness for forty years; that they had a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night, to guide them through the wilderness; that they were fed with quails, and drank limpid water from a rock of flint, smitten by the rod of Moses; and that they passed through the river Jordan

as over dry land. These are the matters of fact which constitute the foundation of the Jewish religion. And these being proved to be matters of fact, it follows that the religion predicated upon them is true. I presume that my friend and opponent would admit that if it were proved to him that these six hundred thousand men passed through the Red Sea as over dry land;—heard the voice of God, and witnessed the awful symbols of his presence from Mount Sinai:—that they gathered *manna* in the wilderness: drank the living water which issued from the rock smitten by the rod of Moses:—passed through the refluent waters of Jordan: I presume, I say, that all these things being proved to my opponent to be facts, he would admit, without scruple, that the religion built upon them is *true*.

Now, I do assert, that of the verity of these facts we have every species of evidence that human reason requires, and that the most sceptical mind could require upon any other subject of equal antiquity, or that the nature of the case permits to be adduced in attestation of the verity of ancient historic facts. I have asserted that we have every species of evidence of the verity of these facts, and of this religion, that right reason requires. In order to prove these facts, we must lay down certain *criteria* by which we are enabled to decide with certainty upon all questions of historic fact. In the first place, then, you will observe that we have certain *criteria* by which we are enabled to discriminate between the truth and fallacy of testimony; and it is our every-day practice, in the ordinary concerns of life, to avail ourselves of these *criteria*. We do not believe every thing without scruple. We are often glad of the opportunity of examining oral and written testimony, and we generally find some way to elicit truth, or detect the fallacy of certain reported facts. These *criteria*, when applied to any reported fact, force us to the conclusion that it is either true or false. Were it not for these *criteria*, by which we are enabled to appreciate the value of testimony, we would, in the ordinary intercourse of society, be liable to constant deceptions, inasmuch as the conscientious speaking of the truth is not the distinguishing virtue of the present age. These *criteria* are various; but wherever there is a perfect consistency and accordance between the fact reported, and the testimony adduced to prove it, conviction of the verity of that fact necessarily follows. In the first place the consistency of the testimony with our present experience in matters of this sort, is a safe *criterion* whereby to test the verity of all matters of ordinary occurrence; *i. e.* taken in connexion with the character of the reporter, and all the other *media* through which we receive the testimony. All these are scrutinized in order to ascertain the truth in ordinary cases; but to facts encrusted with the venerable rust of antiquity—a rust which has been accumulating for four thousand years—the application of the ordinary *criteria* of more recent facts would be futile.

The *desideratum* is to establish certain *criteria*, which will satisfactorily demonstrate that facts reported to have occurred four thousand years ago are true. And these *criteria* I now propose to present to you—not the *criteria* of facts which occurred yesterday, or to-day;

but of facts which transpired four thousand years ago. These *criteria*, then, are resolvable into four particulars. (And, by the way, we wish any defect or imperfection in these *criteria* to be designated by any person who can discover it.) First, then, we allege, that, in order to judge with certainty of the truth of facts which occurred so long ago, the facts reported must have been what we call *sensible* facts; such as the eyes of the spectators and all their other senses might take cognizance of. Secondly, that these sensible alleged facts were exhibited with every imaginable *public and popular attestation*, and open to the severest scrutiny which their extraordinary character might induce. The facts we are now testing by these two *criteria*, were, I affirm, in the first place, *sensible* facts; and secondly, they were exhibited under circumstances of *extraordinary publicity*. Thirdly, that there have been certain monumental and commemorative *institutions*, continuing from that time to the present, as a perpetual attestation of these facts—that each of these observances was instituted *in perpetuam memoriam rei*. Fourthly, that these monumental proofs existed simultaneously with the transpiration of the facts which they are intended to perpetuate—that they continue in existence up to the present hour:—

1. The facts relied upon were sensible facts.
2. They were facts of remarkable notoriety.
3. There now exists standing monuments in perpetual commemoration of these facts.

Lastly, These commemorative attestations have continued from the very period in which the facts transpired, up to the present time. The facts on which we rely have all these four *criteria*. I am willing to submit them to all the tests which can be applied to any other recorded facts of antiquity. And I repeat, with a confidence that fears no refutation, that no fact accompanied with these *four criteria*, ever was proved to be false. Nay, we will demonstrate that no fact which can abide these *criteria* CAN be false.

Let us now come to the prominent facts on which the Jewish religion was first predicated. First, I have stated that six hundred thousand men are said to have walked through the Red Sea as over dry land, in consequence of Moses' rod being extended over it; they are said to have stood still upon the opposite shore whilst the Egyptians, their pursuers, were drowned by the returning of the waters. The question is, Was this a sensible fact? We will say nothing at present concerning the ten plagues of Egypt, but will now advert to another fact intimately connected with this subject. On the night immediately preceding the departure of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, it became necessary, before the hard heart of Pharaoh would relent so far as to let these people go, to send forth a destroying angel, by whom the first-born of the land were slain. This was, most certainly, a sensible fact, of such paramount and engrossing interest as to arouse every sense, and call forth every faculty in the thorough investigation of it. These two facts, to pass over all others, are of the character premised. They are not only sensible

facts, but they are facts of a character to take hold of, and to make an indelible impression upon, every faculty and sense belonging to mankind. Well, now, so far these facts correspond with our first *criterion*. The next question is, Were they publicly exhibited in open day, and in the face of witnesses? I only propose this question in order to fix your attention. Every man who has heard of these facts, knows that they were exhibited in the face of the most enlightened realm of antiquity; many of them in the very court of Pharaoh, which was crowded with the greatest statesmen and scholars that then existed. The people to be delivered were themselves six hundred thousand in number, each of them individually and deeply interested; so that all the recollections connected with their state of vassalage; all their national feelings of hostility towards their oppressors; in short, every sort of feeling which belongs to man, was called into exercise to the very highest degree of excitement; and all these concurring to impress their minds indelibly with the marvellous and stupendous character of the fact. Therefore, there is no matter of fact on record more notorious than these. In like manner, the eating of the *manna*, and drinking of the waters from the rock, are sensible facts, and in their nature must have been most notorious. In them all, there is not a single matter of fact on which the Jewish religion is predicated, that is not in its nature sensible and notorious.

We next ask, Are there any commemorative institutions now existing in attestation of these facts? Yes: for the whole Jewish nation exists at this day. Notwithstanding all the mighty empires of antiquity which once flourished in history, and in their turns controlled the temporal destinies of the world, have sunk, one after the other, into dust—have so crumbled to atoms as to leave no trace behind them, not even a living man, who can say that one drop of Grecian or Roman blood flows in his veins; one nation, one *monumental* nation of antiquity, yet remains—a nation who can trace their lineage up to its source—a monumental nation, with monumental institutions, which prove them to be the legitimate seed of Abraham, and which stamp the seal of verity upon the historic facts recorded of this people. Do not their circumcision and their passover still exist?

We have now applied three of our *criteria* in attestation of the facts relied upon. The fourth is, that the commemorative monuments, instituted simultaneously with the transpiration of the facts to be preserved and perpetuated, have never been out of existence from that period to the present hour. Moses tells them on the very night preceding their departure from the land of Egypt, to take a lamb, to be called the paschal lamb, and to dress and eat it in a peculiar manner. This festival was to be observed on that night, and under circumstances calculated on every return of its anniversary, to excite the recollections and the feelings of the Jewish nation. He tells them that they must, on every anniversary of this festival, eat the passover with a strict observance of all rites and circumstances; that they must eat with their loins girded, and with such other adjuncts as should remind them of the sorrows of their captivity in Egypt. Now, we

are able to show that there never has been an interval, from that period down to the present, in which the anniversary of the feast of the *passover* has not been solemnly celebrated. This feast was instituted on that memorable night, and has continued unchanged down to the present period. But this is only an item of the monumental evidences of historic truth pervading the singular annals of this most interesting people. This signal deliverance from the house of bondage, is commemorated by institutions attended with such peculiar adjuncts as entwine themselves around the hearts of men; adjuncts which, in the very act of commemorating, call into exercise all the feelings incident to human nature. Of this character is the institution which devotes the first-born of the land to the Lord.

The Jews were not permitted to consider their first-born as their own, but as belonging to the Lord, as given to him in memory of their redemption from the house of bondage. It is now not simply the passover which commemorates the fact of deliverance from the land of Egypt, but this separation and appropriation of the first-born of the land to the Lord perpetuates the fact. This devotion of the first-born to the Lord, is calculated in its nature to engross the whole heart of man. Men are not to be persuaded to part with their children, or their substance, except by the most cogent reasons. These people, proverbially avaricious, not only observed the passover, but resigned all property in the first-born of the land to the Lord. In process of time, when the nation was brought into a state of municipal order, and under a national covenant, it was then so ordered that one tribe was selected to be given to the Lord, in lieu of the first-born. And here we see the whole nation agreeing to support that tribe for ever. This selection was made from the tribe of Levi. To superficial observers, the ingenuity displayed in the erection of this monument in perpetuation of the memory of a leading fact in Jewish history may not appear; but it is a monumental institution, eminently calculated in its nature, to keep the recollection of the fact which it commemorates, fresh and vivid in the hearts and minds of the Israelites. The whole number at that time of the first-born of the whole twelve tribes, was twenty-two thousand, two hundred and seventy-three. Moses was commanded to calculate the number of the tribe of Levi, which was twenty-two thousand. The whole tribe of Levi was taken head for head; and the two hundred and seventy-three of the first-born, over and above, were redeemed at five shekels per head. Observe the exactitude and particularity of this arrangement: first, the institution of the passover; next, the segregation of the first-born of the land as the Lord's; and after this an arrangement to appropriate the whole tribe of Levi,—two hundred and seventy-three lacking in number were to be redeemed at one hundred *obili* apiece.

Thus the avarice, the gratitude, and every other passion of the Jewish nation, were made to co-operate in attestation and perpetuation of this leading fact. Here we may remark, that as these sensible demonstrations, and the very manner of their exhibition, exclude the possibility of imposition upon the minds and senses of the first actors and original

witnesses of these facts; so the *criteria* of these monumental and commemorative facts equally preclude the possibility of imposition upon us. Let us dwell for a moment upon the influence of this commemorative institution of the passover, and the conventional segregation of an entire tribe to be supported for ever by the great body of the people—a tribe who were to have cities built for them—who were made proprietors of all the circumjacent lands, and who were exonerated by the new social compact of the nation from all personal care and anxiety concerning their own support. The tribe of Levi, and all their personal property, were segregated to the service of the Lord. This was a concession demanded of this people as a condition precedent to their enjoyment of the new national covenant. And thus has divine wisdom perpetuated a standing monument in commemoration of the miracles of Moses. To bring this matter home to every man's business and bosom, I would ask all of you if it would be possible to induce you to sanctify and segregate one child of your family, or one lamb of your fold, or to celebrate a certain annual festival in commemoration of a fact which never occurred? Does the widest range of human experience warrant the supposition that any people, under any circumstances, could be induced to do this?

We are now to try this matter by the test of reason, and to examine whether it were possible, in the first instance, to fabricate these monumental evidences. Let us ask ourselves seriously, if any nation under heaven could be induced to celebrate a solemn annual festival in commemoration of a false fact—a fact which never did occur. Could all the magi, sorcerers, and wonder-mongers of eastern antiquity, if they were now alive, compel the North American nation to observe the first day of January in commemoration of their declaration of independence, when the whole nation knew that its anniversary was the fourth day of July? To suppose such an absurdity as this—to admit for a moment the possibility of such a national extravagance—is to suppose men to be very differently constituted now-a-days from what all former experience has ever demonstrated them to be.

If these mighty miracles of Moses had been performed in a dark corner of the earth, in the presence of only a few wandering tribes, or of a rude, unlettered nation, without records, some sceptical scruples might arise in our minds. But the Most High has so contrived it as to leave no room for any cavil of this nature.

These facts transpired in an age when the human faculties were highly cultivated. Moses himself was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians: a nation at that period pre-eminently distinguished for scientific acquirements. Who is not acquainted with the scientific reputation of ancient Egypt? Who has not heard of her proficiency in the arts, particularly in the art of embalming, of which we are ignorant? Standing monuments of the scientific attainments and luxurious refinement of this people abound at the present day. From their own annals it appears that they were quite as sceptical as the people of the present day. Here I will take occasion to remark, that he facts on which the Jewish and Christian religions have been pre-

dicated, have been wisely arranged so as to transpire in the presence of nations as bold, daring, politic, ambitious, and intelligent as ourselves. We are wont to think slightly, and to speak disparagingly of the intellectual powers of the ancients. But there were a great many highly polished and severely disciplined minds amongst them. And it was in the presence of such a people, shrewd, keen, and sceptical—in their metropolis, within the precincts of the court, in the face of king, courtiers, sages, and statesmen, that these evidences were adduced —these miracles were wrought, and these monumental commemorative institutions were erected. Every thing was so ordered in relation to these facts, as to remove for ever all rational ground of doubt or scepticism. So far, then, I have proceeded to give a general idea of the argument which I am now to submit in attestation of the facts on which the Jewish religion is predicated.

In the further prosecution of the argument; we shall illustrate other facts analogous to the preceding, embracing similar objects, and, like them, perpetuated by monumental commemorative institutions. We shall briefly analyse the institution of the sabbath, the celebration of the passover, and other festivals of the Jewish ritual. To support these monumental commemorative institutions, a levy became necessary to a greater amount than ever was exacted by the fiscal polity of any other nation; and such was the veneration of this people for their ritual, that this enormous taxation was submitted to, without a murmur. I have been calculating the amount of property necessary to the support of the Jewish religion, and have elaborated this result: that one half of the time and money—a full moiety of the whole resources of the nation—was exacted; and one chief object was to keep these miracles, with their monumental attestations, in perpetual remembrance. The cheerful relinquishment of one half of their whole personal property goes to repudiate the idea that this people were cajoled by intrigue into submission to such an oppressive taxation. We shall further show that all the other facts on which religion is predicated, have been accompanied with the same commemorative and perpetuating attestations from the moment of their transpiration down to our present times. [*Half hour out.*]

Adjourned to Thursday morning.

Note.—We have found some difficulty in ascertaining exactly how much of Mr. Owen's manuscript was read at each time during this day. The Reporter generally states the page on which Mr. Owen began and ended; but in one or two cases this was omitted, or so ambiguously done, that we are not certain that we have, in every instance, given the exact amount read. Another difficulty was, that some remarks interspersed with these readings were difficult to place in their proper places. None of these difficulties, however, in the least affected the argument. But as there were a few remarks which were not ushered in their proper places, we shall give them here, that every word of the report of Mr. Owen's speeches may be published. These remarks were made some where while Mr. Owen was reading his code of laws. We put the numbers of the laws under which we suppose these remarks were made.—*Ed.*

Mr. Chairman, I do not discover any thing in my friend Mr. Campbell's last address, that requires an immediate reply. I shall, there-

fore, proceed further to demonstrate, from my manuscript, the ignorance which has pervaded the world up to the present time. I had proceeded to the sixth law when my half hour expired. I now come to the seventh.

Here Mr. Owen begins to read, commencing on the subject of the ascertainment of the standard number of individuals to be congregated in social union, so as to give to each the greatest advantages with the fewest inconveniences.

Mr. Owen reads to the 15th law, and here remarks:

And, therefore, there will be no selection or election to office, and every one at an early age will discover that at the proper period of life he will have an equal right with all, to be in possession of his full and fair share of the government of society; there will be no electioneering artifices; no detraction of private character; no jarring of interests, or collision about the distribution of office.

Mr. Owen gets to the 23rd law, and here remarks:

You will observe, my friends, that by these arrangements, we shall save the enormous waste of time and money to which religion now subjects us, and we shall be relieved from the still more enormous expense of all its vice and injustice.

Mr. Owen reads to the 25th law, and observes:

These, my friends, will make, in our new state of existence, just twenty-seven laws, very plain and easy to be understood, and most effectual for all the purposes of society. You will presently learn that truth is always simple; that there is so much harmony, unison, and consistency in all its parts, that there can be no difficulty in comprehending and acting upon it.

When we remove the priests, lawyers, warriors, and merchants, what a happy state of society shall we enjoy! None of us shall have occasion to be employed more than two hours per day; yet we shall all have an abundance of the best of every thing! I now proceed to the appendix, which is the last part of the subject I have written out. And this additional explanation is only for the sake of a more full development of the subject. I have merely glanced at the nine requisites for happiness; it would require too much of your time to proceed to its extent. Can any of you, my friends, form an idea of any thing necessary for human happiness beyond these nine conditions? All I can say on this part of the subject, is, that my mind has not been able to discover any thing for the heart of man to desire, beyond what these arrangements provide, and for what, if consummated, they must secure—except your future fanciful ideas of happiness, which I leave with each of you.

[*Immediately before Mr. Owen's rising this time, a man arose and said, that he would suggest to the Moderators if those individuals who had come (voluntarily he would admit) hundreds of miles to attend this debate, had not a right to complain. They had been in attendance on the debate for two days, and yet heard nothing about religion, which was the only subject they came to hear discussed. The Moderators took no notice of this individual's suggestion.*]

Thursday morning, 16th April.

MR. OWEN rises.

I have now, my friends, to show you in detail that all the religions of the world have been founded in ignorance. To those who have been accustomed to reflect deeply on these subjects, the outline stated in the twelve fundamental principles which have been advanced, is amply sufficient to enable them to come at once to a conclusion upon the subject. But as there are many who never have had their minds directed to these subjects, it becomes necessary to proceed point by point, in order to show the discrepancy between these twelve laws and all religions. It is, however, first requisite that I should state what the religions of the world are, according to my views of them. If I make a wrong statement, Mr. Campbell or the gentlemen Moderators, will set me right. According to my views, then, all religions of the civilized world are predicated upon the assumption that man has a free will, forms his own character, and determines his own conduct; has the power of believing or disbelieving whether a God exists, and of ascertaining his qualities, and is punished for not doing so. These religions assume that man is accountable for his feelings, his thoughts, his will, and his conduct; that if he believe according to the religious dogmas in which he has been trained, and acts up to that belief, he shall be eternally happy; but that if he do not believe in a God, he shall be eternally tormented, notwithstanding the most virtuous and exemplary conduct through life. They assume that the favour of God is to be obtained by the observance of forms and ceremonies, and by contributions of money; and that those who do not believe in these things, are infidels, and worse than the devil, because *he* believes and trembles. It becomes necessary, Mr. Campbell, to ask you if this be a true and fair outline of the Christian religion? [*Mr. Campbell answers, No.*] Then, Mr. Chairman, before I can proceed systematically, it will be necessary for Mr. Campbell to explain what the Christian religion is. I cannot proceed without I have his Christian religion before me. Each different sect will tell me that Mr. Campbell's religion is not theirs. At present I have nothing to combat; I am fighting against shadows.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—The Christian religion is contained in the New Testament. Mr. Owen ought to have made himself acquainted with the New Testament before he challenged this controversy. I have no other answer to Mr. Owen's query, but that the Christian religion is fully developed in the books of the New Testament; that its evidences are to be examined by all the rules by which we examine other historical facts; that the rules of interpretation are the same which are to be adopted in the interpretation of other ancient writings.

Mr. Owen rose and said—Gentlemen, if I take Mr. Campbell's account of Christianity to be correct, a great many christians will oppose Mr. Campbell, and say he knows nothing about Christianity; therefore, it will not be sufficient for me to show that Mr. Campbell's

notions of Christianity cannot be reconciled with these fundamental laws of human nature. But, perhaps we may come at the matter in another direction: Has man, according to Christianity, a free will, and the power to form his own character? I cannot proceed without an answer to this question.

Mr. Campbell rises—Gentlemen Moderators, if it be the order of the day, that my opponent and I shall enter into a catechetical examination of each other, by way of question and answer, I shall make no objection to such an arrangement. In engaging in this controversy, the sole object I proposed to myself, was, the fair elicitation of truth. But the immediate question is, whether interrogatories are to be mutually and reciprocally proposed and replied to, or shall our interrogatories be propounded in our respective half-hour addresses, and the answers deferred till the respondent rises to address the audience? I make this point here simply as a question of order.

Mr. Owen rose and said—I do not see how the argument can be conducted on the original plan of alternate half hours. We must come to close quarters; but unless I know what the Christian religion is, I cannot know what I am to disprove. I have made fair tenders to Mr. Campbell, in order to find out what his Christian religion is. I cannot conceive that the Christian religion consists in the whole of the New Testament, but that it is contained in some general principles, which might be stated in a very few words.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—As my opponent seems to be at a loss how to proceed without documents, perhaps we may expedite our progress by presenting a recapitulation of our premises by way of posting our books up to this morning.

[*The honourable Chairman rose and said—The Moderators are prepared to decide the question of order submitted by Mr. Campbell. They are of opinion, from the nature of Mr. Owen's proposition, he is not entitled to call on Mr. Campbell for any concession; he is only entitled to call on Mr. Campbell for a definition of his terms. We view the matter in this light: Mr. Owen states, by implication, that he has examined all the religions of the world; this implication results necessarily from Mr. Owen's affirmation that all religions in the world are founded in ignorance. We cannot for a moment presume that Mr. Owen has passed sentence of condemnation upon all religions, without having examined these religions, and ascertained what they are. Inasmuch as Mr. Owen holds the affirmative of the proposition that all religions are false; the Moderators think that it would be exceedingly discourteous in them to suppose that Mr. Owen has not studied all religions. The Moderators conceive that it would be taking from Mr. Owen's opponent, an advantage to put* him *upon the affirmative. We must take it for granted that there are many individuals in this assembly, who have full faith in the truth of the Christian religion, and yet would not agree, perhaps, with any other individual of this congregation in every minute particular. Courtesy to Mr. Owen compels us to suppose that he has ascertained the fundamental principles of all religions, and has here*

proposed to demonstrate that all are founded in ignorance and error. This is Mr. Owen's affirmative *proposition, and according to all controversial rules, he is, therefore, bound to establish it in evidence. The adoption of any other course in the conducting of this argument by Mr. Owen, we conceive would, in any other point of view, be imposing upon his opponent an unfair difficulty. For, if it should be ascertained, at the termination of this discussion, that Mr. Owen has formed erroneous conceptions of the Christian religion, and has proceeded to condemn it under these mistaken ideas of its real character, it would not be fair to place Mr. Campbell in a logical predicament, which might deprive him of an opportunity to demonstrate that his opponent's conceptions of Christianity were erroneous, and thereby to disprove his conclusions. This would be to throw Mr. Campbell off the vantage ground, which, as the* challenger, *he now legitimately holds. Courtesy towards Mr. Owen, therefore, compels us to take for granted that he has thoroughly examined every religion which he has undertaken to condemn; and that the reasons of his condemnation are applicable to his peculiar conceptions of these religions.*

The Board are further of opinion, that Mr. Owen cannot be fairly called upon to admit that religion is what Mr. Campbell supposes it to be. It may be that Mr. Owen may assent to Mr. Campbell's views of religion, yet this assent would not prove Mr. Campbell's views to be correct. It would not be doing justice to Mr. Campbell to require him to state his views of Christianity, and authorize Mr. Owen to argue from them as the only correct standard; because Mr. Owen would thereby be deprived of all opportunity of demonstrating that Mr. Campbell's views of Christianity were not warranted by the Christian scriptures. Therefore, the opinion of the Board is, that Mr. Owen's proper course is to state his views of religion, assign the reasons upon which his opinions are predicated, and draw his conclusions from the premises which he may establish, and if his opponent can show that religion is not the thing which Mr. Owen has condemned, then the cause of religion remains safe and uninjured by this argument.]

Mr. Owen again rises—Mr. Chairman, it appears then, from this decision, that I must form my own notions of religion from all that I have read, seen, and heard; and I am quite willing so to do.

My belief, then, is, that in all the religions of the world, it is a fundamental principle, that man has a free will,—forms his own character,—and determines his own conduct;—that he has the power of believing or disbelieving in a God, of ascertaining his attributes and qualities, and that he shall be punished hereafter if he does not believe in a God, and ascertain these attributes and qualities; that he is accountable for his will, his conduct, his feelings, and his thoughts; and if he believes according to the dogmas of his religion, and acts up to that belief, he shall be happy after death; but that if he does not believe in God, in his qualities and attributes, he shall after death be eternally tormented. I believe it is a fundamental principle in all

religions, that prayers, and forms, and ceremonies are necessary, to enable the individual to know God; and it is, moreover, necessary that he should contribute money for all godly purposes; that in all these religions, whoever disbelieves, is an infidel. Therefore, I am an infidel; for I believe none of them. I have, then, to show, in detail, that man has not a free will, that he does not form his own character, nor determine his own conduct. I have to show, in detail, that no man has the power of believing or disbelieving in a God; that he has no means of ascertaining the qualities and attributes of any being whose mode of existence cannot be cognizable by his senses. I shall, therefore, endeavour to show, in detail, what a monstrous absurdity it is, to suppose that man, constituted as he is, can be accountable for his feelings, thoughts, will, or conduct. I mean also to prove that there cannot be one particle of merit or demerit in any man's believing the doctrines of the religion in which he has been trained. I intend also to demonstrate the utter fallacy of the notion that man will go to heaven for his belief, or to hell for his disbelief. I intend further to show that religious forms and ceremonies are most useless; and that if men were not more ignorant than the beasts of the field, they would never pay money to a priest for showing them the way to heaven.

I also mean to prove that the opprobrious meaning generally annexed to the epithet *infidel*, is most irrational and absurd. How can an infidel, if any of you attach any definite meaning to the term, prevent himself believing as he does, any more than he can help being warmed by the sun, or cooled by the breeze? Now, my friends, these are the points I mean to prove. I might, indeed, go much further. I might attack some of the details of the Christian system which are not to be found in any other systems of religion. I might tell you that it is a fundamental principle in the Christian religion to believe that Christ is the Son of God; that he came down from heaven to save sinners, or a certain portion of them, called the elect; that he was crucified, rose, and ascended to heaven; and that now he is certainly interceding for us there. But, my friends, after having been so long a faithful student of the laws of nature; and after the mental collisions which I have encountered with the first minds in Europe and America, I should feel ashamed seriously to attempt any opposition to such monstrous absurdities—such a ridiculous incongruity. But I know that we are beings so organized as to receive our early impressions, however absurd they may be. We are compelled by an unchanging law of our nature, to receive our early impressions, however monstrous and absurd, from our parents, our nurses, and other early instructers. This is an indisputable truth; therefore, there cannot be a more simple process than to force into the mind of any child, doctrines, notions, and chimeras the most wild, extravagant, and fanciful, and at the same time, compel him to receive them as divine truths. This being a law of our nature, I cannot be surprised at the variety of absurd notions which I every where meet with. It was only I think about two months ago, that I very unexpectedly

found myself in the middle of the great square of the city of Mexico. Suddenly I heard the tinkling of a little bell which was in the hands of a man preceding the host. My friend who was with me said to me, Mr. Owen, you must kneel down till that bell passes, or you will endanger your life. Hearing this, I looked out for the cleanest place I could find, spread my handkerchief upon it, and knelt down. [*The audience here laughed heartily.*] But why laugh at this, my friends? These Mexicans were as sincerely conscientious in performing and executing this act of adoration to their host as you are in going to any place of worship.

The whole difference is this, that you have been trained in one set of religious notions, and they have been trained in another; and if rationality could be estimated by numbers, it is very doubtful whether those who believe in the importance and necessity of this act of prostration do not out number you who disbelieve and laugh at it. But the great stumbling-block of the metaphysicians is, that man is formed to have a free will; and, therefore, by his will can control his belief and his conduct. Now I have stated it to be one of the fundamental laws of human nature that the infant, when born, has no knowledge of his organization; but he then comes into the world a highly compounded being, made up of a great variety of propensities, faculties, and qualities; and upon this foundation of his, organization, his intellect, morals, and will are formed for him. Now these propensities are made either good or bad, these intellects and morals are made superior or inferior; but whether the one or the other, how is it possible that the infant can be held accountable for it in any degree whatever? When we see a little child obeying the impulse of its nature, and thereby acting contrary to our notions of right and wrong, we say *that* child is bad by nature; we punish it, and call it hard names for acting in opposition to our notions, when the real cause of all the evil is the ignorance in which we have been trained. I dare say many of you have now in your eye the children of different families of your acquaintance, and the difference in the characters of these children. You know that these children have been trained very differently. That the children of the one family have, according to your notions, been well brought up, while those of the other have been badly trained, and you have witnessed the consequent difference of character in these two families. Are not these inferior children unfortunate, in being under the direction of the ignorant and vicious? and is it not fortunate for the superior children, that they have been placed in the care of the more virtuous and intelligent? But who shall say that either merit or demerit attaches to either set of children, on account of their difference of character? To illustrate how little depends upon the power of the infant itself in the formation of its character, observe the effects produced upon the children brought up by the people called Quakers. I am not so competent to speak of this sect as it exists in this country, but in England I am well acquainted with the first families among them, and I have uniformly found the children of these Quaker families brought up very differently from the children of other

families; but no merit or demerit can attach to these children for having been thus fortunately born and educated. In my frequent visits to London, I have made it a part of my business to go frequently to that part of the city called St. Giles's. This division of the city is extensive, and the number of its inhabitants considerable. I have there seen many children of parents reduced to the lowest depths of poverty, and yet obliged to support themselves and their parents; they have no means to do this except by thieving; and, therefore, from earliest infancy, they compel their children to believe that they perform a most meritorious action when they can dexterously steal. And when they succeed, and bring home their plunder, they are called *good* children, and rewarded by their parents with something they think will gratify them. But if they do not succeed in their day's prowling, and come home empty-handed, their parents call them *very bad* children, and punish them severely. Now these children are compelled to believe that to steal is very meritorious, and *not* to steal is very wicked. These children never hear any thing of what is called good moral instruction. With what justice, then, can they be condemned for their vices? It is with these unfortunate children as with all others—some of them are born with organizations greatly superior to others; but they are all equally compelled to imbibe the same early lessons of depravity.

But the truth is, that no child can have the forming of himself, any more than he can have the selection of his parents. When we reflect upon this matter, we shall discover that the child has just as much control in the one case as the other. How absurd, then, must be the invention of a system which leaves the child at the mercy of chance, and then exacts responsibility from him!

I do say, that nothing but the grossest ignorance could have led to the introduction of a system which supposes this to be right! It is contrary to nature, and not in the least degree calculated to effect the purposes which it contemplates! It is any thing but a rational method of operating upon the human mind!

I conclude that there are intelligent medical gentlemen present, who have made it their business to study minutely the human frame. They well know that all children are born with different degrees of powers and feelings. They know also that probably, from the beginning of time, no two individuals ever had any two senses formed alike; that there are no two who see, or feel, or taste, or hear, or smell alike. Each individual has a distinct natural character at birth, arising from the peculiar combination which has entered into each of his senses. Those gentlemen well know, that when the organization is perfect, the human being becomes superior; that when it is imperfect, the child must ever be, to a certain extent, an inferior human being, if placed under similar circumstances with the former. Now, if we had the power to form our organization and characters, can we suppose that beings possessing one particle of reason, would not make these perfect? I ask you, whether every male and female would not make themselves perfect? The only reason that we are not perfect beings, is, because we

have no power over the formation of our organization and circumstances. Yesterday, Mr. Campbell said a great deal upon the subject of language. Now no child has the power of deciding what language it shall be taught, and he can only derive oral instruction through that language which he has learned to understand. No child can determine what religion he shall be taught to believe, or whether he shall retain his belief. No child can determine what shall be the character of his circumstances from birth to death, (except in the latter part of his life, and in that case he has been influenced to endeavour to effect some change, by the previous circumstances to which he was compelled to submit.)

We very well know (if we did not, we might all easily try the experiment) that over the power of belief or disbelief no man ever has had, or ever can have, any control. As Mr. Campbell has very well explained, we *know* that of which our senses take cognizance; but in like manner, we are compelled to *believe* according to the strongest impressions made upon us; and so, too, of opinions; we receive them according to the evidence offered to us for their foundation, and we are compelled to receive them. Our liking, indifference, or dislikings, are also in like manner equally beyond our control. We *must* be indifferent to that which makes no impression upon our senses, and dislike that which offends our senses. It is futile, useless, and injurious to contend against these laws of our nature. My half hour, I perceive, is out. I will, therefore, merely add, that if these are *facts*, and I will prove them to be such, nothing but the grossest ignorance could ever have permitted any such system as the Christian, or any other religion, to have been introduced, and that nothing but this ignorance causes it or them to be now tolerated.

Mr. Campbell rises, book in hand.

Mr. Chairman—In the first place, I beg leave to post up the argument so far as prosecuted. I therefore submit the following items by way of recapitulation:—*Imprimis*. We have shown that my friend's system of *necessity* renders men as incapable of society and of moral and civil government, as if they were trees, stones, or machines. To this refutation of his system, Mr. Owen has, as yet, paid no attention. Secondly, We have shown that Mr. Owen's system is not predicated upon any philosophical analysis of the physical, intellectual, or moral man. Thirdly, We have shown that, so far as religion is concerned, Mr. Owen's opposition to it has been principally predicated upon a palpable error, viz. that man's volition has no power over his belief. To this argument he has not thought proper to reply. Fourthly, That his system is radically defective in this—that it leaves entirely out of view our power of acquiring information through testimony. Fifthly, That his system ascribes to imagination a creative power which it does not possess. Sixthly, That according to Mr. Owen's views, it was impossible to account for the derivation or existence of the spiritual ideas and language now prevalent in the world. Seventhly, That his twelve facts, admitting them to be true, fall far short of presenting a

view of the whole man; and consequently, that every system predicated upon them must fail to furnish objects commensurate with man's capacity of enjoyment, or the dignity of his intellectual nature. To not one of these capital items has Mr. Owen replied. As Mr. Owen has very courteously presented me with a copy of his twelve facts, I now present him with some notes in writing, in the shape of objections to some of his fundamental points.

The objection that my friend has been urging this morning against Christianity, reminds me of certain objections which I have heard to the revolution of this globe round the centre of the planetary system. In speaking of the sphericity of the earth, I have, in language adapted to vulgar apprehension, informed the uninformed and illiterate, that this earth was as round as a ball. They have replied that they were very sure this statement was untrue, because they perceived hills, mountains, valleys, and a very uneven surface, which, as they conceived, were altogether irreconcilable with the rotundity of this globe. In like manner they have objected to the immobility of the sun. They reply, "We see the sun move; we see it rise in one place and set in another; and if the earth moved round the sun, the position of our plantations and houses must necessarily be shifted: your theory about the earth and sun, then, is contrary to our experience and observation." Now, it is just in a similar style of objection that my friend attacks the Christian religion. Mr. Owen, it seems, wants to elicit my opinion on what constitutes the Christian religion. Does he suppose that Christianity consists in matters of opinion? I am free to declare that neither the Jewish nor the Christian religion was ever designed by their Author to consist in any matter of opinion whatever. I hesitate not also to aver, that this error is the root from which all sectarianism has sprung, and has given rise to all the scepticism which now prevails. Mr. Owen informs us that he became a sceptic from the jarring sectarianism and irreconcilable discrepancies in the different dogmas of Christianity. This would, indeed, be an unprofitable discussion, were it to be confined to a mere war of words concerning the opinions which constitute this, that, or the other system of religion. This would suit my friend's scheme well enough; but I hardly think he will be able to seduce us into a discussion upon the subject of *free will*, a topic on which he himself is so fond of expressing his opinions. But I was proceeding to observe, that if we had no other proof of the scriptures being divine oracles than just the contents of *the* book, *(Biblos,)* that alone would warrant us in the conclusion; for we see the handwriting of the Almighty indelibly inscribed in the pages of this volume. The same grand developments displayed in the "pillared firmament," are to be found in the sacred volume; and they both proclaim with equal emphasis, that "the hand which made them is divine!" In the physical organization of the material universe, we discover that the laws of attraction and repulsion are the most operative. We see the great God of nature continually producing most wonderful results, by the simple operation of one single law. What philosopher does not know the power of the centrifugal and

centripetal forces in balancing our globe? Who does not know that the successive change of the seasons results from one single unerring law laid down by the great Creator himself? Now, in expelling from the human heart that darkness in which, without the light of revelation, it must ever have remained, in elevating the human mind to the contemplation of spiritual things, the Almighty acts by a few general laws. He raises man to heaven by the simple operation of two or three fundamental principles. Were this point in argument now, I would boldly hazard the assertion that the sacred volume contains intrinsic evidences of being come from God, because the same plan and consummate wisdom displayed in the construction of the material universe, are equally developed in these holy oracles, in the renovation of man. But if the contents of the volume of revelation and the constituent principles of religion therein inculcated are to become the subjects of investigation in this debate, they should be taken only from *the book* which contains them.

In such an investigation, I apprehend that Mr. Owen cannot be permitted to travel out of the record. But we will take *the book (Biblos,)* and examine what is written there by the same *criteria* which we would apply in an analysis of the writings of Cicero, of Demosthenes, of Sallust or of Xenophon. But the time has not yet come for me to reply to my friend's religious *opinions* and social views in his own favourite style.

There was, however, one point on which my opponent had nearly staggered upon the truth. He asked if Christianity consisted in the whole of the New Testament, or primarily in a few general principles and leading facts therein contained? He apprehended the latter, and that these might be stated in a very few words. I presume he must have had reference to the historic facts, that Jesus Christ died for the salvation of sinners, that he rose from the dead, and ascended to heaven. Now this is the only legitimate mode of arguing this topic.

Yesterday we discussed the evidences of the Jewish religion. We have been pursuing the very plan which our opponent suggests. Has it not been repeatedly affirmed that both the Jewish and Christian religion are predicated upon historic facts—facts triable by the same *criteria* as all other historic facts? After proceeding a little farther in the argument, I shall be perfectly willing to conform strictly to Mr. Owen's plan. I have asserted that the Christian religion, as well as the Jewish, was predicated upon facts; and I will rest the whole merits of this controversy upon my ability to prove the three leading facts on which Christianity is based, and the consequent inability of my opponent to disprove them. First, that Jesus Christ was crucified upon Mount Calvary, as attested by the four evangelists. Second, that his body was deposited in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. Third, that he did actually rise from the dead, and appeared upon the earth for forty days, having during that time repeated intercourse with his disciples, and that at the end of that period he did actually ascend to heaven. Now this tender closes every avenue to the introduction of metaphysical subtlety, or mere opinions about Christianity into this

argument. I am thoroughly convinced that it was the simple, sublime, and majestic design of Him "whose ways are not as man's ways," to effect an entire moral revolution in mankind, by the simple operation of the intrinsic weight, validity, and moral energy of these facts. I am thoroughly convinced that all the principles necessary to make man happy, and elevate his nature to its highest point of dignity, and to enable him to meet death fearlessly, are native to, inherent in, and inalienable from, these facts—I mean the facts that Jesus Christ was crucified, buried, and that he rose again on the third day. The influence of these facts is irresistible. No man ever did honestly believe them, who did not, in consequence thereof, experience that all his powers and faculties were exalted and refined. And thus, in the wonderful wisdom of God, has the whole moral and religious revolution which he designed to effect over the world, been predicated upon the operative moral energy of these facts.

Mr. Owen speaks of the endless varieties of religion; but the world has never had but three divine religious dispensations: the first, adapted to the primitive state of man—the second, adapted to the spirit and genius of a people living under social and municipal institutions—and the third, prophetic and typical of the advent of Christ, the Son of God and the founder of Christianity. These three divine developments of religion all concentrate themselves upon the fact that Jesus rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, and was there received as the Son of God. We do know that all the superstitions in the world have grown out of these three developments of divine authority in matters of religion. What is Mohammedism but a corruption of Christianity? I would not call the Persian, the Roman, nor the Egyptian religions different religions, but different sects of the same religion, just as I would call Mohammedism a corruption of Christianity. There is not a single supernatural truth in the Koran, that is not borrowed from the Testaments. Whatever may have been invented by the licentiousness of human imagination, there never has been but one divinely revealed religion. Hence in all these superstitions we find capital ideas, sentiments, and terms which could not have been originated by human imagination, or derived from any other source than an immediate and direct divine revelation. We can show that all the national records which have come down to us from times of the highest antiquity, embrace the outlines of the Mosaic account in the book of Genesis. We can show that, in the days of Abraham, with the exception of the Chaldeans, there was not a circumjacent nation that had not all the knowledge possessed by Abraham, save with regard to his own posterity. It was in consequence of the defection of the Chaldeans that Abraham was commanded to depart into a strange land, because that people were apostatizing and falling off from the knowledge of the true God, to the worship of idols. So far we have submitted the outlines of this matter with a reference to the past and present. Yesterday I introduced an argument predicated upon the historic evidences in support of Judaism and Christianity. I presented, in the first instance, certain *criteria* by which we are enabled to decide

whether historic facts are credible, and gave an analysis of these evidences and their *criteria*. With a reference to the true merits of this controversy, we have laid down four *criteria* of the verity of historic facts:—First, that the recorded facts on which we may rely with safety, must be cognizable by the senses. Second, that these facts have been exhibited in the face of day. Third, that, in perpetual commemoration of these facts, monumental institutions were adopted simultaneously with their occurrence. And fourth, that these institutions continue down to the present day. We did affirm, and adduce some proofs, that no fact possessing these four *criteria* of its verity could possibly be false; that it was entirely out of Mr. Owen's power to select a single fact, recorded in the annals of any nation of the world, which, possessing these four *criteria* of verity, ever was proved to be false. But we intend, before coming to the point more immediately at issue, to show that these matters of fact were not, as sceptics affirm, greedily believed by merely a few friends and partizans; but that these stupendous facts were exhibited, not for the purpose of confirming the belief of friends, but to overcome the disbelief of enemies. Moses, for example, was sent to lead the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but this people were as unwilling to leave the land, as Pharaoh was to let them go. Hence the ten stupendous miracles exhibited by Moses were as necessary to persuade the people to depart, as they were to coerce Pharaoh to permit them. The necessary inference is, that the enactment of these ten wonders was as necessary for the conviction of the Israelites as their oppressors. Moses himself demurred, when the conduct of the Israelitish host was cast upon him; the people were unwilling to quit the land of their captivity, and Pharaoh strenuously opposed their departure; but by the resistless influence of these ten wonderful facts, all were made conformable to the divine will. These facts were designed to be of such high import as to reconcile Moses to his responsible undertaking; to overcome the pertinacity and avarice of Pharaoh; and inspire the Israelites with a courage which enabled them to pass fearlessly through the bed of the Red Sea. You perceive, then, that all circumstances concurred to preclude the possibility of any deception in regard to the truth of the facts, as well as the possibility of their reception upon any slight and superficial evidence. They were in their nature calculated to arouse every energy, and to take fast hold upon every feeling of man. They must, therefore, be regarded as facts of the sublimest character, the most momentous import, and the most irresistible influence. The course adopted by my opponent in this debate has compelled me to introduce, at this stage of the argument, the evidences that not only the institutions of the passover, circumcision, the redemption of the first-born, but that divers other commemorative institutions and ritual observances of the Jewish law warrant us in the conclusion, that the whole system of the Jewish religion is an antetypical symbolic attestation in proof of the divine mission of the Messiah. And now, as I do not wish immediately to introduce another part of the subject, I resign the floor to my opponent. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—Our debate is to be published, and therefore the matter advanced by the disputants ought to be such as to command serious reflections, and to exercise the most discriminating powers of our judgment; for this sole reason have I, on divers and sundry occasions, in the course of this discussion, pretermitted all reply to my friend Mr. Campbell's catechisms. Being quite familiar with the whole range of my friend's arguments and topics, I have been perfectly aware that the further they were pursued, the more mazy, intangible, and interminable the argument would become; and I have therefore been most desirous to keep your attention riveted, if possible, to plain, simple, tangible matters of fact, and to those things from which we may derive the highest practical benefit and utility to ourselves and to our posterity. I wanted to keep your judgment and discrimination constantly in exercise, and your imagination out of play. But were I to recognise, even indirectly, that a dissertation concerning Pharaoh and his host—the God who created Pharaoh and hardened his heart, so that he would not let the people go—who descended from heaven to cover the earth with all sorts of loathsome and noxious vermin: were I, I say, to recognise a dissertation of the flux and reflux of the Red Sea, and the causing of the uncongealed water to stand up perpendicularly, on each side of its margin, like parallel stone walls in a lane; were I to recognise the narrative of these and other marvels with which we have been edified, as at all relevant or pertinent to the point of debate at present before us, I should, upon reflection on my conduct, certainly come to the conclusion that, when I consented to waste my time and yours in this puerile way, I was out of my senses. Once, for all, my friends, I wish to state distinctly, that I cherish sincere good feelings towards my friend Mr. Campbell. I am sure he is entirely conscientious, and that he is, with an honest zeal, exerting himself to make you to believe what he thinks the truth; but I also discover that Mr. Campbell's mind, powerful as it is, has from infancy been filled and vitiated with an accumulation of ancient and fabulous legends concerning Pharaoh with his hardened heart, the immobility of the Red Sea, and a variety of other such novelties which, unfortunately for the true interest, happiness, and virtue of mankind, has been delved out of the rubbish of antiquity, from which none but the most ungoverned imagination would ever have thought of extracting them. My friend, Mr. Campbell, possesses a lively imagination; an imagination which has been deeply involved in these, to him, high mysteries. Nature has been bountiful to him in his organization, and many of his talents have been highly cultivated; but what have the circumstances of his learned education in the old seminaries of Europe done for him? Why simply this: they have placed, (if I may be allowed to use the figure,) a *Chinese shoe* upon a mind vigorous from its birth, and which nature formed capable of being expanded to the largest and most capacious dimensions. But what mind can reach its natural development, when those who have the forming of it, rivet a Chinese shoe upon it, believing all the while

that they are improving it so as to bring forth the most wholesome and abundant harvests of utility and benefit to mankind? Mr. Campbell possesses a power of combining and generalizing with great rapidity: he brings his ideas before you in a very imposing shape; but I have something more valuable to adduce than legends about Pharaoh and the Red Sea. It is my high duty to place before the world that which may enable them to think rationally, and consequently to adopt a wholesome and beneficial practice. I have undertaken to prove that it is impossible that any religion can be true, because all religions are diametrically opposed to the immutable laws of nature as exhibited in man. I will further undertake to prove that the combined and aggregate influence of all the religions of the world have not, through all past ages up to the present hour, effected so much for the improvement of mankind in virtue, and consequent happiness, as the general adoption of these principles, when properly applied in practice, will effect in five years. I have, therefore, something to lay before you highly important to yourselves and posterity; and this causes me greatly to deprecate any distraction or confusion of your minds, by any useless metaphysical disquisitions, which are, in their nature, almost interminable, and which never can lead to any beneficial, practical result. Five senses have been afforded us, and we know of a certainty no facts beyond what these senses teach us; and these, my friends, are amply sufficient to enable us to understand and appreciate the whole merits of this discussion. Were I, my friends, so far to forget myself and the dignity of the subject which you have been convened to hear discussed, as to bestow the slightest degree of notice upon any of those fanciful notions, miracles, marvels, and fabulous legends, with a critical dissertation upon which my friend has edified us, I should conceive that my time and faculties were just as much wasted and misapplied as if I were to recognise the historic wonders enacted by "Jack, the Giant-Killer," as pertinent or relevant to the subject matter of this debate. Indeed, I conceive the narration of "Jack's" exploits to be less *super*-natural, and therefore more instructive.

My friends, I well know that many of you have, from the earliest infancy, been trained to cherish the utmost reverence for these absurdities; you reverence them, not only because they are encrusted with the venerable rust of antiquity, but you pay still greater adoration to them, because they have been handed down to you, claiming to have the sanction of that fearful and mysterious, yet unmeaning phrase, "sacred and divine tradition." But that same sense of duty which prompted me to cross so many longitudes and latitudes, in order to give my friend Mr. Campbell this meeting, compels me to "cry aloud and spare not," to speak out boldly and fearlessly the truth. It is contrary to all my feelings, sentiments, and professions, to outrage where it is avoidable, on prejudice, or to cause the slightest degree of pain or irritation to the feelings of any of my fellow-beings; and had it not been for the irrelevancy to the subject before us of Mr. Campbell's dissertation upon the fables of antiquity, I should not have been

compelled to put your feelings, patience, and prejudices to so severe a trial, as I much fear a just and conscientious performance of my high duty will now compel me to do. Because, if I had been permitted to pursue my intended course in this matter, it would be like proving that one and one make two, and consequently, that in proving this position, I at the same time demonstrated that one and one could never make three. For if I prove man to be what I state him to be, I thereby remove the entire foundation on which all religions have been erected. By thus simply stating facts in such a manner that you, my friends, experience, feel, and recognise them to be such; the falsehood of all religions necessarily becomes manifest. By this course, had I been permitted to have adopted it, I should have avoided coming into immediate collision with your early and deep-rooted prejudices.

I have said that man, at birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his own organization, and is not permitted to create any part of his physical or intellectual organization; therefore, that he cannot be bad by nature. He is exactly what nature has made him: you may be sure, therefore, that all religions which assume that man is bad by nature, are false, and founded in ignorance of human nature. And secondly, that no two infants have ever yet been known to possess an identity of organization, and that all these organic differences between individuals have been created without the knowledge or consent of the individuals. Now this is either true or false. Mr. Campbell, if he proceeds logically, will either admit or disprove this first principle; which, if true, renders it impossible for any man to be bad by nature. Again, Mr. Campbell, in order to proceed logically, must admit or disprove the second position: that the organization of no two children have ever been created precisely alike; which, if true, demonstrates that there can neither be merit nor demerit in either, on account of this diversity of birth. After these two points have been acceded to or disproved, we may then logically proceed to the discussion of the third. Now, I aver that all the religions of the world presuppose that children are to be blamed and praised, punished or rewarded, according to their characters. I maintain that this supposition is a gross absurdity, and that nothing but the wanderings of the imagination could have led us into this error. I assume that it is not in the power of man to disprove the two first positions. Thirdly, we affirm that each individual is placed, without his knowledge or consent, under circumstances which irresistibly influence and control him; yet that the influence of these circumstances is somewhat modified by the peculiarities of the individual's organization. Now we perceive that the foundation of human character is in our organization; and that in the creation of this organization, we have had no manner of agency or control. The further development of our character depends upon our circumstances at birth.

If we had been born among the Romans, we should necessarily have had our religious faith built upon the mysteries and traditions of their mythology, and should have thought, felt, and acted in all things as

they did. Had we been born at the time it is said Jesus Christ lived, we might have assisted to crucify him, or been among his disciples. But it does not depend upon us *when* we shall come into the world, although our future character depends so materially upon it, as well as upon the particular place or country in which we receive our impressions. Did any of us prevent ourselves from being born in the city of Constantinople? Could any of the Turks who have been born in that city, have prevented it from being their birthplace? Or could they help being taught the Mohammedan religion? Now, is there a man in this assembly who blames a native of the city of Constantinople for having been born a Turk, and consequently educated a Mussulman? It is absurd to suppose that merit or demerit can attach to the individual, on account of the place of his nativity, or the peculiarity of his education. It is too gross a folly to attempt to reason in contradiction of such facts as these. Nothing but the overwhelming effects of early and continued impressions could induce, or rather compel, any one to contend against such facts as these. No, my friends, it is an immutable law of nature, that man shall not decide when or where he shall be born, or what religion he shall be taught. We well know with what tenacity the great mass of mankind retain their early impressions. There is no more merit in being a christian than a cannibal; both are what their organization and circumstances, over neither of which they can be supposed to have had the least control, have compelled them to be. Is not the whole matter as obvious as that two and two make four?

I may also remark, that no child can be supposed to have the least influence in deciding who shall be its parents. Now, what an important circumstance in forming the character of each individual is this! Whether the child shall come into existence in the midst of a vicious and degraded family, or whether he shall be born into a family of the purest habits, the highest intelligence, and the most virtuous and amiable dispositions. The opposition between the circumstances of two children, thus differently ushered into the world, is immense. But ought the child that has been thus fortunate in its parentage, to be praised for the consequences which proceed from it? Or is the offspring of vice and iniquity to be blamed for the vicious impression received from its parentage? This is a case in which it is easy to suppose the two extremes. But the child which has been most unfortunate in the circumstances of its birthplace and education, claims more of our care, pity, and attention, than the child around whose cradle the most propitious circumstances have shed their influence from the hour of its birth. You see, therefore, that the individual has no choice as to his country, his parentage, his language, or any of those things which constitute the whole foundation of his character. And thus his character is entirely formed for him, without his knowledge, will, or consent; and we all know the influence which our early impressions exercise over our future lives and conduct. Have I, my friends, said enough to convince you of the errors of all religions which presuppose quite the reverse of this, and give a very different direction

to all our thoughts and feelings? If not, I will go on, for the subject is inexhaustible.

The fifth fundamental law of human nature is—"That each individual is so created that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity." Suppose all the children in the world were placed under circumstances to receive false notions, and the fact is so, for I believe the minds of the present and all past generations have been placed under circumstances in which, instead of receiving the truth, they have been compelled to receive false notions upon every subject in which their happiness is the most involved; and this has arisen from our imagination having been much more cultivated on all religious and moral subjects, than any of our other faculties. The whole world has been governed alone by imagination on all these subjects. We have been so much deceived in consequence, that we have called ourselves reasonable beings; but there never was a greater misnomer. What is there that is reasonable, now, in the private and public conduct of mankind? I have, for forty years, been trying to discover what nation or people thought or acted in a rational manner. Everywhere have I sought to find a reasonable population, but my search has been fruitless. I have found them all governed, up to this hour, by the most irrational notions, directly contrary to right reason and their own interests and happiness. It is not for the interest or happiness of any portion of mankind, to act as they now do. By their present mode of proceedings, mankind are just as much opposing their real interest, as the child who would spurn from him the most strengthening food or the most salutary medicine. All your arrangements denote the absence of reason. Look to those of government, religion, law, commerce, war, and domestic purposes, and they all partake of this character: they all tend to counteract your object, which is, to be as happy as the nature of your organization will permit. My friends, consider the nature of the duty which I have to perform. Knowing that you have, from infancy, imbibed the most erroneous notions, derived from the wildest imaginations, what measures can I, a stranger, take to enable you so far to unassociate the ideas which have been forced into your minds, as to enable you to re-create those minds to be born again, and thus become rational beings? This, my friends, is no light task. It requires a knowledge of human nature, as well as patience, perseverance, and self-devotion to the happiness and well-being of my species alone, to enable me to disregard all that you may say or think of me,—all that you do to me, for the sake of doing you good. I can have no individual interest in removing your prejudices. What private emolument, aggrandizement, or remuneration could I ever have promised myself, from the beginning of my arduous course up to the present moment? I was deeply affected by the degraded state in which I discovered all nations to be, and interested for the happiness of my species, or I never would have come forward to combat the darling prejudices of, I may say, the whole world. But I well knew, that unless somebody would stand in

the gap, and expose himself to the risk of being sacrificed, mankind must ever remain creatures influenced and governed only by the errors of their early impressions, which render them daily and hourly liable to every kind of suffering and misery, for which there exists no other necessity than ignorance of our nature. Had I not been thoroughly convinced that I could only influence you to direct your attention to simple facts, and discard the illusions arising from early impressions, made through the imagination, and that you could all thereby attain to a high degree of virtue and happiness, I would never have put my all to hazard by coming forward as I have done. I only ask you, my friends, when your passions are calm and your judgment cool, to take these twelve laws of our nature under your consideration; to examine them with the severest scrutiny, and to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, until you fully comprehend them. For, my friends, it does require time to penetrate into the subject, so as to understand it fully. Not that the subject is intricate in itself, but the excessive and extravagant cultivation of your imaginations in opposition to existing facts, has almost destroyed your judgments. This is the only reason why you cannot follow me as rapidly as I wish to proceed, with my developments and demonstrations of these twelve laws, and of the highly beneficial practice to which they will lead. No, my friends, before you can follow me in my illustrations with that intensity of interest which the subject is so pre-eminently calculated to inspire, these twelve laws must have previously occupied your most serious and mature reflections. They are adapted to secure your health, your comfort, your peace of mind, and they will open human nature to your perusal, in like manner as you would unfold a topographical map.

After you once thoroughly understand these twelve laws, and shall be informed to what country, class, sect, and party any individual belongs, you will know, to a very considerable extent, what that individual is. His general thoughts, views, and feelings will be familiar to you. It may appear, my friends, presumptuous and assuming, when I state the fact, that the whole of human nature lies as palpably open to my perusal, as ever the map of any country was presented to you; therefore, I cannot be surprised at any thing I hear or see. I can immediately trace the effect to its cause; and if you, too, my friends, only possessed this knowledge, so easily to be attained, it would minister to you a joy, peace, and consolation, that you would not exchange for all the world possesses. [*Half hour out.*]

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

Mr. Chairman—My friend, Mr. Owen, in his last address, has advanced a great many assertions, the bearing of which, upon the subject before us, I cannot perceive; unless, indeed, Mr. Owen's experience is to be received as tantamount to incontrovertible proof. But my opponent, numerous as his assertions are, advances nothing tangible; he avers, indeed, that he has no attachment to metaphysics; that he contemns metaphysical speculations; and seems plainly to insinuate that I wished, either in whole or in part, to predicate my

defence of Christianity upon hair-breadth metaphysical subtleties. Now, I confidently appeal to every individual in this assembly, whether my principal, my sole aim, has not been to disentangle the evidences of Christianity, and every point connected with this controversy, from what was metaphysical or abstract. In the course of this discussion, have I not tendered an issue to my opponent upon several points? So vague and indefinite is my opponent in the use of his terms, that I do not even know what he means by the word *fact.* [*Here Mr. Owen defines* a fact *to be that which exists.*] Well, now, we have my friend's definition of the word *fact.* He tells us a fact is that which *exists;* but I apprehend that no philologist will assent to this definition of the word. At this time my opponent relies upon twelve facts, which are to subvert all other historic facts and evidences in the world. These twelve facts, then, must be more puissant than Aaron's rod,—than the ten categories of Aristotle,—than the twelve tables of the *Decem-viri,*—than the precepts of the decalogue,—or any code of laws or system of legislation ever invented. For, by these twelve facts, every religious impression is to be obliterated; every religious idea is to be annihilated. Upon these twelve facts are predicated an entirely new theory of man, and an universal moral renovation. Sometimes these are twelve divine laws of human nature; sometimes twelve logical propositions to be demonstrated; and then twelve facts more potent than the rod of Moses! But out of all these twelve wonderful facts, where is the tangible fact before us? We have been told that a fact is *that which exists;* but a stone exists, and so does a tree, an idea, an opinion. But can we logically say that an opinion is a matter of fact? Definitions of this character are to be found in the writings of commentators upon the Justinian code: definitions which serve no other purpose but to obscure the text. We must have a more logical definition than this: *a fact is that which exists.* Stones, trees, and opinions exist, and are all these alike to be considered as matters of fact? But my friend has conceived twelve imaginations. He has had twelve pretty dreams about human nature; and on these he has ventured to predicate every thing necessary to the happiness of man. Now, suppose Mr. Owen should attempt to prove that there never was such a man as General Washington; and no such historic fact as the American Revolution; and no such monumental commemorative institution as the annual celebration of the fourth of July; that there never existed an Emperor Augustus, or an Emperor Napoleon;—suppose, I repeat, that he should undertake to prove that Washington, the father of his country, the great moral hero, never existed, and that the United States have never been emancipated from the thraldom of the parent country, it would, I contend, be just as logical, as pertinent, and as rational in Mr. Owen to adduce these twelve facts in evidence that all these matters of history were mere fictions and fables, as to attempt to prove by the adduction of his twelve laws of human nature, that the facts on which religion is predicated, never had existence. There appears to me to be just as

much logic, reason, and good sense in one process of demonstration, as in the other.

All my anticipations have, in the course of this discussion, been entirely disappointed. I did expect to have matters of fact plainly, rationally, and logically presented. I did expect to witness a powerful display of that reason which sceptics so much adore. Now judge of my mortification in finding nothing presented to me but intangible verbiage;—in discovering that my friend uses terms and phrases in a sense entirely at variance with their received interpretation and common acceptation;—in a sense irreconcileable to what we call the common sense of mankind. I see plainly that there is nothing left for me but to proceed to avail myself of this opportunity of presenting the true grounds and solid reasons on which we christians build our faith.

Christianity is universally represented to be matter of belief,—and belief always requires testimony. Now, the question is, *whether the Christian belief is rational?* Christianity does not pretend to be a treatise on chemistry, or botany, or mathematics; but it makes a demand upon our faith, and is simply belief predicated upon testimony. All that it requires is, to examine its evidences; and the principal end and aim proposed in this discussion to which the public has been invited, was *an examination into the evidences of Christianity.*

It is conceded that our religion is built upon faith, and therefore all that can be legitimately inquired into, on this topic, is, whether this is a faith which a man, in possession of his intellectual powers, and his five senses, can rationally entertain;—whether a man of a sound mind can reasonably be a christian. I presume this to be the true predicament of this discussion in its present stage. The question is, whether to be christians we must become dreaming enthusiasts, and the mere creatures of wild imagination? or, on the other hand, can we be christians on rational evidence and irrefutable testimony? I think I should be almost willing to leave it to a jury of twelve sceptics to decide whether or not this is the legitimate question to be discussed here. The question before us, is, whether or not the testimony on which Christianity is built, is of a character to carry conviction to rational minds: if so, every rational man must believe Christianity; if otherwise, he must reject it. I maintain that there is no other question at present before us. Now, in the prosecution of this inquiry, I have laid myself fairly open to the detection of any fallacy into which I may chance to fall. I have invited any gentleman who may be in possession of any historic, philosophic, or logical objection to my argument, to adduce it either orally or in writing; and I now reiterate the pledge to meet fairly, every fair and logical objection. I contend that I now stand upon the proper ground. I am not afraid that if all the lights of science were radiated upon Christianity, that any fallacy could be detected; but I contend this is no scientific question for scientific men to differ and speculate upon. I contend that the legitimate grounds on which Christianity is to be founded, are those which have been stated. We yesterday progressed so far

in the argument introduced, as to inquire of you, if there were an individual among you who could be induced to set apart one hour of his time, or one lamb of his flock, or to plant a single straw in the ground, in perpetual commemoration of a fact which never did occur.

I will venture to assert, that if the people of Cincinnati were to erect twelve stone pillars upon the bank of the Ohio, commemorative of the fact, that the first founders of this city passed over the refluent waters of the Ohio, as over dry land; took possession of this site, and here located themselves permanently;—I say, these twelve stones, erected in perpetual attestation of this supposed matter of fact, would not be permitted to stand for one year. Such monuments would shock the common sense of little boys, and they would prostrate them. I do not believe they could keep their monuments standing even a single day. But there is a nation now existing which derives its origin from a period of more remote antiquity than that in which the foundation of the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, the Roman, or any other empire of antiquity was laid. Every living vestige of these once great and mighty empires of antiquity has disappeared; and there does not now exist the man who can trace up his lineage to any Greek or Roman progenitors, notwithstanding the ample means possessed by these nations of perpetuating the memory of their national existence and grandeur.

But the Jewish nation is still in existence, and we see them still holding fast their venerable oracles, which were delivered to them four thousand years ago, and able to trace up their ancestory to old Abraham and Sarah. We discover them still devotedly attached to a religion so admirably contrived, that it does not contain a type nor a symbol which was not designed for its perpetuation, and which does not prove it to be divine.

The Jewish nation is, indeed, *sui generis*, and the only nation we know of, whose records are coetaneous with their primitive origin. These records were most solemnly deposited in that sacred chest under the cherubim of glory, which none but the consecrated high priest dare approach. In this sacred chest were deposited the two tables of the covenant in the hand-writing of Jehovah. These records not only constituted all the religion of the country, but the whole of the civil and municipal polity of their repository was in that sacred chest, which was awful and terrible, and calculated to inspire reverence in the minds of the men and women who had witnessed every important fact that was therein inserted: persons who had witnessed two millions of their countrymen passing through the dry channel of the Red Sea; who had heard the voice of God, and the sound of the trumpet; who had seen two millions sustained in the wilderness for forty years by a miracle; who had witnessed the miraculous passage over the Jordan. These were facts which caused the hearts of the natives to quake before the army of the Israelites, so that they gave up their possessions to them, almost without resistance. The annals of this nation, coetaneous with their existence, have been wonderfully preserved: their religion alone has preserved these records. Moreover,

the Jews have been made to hold these oracles in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of any collusion between them and Christianity.

Never was there such a climax of evidence presented. I am now looking back four thousand years, and am showing that from the remotest periods of antiquity, there never has existed the possibility of imposition in regard to these facts; in proof of this, I contend that it is impossible to impose upon any people the solemn and perpetual observance of an institution commemorative of a circumstance that never did occur. I defy Mr. Owen to produce the instance on record which goes to refute this position; or the historic fact possessing the four *criteria* which can be proved to be false.* But all the evidences are not yet before you.

What is the philosophic character of this religion? Previously to the patriarchal revelations, it is presumable that there was not in the whole vocabulary of human speech, terms expressive of the character and purposes of God, or of spiritual ideas. In revealing religion to man, it became necessary to give him also a new vocabulary. This was executed as we teach children by signs the arts of reading and writing. We will take our illustration from the philosophy of a child's primer book. There we find the picture of a house, a tree, and a lamb. Now, what does this mean? Is it intended merely to amuse the child? No: it is predicated upon the philosophy of his nature; upon the supposition that the infant, in order to associate ideas, must have the aid of sensible characters. There is much philosophy implied in the invention of a child's primer. The idea of a house is presented to the child in a diagram of an inch square. Thus the child discovers that a house can be represented artificially in so small a compass; and thus the way is prepared for introducing into its mind the use of literal characters, the letter A being as perfectly artificial as the picture of a house. In this way a child is taught to discriminate the elementary artificial characters of written language, and then we teach it the influence of these characters in combination. The introduction of the pictured primer-book was predicated upon such views of the philosophy of the infant mind. And what was the

* Mr. Dennison, of Cincinnati, a learned and intelligent teacher of the Christian religion, gave me the following statement:—"A sceptical gentleman, in Scotland, spent twenty years in scrutinizing the history of all nations and all religions, to obtain the knowledge of facts, or miracles, which might be tested by the same *criteria* by which the advocates of Christianity test the facts adduced to sustain the credibility of the scriptures composing the Old and New Testaments. He imagined that he could subvert the whole system of Christianity, by showing that the fictitious miracles, alleged by the Pagans, Mahometans, and others, to have been performed in attestation of the truth of religions acknowledged by christians to be false, are as well entitled to credence as those facts on which the truth of the Christian religion is predicated. But his laborious researches and investigations, during this long period, resulted in an ingenuous confession of his total inability to accomplish his design, in a complete assurance of the truth and divine origin of the Christian religion, and in a public profession of faith in Christ. Such is the force of truth on minds not entirely blinded by prejudice, theory, or preconceived opinions."

picture presented by the Almighty, in the gradual development of those oracles of which the Jewish nation was designed to be the repository? It was an altar—then a lamb—and then a Mediator. The whole was developed by pictures and symbols. What were the altar, sacrifice, lamb, and priest, but so many pictures presented to the mind? It was, therefore, necessary that God should proceed on this plan, and teach this people a new language, different from that in which Adam was instructed. It now became necessary that a language of symbols should be adopted; and for this purpose God presented these pictures to their minds. Hence a house was erected and filled with these symbols. There was not a pin in that house, nor any article of furniture, nor any garment; nay, not a loop, or a button, that was not prefigured to Moses on Mount Sinai; and all exhibited to him, as Paul says, as *patterns* of things in the heavens. These, their religion taught them to regard with the deepest reverence. But the Jews did not understand the import of the symbols which they thus reverenced, and this proves the absence of all fraud and collusion. If they had understood the meaning of these symbols, and could have reasoned clearly from them to the things symbolized, there might be some ground to suspect collusion. But the striking fact is, that the nation which built the temple did not understand the symbols which it contained; and nothing could open their understandings to the apprehension of their import, till one stood in that temple and took the veil which separated the visible from the invisible, and rent it in twain; showing them afterwards what Moses and the prophets did mean. If sceptics understood this, they would no longer doubt the truth of Christianity. All plausible objections I am willing to examine; but those reasonings and speculations of Mr. Owen upon the social system are no more objections to the truth of Christianity, than are the Alleghany protuberances to the theory of the earth's sphericity. They are objections analogous in character to those of the old woman who would not believe in the revolutions of our planet, because she never yet saw her garden turn round to the front of the house. There can be no substantial argument urged against the verity of these stupendous facts recorded in the annals of God's chosen people.

The existing observance of the Jewish sabbath is of itself sufficient to silence all cavillers, and to convince every man capable of appreciating the weight of historic evidence, that there could not have been fraud, or collusion, or imposition, in the recorded facts concerning the origin and religion of this nation. This evidence, in my estimation, is invested with a solemn dignity; and I often regard it as the focus into which all the divine light of revelation is concentrated. Every part of the record conveys to my mind irresistible evidence that Moses was commissioned by God, and that the Jewish religion is a divine revelation. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—You see these two books which I hold in my hands; here is one, and here is the other; do these two books added together

make three books or two? Now do you suppose that if, after such demonstration as this, I were to preach to you for many years, I could ever succeed in convincing you that one added to one make three? Now this is a fair illustration of the difference between Mr. Campbell's arguments and my own. I place most distinctly and palpably before you the fact, that one and one make two: Mr. Campbell, in conformity with his early impressions, is exerting all his rhetoric to persuade you to believe that one and one make three; and this erroneous belief was forced into his mind by his early training and subsequent education. He could not avoid receiving it, and how can he help retaining it? He has truly, therefore, been using great ingenuity in attempts to convince you that facts are not facts, as we see them; but that one and one make three.

Let us, however, my friends, try and get back to the investigation of facts; for these alone can give us real knowledge. We will, therefore, proceed to the investigation of the sixth law of our nature, which is one of those divine laws that we are now to analyse, and which is, moreover, one of those stumbling-blocks, one of those difficulties which Mr. Campbell cannot get over; one of those things which he calls *intangible*, because he can make no impression upon them.

This sixth law is, "That each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impressions that can be made upon his feelings, and other faculties, while his belief, in no case, depends upon his will." Now Mr. Campbell has very justly told you, that religion is predicated entirely upon faith; and thus we come in direct contact with each other. We cannot escape direct collision. When I once have ocular proof that one and one make two, there is no power on earth that can convince me they make *three*. After our ocular sense has become fully possessed of the truth of this simple fact, we may go farther, and say, that if all the divines and all the religions in the world were to say that one and one make three, we should find it impossible so far to control our will as to believe it. Now when I know that I have not one particle of power over my belief; that what I shall be compelled to believe has never, in the slightest degree, depended upon my will, how is it possible for me to believe that the being who formed me and created my nature, and subjected it to the resistless influence of this sixth law, can ever attribute either merit or demerit to any belief whatever? I could bring this discussion just now to a very short point, but I think it would be a pity to have it closed so soon. Now the question is really this:—Have we the power to believe or disbelieve at our will, or not? If we have not the power to believe or disbelieve at our will, then, surely, all religions are false, and originated in ignorance. Now, if we have the power to will as we please, and if we have the power to believe at will, would Mr. Campbell, to whom we are all already so much indebted, only have the kindness, in addition to his former good offices, to believe for five minutes that the whole of Christianity is false, then I will admit that we have the power to believe at will. If Mr. Campbell, with all the energy of will which he can command,

will only force himself to believe for five minutes that Christianity is a fable and a falsehood, I will give up the contest, and admit that I have not proved my point. But, perhaps, this would be tasking his feelings and prejudices too severely, and therefore we will only ask him to be so kind as to believe, just for a quarter of an hour, that Mahomet was a true prophet sent of God.

But all jesting apart. Whenever we shall rightly understand this subject, and shall know what manner of beings we are, we shall discoverthat the question of religion, or no religion, depends entirely upon our power of belief or disbelief. It is not a metaphysical question. Any one can ascertain the real merits of it for himself. If we have the power of changing our belief at pleasure, it is possible that religion may be true; but if the christian, like the Mohametan, is *compelled* to believe in his district religion, then religion must be false, and the first gleam of right reason which we shall acquire will show us the extent of the errors in which, on these subjects, the world has been involved.

I am willing to rest the merits of the whole controversy upon this single affirmative proposition, "That no human being ever had the power of belief or disbelief at his will, and therefore there cannot be merit or demerit in any belief." This is now the isolated point of controversy between me and my opponent. This is the real battle ground, and the only *arena* in which my friend and myself can engage in combat. Every discussion irrelevant to this point is a mere vain and useless multiplication of words to amuse our fancy, to darken our understanding, and to waste our time.

If any one in this assembly will come forward and adduce any fact to prove that you can at all change your belief, some system of religion or other may be true. But if you cannot adduce a fact of this character, your belief in religion proves you to be in the grossest darkness. Until you can trace the consequence which the acquisition of self-knowledge leads to, you can know nothing with regard to yourselves. Do you suppose that this self-knowledge will be injurious to you? No, my friends, "*Know thyself*," was the most heavenly precept the world has ever heard. It is the foundation, and the only possible foundation for a pure and genuine charity. Tell me another source from whence true charity can be derived. Where else will you look for the principles of a charity that "thinketh no evil;" that finds an immediate, rational, and consolatory excuse for the opinions, manners, habits, and conduct of all men, without one exception? If, therefore, you want to possess that which is truly divine, get this *charity*—a charity so pure that when you are trained in the full knowledge of it, no motive to crime will exist; no feeling of anger, irritation, or ill-will on the part of any human being towards any other of his race. When we shall be trained in a full knowledge of the principles in which this beneficial, this admirable charity is founded, we shall, in consequence, have rational countenances; and not until then. Owing to the lamentably mistaken manner in which we have been trained, we are now filled with anger, and oftentimes with malevolent feelings

against those who have been taught to differ from us in sentiment. What have I not heard the world unjustly say of me and of the motives which govern my conduct. But having had the knowledge of those principles given to me, on which alone true charity can ever be founded, I have listened to all these things as I would to words upon any other subject. I cannot, except for a moment, be angry with those who misconceive, misrepresent, or revile me; knowing that all these things proceed from an organization, and local circumstances acting upon it, which create irrational prejudices. Where, therefore, is the rational pretext for being angry? From whence, then, under any circumstances, can arise the rational pretext, after consideration, for being angry or displeased with any of our fellow-beings? They are coerced by a law which they cannot resist, to feel, to think, to act, and to *believe*, independently of their volitions.

These, my friends, are some of the practical results which I have experienced and enjoyed as the natural fruits of a knowledge of these divine laws of nature. The *charity* emanating directly from this knowledge has given me a patience, an equanimity, and a self-possession, under a concurrence of *trying* circumstances that I am convinced no knowledge derived from any religious considerations could have implanted within me. Therefore, my friends, do not suppose that there is any thing pernicious in *infidelity*, so called; for you may rest assured that the only practical moral or intellectual motives capable of producing important and permanent ameliorations in society, must be derived from what you have been taught to call *infidelity*—but most arbitrarily and irrationally taught. Not, my friends, that infidels of modern times are much better than other folks, but the Christian shoe has been unriveted from their minds, and thus they become so circumstanced as to stand some chance of arriving at the knowledge of the truth; whilst the true believers, on whose minds the shoe still remains fast riveted, are compelled to admit into them many errors which give a false and injurious direction to their best feelings, while their noblest power, their faculty of judgment, is suffered to lie latent, torpid, buried, or misguided. My friends, should we not be better and happier beings if we could remove far from us all anger and irritation? and what can do this so effectually as the conviction that those who act in the most direct opposition to our notions of right, are not the objects of blame, but of charity, our sincerest pity and compassion? To me the present appears a most singular era. The annals of the world do not afford a parallel to the assembly this day congregated in this place. Before me are hundreds collected together from various quarters of the world, who have all been trained in notions peculiar to themselves; and yet they sit here quietly and decorously to hear discussed, doctrines in direct hostility to all their early-taught religious prejudices and opinions. This is the first time such a thing has occured in the annals of history. If I had attempted fifty years ago to have addressed a popular assembly in the style that, prompted by a love of truth, and by the deep interest I feel in promoting the happiness of my species, I have ventured to do on this occasion, it is most probable I should have been torn to pieces; and yet I just as much deserve to be torn

to pieces to-day, for speaking the truth without fear or favour, as fifty years ago. The ignorance and bigotry of our ancestors were so gross, that if any individual had come forward with the purest and most philanthropic motives to promulgate the truths which you have heard from me in this place, he would most certainly have been burnt alive, or torn to pieces. The advance of the human mind in certain branches of real knowledge since that period, has produced this difference of feeling, and convinces me that we are approximating to a greatly improved period of human existence, call it, if you please, the millennium. What I mean to state is, that our minds are in a rapidly progressive state of preparation for the admission, discussion, comparison, analysis, and thorough comprehension of simple facts; a knowledge of which can alone produce intelligence, virtue, good feelings, and sincere affection among mankind. Indeed, I see very plainly every step of the practice by which this state of general happiness is to be attained. And the first preparatory step is, that all men should be disabused of the errors implanted by their early local circumstances and instruction, in order that their knowledge should be all founded in facts, and not derived, as now, from the imaginations of our ignorant ancestors, who were without the valuable experience acquired since their day. If I could so far impress upon the people of Cincinnati the value of the knowledge to be derived from the twelve fundamental principles of human nature, derived from daily existing facts, as to give them a sufficient degree of interest to examine whether they are true or false, my conviction is, that a large majority, if not the whole population, would be convinced that they are true. It would not then be difficult to direct to the means by which you might all become virtuous, intelligent, independent, and happy. I do not say that this change could be effected in you, to the same extent that your adoption of these laws in practice would enable you to effect in your children. The latter would have so little comparatively to unlearn in habit, and to unassociate in their minds, that they would soon exhibit to you, a state of human happiness and enjoyment, of which it has never entered into the heart of man to conceive; and this happiness of theirs, after a short time, would be so strongly reflected back upon yourselves, that a large increase of happiness would accrue to you. My friends, this is no chimera existing only in my imagination. No! I have seen with my own eyes this beautiful effect produced upon a whole population. I have seen the children of some of the most ignorant and deformed in their habits and conduct, more amiable, interesting, and happy, than the most sanguine could anticipate, under the other injurious circumstances in which they were placed, and have *seen* that happiness, and the influence of the superior characters which were formed *for* these children, most strongly and most beneficially reflected back upon their parents.—[*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

That my opponent labours under some sort of mental illusion is most apparent from his style of reasoning and argument. He has

held two books before your eyes, and asked you if he did not hold one in either hand, and whether one *plus* one equal three. Now, in the name of common sense, what bearing had this ocular appeal upon the subject matter in controversy? What is the extent of the mental hallucination exhibited by Mr. Owen? It seems to me to be of a character with that of the herbalist, who would attempt to ascertain the specific gravity of his simples, by the use of a yard stick; or, like that of the vinter, who would attempt to ascertain the number of cubic inches in one of his casks, by the use of pounds avoirdupois. Of such a character is the illusion which perverts Mr. Owen's understanding. Is it an arithmetical question that we have before us? Or are we to test the verity of historic facts by the use of mathematical demonstrations? Have we uttered any thing so absurd as the proposition that one book *plus* one book equal three books? But what was the argument to which my opponent alluded, as involving this absurdity? So far from attempting any refutation of our arguments, I cannot discover that he makes the slightest allusion to them in his discourses. He does not deny that all religion is built upon faith. Now, is this proposition as contrary to the evidence of our senses, as that these two books make three books? I repeat, that all religion purports to be established upon testimony. And I ask again, Wherein is this proposition repugnant to reason? Wherein is it assimilated to the proposition that one book added to another makes three books? Why this is equal ingenuity to the boy who tried to convince his father by his logic, that the two ducks on the table made three; and after the old gentleman had heard the demonstration, he said to the lad's mother, "Do you take one duck, and I will take the other, and *Bob* may have the *third* for his logic!" I am willing to concede to my opponent equal merit and reward for his logic; but I protest against it as altogether impertinent to the subject matter of this debate. Indeed, I apprehended from the confidence of my friend's manner, when he held up the two books, that he was about to apply some touchstone, or test, whereby I might be discomfited; but what was my surprise at only finding myself opposed by the same old sixth fact! And what is the mighty import of this sixth law? It does not even purport to be any thing more than an assertion that our belief is independent of our volition.

But my opponent seems to imagine that his bare assertion of this fact is sufficient to carry conviction to every mind. Mr. Owen has asked me to believe Christianity untrue for five minutes. Now look at the illusion here: the question is not, *Are we able to disbelieve, or discard our pre-existing belief, from our minds at will?* In order to see, it is as necessary to have rays of light as the organs of vision. Now if my opponent had asked me to believe for a moment that the sun was not now shining, and afterwards triumphed at the impossibility of the thing, what would it all amount to? Would it prove that the fact of seeing was in all cases independent of volition? But, I contend, that our volitions have as much control over the mental as the corporeal eye. I admit that frequently our eyesight is, perhaps,

involuntarily exercised. But from these *particular* premises, am I to argue to the general conclusion, that in no case whatever is my belief, or my vision, under the control of my volition? Have I not *documented* with proof, that my belief in testimony is as much under the control of my volition, as are my acquisitions in any department of science? I know, indeed, that if I am sitting in a room, and a person opens the door, and suddenly presents a monkey before my eyes, I cannot help seeing it. In like manner, a person may suddenly enter my room, and announce to me an interesting fact. From the high character of the narrator, and other adjuncts accompanying the fact, I may not be able to withhold my belief in it; but is it a logical conclusion from these *particular* premises, that I must necessarily, *in every instance*, acquire a knowledge of facts, and see monkeys, without the least exercise of volition? It is contrary to all correct principles of reasoning to argue thus from *particulars to generals*. Who does not know that we may occasionally acquire knowledge without the exercise of volition? But our acquisitions of information, made in this way, do not constitute a thousandth part of our stock of knowledge acquired in the ordinary, natural way: viz. by a voluntary exercise of our senses. Mr. Owen cannot sustain his position; because, for one case which he may adduce wherein belief is exercised independently of volition, we can produce hundreds wherein it is exercised voluntarily.

But Mr. Owen affirms that this is not a metaphysical question; nevertheless a metaphysical question it certainly is. And yet my friend says he will rest the truth of his theory upon a metaphysical discrimination.

[*Mr. Owen said, "I contend that it is a question of fact, and not a metaphysical question."*]

Mr. Campbell resumes—

Then, Mr. Chairman, it will be necessary to have a new vocabulary. But I am perfectly willing that the argument should be read by the public as my opponent has presented it. It will be for the public to decide whether it be metaphysical or not.

In the prosecution of my argument, I had advanced so far as to demonstrate, I trust, that the Jewish religion was divine, and that all its rites were in their nature *symbolical* and *prophetic;* that the sacrifice of a lamb, the building of an altar, the consecration of the priesthood, and the whole ritual of Moses were symbolical and prophetic of Christianity; that this ritual was designed to have a two-fold operation: first, upon the generation then living; and secondly, upon posterity; and thus to keep up the constant recollection of the divine institutions of their religion. Your children, says Moses, will ask you what is the meaning of your eating the paschal lamb; and then you must tell them the circumstances by which you became a nation. And such was the import of every one of the Jewish institutions. When they paid their five shekels per head, for the redemption of the first-born, their children were to be informed that these first-born were the ransomed of the Lord; and this tribute was rendered in per-

petual commemoration of that event. This is implied in the rendition of this tribute up to the present time. Their successors were also to be informed that the Pentecost was solemnly observed as commemorative of the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai; the feast of the tabernacles for so many days, to commemorate that they once dwelt in tents in the wilderness; that on the fiftieth day after their redemption they heard the voice of God promulgating the law, had seen all the accompaniments of the divine presence, and received the autograph of their constitution from the Lord.

All these things the children of the Israelites were to be taught, and they were so contrived as to be equally prospective and retrospective, so as to preserve and conduct forward the miraculous evidences of their religion. Hence the deliverance of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, their Pentecost, and every part of their ritual, looked forward to, and anticipated a new state of things, in which a certain system of existing realities was to correspond with the past. Was there ever presented an exhibition of wisdom and benevolence comparable with this? Every part of the ritual operates as a commemoration of its divine institution, and to produce faith in all future generations. It was designed to stand for a perpetual monument of their miraculous history to the nations; and its consummation in the development of that order which enters into the constitution of the Christian religion, was as natural as the production of the bird from its shell. And thus the consummation of its every type is portrayed in the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. On these accounts we consider these memorials as of high moral power and dignity, and the facts which they commemorate as rational and demonstrably established. You have seen what all the gatherings and gleanings of my opponent during a period of forty years have enabled him to bring forward against these evidences.

With regard to the means employed for the preservation and perpetuation of these holy oracles, there were not only the temple and tabernacle, but men set apart to take care of the record; and the necessity of their care emphatically impressed upon them. This was the way to preserve it from interpolation. No man dare touch it, at the peril of his life; and this is the reason why Uzzah was struck dead for touching the chest, in which was the sacred deposite, to represent the majesty of that power which guarded it.

Now, in process of time, the copy of this record began to be read in every synagogue. Their land, like other countries, in time became too small for its population. In consequence, they emigrated, and carried with them their religion, their history, and law to the ends of the earth. These migrations caused the Jewish scriptures to be translated into the Greek language, about three hundred years before the birth of Christ. By the order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the whole writings of Moses and the prophets were translated by seventy-two Jews, for the benefit of the foreign-born Jews, and of the proselytes made from other nations. Thus, by this singular wisdom were these

oracles handed to every nation under heaven; insomuch that the learned sages of Greece became conversant with these oracles. The Jews traversing all parts of the earth, carried along with them their religious peculiarities; thus all nations were called to bear witness to the truth of these sacred scriptures. This singular people, when contrasted with the philosophic nations of Greece and Rome, in their notions of God, exhibit a phenomenon which can only be explained on the admission of a supernatural revelation being bestowed upon them.

The Greeks and Romans had cultivated philosophy very extensively. Their languages exhibit the most polished intellectual refinement, and express every ramification of human thought; they not only invented, but compounded and re-modified words, so that any idea whatever could be forcibly expressed thereby. They had cultivated science to an extent far beyond any other nation; but they had, nevertheless, a thousand foolish superstitions composing their mythology. But here were a people called Jews, ignorant of, and contemning philosophy, who considered the Greeks absolutely stupid and blind in matters of religion. Yes: the acute, the polished, and refined Greeks were sots in theological matters: but the Jews, destitute of philosophic taste and acquirements, were nevertheless in possession of a religion every way honourable to the character of the Creator and Governor of the world. Now, how is this to be accounted for? A polished nation like the Greeks, embracing a system full of theological absurdities; and, on the other hand, the rude and unlettered Jews holding the only rational views of the Creator, and contending for the unity and spirituality of God!

But this same people, being a travelling people, carried their oracles with them every where; and, by this universal promulgation of them, communicated to all nations the confident expectation that some wonderful person was to be born, through whose influence there was to be brought about a universal revolution in society; through whom a new order of things was to arise, and the world to be blest thereby. From this universal promulgation of the Jewish record, all nations fondly cherished the idea, that at the very time of the actual birth of the Messiah, a person in that character should appear in the land of Judea; the Roman poet* sings of it; all nations had arrived at an

* The harmonious genius of the Mantuan bard has taught us in all the charms of his exquisite muse, the expectations of the Roman world upon this subject. A few years before the birth of Christ, Virgil sings of him like one inspired:—"The last age (saith he) is at length arrived, predicted by the prophetess of Cumæ. The great order of ages begins to circle anew; justice returns to the earth, and the peaceful reign of Saturn; and from heaven descends a new and divine offspring. He shall rule the tranquil world with his father's virtues. Soon the great months shall begin to roll on, and every vestige of our former crimes shall be effaced. Enter on thy mighty work, O Son of Supreme Jove, dear offspring of the gods."—Late researches into the antiquities of Judea, Persia, and China, show that the same traditions and hopes existed in the most distant eastern nations. Vide Asiatic researches, Indian antiquities. Piere Du Hold's history of China.—*Reporter.*

uniformity and universality of anticipation in this matter, and in the reign of Augustus, there was not a nation which was not as fully prepared as the Jews, to anticipate the advent of the Messiah.

Adjourned till afternoon.

Thursday, Three o'Clock, p. m.

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—As I mentioned this forenoon, I might, with safety, rest this portion of this discussion entirely upon the last law that I have read. My friend, Mr. Campbell, deems it a metaphysical question. I conceive it to be entirely a question of fact. And I think the whole point was conceded when Mr. Campbell discovered that he could not disbelieve Christianity, or believe Mohammedanism at will. However, it is necessary that the subject should be presented in every varied point of view, in order to enable men to unassociate their early implanted ideas opposed to it. Mr. Campbell was a little surprised to discover that this was one of the *old* laws of nature for which I have been contending; but truth is immutable, it is the same to-day that it ever has been, and will ever continue to be. Therefore, in all future preachings, after the truth shall be clearly and fully developed, there will be no occasion to have any more texts of scripture than are contained in these twelve laws; for they will ever remain immutably true, and be a foundation for an ample code of moral laws, sufficient to lead us unerringly to every beneficial practical result.

There was a great number of statements in Mr. Campbell's last half hour's discussion which I might very easily refute; but as they do not in the least concern the true merits of the argument, I deem it an unjustifiable waste of time to do more than merely to mention them. For example: when Mr. Campbell said he could not avoid seeing the sun, he committed a mistake; for he might shut his eyes, and then he could not see it.

The last law on which I commented, was that which declares that our belief is involuntary; and, therefore, all religions are untrue, as they pre-suppose our belief to be voluntary, or they are perfectly needless, and mean nothing. The next law is, that each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization; and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be. A large portion of all the religions of which I know any thing, pre-supposes that man is so created that he can love or hate at pleasure. Now the law of our nature is in direct contradiction to this notion. There are no individuals in this assembly who can like, be indifferent to, or dislike *me*, for instance, by any effort of the will in opposition to the impressions which all my proceedings have already made upon them. They are obliged to receive exactly the impressions which my exterior, my manners, and my whole conduct make upon their individual organizations; and whether they like, are indifferent to, or dislike me, I cannot in consequence blame them.

And when this principle of human nature shall be understood, it will be discovered to be of the highest practical importance; it will tend, concurrently with the one immediately preceding, to implant and to root principles of kindness and knowledge so deeply in the human heart and understanding, that we shall, indeed, have unlimited charity for the whole family of man. Then, instead of being angry with our children when they have not affection for us, we shall scrutinize into the cause why they do not feel as much love as we wish them to entertain for us; and we shall look for that cause in ourselves. Instead, therefore, of scolding our children, or of quarrelling with them, we shall devote our attention to self-examination, and be patient, calm, kind, and affectionate to them. This is another of those invaluable practical results which will be produced by our obedience to these laws of our nature. Then, my friends, we shall cease to blame our children for their feelings, their thoughts, or their actions. On the contrary, we shall be taught to know that we have efficacious means of correcting the defects of our children, whether organic or superinduced upon their defective organization, and this without the slightest emotion of anger or irritation. And a knowledge of these laws or principles will force the same rational practice from us to all the rest of our fellow-beings, as well as to our offspring. There can be no error, no irrationality in any of our proceedings, when we understand these laws, and that knowledge will compel us to act upon them.

I have now, perhaps, proved sufficiently in detail, that all religions are founded in direct opposition to the facts which now exist, ever have existed, or can exist. I am, therefore, quite willing to rest this part of the subject upon what has now been presented to you, to prove that all the religions of the world, in consequence of being altogether irreconcilable to the laws of human nature, are founded in the ignorance of man. The next part of my duty is to demonstrate that these religions are the true and only source of all the vice and misery which have been experienced in the world. The latter clause of the proposition is so intimately connected, so inseparably interwoven with the former, that what proves the one must necessarily prove the other. From the facts exhibited to you, it has been demonstrated that all the religions of the world are directly opposed to the never-changing laws of our nature; and that which compels men to act unnaturally, must be a never-failing source of error, contradiction, vice, crime, and misery. In the nature of things, as we find them actually existing, no other result could arise. It is, perhaps, sufficient to observe that all the religions of the world are unnatural, or contrary to the nature of man. To demonstrate the truth of which, I have undertaken to prove, when I show the facts capable of hourly inspection every where, that man is not the being that all these religions presuppose him to be. It is here, my friends, I take my stand upon all these important questions; and it is my deep-rooted conviction, after forty years of the closest investigation of this subject, that it is not in the power of any man living to prove any of these facts untrue, or any of the deductions from them erroneous. But you will ask me, How

can religion be the source of vice? My friends, I have already told you that that which opposes the immutable laws of our nature, will be sure to be found, in its consequences, productive only of vice. Religion lays the foundation for hypocrisy, falsehood, and deception of every description. Your spiritual pastors tell you that you must believe according to their fanciful notions, and the laws of your nature are continually impelling you to rise up in rebellion against such instructions. No man likes to appear singular or disagreeable in the eyes of his fellows, and still less to have the means of his subsistence withdrawn from himself and family for expressing his thoughts; and therefore men are under a strong necessity to say they believe as their neighbours appear to believe, and to feel as their neighbours and friends think they ought to feel; and from this beginning, a complicated system of falsehood and deception takes its rise. And whenever falsehood is thus implanted in our nature, it soon pervades the whole man, making his whole life one continued lie to his genuine thoughts and feelings; his conduct and conversation are one continued lie against his nature; and thus there is an end of all real virtue among mankind. Virtue and falsehood, or deception, can never exist well together. The religions of the world have produced such an accumulation of irrational habits, false notions, and bad feelings, arising from this, (as circumstances now are;) unavoidable hypocrisy, that we cannot be in the world without feeling the necessity to cover our real thoughts and feelings; without, in fact, living in an atmosphere of perpetual falsehood and deception. Our words, looks, and actions, are scarcely any thing else but falsehood and deception. Who dares speak his real sentiments on the subject of religion and affections, without being subjected to injury in his reputation and property? Are not these fears sufficiently operative to deter men and women from speaking their real thoughts and feelings? Talk not to me of virtue, so long as men and women are compelled, by the absurdities of your institutions and erroneous conceptions of all things around you, to be insincere in their language, and deceptious in their conduct. Falsehood and virtue can never exist together; and now, your whole system is false from its foundation upwards. Every profession, trade, or occupation, supports itself by its deceptions. Where are the individuals now to be met with who speak the language of truth, and no other language to each other? Almost the first thing you are compelled to teach your children is falsehood and insincerity. Our language to our little ones, when they are about to speak the truth, is, "O, my dears, you must not say this, that, or the other thing!" The poor children cannot imagine why they should be inhibited from speaking the truth; and it is a system of severe training to the infant mind, before we can give children that degree of insincerity and deception which is necessary, to constitute them what is called "rational in society." But I trust the time is fast approaching, when no child shall be, as at present, systematically instructed in falsehood and insincerity; when there will not exist a motive for deceptious conduct or behaviour.

Is it necessary for me to do more than to call your attention to the extent of falsehood, deception, and hypocrisy which is every where prevalent? Do you not find yourselves surrounded with these crimes from morning till night, and wherever you go? I appeal to your personal knowledge and experience of what is passing in every department of life, and even in all the little *coteries* of my female friends. But when we discover that we cannot love or hate, believe or disbelieve at our will, I shall act openly, honestly, and consistently; and no rational being will discover any motive for any kind of deception or insincerity. But at present we are not in a situation to incur the hazard incident to the speaking of the truth. What would be the consequences, if all these young ladies now before me were to begin to speak the truth, and nothing but the whole truth, to-day? What would the stayed and grave members of society say about them? Why, that they were fit only for a lunatic hospital! So would they say of every man or woman that dared to speak the truth; and this derationalising and corrupting effect has been produced by religion alone. It is by falsehood and deception of the grossest kind, that all the religions of the world have been established, and by these arts they are now alone supported. Hypocrisy, deception, and falsehoods are the floodgates of every kind of vice. They destroy all confidence between man and man, and between man and woman, and they create a large portion of the most inferior and disagreeable feelings that can be implanted in our nature. They force us to suppress and disguise the expression of our feelings before the individual; but the moment his back is turned, we launch out in great latitude upon all his defects and peculiarities, not one word of which would we ever utter to his face. Such we know to be almost the universal practice of mankind. Now, simply because I have dared to speak openly exactly what I feel and think, for the benefit and happiness of my species, and thus to proclaim my convictions, and come forward and act upon them, I have been called a fool, a madman, fit only for a lunatic asylum. This has been my reward for having the moral courage to speak the simple truth, as nature compels me to comprehend it; therefore, my young friends, you cannot, with safety, yet venture to speak out the truth: for if you do, you will assuredly risk confinement in a lunatic hospital!

It would require a great deal of time and reflection, to trace and deduce all the other vices which necessarily flow from deception, hypocrisy, and falsehood. I leave this to your imagination, because it has been well cultivated; but it would occupy too much time for me to detail them.

The next evil is disunion. All religions are peculiarly well adapted to disunite the human family. No device so effectual in its nature to create disunion amongst mankind, as religion. At the same moment, when a system was introduced and adopted, ascribing merit or demerit to any particular opinions, likings, or dislikings, was the foundation laid for all the dissensions amongst mankind, which have ever distracted the world. I need not, my friends, refer you to the religious wars and massacres of former times, or to the angry controversies of

our forefathers, when they were debating what mysterious or absurd creeds should be devised to be forced into the minds of human beings from their birth; nor need I refer you to all the public calamities which religious dissensions have caused amongst various nations of the earth. I need only refer you to your own experience of the divisions and jarrings, bad feelings and passions, which occur in families and neighbourhoods, solely because they cannot force themselves to think alike on the subject of religion. You find mankind every where herding in sects and parties, excluding from their fraternal sympathies all who possess a different faith. These differing creeds form an impassable barrier, to keep asunder the various religious sects and parties. See how the Christians and Turks are now contending against each other. Christianity arrayed on the one side and Mohammedanism on the other. Why, my friends, tigers could not be more savage than they are, or exhibit conduct more irrational.

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

I had hoped, Mr. Chairman, that the document which I presented to Mr. Owen, on the subject of his favourite position, would have merited his consideration; that the objections which I there offered to his favourite thesis would have commanded some attention; that before repeating, and rehearsing, and then re-reciting his twelve propositions, he would have made an effort to reply to these objections. But, instead of such an attempt, my opponent has repeated, almost verbatim, what he had antecedently told us at least three or four times. I must again solicit an exposition of some of the important terms which my opponent uses; for example, I solicit, and I have a right to claim from him, his definition of the term *fact*, the term *millennium*, and the term *heaven*. These are terms of very frequent recurrence in my opponent's vocabulary; and I think it more than probable that the ideas which we attach to these names differ, *toto cælo*, from those which are attached to them by my opponent. That knowledge, sincerity, and candour, which my opponent so much extols, would not appear disadvantageously in himself, on this occasion. It is a disingenuous and unfair imposition upon us, to use terms except in their current application, and according to their usual and most known signification. My opponent has given us a terrific picture of Christianity. To the triumphs of Christianity has he attributed all the insincerity, malevolence, and other vices of society. From the address which you have heard from Mr. Owen, you would naturally conclude, on opening the sacred volume, to find it filled with such beatitudes as these:—Blessed are the slanderers; blessed the hypocrites; happy are the liars; happy the miscreants. You would, from Mr. Owen's account of the book, expect to find, at least, one section inculcating such moral precepts as these:—Thou *shalt* kill; thou *shalt* commit adultery; thou *shall* bear false witness; thou *shalt* hate thy neighbour; thou *shalt* live in discord and dissension with thy fellows, and in the practice of every thing calculated to destroy human happiness. If you pay any attention to Mr. Owen's libels on the scriptures,

what else could you expect to find in them but benedictions of such import? He has, however, given us some idea of his standard of morality. After speaking of the mischievousness and hypocrisy of the priesthood, he tells us that he would not displace them. He would have these priests supported in their lying and deceptious trade, lest this projected revolution should deprive them of bread. He has told you that you ought not, yet awhile, to tell the truth, if you expect to be tolerated in society. By his own showing, such are my opponent's views of morality and sincerity. So much in passing, with regard to Mr. Owen's last address.

In the prosecution of the argument we have before us, we have arrived at the period of Jewish history which gave to the whole world (Jews and Greeks) the oracles containing the religion which Moses taught the children of Israel. We have alluded to the effect which the dissemination of these oracles produced. We have noticed the universal anticipation of a new order of society; insomuch that this Messiah might be called, as he is in ancient prophecy, the "*Desire of* ALL *nations*." This is the very name which the ancient prophet Haggai so significantly and so emphatically bestows upon him. But it was now become necessary that these oracles should be universally disseminated, in order to produce such a desire as this. When we come to speak of the *prophecies*, we shall more fully show that such was the universal desire and expectation, and that it sprang from this source. Before concluding our remarks on the historic evidences of the Jewish religion, we asserted yesterday that these historic records of the Old Testament were not only written and read to the whole congregation of Israel by Moses, that an exhortation predicated upon them was delivered, *viva voce*, and afterwards written by Moses, during the last month of his life, called Deuteronomy, and deposited in the sacred chest; but also that there are, in the histories of the world, remotely as they penetrate, so many allusions to these records, as to render it almost absolutely certain, even upon Pagan testimony, that these writings are genuine, and were received and venerated by the nation, from the earliest notices of them as a people.

It is, however, enough for us to affirm that there is no counter testimony in the world. There is no way to set aside historic testimony, except by adducing counter testimony of great validity. The sceptics have been called upon for their counter testimony. They have been coolly and calmly requested to search the annals of the world in order to produce it. They have been asked whether it was possible that the Egyptians and Israelites could have existed together, and such stupendous miracles falsely asserted concerning the manifestations of divine wrath against the Egyptians, and of divine favour towards the Israelites; and yet no document can be found to contradict them. The sceptics have been repeatedly challenged to this investigation. But you may search all the sceptical books in the world, without finding even an attempt to produce such testimony. But we are not only able to produce these documents and these *criteria*, as sufficiently attesting the truth of these historic facts; but we can also show, from

all ancient history, that there are many references and allusions to facts mentioned in them which, in their direct tendency, go to attest the verity of the Mosaic account. We shall just take a peep into the most ancient Greek historians, and see whether they furnish any data confirmatory of the historical records found in the book of Genesis.

It is universally admitted by deists, atheists, and all, that the Bible is the oldest book in the world. No counter testimony can then be brought against the facts related in the most ancient parts of the Jewish history. But we will here attempt to show that all the ancient historians which peep into the depths of remote antiquity do, in all their allusions, confirm the sacred history.

1. *All the Greek writers acknowledge and represent Egypt as the most ancient and best policied empire in the world.*

This is confirmed by Moses. So early as Abraham's time, we find a regular dynasty of the common name of Pharaoh. This kingdom (Gen. xii. 15.) is represented as abounding in corn, and having a surplus.

It appears from the princes of Pharaoh's court, his princely presents to Abraham, and his retinue of state, that his court at that time had attained to great splendour.

From the caravans of Ishmaelitish merchants who traded in spices, much used in embalming the illustrious dead, and the slaves which they carried down for sale, it would appear that the Egyptians at that time were refined in the arts of opulence and splendour.

From the standing militia, the chariots, and the cavalry, too, in Egypt, the time the Hebrews were in bondage, in building treasure cities, it appears that the Egyptians were very far exalted above all the nations of the earth in the time of the Pharaohs. The Greeks were entirely unskilled in cavalry until long after the Trojan war.

2. *But not only do the ancient Greek writers speak of the magnificence of the Egyptian empire in that early period, but also in detailing the civil and religious institutions of that people, they afford additional evidence of their high advances in all the arts of refinement.*

Of the *priesthood*, Diodorus Siculus thus writes: "The whole country being divided into three parts, the first belongs to the body of the priests; an order in the highest reverence among their countrymen for their piety towards the gods, and their consummate wisdom acquired by the best education, and the closest application to the improvement of the mind. With their revenues, they supply all Egypt with public sacrifices. They support a number of inferior officers, and maintain their own families; for the Egyptians think it utterly unlawful to make any change in the public worship, but that every thing should be administered by their priests in the same constant and invariable manner. Nor do they hold it at all decent, that those to whose care the public are so much indebted, should want the common necessaries of life. For the priests are constantly attached to the person of the king, as coadjutors, counsellors, and instructors in the most weighty matters. For it is not among them as among the Greeks, where one single man or woman exercises the office of

the priesthood. Here a number are employed in sacrificing, and other rites of public worship, who transmit their profession to their children. This order, likewise, is exempt from all charges and impost, and holds the prime honours under the king in the public administration."

Herodotus, also, to the same effect testifies. He observes: "Of all the colleges of the priesthood, that of Heliopolis was the most famed for wisdom and learning." Strabo also declares, that in his time, very spacious buildings yet remained in Heliopolis, which, as the report ran, was formerly the residence of the priests, who cultivated the studies of astronomy and philosophy.*

The Egyptian word *chohen*, which the Chaldaic paraphrast translates *princeps*, and which seems to be the same as the Samothracian *coes*, denotes both a *prince* and a *priest;* this is explained by the fact that the privy counsellors of the ancient kings of Egypt were priests, and were therefore called *princes;* and as Pharaoh intended to place Joseph at the head of the nation, he could not have allayed the envy and prejudices of the priests and privy counsellors, better than by causing Joseph to marry the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, in Hebrew, *On*.

The priest of Heliopolis was the most illustrious of the order; for, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, the sun and the moon were the first gods of Egypt, and this city of the sun was so called, because he was principally worshipped there; and as Strabo informs us, the priest studied astronomy. The theology of the Egyptians made it peculiarly fitting that the priest who resided at Heliopolis should direct their attention to this subject, naturally and religiously. The Egyptians taught either out of reverence to their chief god, the sun, or from astronomical observation, that the sun was the centre of the whole system. From Egypt, Plutarch, in his history of Isis and Osiris, says that Pythagoras obtained this knowledge from Œnuphis, a priest of On, or of Heliopolis, the city of the sun.

3. *The religious rites of the Egyptians,* as described by the Greek historian, are another proof corroborative of the Mosaic account. Herodotus expressly tells us that the Egyptians held it a profanation to sacrifice any kind of cattle, except swine, bulls, clean calves, and geese, and that they held heifers, rams, and goats sacred; for, at this time, the Egyptians had not deified animals. This explains Moses's saying: "It is not meet so to do, for we shall sacrifice the abominations of the Egyptians, to the Lord our God; so shall we sacrifice the abominations of Egypt before their eyes." Herodotus informs us that such impiety was punished with deadly hatred by the Egyptians.

4. *The civil rites of the Egyptians.* Concerning the practice of physic, Herodotus says it was divided among the faculty thus: Every distinct distemper had its own physician, who confined himself to the study and cure of that, and meddled with no other; so that all places are crowded with physicians: for one class had the care of the eyes, another of the teeth, another of the belly, and another of the occult

* Warburton, vol. 2, p. 33.

distempers. From this account, it does not appear strange that Moses represents the household of Joseph as well replenished with physicians. "And Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel."

There is also a remarkable allusion to this practice of the Egyptian skill in Jeremiah, when that prophet foretells the overthrow of Pharaoh's army at the Euphrates: "Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin, the daughter of Egypt! In vain thou shalt use many medicines, for thou shalt not be cured." The same prophet, under the same figure, alludes to the Egyptian superstition in his own time. He says, "Egypt is like a fair heifer, but destruction comes from the north, also her herdsmen are in the midst of her, like fatted bullocks, for they also are turned back and fled away together." The allusion here is most apparent of the worship of Isis and Osiris, under a cow and a bull. The most celebrated of all the Egyptian ritual.

The medical profession naturally, and according to history, is divided into surgery, pharmacy, and the diatetic practice. Surgery was naturally the most ancient, pharmacy was next to it, and the diatetic the last. Hence physic must have been far advanced in Egypt at the time to which Diodorus alludes.

5. *The funeral rites of the Egyptians are thus described by Herodotus:* "Their mourning and funeral rites of sepulture are of this kind: when a principal person dies, all the females of that family besmear their heads and faces with loam and mire, and so leaving the dead body in the hands of the domestics, march in procession through the city, with their garments close girt about them, their breasts laid open, beating themselves and all their relations attending. In an opposite procession appear the males, close girt likewise, and undergoing the same discipline. When this is over, they carry the body to be salted. There are men appointed for this business, who make it their trade and employment. They first of all draw out the brain with a hooked iron, through the nostrils; after this, they hide it in nitre for seventy days, and longer it is not lawful to keep it salted.

Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in all the essential circumstances of mourning and embalming, except he varies in one particular: he says they anoint the whole body with gum, or resin of cedar, and of other plants, with great cost and care, for above *thirty days;* and afterwards seasoning it with myrrh, cinnamon, and other costly spices, not only to preserve the body for a long time, but to give it a grateful odour: they then deliver it to the relations.

All this, scripture history confirms and explains; and does more, it reconciles the two Greek historians concerning the *number of days* during which the body was in the care of the embalmers. Moses says: "And the physicians embalmed Israel: and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those who are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." Now, we learn from the two Greek historians that the time of the mourning was while the body remained with the embalmers,

which Herodotus tells us was *seventy* days. This explains why the Egyptians mourned for Israel threescore and ten days. During the time the body lay in nitre, (and in the compass of thirty days this was reasonably well effected,) the remaining *forty* of Diodorus were employed in anointing it with gums and spices to preserve it, which was the proper way to embalm it; and this explains the meaning of the *forty* days which were fulfilled for Israel being the days of those which were embalmed. Thus the two Greek writers are reconciled, and they and scripture are mutually explained, and supported by each other.*

By the way we may remark, that the infidel objection against Joseph for making the free monarchy of Egypt despotic, is without foundation. The law-giving power Pharaoh did not transfer, but reserved it in his own hands, in these words: "*Only on the throne will I be greater than thou.*" Joseph, as prime minister, administers justice; but Pharaoh guards to himself the prerogative of giving law. In commanding the people to give their money, cattle, and lands to Pharaoh, it is reasonable to conclude that the law emanated from Pharaoh.

In one sentence, we may affirm that the farther we penetrate into remote antiquity, the more reason we shall have to place implicit confidence in the divine mission of Moses. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—Mr. Campbell has very correctly informed us that the Christian scriptures do not, in direct terms, command us to tell lies, to steal, and to commit all sorts of crimes. But if we are told to do one thing, and circumstances of our nature irresistibly compel us to do another thing directly opposed to the precept, we are by such precepts compelled to speak falsehoods continually. The fact can be easily established, that throughout all christendom there is very little truth spoken between man and man; and it is the Christian religion which has created the Christian character. I am told that truth is much more generally spoken among the Mussulmen than among the christians; but there can be very little truth spoken by either party. I recommend to my young female friends here, not to speak the truth upon many subjects most interesting to their happiness through life; because, if they did, they might on that account meet with all manner of persecution and inconvenience. Nor did I recommend, in a preceding address, that the gospel ministers of the present day should be paid for disseminating and perpetuating falsehood, which, to my certain knowledge, many of the most learned and enlightened of the cloth, know and believe to be such. I meant simply to give utterance to a great principle of justice; to state that those who had been trained to the gospel ministry were compelled, by circumstances, to adopt that course of life; and I have no doubt that a very large portion of them adopted this course most conscientiously; therefore, I deemed it unjust that the great and overwhelming change in society, anticipated and predicted by me, should deprive any man of his livelihood.

* Warburton's Divine Legation, vol. 2, pp. 46, 47.

But if, as I confidently expect, these principles shall rapidly pervade society, another and a better employment will be assigned to the reverend clergy. They will then become the most efficient and useful oracles, to promulgate and expound the divine laws of human nature, and demonstrate their high importance in producing irresistible motives to virtue from their pupils; and after much calm deliberation, I am quite sure that this will be the most economical, and by far the best mode of disposing of the whole body of the clergy. It will not only be the most economical and equitable, but also the most beneficial for themselves and for all mankind. I have told you that it will not be necessary to deprive any individual of his present support, in order to effect these anticipated changes; because there exists in society an artificial producing power almost immeasurably beyond the wants of man. Although still rapidly and annually increasing, this artificial producing power is even now, if it were well understood and rightly directed, greatly beyond our wants; it is already far more than equal to the supplying of every child that shall be born into the world with a most ample store of every thing that is best for human nature. But before this change can commence, we must discover the true principle and the true bond of social union; for most true it is, that there can be no real substantial happiness and improvement in the constitution and frame of society, until men do really and strictly learn to love one another. But have the different religions inculcated in the world yet enabled you to love one another? In this very city, are you not calling yourselves the friends and acquaintances of each other, and at the same time striving and contending against each other, as if you were avowed and professed enemies.

Where is the mercantile man to be found, who, if he learns by some private intelligence that certain articles of merchandise will greatly enhance in value, will not go to his dearest friend, and buy all that he has of those articles, at the lowest price he can procure them? Now this is very loving, to be sure!

We are deceived by high sounding empty words, and the present state of commercial society is any thing but rational; and all society, from the highest to the lowest, in all countries, is becoming commercial, and daily more and more ignorantly selfish. Our circumstances compel us to become covert enemies to each other. Instead of endeavouring to promote each other's happiness, we are straining every nerve to take from others, in order to add superfluities which we cannot enjoy, to ourselves. Does not the Christian religion in many other ways create dissensions among men? What say ye to this, ye people of Cincinnati? Are all the religions of this city united heart and soul together? Are there no divisions among them? Are they always willing to accommodate each other? Are there not divisions and dissensions among those who are designated by the same name, and classified as belonging to the same sect? Are there no dissensions among the Baptists, the Quakers, Presbyterians, nor among the Episcopalians? My friends, there is nothing but dissensions and divisions under the present system, from one end of it to

the other; dissension pervades the whole mass of society—it leavens the whole lump; and as the march of mind advances, these dissensions will increase, and be the cause of their ultimate overthrow. They have increased already to that extent, that those who understand the signs of the times, see plainly that, ere long, religion must receive its death-blow. Instead of a system which derationalises the human race, other times are approaching when we shall have our attention and our faculties directed to what we can comprehend—to the acquisition of real knowledge, and to the investigation of the laws of matter; and, my friends, for us to attempt the investigation of any other laws but *material* laws, is every whit as futile as an attempt to fly from the earth to the sun. Depend upon it that you only waste your time in such searching after immaterial things: such search can only lead you into the wildest regions of the imagination, and then you will find it very difficult to get back again into the paths of common sense. Therefore I strongly recommend to those who wish to acquire real knowledge, not to sacrifice their time in speculations upon subjects beyond the comprehension of human faculties.

When we direct our attention to an investigation of the laws of nature, no quarrels are originated; and why? Because we can recur to facts; we can re-examine and discriminate by the *criteria* of real knowledge, the truth from error. We may say, indeed, that the present era is the commencement of a search into the real nature of existing facts which will bring about the *millennium*, by which term I simply mean a rational state of social existence, in which sincerity and candour shall universally prevail—when, through a knowledge of facts, human nature will be laid open to that extent that we shall know ourselves and know our fellow-beings even as we are known. But the only way to commence this rational state of existence, is, to lay a solid foundation for genuine charity and social affection; and there are no principles under heaven that can guide us to these desirable results, unless it be the knowledge that we have no will, power, or control in framing our belief on any speculative subjects, and no free agency or volition in the matter of our likings and dislikings. These are the only sure foundations for a genuine love and universal charity among mankind. When these admirable principles, old as they are, shall begin to be comprehended, love and charity will be sure to extend themselves even unto the uttermost parts of the earth. Let but these twelve laws be once generally understood, and I know of no motive which could actuate any human being to enter into strife and contention with, or to think or feel uncharitably towards, any of his species. Therefore, my friends, by discarding the practices of the wild imaginations of our easily-deluded ancestors, in which all the religions of the world have had their origin, and which they have forced into our minds by the means of the mutual laws which I have explained, you will in lieu thereof adopt the laws of nature for your guide; and these will always lead you to the best and most rational practice that can be adopted; a practice of those amiable virtues and that genuine charity which will better prepare you for

heaven, if you are destined to go there, than any thing that has yet been taught you, or than any thing that has yet been done for you; and I cannot conceive it possible that a life approaching to what is represented by your spiritual teachers to be a heavenly conduct here, can unfit those who have had this foretaste of heaven in this life, for the enjoyment of a superior existence hereafter. But, my friends, I have not the remotest idea, that in a future state of re-animation, we shall retain the least consciousness of our former state of vitality. My investigations on this subject have convinced me that it is a speculation in which no man ever has or can arrive at any thing tangible. I believe that in one sense, we shall live for ever; for I cannot suppose that the particles of which we are compounded have ever been out of existence. It seems reasonable that the material particles of which we are composed are uncreated; that is, that they belong to the original stock of matter which forms the universe. In my judgment, there is nothing so absurd as the supposition that a particle of matter could be created out of nothing. If you are prepared to swallow such an absurdity as this, you may swallow a camel, or any thing else. I have said, that to me it appears the greatest of all impossibilities, that one atom of something could be created ont of nothing; but it also appears to me an equal impossibility that one atom of matter, consisting of something, can ever be reduced to nothing. I conceive, therefore, that the *supreme power* consists in the indestructible vitality pervading the whole material universe, and that each particle of this universe contains within itself, everlasting and unchangeable laws; and it is by the action, the harmony, and the co-operation of these laws, that all composition, decomposition, and recomposition in the universe are effected. Let us not, therefore, waste our valuable time about spiritual nonentities which cannot interest us; but let us rather diligently apply all our faculties to discover the yet unknown laws of nature, by which we shall ascertain the means to make our species as happy and prosperous as the materials of which we are organized will permit. If we will adopt this course of practice, and strictly adhere to it, I can see nothing that can possibly prevent our attainment to a very high degree of physical and intellectual perfection and happiness. I have now, perhaps, given sufficient details, to prove that all religions tend directly to produce vice and disunion among mankind. I have now to show that they produce the natural consequence of vice and disunion, viz. misery.

The errors which the various religions of the world have, for ages past, forced into the minds of the human race, have been the cause of all the poverty which now exists in the world; and these religions have generated this poverty in two ways: first, by creating universal disunion among men, so as to prevent the possibility of any cordial co-operation for their reciprocal benefit and advantage; and secondly, by reason of the very large appropriations of the time and gains of the people, which the clergy, like the Levites of old, have engrossed to themselves and their mysterious, and therefore useless, objects.

I discover from Mr. Campbell, that the Levites could not be con-

tented with less than one half of the property of the whole nation. Now, it really does appear to me, that a society which could permit a small select tribe to appropriate to their own use one half of the whole revenue of the nation, and allow that tribe to form and keep the records of their mysteries, and even to make it a capital crime to approach the sacred chest which contained them, must be in the extreme of ignorance, and easily duped. I must also say, that under such circumstances there never was a set of men who had a finer chance of manufacturing and perpetuating fables to suit their own purposes; and of obtaining the means to degrade and enslave their fellow-beings, than had this same tribe of Levi. There is nothing more true, my friends, than that religion has been the primary cause of all the poverty that has for ages past afflicted the world. You have all of you received your religious notions at an age so early, that your reasoning faculties have been thereby not only injured, but in the majority of cases, destroyed to an extent which cannot be estimated or understood by the great mass of the present adult population. In consequence, the mind of man, instead of being rationally directed to discover what is best for human nature, has been so perverted as to consider the acquisition of wealth as the grand *desideratum;* and to appropriate millions to themselves, whilst their fellows were starving around them, as the *summum bonum* of human felicity. Now, it was my lot to commence the world with no property at all; and since that time I have experienced as gradual a change of fortune upwards as most individuals; but I never found that I enjoyed happiness as wealth increased, or in proportion to any expenditure. I never found that I could eat, drink, or sleep any more in a state of affluence, than when through my own industry I procured the simple necessaries of life in comfort. But I found by experience, that when I had the most wealth, I had the most care and anxiety. I have lived on intimate terms with some very wealthy men, some of them possessing a property estimated at several hundred thousands, and millions sterling: these men I have studied closely; and I think them and their families less happy than many whom I have known with little more than barely sufficient to supply the necessary wants of life. If it were not for the aberrations of the human mind originating in the errors of religion, we should soon discover the means of creating and enjoying an ample supply of the best of every thing for human nature, and of cultivating our physical and intellectual faculties to a comparative high degree of perfection.—[*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

If we be mere particles of matter, self-existing or derived from the great whole, or entirely material, springing from the earth and returning thereto again, and that the less of this world's goods we have the better, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

I must correct an allusion of my opponent to the Levitical priesthood. I observed that the consecration of this priesthood was designated to be the most effectual commemorative monument, because it was compelling the passions of the people to attest and perpetuate the remem-

brance of the fact of their redemption from Egypt. The destroying angel passed over the land, and destroyed the first-born of man and beast belonging to the Egyptians, and the Israelites to a man escaped. To perpetuate the memory of this, God claimed the first-born of that nation in all time coming. Subsequently, in lieu of the first-born, one tribe of the twelve was set apart. This tribe was to receive so much real estate, and be supported by the whole nation. And I have asked, would any nation, except under divine coercion, have submitted to such an exaction as this upon their time and their real and personal property? [*Mr. Owen says, "Yes, all nations have done it."*] Mr. Campbell resumes: I have asked if any nation would have submitted to such a heavy taxation as this, in support of their religion, had they not been absolutely certain of its divine origin and authority? Mr. Owen says, "Yes, they have all done it." Well, now, this assertion will not prove that the first nation did it without a divine authority. They set the example; and we can easily test the principle whether nations will, without good reasons, submit to such imposts, by bringing the case within our own experience. Let, then, such an experiment be attempted in this country, and it will soon be discovered that it would be impossible to induce us to support a religion so onerous, without affording the most incontrovertible evidences of its divine authority. Mankind part with money and property for religious uses only when conscientiously convicted of a divine obligation. To exact it from them without presenting some plausible grounds for such authority, requires compulsion; and however easy it may be to perpetuate such a usage, it never could have commenced without the strongest evidence of divine authority. But to test this matter I appeal to universal experience, and to the impossibility of instituting such a custom now.

I protest against Mr. Owen's referring to any part of these writings as fact, without acknowledging the whole of them as fact. Does he believe that there was an Aaron, or a tribe of Levi? If so, *on the same authority*, he must believe that there was a Moses, and twelve tribes led by him through the Red Sea. It is unfair to garble the document, admitting the truth of one part and objecting to the truth of another. He must take it all, or none. Does my opponent believe that there were Levites; that there was a Moses, an Aaron, and a Levitical priesthood; that the nation was convened at Sinai, received the law there attested, and that there was a place of deposit, a sacred chest, first in the tabernacle and then in the temple, containing a copy of this law? Does he believe these things? And, if he does, why not believe all the other facts? I repeat, that it is neither a fair nor a manly style of reasoning, to take a part of these facts, and predicate arguments upon them, without receiving the whole.

Mr. Owen has given us his definition of the term *millennium*, but will give us no definition of *fact*, and says he knows nothing about heaven; neither will he take any notice of the document which I presented to him. I wish you to bear in mind that he pretermits all notice of this document.

Fact is derived from *factum*. It means *that which is done*. Now,

it is not a fact that I have two eyes. This is not a *fact*, but a *truth*. It is a fact that I rose up, or sat down. Any thing I may have *done*, is a fact. No speculation can be a fact. It may be a fact that a man expressed such an opinion; but the opinion itself is no fact. It is a fact that Mr. Owen conceived these twelve positions, wrote them, expressed, or read them; but the twelve opinions, assertions, or propositions are not facts.

Christianity is a positive institution. An institution built upon facts. So was Judaism. The Christian facts are all matters of record. The record, or testimony, is the object of faith. Hence faith requires testimony, testimony concerns facts, and facts require a witness. The historian records facts. The philosopher speculates upon opinions, or abstract truths. Mr. Owen's system is the system of a philosopher: it is not the work of a historian. He confounds speculations, assertions, laws of nature, and facts; and from a fondness for the term *fact*, he calls all his views *facts*. His propositions may, or may not, be *truths;* but *facts* they cannot be. If I could correct Mr. Owen's misapplication and erroneous use of this single term, it might tend to dissolve the charm, and dissipate the illusion which his sportive fancy throws over all his lucubrations.

There are yet remaining a few documents which I desire to read, in further support of the proposition that the Jewish scriptures are corroborated by all ancient historic writers. There is not only no counter testimony, but a strong concurrence of testimony in attestation of the facts recorded by Moses. We penetrated into very remote antiquity in order to illustrate this accordance, and we proved that Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus are reconciled by a reference to Moses; and that these three writers mutually explain and support each other.

There is one consideration which is worthy to be kept continually before our minds in this investigation, and that is the advanced state of civilization in the country when the Jewish religion was first propounded. We must bear in mind that Moses was surrounded by acute, learned, and sagacious enemies, when he led the children of Israel out of Egypt. But we must go further back into antiquity, in order to show that the most ancient traditions confirm the Mosaic account of the creation, deluge, &c.

"As to the history of Berosus, the substance of it, as given us by Abidenus Apollodorus and Alexander Polyhister, is to this purpose:— That there were ten kings of Chaldea before the flood; Alorus, Alasparus, Amelon, Amenon, Metalarus, Daorus, Aedorachus, Amphis, Oliartes, Xisuthrus. That Xisuthrus was warned in a dream that mankind was to be destroyed by a flood on the 15th day of the month Dæsius, and that he should build a sort of ship, and go into it with his friends and kindred, and that he should make a provision of meat and drink, and take into his vessel, fowls and fourfooted beasts; that Xisuthrus acted according to the admonition; built a ship, and put into it all that he was commanded, and went into it with his wife and children, and dearest friends. When the flood was come, and began

to abate, Xisuthrus let out some birds, which finding no food, nor place to rest upon, returned to the ship again; after some days he let out the birds again, but they came back with their legs daubed with mud. Some days after, he let them go the third time, but then they came to the ship no more. Xisuthrus understood thereby, that the earth appeared above the waters, and taking down some of the boards of the ship, he saw that it rested upon a mountain. Some time after, he, and his wife, and his pilot went out of the ship, to offer sacrifices to the gods, and they were never seen by those in the ship more. But the persons in the ship, after seeking him in vain, went to Babylon. The Xisuthrus here mentioned was evidently Noah. And Berosus supposes from Alorus to Xisuthrus ten generations, and so many Moses computes from Adam to Noah."*

This is the Chaldean history concerning their own nation. They wished to trace themselves up to the commencement of time, and gave an account of the ten patriarchs before the flood, making Noah one of their kings.

"The history of Sanchoniatho is to this effect:—That the first mortals were Protogonus and Æon; that by these were begotten Genus and Genea; the children of these were Phos, Pur, and Phlox; and of these were begotten Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys. Memrumus and Hypsuranius were descended from these, and their children were Agreus and Halieus; and of these were begotten two brothers, one of them named Chrysor and Hæphæstus; the name of the other is lost. From this generation came two brothers, Technites and Autochthon, and of them were begotten Agrus and Agrotus; Amynus and Magus were their children, and Misor and Sydec were descended of Amynus and Magus. The son of Misor was Taautus, or Tyoth. This is the Phœnician genealogy of the first ages of the world, and it requires no great pains to show how far it agrees with the accounts of Moses. The first mortals mentioned by Sanchoniato, and called Protogonus and Æon, were undoubtedly Adam and Eve; and his Misor, the father of Taautus, is evidently the Mizraim of Moses. From Protogonus to Misor, Sanchoniatho computes eleven generations, and from Adam to Mizraim, Moses makes twelve; so that Sanchoniatho falls short of Moses only one generation, and this, I conceive, happened by his not having recorded the flood."†

These, now, are the two most ancient traditions in the world, and belong to the Phœnicians and Chaldeans.

"The Chinese have been supposed to have records that reach higher than the history of Moses; but we find, by the best accounts of their antiquities, that this is false. Their antiquities reach no higher than the times of Noah, for Fohi was their first king. They pretend to no history or memoirs that reach up higher than his times; and by all their accounts, the age of Fohi coincides with that of Moses' Noah. Their writers in the general agree, that Fohi lived about 2952 years before Christ. The author of *Mirandorum in Sina et Europa* computes him to reign but 2847 years before our Saviour; and Alvarez

* Shuckford's Connection, vol. 1, p. 41. † Ibid. vol. 1, p. 42.

Sevedo places his reign not so early, imagining it to be but 2060 years; and all these computations agree well enough with the times of Noah, for Noah was born, according to Archbishop Usher, 2948 years, and died 2016 years before Christ; so that all the several computations about Fohi, fall pretty near within the compass of Noah's life. But we shall hereafter see many reasons to conclude Moses' Noah, and the Chinese Fohi, to be the same person."*

"The first king of China was Fohi; and as I have before observed that Fohi and Noah were contemporaries at least, for there are many reasons, from the Chinese traditions concerning Fohi, to think him and Noah the same person. First, they say Fohi had no father, *i. e.* Noah was the first man in the post-diluvian world; his ancestors perished in the flood, and no tradition hereof being preserved in the Chinese annals, Noah, or Fohi, stands there as if he had no father at all. Secondly, Fohi's mother is said to have conceived him encompassed in a rainbow; a conceit very probably arising from the rainbow's first appearing to Noah, and the Chinese being willing to give some account of his original. Thirdly, Fohi is said to have carefully bred seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit of heaven and earth: and Moses tells us that Noah took into the ark, of every clean beast by sevens, and of the fowls of the air by sevens; and after the flood, Noah built an altar, and took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings. Fourthly, the Chinese derive the name of Fohi from his oblation; and Moses gives Noah his name upon account of the grant of the creatures for the use of men, which he obtained by his offering. Lastly, the Chinese history supposes Fohi to have settled in the province of Xeusi, which is the north-west province of China, and near to Ararat, where the ark rested."†

We could occupy (said Mr. Campbell) many hours in the production of such documents as these, which are the most ancient in the world, all corroborating the Mosaic account:—

Not only has it proved impossible to overthrow any of the numerous facts which the scriptures record; but, on the contrary, they are confirmed, in a very striking manner, by the traditionary accounts of all nations.

In answer to Mr. Hume's assertion, that the books of Moses are corroborated by no concurring testimony, Dr. Campbell replies:—"As little, say I, invalidated by any *contradictory* testimony; and both for this plain reason, because there is no human composition that can be compared with this in respect of antiquity. But though this book is not corroborated by the concurrent testimony of any coeval histories, because, if there ever were such histories, they are not now extant; it is not, therefore, destitute of all collateral evidence. The following examples of this kind of evidence deserve some notice. The division of time into weeks, which has obtained in many countries, for instance, among the Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, and northern barbarians—nations some of whom had little or no intercourse with others, and were not even known by name to the Hebrews—the

* Shuckford, vol. 1, p. 48. † Ibid. vol. 1, p. 82.

tradition which, in several places, prevailed concerning the primeval chaos from which the world arose—the production of all living creatures out of water and earth, by the efficacy of a Supreme Mind—the formation of man last of all, in the image of God, and his being vested with dominion over the other animals—the primitive state of innocence and happiness—the subsequent degeneracy of mankind—their destruction by a flood, and the preservation of one family in a vessel. Nay, which is still stronger, I might plead the vestiges of some such catastrophe as the deluge, which the shells and other marine bodies, that are daily dug out of the bowels of the earth, in places remote from the sea, do clearly exhibit to us. I might urge the traces which still remain in ancient histories, of the migrations of people and of science from Asia, (which has not improperly been styled *the cradle of the arts*) into many parts, both of Asia and Europe. I might plead the coincidence of these migrations, and of the origin of states and kingdoms, with the time of the dispersion of the posterity of Noah."

Respecting the division of time into weeks, Dr. Campbell remarks, "The judicious reader will observe, that there is a great difference between the concurrence of nations in the division of time into *weeks*, and their concurrence in the other periodical divisions, into *years*, *months*, and *days*. These divisions arise from such natural causes as are every where obvious; the annual and diurnal revolutions of the sun, and the revolution of the moon. The division into *weeks*, on the contrary, seems perfectly arbitrary; consequently, its prevailing in distant countries, among nations which had no communication with one another, affords a strong presumption that it must have been derived from some tradition, (as that of the creation,) which was older than the dispersion of mankind into different regions."

"To this last article may be added, that the whole of the fifteen southern constellations yield their testimony to the ten first chapters of Genesis. First, the constellations of the ship: secondly, the altar, with its vast body of fire and smoke ascending near the triangle—the remarkable Egyptian symbol of deity: thirdly, the sacrificer: fourthly, the beast about to be sacrificed: fifthly, the raven: sixthly, the cup of libation: seventhly, eighthly, and ninthly, the greater and lesser dog, and the hare, situated so near to orion, the great and iniquitous hunter both of men and beasts. The whole of the remaining constellations of the southern hemisphere are composed of aquatic objects or animals, and may be considered as pointedly allusive to a general deluge.

"Traditions, more or less distinct, which corroborate the facts recorded by Moses, and which prove the common origin of mankind, are found, on the whole, to be uniform in all parts of the world. They have not only been verbally handed down, but have subsisted in the religious observances and practices of all nations. These are not confined to the old world, but extend also to the new. The first discoverers of America observed there a reverence for the sabbath, and an acquaintance with many of the appointments of the Mosaic institution, and of the early history of the world. 'The contents of some of

their manuscripts are curious in a high degree. One is a cosmogony, which contains a tradition of the mother of mankind having fallen from her first state of happiness and innocence; and she is generally represented as accompanied by a serpent. We find also the idea of a great inundation overwhelming the earth, from which a single family escaped on a raft. There is a history of a pyramidal edifice raised by the pride of men, and destroyed by the anger of the gods. The ceremony of ablution is practised at the birth of children. All these circumstances, and many more, led the priests who accompanied the Spanish army at the time of the conquest, to the belief, that at some very distant epocha, Christianity, or at least Judaism, had been preached in the new continent. I think, however, says Mr. Humboldt, I may affirm, from the knowledge we have lately acquired of the sacred books of the Hindoos, that, in order to explain the analogy of these traditions, we have no need to recur to the western part of Asia, since similar traditions, of high and venerable antiquity, are found among the followers of Brama, and among the Shamans of the eastern Steppes of Tartary.'

"The institution of sacrifice, which, to Mr. Hume, appeared absurd, and which certainly did not originate from what is called the light of nature, has been found in every part of the world."

Whether we consult the religion of the Greeks, the Goths, or the Hindoos, we every where meet with a mediatorial deity, engaged in combat with an envenomed serpent. And a belief that the place of punishment is full of serpents, equally pervades the Gothic, the Persian, and the Hindoo mythologies. Can any one imagine that such unlikely combinations, unaccountable except on the ground of a common descent and revelation from God, for instance, that of a triune God, could have accidentally found a place among men, originally separate, and remote from each other?

"Traditions have been traced over the globe of the creation; of the sabbath day; of paradise; of the fall of man; of the serpent; of the promised Messiah; of Cain and Abel; of the longevity of the patriarchs; of the number of the generations between Adam and Noah; of the deluge; of the dove sent out by Noah; of the rainbow as a sign; of the number of persons preserved in the ark; of Noah and his three sons; of the Tower of Babel; of Sodom and Gomorrah, with a variety of circumstances respecing these particulars.

"The great tower in the temple of Belus at Babylon, is supposed to have been the same which was built there at the confusion of tongues. As described by Strabo, it was one of the most wonderful works in the world. Although it fell short of the greatest of the Egyptian pyramids, (which was a square of seven hundred feet on every side, while this was but of six hundred) yet it far exceeded it in the height; the perpendicular measure of that pyramid being four hundred and eighty-one feet, and that of the tower, six hundred. It is particularly attested by several authors to have been all built of bricks and bitumen, as the scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. Herodotus says that the going up to it was by stairs, on the outside, round it. When

Alexander took Babylon, Calisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astronomical observations for one thousand, nine hundred, and three years backwards from that time; which carried up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of Babel was built.

Concerning Sodom and Gomorrah, Tacitus relates, that a tradition still prevailed in his days, of certain powerful cities having been destroyed by thunder and lightning; and of the plain in which they were situated having been burnt up. He adds, that evident traces of such a catastrophe remained. This historian concludes with expressing his own belief in this awful judgment, derived from an attentive consideration of the country in which it was said to have happened. In a similar manner, Strabo, after describing the nature of the lake Asphaltis, adds, that the whole of its appearance gives an air of probability to the *prevailing tradition*, that thirteen cities, the chief of which was Sodom, were once destroyed and swallowed up by earthquakes, fire, and an inundation of boiling sulphureous water.

"The account which Lucian (a professed scoffer at all religions, who lived in the second century) has given of the tradition of the flood, in his dialogues, is as follows: Having visited the temple of Hierapolis, he says 'The popular story is, that this temple was founded by Deucalion, the scythian, in whose time the great flood is said to have happened. I was no stranger to the account of it by the Greeks, which is as follows: Not one of us now living is descended from the original race of men, who all perished; and we, numerous as we are, are no other than a second race, sprung from Deucalion. The Aborigines, we are informed, were apt to be very arrogant, full of mischief, and continually transgressing the laws, inhospitable to strangers, deaf to supplications, and would say or swear any thing; in which offences they were overtaken by the severity of justice. The earth, on a sudden, opened its sluices, heavy showers of rain came down, the rivers swelled, the sea rose till the waters every where prevailed, and every mortal was drowned, except Deucalion alone, whose discretion and piety were such, that he was spared, and became the father of a new generation. Having a large chest, he put his wives and children in it, and then went into it himself; which was no sooner done, than there came unto him, boars, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and in short, every species of land animals, all in pairs. He took them all in; and Jupiter had ordered it so, that they neither did him nor one another the least injury, but lived and sailed together in perfect harmony, during the continuance of the flood, all in the same chest.' This I was told by the Greeks. In addition to which, the Hierapolitans relate, that a large chasm was provided in their country to absorb the water; and that Deucalion, after thus seeing it thus disposed of, raised altars, and built a temple to Juno, over the chasm. It was but a small hole in the earth when I saw it; but how much larger it might have been formerly, when it held so much, I cannot take upon me to say. However, as a proof of what they advance, water is

brought twice in the year, from the sea to the temple, not only by the priests, but from the whole country far and near, by Syrians, Arabians, and great multitudes beyond the Euphrates. It is emptied in the temple, and runs in the opening below, which, small as it is, takes in such a quantity as is truly amazing. This seems to be a law of Deucalion, to perpetuate the memory of his deliverance from the general calamity.

Various pagan historians speak of Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews. Diodorus Siculus calls him a man of most superior wisdom and courage. He mentions the departure of Israel from Egypt; of their advancing into Palestine, and seizing upon a number of cities, particularly Jerusalem. He speaks of their worship, their tribes, their code of laws, by which they were kept separate from every other people; of the priesthood appointed in one family; of judges, instead of kings, being appointed to decide all controversies among them; of the superior authority being invested in the chief priests; and that Moses concluded the volume of his laws, with claiming for them divine inspiration. Strabo also mentions various particulars respecting Moses. Eupolimus likewise celebrates him as being the first wise man, and the inventor of letters, which the Phœnicians received from the Jews, and the Greeks from the Phœnicians." [*Half hour out.*]

Friday forenoon, 17th April.

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—Mr. Campbell put to me yesterday one or two questions, to which he requested a reply. One of these questions was, *Whether I believed in the testimony of history?* Now, I believe the historical fact recorded in Roman history, that Cæsar conquered Pompey, and that Cæsar was assassinated in the senate house; and I believe a certain number of the prominent and leading facts of all histories which seem to be generally attested, and upon what is deemed the best authority that can be obtained, when not opposed by the divine laws of human nature. But I do not believe much of the details of either profane or sacred history. I know how difficult it is for individuals to go away from this meeting and relate facts precisely as they occurred here. Then what degree of faith can we have in narratives put upon record many years after the facts, which they relate, are said to have happened, and every conceivable opportunity and motive to falsify them? I, therefore, believe but few of the facts related in history, where the historian attempts to penetrate into the motives of the actors; for almost all the proceedings of men have been secret measures of the real motives, to the performance of which, the public knew nothing, or were grossly deceived. I know of nothing more fallacious in its nature than history, sacred or profane; and when opposed to the known laws of nature, their testimony, however testified, is of no value whatever. It is a sure sign, when these are received with authority, that early erroneous impressions have not been obliterated.

Mr. Campbell's next question to me was, *What is a fact?* I re-

plied, that a fact was any thing which exists. Mr. Campbell says, that it is not a fact that he has two eyes; but it surely is a fact that he has two corporeal eyes. It may be a fact with regard to our mental vision, that we may not have two eyes; for, most unfortunately for many of us, we have not yet been enabled to see with more than half an eye.

Some gentleman, to me unknown, has handed me a note, which I will read:

"Mr. Owen—Was man originally created or uncreated?"

Now, my friends, when I can answer this question, I can answer every other of a similar mysterious nature. I do not know whether an original man was created or not. And I do not think it is of much consequence to any of us that we should know the fact. As soon as we shall have facts to enable us to form a rational conjecture upon this topic, it will be time enough to discuss it.

Yesterday I was obliged to conclude my address in the midst of my endeavours to explain to you the facts which compel me to believe that the religions of the world are the cause of almost all its sufferings. The sufferings produced by religion are all those which emanate from falsehood, deceit, and hypocrisy; from poverty, and from disunion, arising from a difference of feelings, opinions, and interests. But the sufferings arising from these causes, the genuine fruit of all religions, are tolerably applicable to the common affairs of life. But not so when compared with the miseries experienced by so many human beings from a disappointment of the affections, or from a deep conviction that they are not sound in the true faith; and that, from the advanced state of their minds in a knowledge of some facts, it is impossible to become so. And thus, with the fear of hell and eternal punishment continually before their eyes, they are made as miserable as human nature can endure on this side of madness; or, until after many years of suffering, insanity comes to the relief of their nature—for "a wounded conscience who can bear?" All these sufferings are produced solely by religion; and if you wish details of the overwhelming afflictions arising from a system which exacts a compulsory belief, I will refer you to the proceedings on the subject of religious belief in the early ages; to the horrors of the inquisition; to the burnings which have taken place in christendom, even in England; and to the numerous receptacles for mad persons, to be found at this day in every part of the civilized world: to say nothing of the annual murders perpetrated under the chariot wheels of Juggernaut, or upon the funeral pile of the *Suttee*. In the course of my travels, I have uniformly taken occasion to inquire of the superintendents of lunatic asylums what was the most fruitful source of insanity; and they have invariably informed me that it was over-excitement of mind on the subject of religion; that religious insanity constituted by far the most numerous class of cases. In reply to the question, What was the next most fruitful source of mental alienation? they have told me that it was the disappointment of the affections. Such have been the consequences of attempting to compel men to think that they were culpable on account of their

thoughts, belief, and opinions, never yet under the control of their will, or for their likings or dislikings towards their fellow-creatures, which were equally forced upon them by the laws of their nature. Many in this assembly have, I doubt not, experienced grievous suffering in consequence of having been trained in these pernicious errors; whereas, had you been trained to have rational views upon these subjects, you would just as soon have thought of tormenting yourselves because you were not six feet high. There is just as much reason and common sense in attempting to compel men and women to be of the same height, as to endeavour to make them think and feel alike upon subjects not resting upon certain and unchanging facts.

I have only laid before you a few, out of the innumerable reasons which might be adduced, to prove that the religions of the world have been the real cause of the vice, disunion, and unhappiness which now pervade society; and that it has been, mediately or immediately, directly or indirectly, the real cause of all the evils with which the human race has been afflicted. We come now, my friends, to the fourth division of our subject, which is, if I recollect aright, that "the errors in which all religions are founded, are the real cause which now prevents the establishment over the earth of a society of virtue, of intelligence, of charity in its most genuine sense, and of sincerity and kindness among the whole human family." And, my friends, if religion be the only obstacle to such a happy consummation as this, it is surely high time that this obstacle was removed. "*What is virtue?*" is another question which has been put to me. Virtue, my friends, according to the best idea I can form of it, is that course of conduct which promotes most effectually the happiness of man, individually and collectively; and vice is that course of conduct which, by the laws of man's nature, tends to keep him in ignorance, and to render him, individually and collectively, unhappy. Now, the whole course of my reading, reflection, and observation,—of my knowledge of man, derived from extensive travels, and observation of the animal man in his various *phases*, and from intimate communication and interchange of intelligence with the first minds I have been able to meet with, concur to impress upon my mind a resistless conviction, that the only barriers now existing, in the way of the establishment of a virtuous, happy, and rapidly progressive state of society, are the religions now taught in the world. To me, it appears the essence of folly, to suppose that there can be real virtue among a people taught to believe that they have the power of controlling their belief, and of liking and disliking at their will. These two errors, so long as they remain the paramount circumstance in forming the mind and feelings of the human race, must ever present an impassable barrier to our progress in the paths of virtue: nay, while these errors continue to be impressed on the infant mind, real virtue must remain hidden from man. These two pernicious errors engender all falsehood, deception, and hypocrisy. These are, indeed, the natural and necessary fruit of the tree—and where there is falsehood and deception, there can be no virtue; and where these errors exist,

truth cannot be known; and, in consequence, your present state of society is built altogether upon falsehood and deception. Where there is disunion of feeling and sentiment, there can be no more than the appearance of virtue; and religion compels you to imbibe, at a very early age, the sole cause of this disunion of sentiment and feeling, and to regard it as a virtue. When and where have there ever been harmony and unison of opinion on the subject of religion? So well is this understood amongst the most enlightened and refined circles of society, that they have tacitly entered into a convention never to broach the subject of religion;—so well is it known to the intelligent and best educated part of the European population, that the discussion of religious topics tends, for the time, to render the parties beside themselves, or partially insane. They generally establish it as one of the rules in their learned societies, for the improvement of the human mind in real knowledge, that religion shall *not* be introduced. In those minds in which there is not a pure, a genuine or universal charity, derived from a clear and distinct knowledge of the laws of human nature, which excludes not a single individual of the human family from our kind feelings for their happiness, there can be no virtue. And where is the religion that does not, in its immediate, direct, and necessary tendency, steel the heart of man against the admission of this universal charity? I can command no language sufficiently expressive of the strength of my conviction, that religion locks up the heart of man, and renders it impenetrable to the reception of a single charitable feeling, or ennobling sentiment. To what country shall I betake myself, in order to find true *charity;* which is the most rational, amiable, and beneficial quality of human nature? Has it ever been, even up to the present hour, allowed fair play? Had it not been checked in the bud by religion, it would have been the most natural and the most general attribute of human character. But as the character of man has been formed by the religions of the world, is this pure charity, or even the semblance of it, to be found in Europe, Africa, or America? I have sought for it every where as the pearl above all price, but nowhere can I find it, or even trace a faint resemblance to it. I have long since abandoned the search; for to find it where any religion prevailed, I discovered was utterly hopeless. This divine charity, to be derived only from an accurate knowledge of the laws of human nature, never has existed as a virtue to any people from the beginning of time. How was it to be produced? Can doctrines which teach that man can believe or disbelieve, love or hate at pleasure, teach charity? To expect the tree of religion, my friends, to produce the fruit of charity, were just as irrational, as to expect "figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles." There can be no real virtue, where there is not kindness and affection existing amongst the population: but where shall we look for this? The Society of Friends have made the nearest approximation to it that I have yet seen; but have they been able to attain to this indispensable prerequisite for virtue and social happiness? No, my friends, with the most ardent desire on their part, the Society of

Friends have not been able to attain to this happy state of individual and social feeling. They have failed entirely, and why? Because there can be no real affection, kindness, or benevolence of feeling amongst the members of any class, sect, or party, who are trained in the notion that they can believe or disbelieve, like or dislike at will. No: to search after a virtuous population, whilst these pernicious and fundamental errors are taught to the people, will be only to waste our time. Then, my friends, if you really wish to be virtuous, and to have kind and affectionate feelings one towards another, and to acquire the feelings of a pure and genuine *charity* that shall perpetually exclude from your bosoms every unpleasant and unkind feeling towards any of your brethren of the human family, the first step that you must take is, to discard and to reject all the religions of the world, together with all those errors which these religions have forced into your minds. When you can effect an amalgamation between oil and water, you may expect to find real virtue and religion co-existed in the same people. A population *virtuous*, and at the same time *religious*, never has existed; and if I know any thing of the constitution of human nature, it never will exist. And as to our progress in improvement in intelligence in other matters, it has been made unaided by system, in opposition to the established and prevalent systems of religion in the place where the improvements are made. Religions in general set no value upon real, or what they term, worldly knowledge.

Amongst every population over the world, in which any religion has acquired the full ascendency over the minds of the people, there, as a necessary consequence, have young, old, and middle-aged been plunged in the darkest night of ignorance. How, indeed, is it possible, that religion and intelligence ever can exist together? The one has its source in the wildest fancies of a romantic and overstrained imagination; the other is derived from fact, and is founded in real knowledge, and discoverable only by the clear light of natural revelation. If the Christian religion had not induced, sustained, and continued the dark ages, as they are called, how different would have been the state of the world during that period, from what we learn from history it has been, and from our experience it is now? Why, my friends, under a rational system, founded on the obvious laws of nature, it will be easy in practice to give more knowledge, requisite to happiness, to a population in ten years to come, than the world has been permitted to acquire in the last two thousand years. If, therefore, we are ever to become a people truly intelligent, our first preliminary step must be to discard all religions, and the incalculable errors of every description which they have engendered. It is religion, my friends, which destroys all our reasoning faculties, and conjures up phantoms to affright and confound all the human faculties. Were it not for the degrading and debasing effects of the various religions of the world, bowing down the minds of mankind to receive the teachings of a few ignorant mortals, who pretend to instruct them in, to them, inconceivable heavenly mysteries, children, by the time

they arrive at the age of ten years, might, with ease to their instructors, and great delight to themselves, be trained to the acquisition of more knowledge than is at present possessed by any priest, or all the priests in the world. Then, my friends, we come next to that charity which it is necessary to possess in devising a system for the education of children; and the only barrier I know of, to the introduction of the most necessary charity, is religion. But so long as religion is tolerated, this charity can find no resting-place upon earth. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

"A copious history of the Jewish legislator is given by Antapanus, in which the oppression of the Israelites, the flight of Moses into Arabia and his subsequent marriage, a circumstance similar to that of the burning bush, his divine commission to deliver his countrymen, the transformation of his rod into a serpent, the various plagues of Egypt, the spoiling of the Egyptians, the passage through the Red Sea, the destruction of Pharaoh and host, and the support of the Israelites by manna in the wilderness, are all mentioned. He is further said to have been the person whom the Greeks call Museus, the preceptor of Orpheus. The same author asserts that the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea was not unknown to the Heliopolitans, who gave the following account of that supernatural transaction. "The king of Egypt, as soon as the Jews had departed from his country, pursued them with an immense army, bearing along with him the consecrated animals. But Moses having, by the divine command, struck the waters with his rod, they parted asunder, and afforded a free passage to the Israelites. The Egyptians attempted to follow them, when fire suddenly flashed in their faces, and the sea, returning to its usual channel, brought an universal destruction upon their whole army."

"The circumstance of the Egyptians being struck with lightning, as well as being overwhelmed by the waves, is mentioned in the 77th Psalm, although unnoticed in the Pentateuch.

"Diodorus Siculus relates, that the Ichthyophagi, who lived near the Red Sea, had a tradition handed down to them, through a long line of ancestors, that the whole bay was once laid bare to the very bottom, the waters retiring to the opposite shores; and that they afterwards returned to their accustomed channel with a most tremendous revulsion.

"Even to this day, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Corondel preserve the remembrance of a mighty army having been once drowned in the bay which Ptolemy calls Clysma.

"The very country where the event is said to have happened, in some degree bears testimony of the accuracy of the Mosaical narrative. The scriptural *Ethen* is still called *Etti*. The wilderness of *Shur*, the mountain of *Sinai*, and the country of *Paran*, are still known by the same name; and *Marah*, *Elath*, and *Midian* are still familiar to the ears of the Arabs. The grove of Elim yet remains, and its

twelve fountains have never increased nor diminished since the days of Moses.

"The names which are assigned by Moses to eastern countries and cities, returned to them immediately from the patriarchs their original founders, are for the most part the very names by which they were anciently known all over the East; many of them were afterwards translated, with little variation, by the Greeks, into their systems of geography. Moses has traced in one short chapter, all the inhabitants of the earth, from the Caspian and Persian seas to extreme Gades to their original, and recorded at once the period and occasion of their dispersion.

"The late Sir William Jones has very satisfactorily traced the origin of all the people of the earth to the three roots, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, according to the account given in the 10th chapter of Genesis. The fact mentioned by him is worthy of remark, that the first dynasties of Peruvian kings are dignified exactly as those of India are, by the name of the sun and moon.

"Sir William Jones has shown, that the traditions of the present heathen nations of Asia are not of more ancient authority than the traditions of the ancient nations of Asia and Europe. States and empires," he says, "could scarcely have assumed a regular form till fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the Christian epoch; and for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished nation descended from Abraham.

"The Chinese themselves do not pretend that any historical monument existed among them in the age of Confucius, more ancient than one thousand one hundred years before the Christian epoch.

"The dawn of true Indian history appears only three or four centuries before the Christian era; the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

"Truth is always consistent with itself, and acquires an accession of evidence from every thing with which it stands connected. It is not only beyond the power of perverted ingenuity and learning to invalidate the truth of the facts recorded in the earlier parts of the scriptural history, but they are confirmed by the traditions of all nations in a manner the most indubitable."*

We have now, we presume, exhausted your patience on this dry, but still interesting part of the argument. We predicate nothing on these documents further than this, that so far as the antiquities of nations have descended to us, there is corroborative evidence of the Mosaic account, and not a single testimony against it.

There is more absurdity in my friend's last address, than could, perhaps, be disproved in a week. I have enumerated fifty-four distinct assertions adduced in his last address, and in the same space of time I could utter fifty-four entirely distinct from my opponent's. But what would be the results?—what the convictions arising from such a style of disputation? If this is to pass for argument, demon-

* Haldane's Evidences, p. 179—194.

stration, or proof among the sceptics, I think their case is indeed irremediable. Men do, indeed, talk of reason, and eulogize her, and compare her with Christianity; but I have uniformly remarked that sceptics, after a few compliments to their goddess at the threshhold, afterwards treat her with great neglect. I had intended to-day, to present a recapitulation of my argument, and of my opponent's also; but on examination, I could not find that he had advanced a single new idea. I could discover nothing but what he has already more than once presented. He has only given us another revisal of his divine code. In reiterating this code, he did, I acknowledge, pass a few compliments upon the general character of man. We have been told, among other things, that we have not rational faces; that there are few indices or proofs of any sort of reasoning powers exhibited in any Christian community; and to Christian communities he ascribes all the vices of the world. For what purpose should I attend to such a style of argument? No good could result. By recognising it as worthy of notice, I should be deprived of opportunity to advance any good arguments in favour of Christianity. On Mr. Owen's principles, he can commit no sin against decorum, or any thing else. He cannot recognise any being taking cognizance of his motives against whom he can sin. He acknowledges no responsibility to any tribunal, none to the moderators, none to the audience. Upon his own principles he cannot sin, and is, therefore, incapable of conviction upon our premises.

Yesterday, we were told that we were neither more nor less than mere particles of matter, consequently that there is no such thing as either virtue, religion, or morality, in the common acceptation of those terms. I know that the terms *heaven*, *divine law*, *religion*, *virtue*, and *morality*, are occasionally used by Mr. Owen; but in what sense or application he uses them is not known. We have called upon him repeatedly for a definition of these terms. Surely it must be known to Mr. Owen, that in argument, definitions must be settled. Now, I would ask this audience if they have any idea of what Mr. Owen means by *virtue?* What are his ideas of virtue? What virtue can a being who is altogether material, possess? Why, he tells us, that it is to pay a just regard to our passions and feelings; or, in other words, that a virtuous course is that which secures to us the greatest amount of animal enjoyment. So that virtue, with Mr. Owen, is nothing more than a new name for appetite gratified, and his morality is nothing more than the capacity to minister to animal enjoyment. This is, most unquestionably, what Mr. Owen means by virtue and morality.

In regard to the term *fact*, Mr. Owen repeats that "*any thing which exists, is fact.*" Now, I believe I hold mere verbal criticism in as slight regard as most men; but by this loose method of defining terms and using them, it is impossible ever to arrive at a logical conclusion. We asserted yesterday, that *whatever is done*, is a fact; but that nothing which is not done can be called a fact: this, I affirm, is the true import of the term. In common parlance we use this and

other terms vaguely, but when we come to logical and philosophical discussion, this will never do. If it be necessary in mathematics to have a strict definition of our terms, it is equally necessary here. What is the difference between a fact, a truth, an opinion, and a belief? Why, there is just as distinct a meaning annexed to these terms, in my mind, as to the eye, the ear, or any other organ or member of the human body. The term *truth*, is the most general and comprehensive of all. We have logical and mathematical truths, and so on through the whole circle of the sciences; and it means no more than a co-existence and consentaneousness with the thing of which it is affirmed. When facts are called stubborn things, which are to revolutionise the world, it is surely necessary that we should understand the import of the term; but here we are at issue. Mr. Owen says a fact is that which *exists*; on the other hand, we affirm that a fact is that which is *done*. Now, according to Mr. Owen's definition, every thing that has any existence, real or imaginary, is a fact. If a house is composed of fifty thousand bricks, it is composed of fifty thousand facts! It is *true* that I have two eyes; but, in the legitimate use of terms, it is not a *fact*. It is a fact that Mr. Owen addressed you; that he has exhibited his twelve laws several times; expounded and applied them; but their existence upon that paper is *not* a fact. It is a fact that they were written, read, and explained; because all these things were *done*. Historic facts are those which have been done in former times, and put upon record.

After my opponent's definition of the term *fact*, he was pleased to admit that he had some credulity; that he believed that Julius Cæsar was assassinated in the Capitol, and that this same Cæsar conquered Pompey. He also admitted that he believed some other facts in Roman history. He believes in the existence of an inquisition, of the cruel persecutions of the Puritans, and he believes in the practicability of instituting a new social system, which is to revolutionise the world: these are *facts* which, he says, he believes. Now take the most notorious of these facts—viz. that Cæsar was assassinated in the senate-house, and let him produce the evidence on which his belief rests. I say, let him produce the historic evidence on which he rests his belief in this fact; and I will produce a hundredfold more historic evidence of every species to prove that Jesus Christ rose from the dead.

My friend is himself a striking contradiction to his whole doctrine of circumstances, because we see him before us such a being, as it is impossible his circumstances could ever have formed. His views, sentiments, feelings, and whole course of conduct are antipodes to those of men reared and trained under circumstances of the same character with his own. What, I should like to be informed, has differed Mr. Owen from his neighbours? He has asserted that our faith is entirely involuntary, and that our volitions have nothing to do with our belief; but he has just shown you that he disbelieves his own sixth law. He has the most voluntary kind of faith I ever knew. He wills to believe all history that reflects any stigma upon nominal

christians;—the cruelties and persecutions practised by pretended disciples of Him who prohibited all violence, cruelty, and revenge: he wills to believe certain matters of fact from Roman history. The rest he wills to disbelieve.

The reason why I have not replied to the calumnies cast by Mr. Owen upon the Christian religion, is, because we thought them unworthy of a reply. But Mr. Owen ought to come to close quarters, armed with the artillery of his twelve facts. In order to bring Mr. Owen to close quarters, I presented him with a written outline of my exceptions to some of his most important facts, or laws of human nature, or whatever he may prefer to call them. This paper Mr. Owen has not condescended to notice. I shall, therefore, take the liberty to read it to you, in order that you may judge for yourselves, whether it merits the contempt with which it has been treated. You will then judge whether Mr. Owen, as a philosopher, is not bound, and especially on the ground he has assumed, to discuss the merits of the document presented.

EXTRACT FROM OWEN'S LAWS OF OUR NATURE.

Sixth law. "That each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impressions that can be made on his feelings and other faculties."

Ninth law. "That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual depend, in a great degree, upon the proper cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties and powers, from infancy to maturity; and upon all those parts of his nature being duly called into action at their proper period, and temperately exercised according to the strength and capacity of the individual."

NOTES UPON MR. OWEN'S SIXTH LAW.

The object of this law is to prove man a necessary, and therefore an irresponsible agent.

Belief must, in all cases, be the effect of testimony, as knowledge is of experience; which latter is always, and in all cases, the proper and necessary effect of sensation, perception, memory, and consciousness; or, is the necessary result of one or more of these faculties. Wherefore, unless we confound belief with knowledge, it has nothing to do with our sensations or feelings, whether external or internal feelings, but depends entirely upon testimony—of the validity of which, reason is the sole and competent judge. But, suppose, with the said law, that "our belief has no dependance upon our will," What then? How does this affect our responsibility? to destroy which is the obvious design of the said law. Is not *will*, or *volition*, the last practical act of the mind—the determination of the mind to action, whether the action be internal or external? Is it not the effect of appetite—of affection—of passion—of judgment? And, although it may proceed from any one, or more, of these motives, yet, in rational creatures, ought it not to be always under the control of reason and of judgment? And if we judge, or reason, rightly, ac-

cording to the documents within our power, we shall necessarily *will* to do what, upon the whole, appears right, or preferable to do. And this we shall most certainly do, if we possess the documents of Christianity, and act accordingly. For, it is axiomatically right for the rational creature to love, adore, and obey his Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and gracious Benefactor; to whom he stands indebted for every thing enjoyed or promised. These things being so, the only necessity the rational creature is subject to, according to its nature, is to act right; that is, according to the best documents which are within its power, or of which it can avail itself. To act thus, would most certainly be to act circumstantially right; than which, no rational creature can act better: and, in the case supposed, would inevitably lead to piety, temperance, justice, and charity, and would infallibly secure benevolence to all, according to our ability and their necessity. Now, if to these happy results of the just necessity of acting up to this sixth law of our rational nature, as explained above, we add the requirements of the ninth, in order to promote and secure our highest and most permanent happiness, by cultivating, in the best and highest manner, all our powers and faculties, physical, intellectual, and moral, from infancy to maturity, and in calling them forth into action at the proper periods, shall we not especially cultivate and call into action, as fast, and as far as possible, these powers, the improvement and exercise of which, contribute most to this high and benevolent design of our creation; namely, the knowledge and love of God, with all the blissful and glorious hopes and assurances of the gospel, both present and future; all of which are attainable by faith only? Shall we not, therefore, cultivate the faculty of believing, with which we are so liberally endowed from our very infancy, that our progressive happiness, our diversified gratification, may increase as fast as possible,—may grow with our growth, and strengthen with our strength? For who knows not that the chief of our gratifications consist in the exercise of our minds upon the most lovely and interesting objects? And what can equal for grandeur, for beauty, for variety, for interest, for permanency, the glorious, the wonderful, and lovely objects presented to our minds in the Holy Scriptures, to allure our souls to the love of piety and benevolence, and of all manner of virtue and goodness? Or what so terrible or dissuasive as the exhibitions of the divine displeasure against every species of impiety, of iniquity, and cruelty to our fellow-creatures? And are not these things addressed and adapted to our intellectual faculties? Have we not the faculty of believing upon testimony; of discerning its credibility; of loving and hating; of hoping and fearing; of admiring, desiring, rejoicing; of gratitude and resentment? And does not our intellectual happiness consist in a duly apportioned succession of those exercises towards their proper objects? Does not the eighth law of our nature demand *variety* in order to healthful enjoyment? And does not the law under consideration call for the cultivation of our moral faculties? And are not the above objects adapted to the cultivation of these faculties?

But to proceed. We have farther proof of the designed or involuntary ambiguity of our opponent. He still persists in the use of the word *created.* What is the import of the word *created?* In reply to this question, Mr. Owen says that he does not know whether he ever was created. Therefore, for Mr. Owen to use the term *created,* is an imposition upon our language and feelings. What is the import of the word *feeling?* What does Mr. Owen mean by applying the term *belief,* to the strongest impressions made upon our *feelings?* If I put my finger into the fire, I *feel* that I am burned; but, according to Mr. Owen's use of terms, from this *feeling* results my *belief* that I am burned; and I ought, to speak in this style, to say that I *believe* I am burned, and that this belief is involuntary. We have protested already against this licentious use of terms. We have affirmed that the term *belief,* cannot have reference to our sensations, but can only be applied legitimately to matters dependent upon testimony; that where there is no testimony, there can be no belief. It is common, we admit, to say, that we have the testimony of our own eyes, or ears; but this is language merely eulogistic of the utility and perfection of those organs; but, in strict propriety of speech, we cannot use the term *belief,* where there is neither *oral, written, nor traditional testimony.* But, with Mr. Owen, the word *belief,* is *nomen generalissimum;* a word of the most general and comprehensive signification, almost equivalent in the latitude in which he uses it to an universal language. If I *feel* hot or cold, wet or dry, sick or well, weary or refreshed, according to Mr. Owen's latitudinous use of the word, I must say that I *believe* that I *feel* all these varied sensations.

He says that each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impression made upon his eye, or ear, or nose, or heart, or any appetite, passion, or power which he possesses; or, in other words, fire will burn him, water will drown him, and the breeze will cool him, whether he will it or not; and therefore this belief is involuntary. From such confusion of terms, we may infer, that there is a corresponding confusion of ideas; for confusion of terms is the offspring, either of confusion of ideas, or a mistake of the meaning of terms. Whatever a person clearly conceives, he can clearly express—*verba sequuntur res;* or, in English, words follow ideas, is a true and instructive maxim. Whole systems of error, when analysed, have been found to proceed from a misapprehension and misapplication of terms. And, indeed, I am not without very considerable misgivings that this may be one radical cause of the illusion which has captivated my friend and opponent, Mr. Owen. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—In this discussion I am to prove and establish certain points. Mr. Campbell, on the other hand, has undertaken to disprove them. The course I have pursued, plainly indicates how much I wish to reply to Mr. Campbell's observations whenever he

brings forward any thing that to me appears rationally and legitimately entitled to a grave reply; but when Mr. Campbell endeavours to introduce into this debate, theological speculations, which none but those trained in them can perceive belong to the subjects, I really cannot reconcile it to my notions of the propriety and decorum which the dignity of this debate requires to be mutually and reciprocally observed, to indulge myself in any reply to what I conceive to be so impertinently irrelevant to the real merits of the question; therefore, when I do not give Mr. Campbell a direct reply, you must do me the justice to believe that I cannot recognise the matter propounded as applicable to the questions before us. I now perceive that Mr. Campbell's associations of ideas are, indeed, very different on these subjects, to those combinations which have been formed in the most intelligent minds in the most advanced societies in Europe and America. He has been, evidently, always within religious circumstances, and his mind is overwhelmed with their influences, while I have fortunately escaped out of them, and freely examined and experienced the influences of almost all the other circumstances to be found in civilized society. Mr. Campbell, therefore, thinks that important to the discussion of the subjects before us, which I know, in the present comparatively advanced state of knowledge, not to be deserving of any record in our proceedings, and I therefore pass it over without further notice. Mr. Campbell has informed you that it was not in the nature of man to be compelled to support clerical institutions against their will, and to pay them money. In reply, I request him to ask the catholics of Ireland, if the large sums which they annually contribute to support the established church of England, in Ireland, are not rendered solely against their will; and in England, large sums are extracted from the Jews and dissenters, in support of their established religion, solely against their inclination.

But the most singular misconception of Mr. Campbell, is in relation to the laws which govern our belief of facts. Now, there is nothing more familiar to the human mind, than that when we read history, and find the facts stated to be in the regular order of nature to be well-attested, and not contradicted by other equal authority, for us to believe such facts to be true. While, on the other hand, when we read of facts stated to exist, which are opposed to the well-ascertained laws of our nature, and which require stronger evidence than any history can afford, we, as rational beings, are compelled to withhold our belief in such statements; and it does not depend upon our will, for we cannot do otherwise. In the reading of history, it does not depend upon me to believe or disbelieve the historic facts related; one set of facts I can believe without effort, whilst another appears so improbable, that it becomes impossible to force myself to believe them.

I have been asked for my definition of the word fact. Now, using the word in its common acceptation, it is considered to be a fact or no fact that man, at birth, is ignorant of his organization; and so on throughout the whole twelve facts which I have stated. These are

either facts or no facts; and it is Mr. Campbell's business and duty to show to the contrary, if he does not believe them to be facts. But what perplexes Mr. Campbell, is the exclusive attention he has paid to metaphysics—his attention has never been directed to the examination and ascertainment of facts. The difference between Mr. Campbell and myself is this: I have for many years attended to nothing but facts, and Mr. Campbell to nothing but imagination. For instance, with regard to the fundamental law of our nature: it is either a fact or no fact that we have the power of believing or disbelieving at will. I have put the test to Mr. Campbell, and he has shown the fact to be so true that there is no opposing it. In like manner, I would say, that it is a fact that man's will has or has not power over his belief; in like manner, it is a fact that we *know* those things of which we are informed by the evidence of our senses, and we are compelled to *believe* those things which are thus forced into our minds upon the merits of the testimony which verifies them. In like manner, it is, or is not, a fact that all religions of the world have been founded in ignorance. My affirmative is, that all the religions of the world have been founded in ignorance; I offer proof and arguments in support of this proposition; and all Mr. Campbell might say for a thousand years would be but idle words, unless he can prove this fact. I tell you nothing but truths, my friends, and when you come to reflect coolly upon my statements, and to study facts for yourselves, you may depend upon it that you will find these much more true than the gospel; and it is now these very errors that prevent the establishment of a society of charity in its most extensive sense over the world. Mr. Campbell and I take a great deal of pains not to be angry with each other, but were it not for the erroneous notions implanted by religion, we should have no angry feelings on account of difference of opinion, and our present discussion would only be a little pleasant excitement to us both.

But to be again serious upon these important subjects. The religions of the world are the only cause why we cannot establish a society that shall have sincerity for its foundation; for where religious notions prevail, there can be no real sincerity. All religions pre-suppose that all men should think alike upon the fundamental principles of each peculiar religion; and, therefore, many professors of it are compelled by various considerations to conceal their real sentiments, and to live in a state of continual deception. At present, there is scarcely any thing to be found in society that merits the name of truth —scarcely upon any occasion are you told the truth, except, perhaps, when I come among you, and then I know how disagreeable it is to you. But I hope the time will come when we shall all have the happiness of speaking what we think and feel; and to do this, and to experience all the beneficial results of a conduct so rational, would be to produce heaven upon earth. We have discovered, by experience in some few instances, what fine feelings are produced by such conduct. If we only knew each other as we are known, as we should do by speaking only what we really thought and felt, we could not avoid

acquiring great kindness towards each other. Whenever you find an open, honest character without deceit, that character gets through the world without difficulty. It is a thorough knowledge of ourselves and of each other, that can alone lay the foundation of love and affection in human society. Upon no other base can permanent and extensive kindness and sincerity be established; and that, not in a little circle of a few hundred thousands, or a few millions, but among the whole family of man. It is, therefore, true, as I have stated, that religion is the only barrier in the way of forming a society of virtue, intelligence, and kindness, and charity in its most extended sense, among the whole human family; for as soon as we can get rid of the errors or religion, there can be no obstacle in the way of our forming a society with these qualifications. Then we shall have no local or geographical prejudices—no district religions; but all will be so trained as to recognize no line of demarcation between man and his fellow; we shall all feel ourselves to be of one family, and act as if we really were so. But to form a society of virtue, intelligence, and charity in its most extended sense, and of sincerity and kindness, we must first know what manner of beings we are; and when we discover how we are organized, and how our character is subsequently produced, there can be no difficulty in establishing a society of this kind as soon as every thing in religion that is opposed to the laws of our nature, shall be withdrawn from the world. We shall then know how to create circumstances, which cannot fail to communicate to each individual the most superior character of which his organization is susceptible. No religion has ever yet formed any uniformly good character for mankind; but understanding the laws of our nature, we learn to take a mathematical course, to form a character greatly superior to any that ever has existed.

We may think the invention of a ship, a time-piece, of spinning machines, or the steam engine, of great importance; but what are these compared with the science which shall teach us the right mode to form into excellence, every child that shall come into existence. By this science, we shall be instructed how to train the physical, intellectual, and moral qualities of children in the best manner, and thereby enable them to attain a high point of perfection; and yet their faculties will never be exercised beyond the point of temperance. The constitution of our nature is such, that all our faculties must be cultivated and exercised, or else we become but parts of human beings, and, therefore, but partially happy. Your existing modes of training, cause you to be human beings but in part; not one part in ten of your faculties have ever been developed, or called into action; but understanding the laws of our nature, we shall know mathematically how to train every child that comes into existence.

I have not the least doubt, but each of us might have been trained to be much superior to what we are. Individually, we are but mere pigmies, compared to the ancient Greeks and Romans, although as nations, the moderns are superior to them. These ancients cultivated many more of the faculties of each individual, than is the practice in

modern times, and many of their powers were much better brought out. But neither these ancients, highly as their physical and intellectual powers have been cultivated, nor any of our immediate ancestors, will be at all comparable to men whose physical and intellectual faculties shall be understood, experienced, and developed as they ought to be. Our present views, my friends, are very cheering; we have the prospect of breaking the shell of ignorance and darkness which has so long imprisoned our faculties; we are now like the chicken picking at the shell, in order to set itself at liberty, and see the light. This will be a glorious era, and my friend Mr. Campbell will assist in hastening its arrival, for he has a strong yearning after an improved state of society, which he calls the millennium. At present it cannot be expected that Mr. Campbell should think with me; he has a powerful mind, but has experienced the natural result of early prepossessions, and it has been hurt by too much learning; but when he comes to compare, to investigate, and to ascertain facts, I do expect that he will become a powerful apostle in the cause I advocate. I have told you that these same twelve old laws, which Mr. Campbell does not seem to like, will point out to us practical measures for the promoting and securing of our true interests and happiness. They develop to us distinctly the mode in which the worst characters have been formed; and, also, how the medium character of man (now the only kind to be met with) has been produced. They further point out to us the manner in which all may be made to possess the most superior character. And I have very little doubt that it will be found quite easy in practice, to make every individual of the second generation, greatly superior to the present; and beyond all comparison superior to any human being whose character has been formed under the old systems of the world.

I have now gone through the four clauses of this part of the subject; I have given you my reasons for being compelled to believe that all religions have been founded in the ignorance of man, that they are opposed to the unchanging laws of our nature, and are the real source of vice, disunion, and misery of every description; and that they are now the only bar to the formation of a society over the earth, of virtue, intelligence, and happiness.

We now come to the last clause of the subject, which is, That these religions can no longer be maintained, except through the ignorance of the mass of the people, and the tyranny of the few over that mass.

Do you know, my friends, that the beginning of this week, in this place was the first period in the history of man when truths, the most simple in their nature, and the most important to the happiness and well-being of man, could be publicly spoken. There never has been any antecedent time, in the history of any country, in which any individual has been permitted to speak as I have done. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Campbell rises.

We should suppose from the various oracular predictions which my friend delivers, that he was a prophet. He has been giving us predic-

tion upon prediction; but, unfortunately, his prophetic reputation is not uniformly sustained by the accomplishment of former predictions. The treachery of his former predictions forbids confidence in the present. We waited past the time for the fulfilment of his prophecy, three years ago uttered, that Cincinnati would become a deserted or evacuated city before two years; that the citizens would all migrate to New Harmony. But we still find a few people living here, and the sound of the workman is yet heard in the streets.

I concluded my last address by remarking that the document read to you, and presented to my friend, was drawn up with a view to elicit a discussion of Mr. Owen's favourite position. I have done every thing in my power to bring him to an issue on this point, but with what success, you all see. We have given you definitions of the terms *fact, faith, and testimony*, but all that we can elicit from Mr. Owen, is a reiteration of the assertion that every thing which exists is a fact; that is, if his library contains ten thousand books, it consists of exactly ten thousand facts. Now, this is a language as novel and strange as is the theory of Mr. Owen.

We have asserted that Judaism and Christianity were founded upon matters of fact—upon things *done* by the divine power; that these facts, in the first instance, were attested by the most competent and credible witnesses; that their testimony was delivered to the people orally, and that millions believed upon their oral testimony; that this testimony was afterwards put into a written form, and that in this shape it has come down to us; and that upon this kind of testimony our faith in Christianity chiefly rests. Now, the question before us is, *Whether faith, thus built upon testimony, is, or is not, influenced by our volitions?* This is the naked, simple question, which we ought now to discuss. I, therefore, ask my friend, for the sake of coming to an issue, whether the term *belief* imports any thing more than the cordial reception of testimony? Is this belief in any degree influenced by our volitions? Is not volition the last dictate of the understanding? But were he to define the term *volition*, we should most probably discover that our opponent differs from us in his acceptation of the term. But suppose, for example, I have a friend and an enemy; I have conceived such a character of my enemy as to find it difficult to believe a good report of him. As to my friend, I am well disposed to believe all good of him. Suppose, then, that different persons should testify to me something in favour of my enemy, and of my friend too—would the same amount of evidence in both cases produce in my mind the same degree of assurance in regard to the facts related? This illustration does not come altogether up to the point, but it comes near enough to elicit a fair investigation, if Mr. Owen would meet the question upon its merits. It is an old adage, that *we too easily believe what we wish to be true;* and what we do not wish to be true, with difficulty we believe.

Mr. Owen says he tells the truth; that is enough, you must believe him. But when did I say that persons could not be compelled to pay money against their wills to support any religion? I perceive

that if I continue in this way, merely excepting to my opponent's premises, he will continue repeating them, as if a *repetition* of his theory was sufficient to silence all objections, and carry conviction to every heart. These twelve facts, in this way, might be brought to prove or disprove any thing. Mr. Owen is like certain witnesses that sometimes appear in our courts: when cross-questioned, they imagine it to be indispensably necessary to go over the whole story again; and if they are ten times cross-examined, they cannot be made to understand that it is not *necessary* to begin at the beginning and tell the whole story over again. But I will try if it is possible to get on with the argument in some other way. I had intended a full recapitulation of my argument from the beginning, but circumstances compel me to confine my recapitulation to my last argument finished yesterday. The following were the outlines:

1. We attempted yesterday to develop still farther the *criteria* by which we distinguish the historic facts that are certainly true, from those that are false or doubtful.

2. We showed that the facts on which the Jewish religion is predicated have these *criteria*.

3. We next demonstrated that it would be impossible, according to our experience, to institute monuments, or commemorative institutions, of alleged facts which never happened.

4. We showed that circumcision, the sabbath, the passover, the redemption of the first born, the selection of the tribe of Levi, and all the Jewish festivals, were commemorative institutions to assure posterity of the indubitable certainty of the facts on which their religion was built.

5. We alleged that the types and symbols of the Jews' religion were most wisely designed to furnish the world with a supernatural vocabulary; and not merely to establish the past institutions, but to introduce the Christian religion.

6. We then asserted that there was no contradictory testimony contemporaneous with the Jewish institution.

7. We next produced corroborating documents from the remotest antiquities of the surrounding nations.

An ingenious opponent might have presented me with one or other of the only two conceivable objections to my reasoning. As Mr. Owen has not presented them, I will do it myself. Human ingenuity can devise but two objections to this argument. The one is, that these commemorative institutions were imposed upon the Jewish nation at a period long posterior to the times when the alleged facts were recorded to have transpired: that is to say, that some five hundred years after the happening of the events, it was required of the people to perform certain actions commemorative of them. Now, the question is, is it within the compass of our experience, to conceive of the possibility of any people being induced, at a prescribed time, to begin solemnly and scrupulously to observe all these religious customs, and conform to all these commemorative institutions, if the reasons assigned were not founded on demonstrated facts? The question is just this: Could we

of the present day now be induced, by any sort of influence, from this time forth to celebrate the anniversary of an event said to have happened a hundred years ago, of which we have no satisfactory proof? The universal experience of mankind proves that we could not: it would be an imposition which it is not in human nature to submit to. The second objection which might be urged to these premises, is, that Moses found the Jews in the practice and observance of these institutions, and that from his own brain he manufactured the reasons for them: that he found, for example, the rite of circumcision and the institution of the Levitical priesthood held in great reverence by these people; and that he told them these were commemorative of certain matters of fact recorded in their history, written by himself, which they had never heard before; but that he now reveals to them the reason, and constrains them to say that these commemorative actions have respect to events of which they never before heard. On this hypothesis the difficulty is this: that at this very time he suggested these things to the people, they must have inquired with deep interest, whether these reasons assigned by Moses were the true ones; and moreover, this absurdity is implied in the objection that the people had been long in the practice of these observances, without knowing any reason for them! Neither of these hypotheses are conceivable upon any known principle of human nature; and these are the only two objections which can be offered to the conclusion which I have deduced from these premises.

I know that the reason why my opponent objects to receiving the testimony of these holy men is predicated upon a principle which he has not avowed. That principle we wish now to expose; and, therefore, before we enter on the historic argument, we must present you with a brief analysis of the reasonings and objections of David Hume.

David Hume affirms that "experience is our only guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact," and that "our belief, or assurance of any fact from the report of eye-witnesses, is derived from no other principle than experience; that is, our observation of the veracity of human testimony, and of the usual conformity of facts to the reports of witnesses."

To detect the sophistry of Hume, we must give a true definition of experience.

Experience is either personal or derived.

"*Personal* experience is founded in MEMORY, and consists solely of the general maxims and conclusions that each individual has formed from the comparison of the particular facts he has remembered."

"*Derived* experience is founded in *testimony*, and consists not only of all the experience of others, which have, through that channel, been communicated to us; but of all the general maxims or conclusions we have formed, from the comparison of particular facts attested."

Our opponents, by the term *experience*, must mean *personal* experience, unless they make use of the sophism called by logicians "*a circle in causes;*" for *derived* experience is derived from testimony,

and cannot be contrasted with it; for it is the same with the assurance attendant on, or is the result of faith.

Now, if all testimony is to be judged by our *personal* experience, or by our memory, or senses, we shall be reduced in the measure of our information, even below the savage himself. It will be impossible for an inhabitant of the torrid zone to be assured that water can become solid as a rock; or for an Icelander to believe in the existence of an animal called a negro. No number of witnesses, however *credible*, could establish such facts in the minds of those who have no recollection of seeing them.

The sophistry of the whole reasoning of Hume on this subject is involved in this one period:—

"TESTIMONY *is not entitled to the least degree of faith*, but as far as it is supported by such an *extensive experience*, as if we had not a previous and independent faith in *testimony we never could have acquired*."

David Hume asserts, "A miracle, supported by any human testimony, is more properly a subject of *derision* than of argument." p. 194. Again—"No testimony for ANY KIND OF MIRACLE can ever possibly amount to a *probability*, much less to a *proof*." Yet, page 203, he owns, "there may possibly be miracles, or violations of the usual course of nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony; 'though, *perhaps*, it will be impossible to find any such in all the records of history.' Suppose," adds he, "all authors in all languages agree that from the 1st of January, 1700, there was a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days. Suppose that the tradition of this extraordinary event is still strong and lively among the people, that all travellers who return from foreign countries bring us accounts of the same tradition, without the least variation or contradiction, it is evident that our present philosophers, instead of doubting that fact, ought to receive it for certain, and ought to search for the causes whence it might be derived."

This same Mr. Hume asserts that "*testimony has no evidence but what it derives from experience:* these differ from each other only as a species from the genus."

"*The love of the marvellous*," and "*religious affection*," are assigned as the great causes of imposition in matters of testimony concerning *miracles* and *prodigies*. Mr. Hume and other sceptics have, in their constitution, a little of the love of the marvellous; but instead of the *religious affection*, they have a strong *religious antipathy*. Hence Mr. Hume says, "Should a miracle be ascribed to any new system of religion, this very circumstance would be a full proof of a cheat, and sufficient, with all men of sense, not only to make them reject the fact, but even *reject it without further examination*,"

"The *violations of truth* are more common," says the same author, "in the testimony concerning religious miracles." [*Gratuitous declaration.*] This "should make us form a *general resolution*, never to lend attention to it, with whatever specious pretext it may be covered."

Mr. Hume and other free-thinkers preach *implicit* faith, and warn

their followers of the danger of consulting reason. "Beware," says Hume, "of inquiring into the strength of the plea; for those who will be so *silly* as to examine the affair by that medium, and seek particular flaws in the *testimony*, are almost sure to be confounded."

Miracles are not aided in gaining credit by the *religious affection;* for all the Bible miracles, at least those in support of Christianity, are rather impaired by it. Miracles performed in proof of a religion *to be* established, and in *contradiction* to opinions generally received; and the evidence of miracles, performed in support of a religion *already* established, and in *confirmation* of opinions generally received, are, in the former case, not aided by the religious affection; and in the latter case they are; but as is the advantage in the latter, so is the disadvantage in the former. Let this be weighed.

If Mr. Hume's dogmas can be believed, or if his positions on testimony, evidence, and experience are to be admitted, then it follows, for this is his system in one sentence:—"It is impossible for the Almighty to give a revelation attended with such evidence that it can be reasonably believed in after ages, or even in the same age, by any person who has not been an eye-witness of the miracles by which it is supported."

Dr. George Campbell, of Aberdeen, in his Essay upon Miracles, has made these and other positions of the celebrated Hume appear subjects of *derision* rather than of argument. I do not think there is to be found in the English language a more complete and masterly refutation of any system of error, than is the Essay upon Miracles of the system of Hume. Hume felt himself defeated—completely defeated. He never replied to it. And I have it from living testimony, that, when Hume's friends jested him upon the complete defeat of his system, he acknowledged that "the Scotch theologue had beaten him." But such was his pride of understanding, that he did not publicly acknowledge his defeat in any other way than by never presuming to answer the Essay. It is mortifying to hear the dogmas of Hume brought forward by his sceptical disciples, and attempted to be passed current as oracular precepts, when their master dared not to defend them himself. There is not, from so able a pen, a more vulnerable position than that which is the corner stone of the temple of scepticism. It is that on which Mr. Hume rears his fabric, viz. that every man's personal experience is to be the measure and standard of his faith. He that has never seen a whale, cannot believe that there is one.

No man can have any *experience* of the future. *Query*—How do we learn that the *future* will resemble the past?

"Our belief of the *continuance* of the laws of nature cannot be founded either upon knowledge or probability," and is not derived from reason; and how comes it that Mr. Owen talks with so much certainty about what will come to pass hereafter? No man can speak of the future, pretending to any certain knowledge, but the christian. Here the infidel's candle goes out; and except he obtains some oil from the lamp of revelation, he must continue in perpetual darkness.

It was necessary, my friends, to introduce this brief analysis of the principle objections against the truth of the Christian miracles. You will easily perceive, that sentiments contained in my extract from Mr. Hume, are the reasons of Mr. Owen. Mr. Owen will not believe a miracle, because it is contrary to his experience—and for precisely the same reason, no people who had not travelled, could be made to believe, that there existed on the face of the earth, any other nation or country than their own.

Lord Bacon himself lays the foundation for correcting our reasonings upon this, as well as upon other subjects—some of his aphorisms are.

Man is ignorant of every thing antecedent to observation.

There is not a single department of inquiry in which a man does not err, the moment he abandons observation.

The greater part of all human knowledge is derived from testimony, but testimony does no more than hand down to us the observations of others.

What is science but a record of observed phenomena grouped together according to certain points of resemblance, which have been suggested by an actual attention to the phenomena themselves?

In none of the inductive sciences can the student verify every thing by his own observation; he must reply upon testimony for the large majority of facts. This is especially true in the natural sciences of geography, geology, and chemistry.

These principles are not contrary to a single position we have taken in this discussion; indeed, our investigation has proceeded upon these as the basis of the laws of investigation.

The great question, as Chalmers, I think, or some other very argumentative writer, states; the great question, on which the whole arguments rests, is this: *Shall we admit the testimony of the apostles, upon the application of principles founded upon observation, and as certain as is our experience of human affairs; or shall we reject that testimony upon the application of principles that are altogether beyond the range of observation, and as doubtful and imperfect in their nature as is our experience of the counsels of heaven.*

The former is founded upon EXPERIENCE, the latter upon ASSUMPTION; and here I make my stand, and say, attack it who may—that our faith in Christianity is most certainly based upon *experience*—and infidelity upon *assumption*—upon ASSUMPTION throughout. If Mr. Owen call me not to an account for this, I hope some person more philosophic than he, may yet do it. I will make the principles of the inductive philosophy, too, my rule and guide in this investigation.

Mr. Owen has frequently told me of our extreme ignorance, but how emphatically does experience contradict Mr. Owen. Only look at the improvements which have taken place in the lapse of the last 300 years; and who have been their authors? Who have laid the foundations? [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—Mr. Campbell tells you that I am a false prophet; that I prophesied some time ago, that in a few years Cincinnati would be depopulated. But you know, my friends, that years do not mean the same thing in the language of prophecy, that they do in common language.

Instead, however, of Cincinnati only being depopulated in a few years, the fact is, that all large cities will cease to be such. Their inhabitants will discover that cities are combinations of circumstances extremely injurious to every individual, and therefore, they will be compelled, by a distinct knowledge of their own interest, to remove out of large cities, and to form smaller associations, to enable each to enjoy all the advantage of a town and country residence. I have no doubt that we shall discover, that all large cities are highly unfavourable to the happiness of individuals: so much for the prophecy of small and large congregations of men into one society. Now, my friend supposes that there really exists a desire on my part, not to believe the truth; but I can assure him, that my doubts of the truth of Christianity originated against my will. I was most anxious to swallow the camel. I exerted all the volition of which Mr. Campbell speaks, in fighting against my disbelief. But the more I investigated, the more strongly was I compelled to believe that Christianity and all other religions were founded in the grossest error. With all the energy of volition which I could summon to my aid, I found it impossible to believe that which was contrary to nature. I cannot believe that the power which fills immensity,—which pervades all space, and occupies the universe, contracted itself into a little bush, in order to speak to a man. I am just as much able, by the exercise of my volition, to fly to the stars, as I am to believe this. Now, I am come to the last clause of this discussion, in which I state, "that the religions of the world can be no longer maintained, except through the ignorance of the many, and the tyranny of the few over the many." Now, my friends, what do you think is the most powerful engine that ever was contrived by human ingenuity to impose the grossest ignorance upon mankind, and to keep them in that state? Why, it is that cunning contrivance which exists so generally, pervading every village and hamlet, of preaching Sunday by Sunday to the people, and most arbitrarily and irrationally withholding from them the right of reply. Train up any population in such a system, and there is no absurdity which they may not be made to believe implicitly; and by this training, their reasoning faculties are sure to be destroyed. So long as society shall tolerate such an abuse as this, ignorance must continue to pervade the world. While a particular tribe of men shall be permitted, week after week, and year after year, to impress upon your minds their own peculiar notions, without any right of reply on your side, there is no belief, however monstrous, that may not be forced into your minds. Thus it is that these religions contain the seeds and the germs of every evil that the human mind can conceive. And unless this tremendous engine can be altered, or destroyed, it

must, my friends, continue as heretofore, to afflict our race with all kinds of suffering. So long as it is permitted to continue in operation, there is neither health nor hope for you; you must for ever be kept in the lowest mental degradation; and so long as the governing powers, and that engine, are united and co-operative, or the prejudices of the people shall support such a system, their prospects are gloomy indeed. This engine presses them down into the lowest depths of ignorance; they are solemnly assembled to receive any impression their instructers may choose to give them. I speak not this with any view to hurt the feelings of those individuals whom circumstances and the customs of society have placed in the station of spiritual teachers. I know that some of the finest minds among them do not believe one word of what the circumstances in which they are placed, compel them to preach; but when their existence, and the support of their families, depend upon their perseverance in that course, they must go forward in preaching that which they disbelieve, or they must starve.

Therefore, before we can calculate upon any valuable improvement in society, we must secure to those whom society has encouraged to become preachers of error, the continuance of their former support, in order that no preacher shall be made liable to poverty, or be deprived of a comfortable subsistence, but be placed in an independent situation to teach the truth; and this is the best practical mode by which to effect the change without evil. I know, my friends, how strongly you must feel the first time you have your early prejudices thus opposed; but I do not come before you as a quack doctor, who promises to do much for you, in order to obtain your money; but I come to probe your wounds to the bottom, to ascertain the true cause of your diseases. And I only give you this temporary plan in order that you may be placed in a condition to enjoy future permanent happiness. If the few can be convinced (as I trust they shortly will be) that the old systems of the world are entirely worn out, then, I hope and believe that they will, of their own accord, assent to the adoption of rational measures, gradually to make the beneficial change I propose. But this change should not be effected by harsh measures, which might inflict injury upon any one; I should regret exceedingly that any individual should be a sufferer by the introduction of the great improvements which I contemplate for the human race. The great object I have had in view, has been to prepare the means by which this mighty moral change may be developed and consummated without disturbance, without shock, without anger or strife of any kind. And I think I do see most distinctly, all the necessary steps which may be taken to secure the attainment of these highly beneficial objects. I am busily engaged in these measures at present. When I leave you, I shall go to use my utmost exertions to lay the basis of a solid and permanent peace amongst nations who are now doing all they can to injure each other, although they are nominally at peace. I have a great many arguments by which to prove, that it is now the true interest of all nations to adopt this course; and I do not know of any thing now existing in the condition of civilized nations, to prevent the intro-

duction of a solid and permanent peace. The peace which now exists amongst them, in which the nations are undermining each other, whenever their interests come into collision, is a peace much more nominal than real; a mere trifle would break it; a whim or caprice on the part of one or two individuals might easily set Europe in a flame, and thence carry war and devastation into the four quarters of the world, and for no good purpose produce endless suffering and misery to individuals. Nations, like individuals, are now injuring each other without any benefit to themselves.

In pursuance of this object, I shall probably, before you see me again, travel half round the world; and before I return from the pursuit of public affairs, in most countries great changes may be expected. Having now got through the exposition of my views, I am quite willing to leave the matter with the public. After Mr. Campbell's reply, I shall have an opportunity to rejoin. [*Half hour out.*]

Mr. Owen rises, and observes that Mr. Campbell may reply to him, and prosecute his arguments without half hourly interruption: that when Mr. Campbell gets through with his reply, he will be ready with his rejoinder.

Mr. Campbell rises.

It now appears that we are, at length, in full possession of all the arguments and evidences Mr. Owen has to offer in support of his positions. You will, no doubt, observe, that although his matter has been exhausted, and his comments finished, he did not once advert to the very important points submitted in my last speech, and submitted with the intention of eliciting from him something like an issue. But this he appears now, as formerly, studiously to avoid. One allusion, in the form of an objection, was made to my last speech. This was an objection to the arguments and views offered on the nature of evidence.

He said, "he could as soon fly to the stars as believe that God *contracted* himself into a little bush to speak to Moses." But who is it that believes this? I do not. All that the intelligent have ever contended for, is, that the Omnipotent and Omnipresent Creator of this vast universe can assume any visible form in any particular place, and exhibit himself just where, and when, and as He pleases. Mr. Owen caricatures, rather than quotes, or directly alludes to the circumstances of this case. Why, is it that he cannot meet us on such ground as reason presents, that he must present himself on such ground, as no person of sentiment or sense ever pretended to stand upon? But what I have particular reference to, at this time, is the reason he assigns for his disbelief in miracles. His reason for disbelieving miracles is, because he never witnessed one. It is contrary to his own experience. But we have already shown, that for the same reason he rejects this species of evidence, or a miracle itself, he would be compelled to reject all testimony upon any matter of fact that had not come under his own personal observation. It would be as impossible for Mr. Owen to convince a native of the torrid zone that water became, in

these United States, as hard as a stone, or that hail-stones sometimes fell from the clouds, as it would be for me to convince him that Jesus Christ fed five thousand persons on a few loaves and fishes, or cured the lame, the deaf, and the blind, by a single word, or a touch. The reason which a native of that region would assign for his unbelief, is just the same which Mr. Owen assigns for his disbelief in the miracles of Moses and Christ. They are contrary to his experience. Mr. Owen, however, is not consistent with his own theory, in any case whatever: he seems to believe just what he pleases. He believes that meteoric stones, or stones composed of terrene substances, weighing from ten to one hundred pounds, have fallen from the clouds in different parts of the earth. This is also contrary to, or beyond the bounds of, his experience. In fine, Mr. Owen's faith, small as it is, would be very considerably reduced in quantity and strength, were he to act consistently with his own experience. But we have already sufficiently exposed his inconsistency in this particular.

As I have got the arena to myself, I will now submit to your consideration the course which I intend to pursue, in conducting this argument to something like a natural, and, as far as circumstances will permit, a logical termination.

1. I shall call your attention to the historic evidence of the Christian religion.

2. I shall then give a brief outline of the prophetic evidences, or rather the evidence arising from the prophecies, found in the inspired volume.

3. We shall then draw some arguments from the genius and tendency of the Christian religion.

4. We shall then pay some attention to "the social system."

This method, adopted now at the impulse of the moment, as best adapted to this crisis and stage of the discussion, may not be the most unexceptionable; but the singularity of the crisis to which we are come, will, I hope, apologize for its defects. If any thing should be omitted, because not coming within the logical purview of this division of the subject, we shall rather endure the charge of being immethodical, than to omit noticing it, whenever it presents itself to our view.

But, as we are soon to adjourn, I will occupy a few minutes in finishing some remarks, which were cut short by the expiration of my last half hour. It was said, that we are indebted for all the great improvements in society to the philosophy of christians, and not to the philosophy of sceptics. A free, a just and equitable government has always developed the powers of the human mind. Political or civil liberty is essential to the expansion and development of human intellect. All history is appealed to in proof of this. Just in proportion as civil liberty has been enjoyed, have mankind, in all ages, distinguished themselves by the vigour and expansion of their minds. Let any man contrast the ancient Greeks who were free, with their contemporaries the Persians, who were under a despotic government, and he will see the influence of free institutions in the genius, eloquence, and daring enterprize of the former, compared with the latter.

Should he ascribe the superiority to their being of a different race, or to the influence of climate, let him turn his attention to the Lacedæmonians and their helots, or slaves. When the Messenians were two centuries in slavery, one Lacedæmonian possessed the mental vigour and valour of half a score of them. But only draw the contrast which our country presents, and mark the difference between the citizen and the slave. The enjoyment of civil liberty is shown from reason and experience, from the faithful page of history, to give a new impetus to all the faculties of man. To this liberty, then, we are constrained to ascribe the great improvements in all the arts of civilized and social life. But to see the connexion between this liberty, and these free institutions and Christianity, we have only to ask, to whom are we most indebted for the improvements in government? The Reformation from Popery gave the first shock to the despotism of Europe. The labours of the reformers, and the more recent labours of Milton the poet, and Locke the philosopher, have done more to issue in the free institutions of Europe and America, than the labours of all the sceptics from Celsus to my friend Mr. Owen.

We ascribe much to the intelligence, virtue, and patriotism of our revolutionary heroes and statesmen. But there was one Christian philosopher, to whom we are more indebted than to any of them; nay, perhaps, than to all of them. The cause of civil and religious liberty owes more to the labours of Mr. John Locke, than to all the sceptics in christendom. His Essay on Toleration first burst the chains that held England and Europe fast bound under a religious and civil despotism. He had the honour, as Lord Verulam had, of originating a new era. As Lord Verulam had the honour, by his *Novum Organum*, of originating a new era in physics; so Locke, the philosopher, laid the foundation of a new order of society, by his Essay on Toleration. This essay gave the first impulse to the spirit of inquiry, and laid the foundation of our present liberties. This Christian philosopher drafted the first instrument called a constitution, imported into America. It was a form of government for the Carolinas. While we are grateful to all who have laboured in the cause of the emancipation of the human mind from the shackles of kingcraft and priestcraft, and while we are mindful of our more immediate benefactors, we are not to forget the praises due to those who have long since died, and whose victories were more efficient, complete, and salutary in their consequences, though less boisterous, and less noisy, than those achieved by the sword or the cannon. Yet, it should be known, and every where divulged, in all lands and amongst all people, that Europe and America are more indebted to the elaborate discussions and profound reasonings of our Christian philosopher, for the quantum of civil and religious liberty now enjoyed, than to all the sceptics who have written, from the days of Pyrrhus to my friend Robert Owen.

The principles of investigation on which the inductive philosophy of Lord Bacon is founded, and those adopted by the Christian philosopher, Sir Isaac Newton, are those which should govern us on this occasion. "Every thing," says this great teacher, "is to be submitted

to the most minute observation. No conclusions are to be drawn from guesses or conjectures. We are to keep within the certain limits of experimental truth. We first ascertain the facts, then group them together, and after the classification and comparison of them, draw the conclusion. There are generic heads, or chapters, in every department of physical or moral science. We are never to shrink from the test of those principles." Any arguments, therefore, which we may offer, we wish to be examined by the improved principles of the inductive philosophy,—by those very principles which right reason and sound experimental philosophy have sanctioned as their appropriate tests. But questions of *fact* are not to be tried by mathematical evidence. It has been well observed, that "the sciences are of a social disposition, and flourish best in the neighbourhood of each other; nevertheless, each of them claims to be governed by laws which are perfectly *sui generis;* and none of them can be constrained to agree to an intercommunity of jurisdiction with the rest: it is held essential to the truth and dignity of each of them, that it is to be tried only by its own laws." When we enter into an examination of the testimony on which religion is predicated, we have no other scientific rules to resort to, than those which regulate and govern us in ascertaining the weight of all historic evidence.

The first position, then, which we submit for examination, is one which properly belongs to the more general head of historic evidence. It is in the following words:—"*The volume, called the New Testament, was written by the persons whose names it bears, and at the time in which it is said to have been written.*" This is now an historic fact asserted. It is not proved as yet by us, but we will, anon, proceed to the proof of it. This is to be examined in its own court; that is, as all matters or questions of fact are investigated. That we may, however, feel the need, and appreciate the importance, of proving this fact, we must premise a few things. The book called the New Testament now exists. It existed in the days of our fathers, of our grandfathers, of our great grandfathers. It came into existence some way, by some means, at some particular time. Now, we thank not Mr. Owen, nor any person else, for admitting all this. They cannot deny one of these assertions. But the question is, *how came it into existence?* Now let us see how rigid and severe we must be, and generally are, in examining or deciding this question.

When we open any ordinary volume, and look upon its title-page, we there discover that it purports to be the production of A, B, or C, and this mere inscription of the author's name on the title-page is, *in the absence of counter testimony,* universally admitted to be rational and conclusive evidence of authorship. There being no counter testimony, we conclude from the title-page, that the book is the production of the author whose name it bears. If we have the general concurrence of our contemporaries, in the belief that such a book was written by such a person, whose name it bears, we rationally rest satisfied on the question of its authorship. But in the examination of the authorship of the New Testament, we feel it necessary to scrutinize more severely.

But men approach the examination of this question, not as they approach the examination of any other. The believer and the unbeliever approach it under great disadvantages. Religious men are afraid to call its truth in question. This religious awe acts as a sort of illusion on their minds. The sceptics are prejudiced against it. This prejudice disqualifies them to judge fairly and impartially upon the merits of the evidence. The religious awe of the christian, and the prejudices of the sceptic, are real obstacles in the way of both, in judging impartially of the weight of evidence in favour of this or any other position, at the bottom of the Christian faith. Dr. Chalmers very convincingly illustrates this matter in sec. 16, 17, and 18, of the article written by him in the Encyclopædia on Christianity. We shall beg the liberty to read it.

"16. To form a fair estimate of the strength and decisiveness of the Christian argument, we should, if possible, divest ourselves of all reference to religion, and view the truth of the gospel history, purely as a question of erudition. If, at the outset of the investigation, we have a prejudice against the Christian religion, the effect is obvious; and without any refinement of explanation, we see at once how such a prejudice must dispose us to annex suspicion and distrust to the testimony of the Christian writers. But even when the prejudice is on the side of Christianity, the effect is unfavourable on a mind that is at all scrupulous about the rectitude of its opinions. In these circumstances, the mind gets suspicious of itself. It feels a predilection, and becomes apprehensive lest this predilection may have disposed it to cherish a particular conclusion, independently of the evidences by which it is supported. Were it a mere speculative question, in which the interests of man, and the attachments of his heart, had no share, he would feel greater confidence in the result of his investigation. But it is difficult to separate the moral impressions of piety, and it is no less difficult to calculate their precise influence on the exercises of the understanding. In the complex sentiment of attachment and conviction, which he annexes to the Christian religion, he finds it difficult to say how much is due to the tendencies of the heart, and how much is due to the pure and unmingled influence of argument. His very anxiety for the truth disposes him to narrate the circumstances which give a bias to his understanding; and through the whole process of the inquiry, he feels a suspicion and an embarrassment, which he would not have felt, had it been a question of ordinary erudition.

"17. The same suspicion which he attaches to himself, he will be ready to attach to all whom he conceives to be in similar circumstances. Now, every author who writes in defence of Christianity is supposed to be a christian; and this, in spite of every argument to the contrary, has the actual effect of weakening the impression of his testimony. This suspicion affects, in a more remarkable degree, the testimony of the first writers on the side of Christianity. In opposition to it, you have, no doubt, to allege the circumstances under which the testimony was given, the tone of sincerity which runs through the performance of the author, the concurrence of other testimonies, the

persecutions which he sustained in adhering to them, and which can be accounted for on no other principle, than the power of conscience and conviction, and the utter impossibility of imposing a false testimony on the world, had they even been disposed to do it. Still there is a lurking suspicion, which often survives all this strength of argument and which it is difficult to get rid of, even after it has been demonstrated to be completely unreasonable. He is a christian. He is one of the party. Am I an infidel?—I persist in distrusting the testimony. Am I a christian?—I rejoice in the strength of it; but this very joy becomes matter of suspicion to a scrupulous inquirer. He feels something more than the concurrence of his belief in the testimony of the writer. He catches the infection of his piety and his moral sentiments. In addition to the acquiescence of the understanding, there is a *con amore* feeling, both in himself and his author, which he had rather been without, because he finds it difficult to compute the precise amount of its influence; and the consideration of this restrains him from that clear and decided conclusion, which he would infallibly have landed in, had it been purely a secular investigation.

"18. There is something in the very sacredness of the subject which intimidates the understanding, and restrains it from making the same firm and confident application of its faculties, which it would have felt itself perfectly warranted to do, had it been a question of ordinary history. Had the apostles been the disciples of some eminent philosopher, and the fathers of the church their immediate successors in the office of presiding over the discipline and instruction of the numerous schools which they had established, this would have given a secular complexion to the argument, which we think would have been more satisfying to the mind, and have impressed upon it a closer and more familiar conviction of the history in question. We should have immediately brought it into comparison with the history of other philosophers, and could not have failed to recognize that, in minuteness of information, in weight and quantity of evidence, in the concurrence of numerous and independent testimonies, and in the total absence of every circumstance that should dispose us to annex suspicion to the account which lay before us, it far surpassed any thing that had come down to us from antiquity. It so happens, however, that, instead of being the history of a philosopher, it is the history of a prophet. The veneration we annex to the sacredness of such a character, mingles with our belief in the truth of his history. From a question of simple truth, it becomes a question in which the heart is interested; and the subject from that moment assumes a certain holiness and mystery, which veils the strength of the argument, and takes off from that familiar and intimate conviction, which we annex to the far less authenticated histories of profane authors."

It is hard for any man to inspect this oracle with that degree of impartiality and mental independence necessary to demonstrate, or discriminate its truth. Many have suspicions of its truth, which arise solely from the awful import and inexpressible grandeur of the subjects on which it treats. The hundredth part of the evidence would be

sufficient to convince them of the real authorship of the Annals of Tacitus, which they require to satisfy them of the authorship of these sacred books.

Making all due allowance for these odds and disadvantages against us, and acknowledging that we claim no exemption from the influence of these causes, we are disposed to approach this volume, as far as in us lies, without being influenced by that awe, or those prejudices, of which we have been speaking. Divesting ourselves, therefore, of all partialities, *pro or con*, let us, my friends, approach this position.

I need scarcely inform this intelligent audience, that the volume called the New Testament, is the production of eight different authors or writers; that it contains many different treatises in the form of Narratives and Epistles, written in different parts of the world, and at sundry intervals, and afterwards collected into one volume. These *eight* writers are, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, Peter, James, and Jude. Four of them wrote Memoirs or Narratives of Jesus Christ; and four of them wrote Letters to different congregations and individuals, in Asia and Europe.

Each of these pieces were deemed by the writer, perfectly sufficient to accomplish the object which he designed by it. But when all is collected into one volume, corroborating and illustrating each other, how irresistible the evidence, and how brilliant the light which they display! To him who contemplates the New Testament as the work of one individual, all written at one time, and published in one country; and to him who views it as the work of *eight* authors, written in different parts of the world, and at intervals in the extreme, more than half a century apart, how different the amount of evidence, intrinsic and extrinsic, which it presents! The writers themselves, though all Jews, born in different provinces of the Roman empire, having each a provincial dialect, a peculiarity of style, and some of them of different ranks and avocations of life, give great variety to the style, and weight to the authority of this small volume. There are eight witnesses who depose, not only to the original facts on which Christianity is based, but to a thousand incidents which directly or indirectly bear upon the pretensions of the Founder of this religion: and from the variety of information, allusion, description, and reference to persons, places, and events, which they present to us, they subject themselves not only to cross examination among themselves, but to be compared and tried by cotemporary historians, geographers, politicians, statesmen, and orators: in fact, they bring themselves into contact with all the public documents of the age in which they lived and wrote. But of this hereafter, in detail.

But, to approach the position to be proved still more closely. This volume purports to be the writings of these eight persons, and it has been transmitted from generation to generation as such. We ascend the stream up to its fountain. We find it ascribed to them in the last century. Millions believed it. In the century preceding that, millions believed it: and so on, till we come up very nigh the times in which the works were written. What would, let me ask,—what

would be the quality and amount of evidence necessary to establish the fact of authorship of any other work of antiquity? We claim no favours. We ask for no peculiar process,—no new or untried form of examination. We will constitute no new court of inquiry. We will submit the question of authorship to be tried by all the canons, or regulations, or rules, which the literary world,—which the most rigid critics, have instituted or appealed to, in settling any literary question of this sort. Let me, then, ask: In such a court, would the fact of these writings having been universally received by all the primitive christians, as the works of their reputed authors, be admitted as sufficient proof? Would the fact of these writings having been quoted as the genuine works of their reputed authors, by the earliest Christian writers, by the contemporaries and immediate successors of the original witnesses, be admitted as proof? Would the testimony of neutrals, —would the testimony of apostates,—would the testimony of the first opponents of the Christian religion be admitted as proof? Would the concurrent and combined testimony of all these be admitted, to prove the mere question of authorship? Most unquestionably these embrace all the proofs which human reason can require, and all which the archives of human learning can furnish, in proof of the authorship of any literary work in the world. Yes: manifold more than ever has been called for, and much more than can be adduced to prove the authorship of any work of the same antiquity. The poems of Virgil and Horace, the annals of Tacitus, the orations of Cicero, the most popular works of antiquity, cannot afford half the proofs that they are the genuine works of the persons whose names they bear, as can be adduced to prove the authorship of the Memoirs of Jesus Christ, written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

Although we might not be able to summon into one and the same court, all the friends and all the enemies of Christianity who wrote something upon the subject in the apostolic and in the succeeding age, to attest that all the writings now ascribed to those eight authors, were actually written by them; yet we do, in effect, the same by hearing them in piecemeal, or in detail. For example: It is to quote the words of Dr. Chalmers, "The unexpected testimony of all subsequent writers, that two of the Gospels, and several of the Epistles, were written by the immediate disciples of our Saviour, and published in their life-time." Even Celsus, an enemy of the Christian faith, and the first gentile writer who publicly opposed Christianity, admits this, or *refers to the affairs of Jesus, as written by his disciples.* From the extracts which he makes in his book, there can be no doubt but that he refers to one or other of the four gospels. He wrote about one hundred years after the first publication of the narrative. "He takes it up upon the strength of its general notoriety, and the whole history of that period furnishes nothing that can attach any doubt of suspicion to this circumstance. The distinct assertion of Celsus being an enemy to Christianity,—that the pieces in question were written by the companions of Jesus, though even at the distance

of a hundred years, is an argument in favour of their authenticity, which cannot be alleged for many of the most esteemed compositions of antiquity."

But, although we give the testimony of Celsus first, it is not because there is no more ancient witness, but because he is the first philosophic adversary of the faith. There is a series of writers, in unbroken succession from the days of the apostles, attesting the truth of the position before us. I have laying upon the table here before me, a volume of the writings of the primitive disciples of Christ, and first teachers of Christianity—the contemporaries and successors of the apostles. Here, (lifting up the volume, Mr. Campbell said,) here is the testimony of Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp: Barnabas, the companion of Paul; Clement, the bishop of the congregation in Rome, whom all antiquity agrees to be the person mentioned by Paul,—Phil. iv. 3.; Hermas, whom Paul mentions in his Epistle to the Romans; Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who flourished there, A. D. 75, who took the oversight of that congregation thirty-seven years after the ascension of Christ; Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who had seen, conversed with, and was familiar with some of the apostles; all these directly quote the historical or the epistolary books of the New Testament, and refer to these writings as of general notoriety. To these, I need scarcely add the testimony of Papias, the hearer of John,—of Ireneus, Justin, and others, their contemporaries. They either quote them by saying, *as it is written*, or by name. Let us have an example or two: Barnabas, in his epistle, says, "Let us therefore beware, lest it come upon us *as it is written*." "There are many called, but few chosen." Now this mode of quoting Matthew's testimony is more authoritative than the naming of him: for this appeal to his writings makes it evident that they were notorious, and of unexceptionable authority, even so early as the time of Barnabas. In the letter written by Clement from Rome to Corinth, in the name of the whole congregation in Rome, to the whole congregation in Corinth,—say from five hundred christians in Rome, to five hundred christians in Corinth,—the sermon on the mount is directly quoted, and other passages of the testimony of Matthew and Luke. But it would be tedious to be minute in furnishing examples of each sort of quotations here. More than forty clear allusions to the books of the New Testament are to be found in the single fragment of Polycarp; and there are more quotations in Turtullian, who lived in the second century, from the New Testament, than are to be found in the writings of Cicero, or in all the writers of two or three centuries. Indeed, from the very time in which these writings first appeared, they were received according to their dates, and quoted and applied in the decision of all controversies, by all the commentators, as possessed of an authority, and to be heard with a reverence paramount to all other. So scrupulous, too, were the ancient christians of the authority of these writings, that when collecting them into one volume, (for many years they were written and read in detached pieces,) they would not agree to bind in the same parchment with them, any other

writings not from the same authors. Some of them even objected to adding the Epistle to the Hebrews, because it wanted Paul's name; and some demurred to the Revelations written by John, to the Epistle of James, to the 2nd of Peter, to the 2nd and 3rd of John, and to that of Jude, because they had not reached some places as soon as the others. But after making themselves better acquainted with the claims of these writings, they were added with the consent of all the christians in the Eastern, as well as in the Western Roman empire.

There is not a writer on religion, which has come down to us from the second century, (and of such writers the second century was not barren,) who has not quoted these writings, less or more, as we do at this day. But why occupy so much time in proving a matter which we presume, neither Mr. Owen himself, nor any sceptic of the present day, will deny? The laborious Lardner has given most copious proofs of the notoriety of these writings, and of the many quotations from them by all the earliest Christian writers: and it is well observed by Paley, that "besides our Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, no Christian history claiming to be written by an apostle, or apostolical man, is quoted within three hundred years after the birth of Christ, by any writer now extant or known; or if quoted, is quoted with marks of censure and rejection." It is also well remarked by another writer, "that the agreement of christians respecting the scriptures, when all the other differences are considered, is the more remarkable, that it took place without any public authority being interposed. The only interference on record is that of the council of Laodicea, A. D. 363. This council only declared, and did not regulate the public judgment of only a few neighbouring churches, the council only consisting of thirty or forty bishops of Lydia, and the adjoining country. The congregations of christians, all independent at first, received those writings universally, because of their irresistible claims upon their faith. But I doubt not, that as sceptics have the most faith in one another, they will prefer the testimony of one Celsus, an infidel, to the testimony of six men who had seen, conversed with, and were familiar with, the apostles. These six men are Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias. Let them, however remember, that their own Celsus, who had much better opportunities of detecting any imposition or fraud than they, appeals to the affairs of Jesus, as written by his own companions, and quotes these histories as notorious documents in his own time.

Adjourned to meet at three.

Friday afternoon, 17th April.

[*The honourable Chairman rose and stated, that in consequence of notice given by Mr. Owen, that he has offered all he has to say in the opening, we propose that Mr. Campbell will proceed until he finishes his argument now begun, and that Mr. Owen then reply, Mr. Campbell rejoin, and the discussion close.*]

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

Mr. Chairman—Before resuming my argument, I presume it will

not be amiss to state some facts relative to this discussion. Anterior to Mr. Owen's last visit to Europe, I had the pleasure of an interview with him, at which time we made our arrangements for this controversy. From the fluency with which Mr. Owen spoke of his system, of the present state of society, and from his known labours and zeal in the cause of scepticism, I expected to find in him a very formidable disputant, and concluded it would be necessary for me to provide a great variety of documents for this discussion. The positions which have been so often read, I expected Mr. Owen would logically defend, one by one. He affirmed, and I denied. The *onus probandi* he took upon himself. Conscious of his inability to support these positions, it seems he has now abandoned them, any farther than assertions without proof, and declamation without argument upon twelve other positions may be imagined to have some bearing upon them. I was prepared to rebut his proofs and arguments, had he presumed to defend his affirmations, but did not expect to have to assume propositions affirmative of the authenticity of Christianity, and prove them, while I must rebut him. This failure of my friend has very much embarrassed this discussion, and has obliged me to change my course, and to new modify my defence of Christianity. Mr. Owen had not finished his prefatory address, until I saw that he could not argue the verity of his assertions. I was, however, so circumscribed by the rules of logic and decorum, as not to feel myself authorized to pay no attention to his propositions and heterogeneous matter, but to go on and argue positions of my own. I have stood in the centre of a circle of embarrassment; embarrassed by the obliquity of Mr. Owen's method, and his disregard to the decisions of the presiding Moderators: at one time reminded that the ladies do not hear me; at another, the stenographer groans under the rapidity of my pronunciation: anon, the apprehension that my half hour is almost fled, restrain my tongue and embargo my thoughts; so that I am surrounded with very vicious circumstances, as Mr. Owen would say. But now I hope to be in some measure relieved from the influence of these embarrassing circumstances; although the singularity of this issue may oblige me to omit a very large proportion of the documents which I had expected to offer.

Authorized as I now am, by the decision of the bench, I proceed to the further confirmation of the truth of the position under discussion at the time of our adjournment.

That the historical and epistolary books of the New Testament were written by the persons, and at the times alleged by themselves, is, perhaps, in the estimation of some, already sufficiently established. It would be easy to swell the list of the original vouchers with many distinguished names of the primitive defenders of Christianity, against the cavils and objections of Jews and pagans. But the real strength of the evidence in favour of the authorship is in the cotemporary writers. When we descend the page of history no farther down than the times of Origen, who succeeded Tertullian only about twenty-five years, we find such declarations as the following: "The four gospels, says he, (and he arranges them as we have them now arranged) alone, are re-

ceived without dispute by the whole church of God under heaven." That is, christians differed on other matters, and in this one point *alone*, there was not a single dissentient. It would only savor of display to add the names of Justin Martyr, Dionysius, Tatian, Hegessippus, Athenagoras, Miltiades, and a hundred others, who quote these writings as the works of the persons whose names they now bear. It was well said by Origen, in his dispute with Celsus, the Epicurean philosopher, and opposer of the faith, when quoting a passage from these inspired books: "Thus it is written, not in any private book, or such as are read by a few persons only, but in books read by every body." We cannot proceed to another item intimately connected with this, without reading from the argumentative Chalmers, the following remarks on these testimonies:

"In estimating the value of any testimony, there are two distinct subjects of consideration; the person who gives the testimony, and the people to whom the testimony is addressed. It is quite needless to enlarge on the resources which, in the present instance, we derive from these considerations, and how much each of them contributes to the triumph and solidity of the Christian argument. In as far as the people who give the testimony are concerned, how could they be mistaken in their account of the books of the New Testament, when some of them lived in the same age with the original writers, and were their intimate acquaintances, and when all of them had the benefit of an uncontrolled series of evidence, reaching down from the date of the earliest publications, to their own times? Or, how can we suspect that they falsified, when there runs through their writings the same tone of plainness and sincerity, which is allowed to stamp the character of authenticity on other productions; and, above all, when upon the strength even of heathen testimony, we conclude, that many of them, by their sufferings and death, gave the highest evidence that a man can give, of his speaking under the influence of a real and honest conviction? In as far as the people who received the testimony are concerned, to what other circumstances can we ascribe their concurrence, but to the truth of that testimony? In what way was it possible to deceive them upon a point of general notoriety? The books of the New Testament are referred to by the ancient fathers, as writings generally known and respected by the christians of that period. If they were obscure writings, or had no existence at that time, how can we account for the credit and authority of these fathers who appealed to them, and had the effrontery to insult their fellow-christians by a falsehood so palpable, and so easily detected? Allowing them to be capable of this treachery we have still to explain how the people came to be the dupes of so glaring an imposition; how they could be permitted to give up every thing for a religion, whose teachers were so unprincipled as to deceive them, and so unwise as to commit themselves upon ground where it was impossible to elude discovery. Could Clement have dared to refer the people of Corinth to an epistle said to be received by themselves, and which had no existence? or could he have referred the christians at large to writings which they never heard of?

And was it not enough to maintain the semblance of truth with the people of their own party? Where were the Jews all the time? and how was it possible to escape the correction of these keen and vigilant observers? We mistake the matter much if we think that Christianity at that time was making its insidious way in silence and in secrecy, through a listless and unconcerned public. All history gives an opposite representation. The passions and curiosity of men were quite upon the alert. The popular enthusiasm had been excited on both sides of the question. It had drawn the attention of the established authorities in different provinces of the empire, and the merits of the Christian cause had become a matter of frequent and moral discussion in courts of judicature. If, in these circumstances, the Christian writers had the hardihood to venture upon a falsehood, it would have been upon safer ground than what they naturally adopted. They would never have hazarded to assert what was so open to contradiction, as the existence of books held in reverence among all the churches, and which, yet nobody, either in or out of these churches, ever heard of. They would never have been so unwise as to commit in this way a cause which had not a single circumstance to recommend it, but its truth and its evidences.

"The falsehood of the Christian testimony on this point, carries along with it a concurrence of circumstances, each of which is the strangest and most unprecedented that ever was heard of. First, that men, who sustained in their writings all the characters of sincerity, and many of them submitted to martyrdom, as the highest pledge of sincerity which can possibly be given, should have been capable of falsehood at all. Second, that this tendency to falsehood should have been exercised so unwisely, as to appear in an assertion perfectly open to detection, and which could be so readily converted to the discredit of that religion, which it was the favourite ambition of their lives to promote and establish in the world. Third, that this testimony could have gained the concurrence of the people to whom it was addressed, and that, with their eyes perfectly open to its falsehood, they should be ready to make the sacrifice of life and fortune in supporting it. Fourth, that this testimony should never have been contradicted by the Jews, and that they should have neglected so effectual an opportunity of disgracing a religion, the progress of which, they contemplated with so much jealousy and alarm. Add to this, that it is not the testimony of one writer, which we are making to pass through the ordeal of so many difficulties. It is the testimony of many writers, who lived at different times, and in different countries, and who add the very singular circumstance of their entire agreement with one another, to the other circumstances equally unaccountable, which we have just now enumerated. The falsehood of their united testimony is not to be conceived. It is a supposition which we are warranted to condemn, upon the strength of any one of the above improbabilities taken separately. But the fair way of estimating their effect upon the argument, is to take them jointly, and in the language of the doctrine of chances, to take the product of all the improbabilities into one another.

The argument which this product furnishes for the truth of the Christian testimony, has, in strength and conclusiveness, no parallel in the whole compass of ancient literature."

To this we shall only add, that "the force of the above testimony is greatly strengthened by the consideration that it is the concurring evidence of separate, independent, and well-informed writers, who lived in countries remote from one other. Clement lived at Rome, Ignatius at Antioch, Polycarp in Smyrna, Justin Martyr in Syria, Irenæus in France, Tertulian at Carthage, Origen in Egypt, Eusebius at Cæsarea, and Victorin in Germany. The dangers which they incurred, and the hardships and persecutions which they suffered, some of them even unto death, on account of their adherence to the Christian faith, give irresistible weight to their testimony."

That the scriptures of the New Testament are now read in language communicating substantially all the same ideas, originally expressed in them, appears from the quotations found in the works of these first advocates of the Christian cause. To prevent the alteration or interpolation of these documents, the various sects which soon sprung up, afforded every sort of safeguard. Various sectaries arose under the influence of the oriental philosophy, who rather engrafted Christianity upon their own philosophy, than embraced Christianity as an entirely new system. The Platonic philosophy became the parent of many sects. The Platonists began to expound the scriptures philosophically, and this led to many factions among the christians. Each party soon got into the practice of quoting the scriptures to prove its own tenets. The opposing party narrowly scrutinize these quotations. This prevented the corruption of the text. And thus, by that government, which from evil still educes good, the very heresies themselves which disturbed the peace and retarded the progress of Christianity, became the guardians of the integrity and purity of the text.

But I have not, as yet, to my own satisfaction at least, sufficiently fixed upon your memory, what I have more than once asserted, viz. That the testimony which the apostles and first christians gave to the facts composing the gospel narrative, was not opposed by any counter testimony. Neither the authorship of the apostolic writings, nor the facts attested in them, were ever opposed by any contradictory statements. *All antiquity does not afford a vestige, public or private, of any contradictory testimony.* The appearance and life of Jesus Christ, the miracles which he performed, the lives, and labours, and mighty deeds of his apostles, his death and its accompaniments *are matters of fact, uncontradicted in the annals of Rome, and of the world.* Nay, they are universally admitted, both by Jews and pagans. Though the opposition was a most violent one, though ridicule, defamation, and persecution, were all employed and displayed against the Christian cause, *no one presumed to deny the facts.* "What but *truth* almighty could have stood such an ordeal, or commanded such an acquiescence! Edicts were promulged against the christians; and philosophers employed to write against them, but the former never questioned the facts, and the latter quoted the gospel history as authentic, and attempted to explain it away.

Now the facts, many of them at least, were most easily disproved. Such as Herod's summoning the scribes and chief priests on the application of the Magi; the slaughter of the infants in Bethlehem; that John the baptist proclaimed Jesus, and was beheaded by the intrigues of Herodias; that Jesus fed many thousands on a few loaves and fishes; that Lazarus was raised from the grave; that Jesus was crucified; that the apostles were gifted with foreign tongues on pentecost; that Peter and John, by the name of Jesus, cured a cripple of the greatest notoriety, at the beautiful gate of the temple; that Paul was detained a prisoner by Felix; the conduct of the magistrates at Philippi. His appearance before Agrippa, and Gallio the elder brother of the philosopher Seneca; and a thousand others recorded, the most easy of detection and refutation, yet not one of all these contradicted by any writer of that age, Jew, pagan, or apostate christian!

But so far from being contradicted by any of the contemporaries, all the important facts are admitted by the adversaries themselves. We shall examine a few of the first adversaries of the Christian religion. We shall begin with the celebrated Trypho. This violent opposer of the Christian religion was born before John the apostle died. This is quite probable, for he held a public debate or dialogue with Justin Martyr, A. D. 140, in the city of Ephesus. During the debate, Justin Martyr mentions many of the gospel facts, and appeals to the miracles. Trypho and his four companions *admit* the facts, but ridicule the idea of Jesus being born of a virgin, as absurd; and say, "It is foolish to suppose that Christ is God, and became man." He says it is impossible to prove that any can be God, but the maker of the world. He denies not the facts, which, as a *Jew*, he had every facility to have done, had they been controvertible.

Justin cited the prophecy of Daniel, vii. 13, and argues from it. "But," replies Trypho, "these prophecies constrain us to expect the Messiah to be *great* and *illustrious;* but he who is called your Christ, was without reputation and glory, so that he fell under the greatest curse of the law of God: *for he was crucified.*"

Trypho tells Justin that "in the tables of the Greeks, it is said, that Perseus was born of Danae, whilst a virgin, he who is by them called Jupiter, having fallen upon her in the form of gold; now, says he, you who affirm the same thing ought to be ashamed, and should rather say, that this Jesus was man of man."

Again, Justin affirms that the Jews knew that Jesus rose from the dead. He adds, "the other nations have not proceeded so far in wickedness against Christ as you, who are even to them the authors of evil suspicions against that holy person, and against us, his disciples; for after you had crucified that only blameless and just person, by whose stripes healing has come to all who approach the Father through him, *when you knew that he was risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven,* as the prophets foretold should happen, you not only did not repent of the evil things you had committed, but choosing chief men at Jerusalem, you sent them forth into all the earth to publish that the sect of the Christians were atheists."

Justin having shown, from the Jewish scriptures, that another

besides the Father is called God, Trypho replied, "You have, my friend, strongly, and by many passages, demonstrated this: it remains that you show that this person, according to the will of the Father, *submitted to become man of a virgin, to be crucified, to die, to rise afterwards, and to return to heaven.*" Does not this prove that these facts, though ridiculed and defamed, could not be contradicted?

Lucian, the Syrian, who was born about the year 120, gives the following account of one Peregrinus, who publicly burnt himself in Greece soon after the Olympic games, about the year 165:—

Lucian was a native of Samosata in Syria: he was born some time in the reign of Adrian, which began in the year 117, and terminated in 138. Although he did not expressly write in opposition to Christianity, he was strongly prejudiced against it. He gives the following account of Peregrinus, who publicly burnt himself in Greece soon after the Olympic games, about the year 165. "Peregrinus, or Proteus, appears for a while to have imposed on the christians, and to have joined himself to them." Lucian, after saying that Peregrinus learned the wonderful doctrine of the christians, by conversing with their priests and scribes, near Palestine, and after going on to observe, that they still worship that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced into the world this new religion, he adds—"For this reason, Proteus was taken up and put in prison, which very thing was of no small service to him afterwards, for giving reputation to his impostures, and gratifying his vanity. The christians were much grieved for his imprisonment, and tried all ways to procure his liberty. Not being able to effect that, they did him all sorts of kind offices; and that, not in a careless manner, but with the greatest assiduity; for even betimes in the morning, there would be at the prison old women, some widows, and also little orphan children; and some of the chief of their men, by corrupting the keepers, would get into prison, and stay the whole night there with him: there they had a good supper together, and their sacred discourses. And this excellent Peregrinus (for so he was still called) was thought by them to be an extraordinary person, no less than another Socrates. Even from the cities of Asia, some christians came to him, by an order of the body, to relieve, encourage, and comfort him. For it is incredible what expedition they use, when any of their friends are known to be in trouble. In a word, they spare nothing upon such an occasion; and Peregrinus' chain brought him in a good sum of money from them. For these miserable men have no doubt but they shall be immortal, and live for ever; therefore they contemn death, and many surrender themselves to sufferings. Moreover, their first lawgiver has taught them, that they are all brethren when once they have turned, and renounced the gods of the Greeks, and worship that Master of theirs who was crucified, and engage to live according to his laws. They have also a sovereign contempt for all the things of this world, and look upon them as common, and trust one another with them without any particular security; for which reason, any subtle fellow, by good management, may impose upon this simple people, and grow rich

among them." Lucian afterwards informs us, that Peregrinus was set at liberty by the governor of Syria, and that at length he parted from the christians.

We have here an authentic testimony from a heathen writer, who was well acquainted with mankind, to some of the main facts and principles of Christianity. "That the founder of the Christian religion was crucified in Palestine; that he was the great master of the christians, and the first author of the principles received by them; that these men called christians had peculiarly strong hopes of immortal life, and a great contempt for this world and its enjoyments; that they courageously endured many afflictions upon account of their principles, and sometimes surrendered themselves to sufferings. Honesty and probity prevailed so much among them, that they trusted each other without security. Their master had earnestly recommended to all his followers mutual love, by which also they were much distinguished; and their assiduity in relieving and comforting one another when under affliction, was known to all men. It is no disparagement to them that they were imposed upon by Peregrinus, who was admired by many others."

Celsus, contemporary with Lucian, was an Epicurean philosopher, who lived in the reign of Adrian. He was one of the most virulent adversaries the Christian religion ever had, and also a man of considerable parts and learning. The book which he wrote against the christians, in the year 176, was entitled the 'True Word.' He there introduces a Jew declaiming against Jesus Christ, and against such Jews as were converted to Christianity. Origen's answer to Celsus is not a general reply, but a minute examination of all his objections, even those which appeared the most frivolous. He states the objections of Celsus in his own words; and, that nothing might escape him, he takes them, he says, in the order in which Celsus placed them.

Celsus used only the Gospels themselves, in search of evidence against their truth. He never refers to any spurious gospel, or to any other accounts of the life of Christ. His attack is conducted, *not by denying the facts* contained in the scriptures, of which he all along *admits* the truth, but by reasoning from such as the following topics. "That it was absurd to esteem and worship one as God, who was acknowledged to have been a man, and to have suffered death. That Christ invited sinners to enter into the kingdom of God. That it was inconsistent with his supposed dignity, to come to save such low and despicable creatures as the Jews and christians. That he spake dishonourably and impiously of God. That the doctrines and precepts of religion are better taught by the Greek philosophers than in the gospels; and without the threatenings of God." The following are specimens of the objections he brings forward:—

"What need was there for carrying thee, while an infant, into Egypt, that thou mightest not be slain? For it did not become God to be afraid of death." "How can we think him God, who, to omit other things, performed none of those matters which we are told he promised? And who, being condemned by us, when he was sought to

be punished, was caught basely lurking and flying, being betrayed by those whom he called his disciples!" "If you tell them, that it is not the Son of God, but he who is Father of all whom men ought to worship, they will not be satisfied unless you also worship him who is the author of their sedition; not that they exceed in the worship of God, but that they, above measure, worship this man." Speaking of the crucifixion, Celsus says, "If not before, why did he not now, at least, exert his divinity, and deliver himself from this ignominy, and treat those as they deserved, who behaved ignominiously both towards himself and his Father?" "If these men worshipped no other but the one God, they might justly inveigh against all other gods. But now, they out of measure worship one who but lately appeared, and yet imagine they do not sin against God, though they also serve his minister." He affirms that Jesus, being "brought up obscurely, and obliged to serve for hire in Egypt, learned there certain powerful arts, for which the Egyptians are renowned; then returned greatly elated with his power, on account of which he declared himself a God."

Celsus represents Jesus to have lived but a few years before. He mentions its being said that Jesus was born of a virgin: that angels appeared to Joseph. He speaks of the star that appeared at the birth of Jesus; the wise men that came to worship him when an infant, and Herod's massacreing the children; Joseph's fleeing with the child into Egypt by the admonition of an angel; the Holy Ghost descending on Jesus like a dove when he was baptized by John, and the voice from heaven declaring him to be the Son of God; his going about with his disciples, whom he calls boatmen, publicans, and wicked sailors; his healing the sick and lame, and raising the dead; his foretelling his own sufferings and resurrection; his being betrayed, forsaken by his own disciples, his sufferings, his praying, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me;" the ignominious treatment he met with, the robe that was put upon him, the crown of thorns, the reed put into his hand, his drinking vinegar and gall, and his being scourged and crucified; his being seen after his resurrection by a fanatical woman, (as he calls her, meaning Mary Magdalene,) and by his own companions and disciples; his shewing them his hands that were pierced, the marks of his punishment. He also mentions the angels being seen at his sepulchre, and that some said it was one angel, others that it was two; by which he hints at the seeming variation in the accounts given of it by the evangelists. Upon the whole, there are in Celsus about eighty quotations from the books of the New Testament, or references to them, of which Origen has taken notice. And whilst he argues from them, sometimes in a very perverse manner, he still takes it for granted, as the foundation of his argument, that whatever absurdities could be fastened upon any words or actions of Christ, recorded in the gospels, it would be a valid objection against Christianity.

The reasoning, then, on both sides of this dispute, proceeded on the supposition of the truth of the gospel history. Celsus also grants that Christ wrought miracles. The difference between him and Ori-

gen, on this subject, lies in the manner of accounting for them; the one ascribing them to magic, the other to the power of God.

Porphyry the philosopher, was born at Tyre, in Phenicia, about the year 233. He wrote a large treatise against the Christian religion, of which he was a very able and learned opponent. He endeavours to overthrow the authority of the scriptures, not by denying their authenticity, but by endeavouring to point out in them contradictions and absurdities; but he opposes no contradicting statement. He does not deny the miracles, but calls them "the works of cunning demons," and refers to some who, he asserts, performed miracles as great. He appears to have been well acquainted with the scriptures, and refers to numerous passages and circumstances in them, which he perverts, after the manner of Celsus, pointing out what he deems immoral and absurd. "If Christ," he objects, "be the way of salvation, the truth, and the life, and they only who believe in him can be saved, what became of the men who lived before his coming?" "Christ threatens everlasting punishment to those who do not believe him, and yet in another place he says, 'with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again;' which is absurd and contradictory, for all measure must be limited to time." He objects that Peter was reproved by Paul, for that he did not proceed uprightly in preaching the gospel. Hence he argues the falsehood of the whole doctrine, as if it were a mere invention, since the heads of the churches disagreed. Other passages of scripture he reasons upon in a similar manner. The cause why Æsculapius wrought no cures, as he says, in his time, and why the other gods no longer gave responses, neither intermeddled in the affairs of men, he ascribes wholly to the honour that was given to Jesus;—"Since Jesus has been honoured, none have received any public benefit from the gods."

Notwithstanding what he says against the christians, Porphyry gives an honourable testimony to the character of Jesus Christ. In his treatise, entitled "Philosophy of Oracles," the following passage, preserved by Eusebius, occurs:—

"What we are going to say, may perhaps appear to some a paradox, for the gods declared Christ to be a person most pious, and become immortal. Moreover, they speak of him honourably." And, going on, he adds: "Being asked concerning Christ, whether he is God, he (Apollo) answered, 'That he who is renowned for wisdom, knows that the immortal soul continues after the body; but the pious soul of that man is most excelling.' He therefore affirmed him to be a most pious person, and that his soul, which the foolish christians worship, like that of other good men, was after death made immortal; but being asked why he was punished, he answered, 'That the body indeed is ever liable to little torments; but the soul of the pious rests in the plain of heaven.' And, immediately after this oracle, he adds, "He was, therefore a pious person, and went to heaven, as pious persons do; for which cause you ought not to speak evil of him, but to pity the folly of the men (namely, who worship him)."

Hierocles the philosopher, was prefect at Alexandria, in the year

203. He composed two books, in order to confute the Christian religion. To these books Eusebius published an answer, which still remains. Hierocles endeavours to prove the falsehood of the scriptures, by attempting to shew that they contradict themselves, for which purpose he makes observations on a great number of particular passages. The proof of Christianity, from the miracles of Jesus, he tries to invalidate, not by denying the facts themselves, but by showing that one Appollonius had performed equal, if not greater miracles, which were recorded, he says, not by ignorant men like Peter and Paul; but by Maximus of Ægis, and Damis a philosopher. 'Now,' says he, 'we reckon him who did such wonderful things not a god, but only a man; whereas they (the christians) give the appellation of God to Jesus, because he performed a few miracles.' Lactantius, in remarking on this, affirms that the difference between the miracles performed by Jesus, and all impostors whatever, is evident from the manner in which they were regarded by mankind."

Julian, the Roman emperor, succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars in the year 361. He had once made a profession of Christianity, but afterwards abandoned it. In the year 363, he wrote a treatise in three books against the christians, and to confute the Christian religion, against which he shows great inveteracy. Libanius the sophist, who was acquainted with Julian, says, 'He wrote a treatise to show that these books which make the Man of Palestine to be God, contained nothing but silly and ridiculous matters.' Cyril wrote an answer to this work, in which he transcribes many passages from it at length. Julian, like the others whose works we have been considering, *acknowledged the principal facts* of the gospel history. The nature of Julian's objections, as well as his admission of the facts related, will be seen from the following extracts: 'Jesus having persuaded a few among you, and those of the worst of men, has now been celebrated about three hundred years, having done nothing in his lifetime worthy of remembrance, unless any one thinks it a mighty matter to heal lame and blind people, and exorcise demoniacs in the villages of Bethsaida and Bethany.' 'Jesus, whom you preach, was one of Cæsar's subjects. If you refuse this, I will prove it by-and-by. But the thing is acknowledged; for you say, that he, with his father and mother, was enrolled under Cerenius. Now, after he was born, what good did he do to his relations? For he says they would not obey him.'

Alluding to the superstitious contentions of the christians of that time about the observance of Easter, he says, 'These things flow entirely from yourselves, for nowhere has Jesus or Paul delivered you these things, commanding you to do them. The reason is, they did not expect that ever you would attain to this degree of power; for they were content if they deceived servant-maids and slaves, and by their means some wives and husbands, such as Cornelius and Sergius; of whom, if the one is remembered among the noted men of that time, —for these things happened in the reign of Tiberius or Claudius,—do you think that I lie concerning the rest?'

You are so unfortunate, that you do not continue in those things

which were delivered to you by the apostles. For their successors have dressed them up for the worse, and more impiously. For neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark, ventured to call Jesus, God. But that good man, John, perceiving that numbers of the Grecian and Italian cities were caught with that distemper, and hearing, as I suppose, that the sepulchres of Peter and Paul were privately worshipped, was the first who had the boldness to pronounce it." Further, he objects what John says. "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath revealed him. Whether, then, is this God word made flesh, the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father? and if he is the same, as I think, then certainly even you have seen God; for he dwelt among you, and ye beheld his glory."

Speaking of the christians, he scoffingly says, "Not only they of his time, but that some of those who at the beginning received the word from Paul, were such, is apparent from what Paul himself says, writing to them. For I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be just. These are the things which he writes of his disciples, and to themselves:—'Be not deceived; neither idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And you are not ignorant, brethren, that such were you also. But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified in the name of Jesus Christ.' 1 Cor. vi. 9, 11. You see they were such, but they had been sanctified and washed, having been cleansed and scoured with water, which penetrates even to the soul. And baptism, which cannot heal the leprosy, nor the gout, nor the dysentery, nor any other distemper of the body, takes away adulteries, extortions, and all other sins of the soul." In the above passage, Julian says, "I presume he was not so void of shame, as to send them such reproaches in his letter to them, if he had not known them to be just." This is the very argument formerly insisted on respecting the testimony of the first christians, to whom the epistles were addressed, which must have been applicable to them, or they would never have been received and acknowledged by them.

In a letter to Arsocius, high priest of Galatia, referring to the impiety of the heathens, Julian recommends the example of the christians: "Why do we not look to that which has been the principal cause of the augmentation of impiety, humanity to strangers, care in burying the dead, and that sanctity of life of which they make such a show? all which things I will have to be really practised by our people. It is not sufficient that you are unblameable yourself; all the priests in Galatia ought to be so likewise. I will, therefore, that you persuade, and even compel, all the priests in Galatia to live soberly; otherwise do you depose them from the priestly office, unless they, and their wives, and children, and servants, do religiously worship the gods, and also forbear to converse with the servants, children, and wives of the Galileans who are impious towards the gods, and prefer impiety

to religion. You are likewise to order them not to frequent the theatre, nor to drink in taverns, nor to exercise any mean or sordid employments. Such as hearken to your directions, you are to encourage; others you are to reject. You are also to erect hospitals in every city, that strangers also may share in our humanity; and not only those of our own religion, but others likewise, if they are necessitous." He then tells them what allowance he had made for that purpose. "For," says he, "it is a shame, when there are no beggars among the Jews, and the impious Galileans relieve not only their own people, but ours also, that our poor should be neglected by us, and be left helpless and destitute."

"After all," says Julian, "these (Galileans) have, in some degree, a proper sense of religion; for they worship no abject and vulgar deity, but that God who is truly all-powerful and all-good, by whose direction the sensible world is conducted; the same, I am persuaded, that we also worship, under different names. They therefore seem, to me, to act very consistently; as they are not transgressors of the laws, but only err in paying their worship to this one God, in neglect of all the rest, and in thinking that we only, whom they style the gentiles, are precluded from his influence."

These testimonies are as worthy of the attention of the Christian public, as of the sceptics; for, while they prove that neither infidel Jews, nor pagans, nor apostates from the Christian faith, in all their spite and malice, and with all the opportunities which they had, ever attempted to contradict one of the great facts on which Christianity is predicated; they also give some striking attestations to the purity, excellency, and value of Christianity, as received and practised by the primitive christians. But the conclusion from these premises bearing upon the position before us, (now, I hope, established in every mind in this assembly,) which has led us so far into antiquity, is this—that the Christian scriptures, and the facts which they record, were admitted by the enemies of Christianity, as we now contend for them. But these infidels, like the modern, attempted to explain them away, to ridicule, or reproach them, as you have heard upon the present occasion; but with what success, let the page of history and our own experience declare. I will only add, that I see, in my friend Mr. Owen, only a second edition of Celsus, in some respects abridged, and in others enlarged and improved. He dare not to deny the *facts*, but philosophizes against them, because repugnant to his Epicurean notions of matter, virtue, and happiness.

These old sceptics reasoned against Jesus being Lord of the universe, and against his religion, just as a modern atheist reasons against the proposition, *that God made this globe.* A benevolent being could not create a world like this. See how badly it is planned, arranged, and adapted to the subsistence of animals. One part of it parched with a vertical sun, another bound in perpetual ice. One part of it dreary wastes, sandy deserts, and three-fourths of the whole, immense oceans. They have formed, in their own imagination, a standard of benevolence, and that will not apply to the appearance of things, and it is

more consistent with the pride of philosophy to annihilate a Creator, than to sacrifice their own imaginations to reason. So with these primitive sceptics; they opposed their own ideas, or their own superstition, to incontestible facts; and rather than abandon the former, they thought good to attempt to explain away the latter.

Two facts are established from the preceding documents and proofs, our adversaries themselves being judges:—

1. All Christian communities, from A. D. 33 to 101, whether previously Jews, or pagans, or both, to whom these writings were addressed, did receive and retain these writings, as the works of the persons whose names they bear.

2. That all the opponents of Christianity, whose works have come down to us, or whose arguments have been preserved in the writings of their opponents, did admit the gospel histories to have been written by their reputed authors; did admit the facts recorded, and never dared to question either the authorship of the inspired books, the time or place of their publication, or the verity of the facts stated by the eye and ear witnesses of the word.

While on the subject of the authorship of these sacred writings, and on the incontrovertible nature of the facts stated in these narratives, I would think it not unsuitable, in this place, to take notice of the character of these writers, and the *circumstantiality* of their narrations.

The question now before us is—Does the character of these writers, as it presents itself to our view, from their own writings, or from any records which have come down to us, afford any ground to suspect either their *sincerity*, or any moral defect whatever? There is a species of evidence, sometimes called the *internal* evidence of Christianity. This is made up from the character of the writers, the peculiarities of style and sentiment exhibited, and also from the nature, object, and tendency of the doctrine taught, or the communications made. There is what is sometimes called the *critical internal* evidence, and the *moral internal* evidence. I am not, however, going into this matter at present. I only remark, that, although the internal evidence, found within the volume, is not supposed the best calculated to arrest the attention of the bold, declaiming infidel, or the curious speculating sceptic; yet this is the evidence which ever has made the deepest impression upon the mind of the honest inquirer; and affords a much greater assurance to the believer of the certainty of the foundation of his faith, than all the external proofs which have ever been adduced. The moral internal evidence of Christianity, is that which takes hold of the great mass of mankind, because it seizes the soul of man; it adapts itself to the whole man. It speaks to the understanding, to the conscience, to the affections, to the passions, to the circumstances, of man, in a way which needs no translation, no comment. It pierces the soul of man, dividing even the animal life from our intellectual nature, and developing the thoughts and intents of the heart. There is an internal sense to which it addresses itself, which can feel, examine, weigh, and decide upon, its pretensions, without pronouncing a word.

In silencing, confuting, confounding, and converting the bold op-

poser with a hard heart and a seared conscience, we do take hold of those strong, stubborn, and prostrating arguments, drawn from what we sometimes call the *extrinsic* sources. But when we aim at converting the great mass of mankind, we only think of laying open the internal evidences. In the former case, we begin by proving that God speaks; but, in the latter, we assume the fact, and prove it from what is spoken. That God speaks, ten thousand vouchers in the volume declare; none of which can be refuted. These are they which assure the christian that his faith will never make him ashamed.

But I will speak of the *circumstantiality* of the writers, that I may illustrate their *sincerity*. When a person attempts to impose upon us, he sometimes deals in generals, and avoids particulars. He keeps out to sea. He takes care not to deal much in dates, times, persons, and places of easy reference. He fears nothing more than specific terms, and minute details. But as there is a peculiar air of design, intrigue, imposture, or fiction, so there is an air of frankness, candour, honesty, sincerity, which it is as difficult to counterfeit, as to change the lineaments of the face. There is the physiognomy of truth. Sometimes it is mimicked. A laboured minuteness, instead of the unaffected details; an artificial particularity instead of the natural and incidental relation of circumstances, frequently in works of fiction, assume much of the air of truth; but never so exact is the imitation as to escape the detection of the well-informed and accurate examiner. A secret consciousness of merited suspicion will always blush through the most laboured concealment. But the consciousness of truth will, without a challenge, court investigation, and defy contradiction. There is an air of this sort which accompanies conscious truth, that never can be perfectly counterfeited. This fearlessness of consequences, this eager desire of examination, this courting of contradiction, is the most prominent feature in the character of all the original witnesses who attest the evangelical story. They take a range in their narratives, quite unnecessary, and go into circumstantia details; allusions to persons, places, and public events which no necessity compelled, were it not that they defied doubt, and solicited examination. When they record a miracle, they go into a detail of circumstances which renders *rational doubt* impossible. The witnesses of many of the miracles were very numerous, and in recording them, they challenge, as it were, and summon all the witnesses. Such, for example, was the fact in that sublime miracle in feeding five thousand men upon five barley loaves and two small fishes. The place where, the time of year when, and many circumstances connected with this occurrence, put it in the power of each one of the five thousand, and consequently in the power of myriads of their contemporaries, to contradict and repel such a falsehood, if it had been one. But the conversations of the enemies, the deeds and sayings of the opponents, the objections and complaints of scribes and pharisees, are frequently detailed along with the cause which elicited them. All of which afforded the most ready means of detection.

No country more than Judea, and no age more than the era of Jesus Christ and his apostles, made it difficult to pass off a forgery, if

the impostors should be copious in their allusions to the events of the time and place. Now, the apostles and historians were most minute and copious in their allusions. But whence did this difficulty arise? Because the Jews were the most captious people, and the most conversant in all questions affecting their religious standing and character; because at that time there was an expectation that the Messiah should be born; and because the land of Judea experienced so many vicissitudes in its political relations during the time this scene of things was exhibited. At the commencement of the period of the evangelical story, it constituted a part of a kingdom under Herod the Great. Then it came under the dominion of Archelaus, under new arrangements; then it passed under the direct administration of the Roman government; the exaltation of Herod Agrippa to the sovereign power of his grandfather, for a time interrupted this order of things; and finally, it is left in the form of a province, when the history of the New Testament closes. The surrounding countries also partook of similar changes in their forms of government. Now, it would have been dangerous in the extreme, for any impostors, living in any other country, or even in the same country, forty years after the close of the New Testament story, to have attempted to forge such a story, and antedate it even forty years; especially as the prominent characters of this story had much to do in the ecclesiastical judicatories of these times; and to appear before several of the magistrates and governors, then in office under the Roman emperors. No man could now write the history of any prominent individual, living in New Jersey some forty years ago, full of incident and allusion to the families and individuals of the neighbourhood, and now pass it off for a work of the period which it pretended to describe. I ask, could such an attempt possibly escape detection, especially if copious in allusions and references to the manners, customs, and leading personages of the day? But how much more difficult, if, in that period, four or five changes in the government had taken place, and in the public management of its political concerns? It would have been impossible for the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to have survived their authors, had they been either a record of false facts, or a disguised perverted representation of facts which had occurred. It would exhaust your patience, my friends, and our strength, to attempt, were we now adequate to the task, to detail the allusions, references, and appeals to the illustrious personages, to the customs and institutions, Roman and Jewish, which then existed in that land and circumjacent country, and which are found in the historical books alone, of the New Testament. I will just give you one example of the circumstantial minuteness of these historians, which may suffice for a specimen of what might be exhibited, were we to devote our attention to such a development. I will only premise, that as the circumstance of having four historians gives us the opportunity of cross-examination, so the allusions to Jewish, Roman, and other usages, give us the opportunity of cross-examining the sacred with the profane historians and writers of that day; of which we rejoice to state there were not a few.

The example to which I refer, is the trial, condemnation, and cruci-

fixion, of Jesus Christ. Seven or eight allusions to persons, customs, and usages, which the sacred writers never explain, are found in the accounts of this trial, which will bear a cross-examination with all the authentic records of those times. Chalmers notices them in the following manner:—

"The fact, that they are borne out in their minute and incidental allusions by the testimony of other historians, gives a strong weight of what has been called circumstantial evidence in their favour. As a specimen of the argument, let us confine our observations to the history of our Saviour's trial, and execution, and burial. They brought him to Pontius Pilate. We know, both from Tacitus and Josephus, that he was at that time governor of Judea. A sentence from him was necessary, before they could proceed to the execution of Jesus; and we know that the power of life and death was usually vested in the Roman governor. Our Saviour was treated with derision; and this we know to have been a customary practice at that time, previous to the execution of criminals, and during the time of it. Pilate scourged Jesus, before he gave him up to be crucified. We know from ancient authors, that this was a very usual practice among the Romans. The accounts of an execution generally run in this form;—He was stripped, whipped, and beheaded or executed. According to the evangelists, his accusation was written on the top of the cross; and we learn, from Suetonius and others, that the crime of the person to be executed was affixed to the instrument of his punishment. According to the evangelists, this accusation was written in three different languages; and we know from Josephus, that it was quite common in Jerusalem to have all public advertisements written in this manner. According to the evangelists, Jesus had to bear his cross; and we know, from other sources of information, that this was the constant practice of these times. According to the evangelists, the body of Jesus was given up to be buried, at the request of friends. We know that, unless the criminal was infamous, this was the law, or the custom with all Roman governors."

These, and a few more particulars of the same kind, occur within the compass of a single page of the evangelical history. The circumstantial manner of the history affords a presumption in its favour, antecedent to all examination into the truth of the circumstances themselves. But it makes a strong addition to the evidence, when we find, that in all the subordinate parts of the main story, the evangelists maintain so great a consistency with the testimony of other authors, and with all that we can collect from other sources of information, as to the manners and institutions of that period. It is difficult to conceive, in the first instance, how the inventor of a fabricated story would hazard such a number of circumstances, each of them supplying a point of comparison with other authors, and giving to the inquirer an additional chance of detecting the imposition. And it is still more difficult to believe, that truth should have been so artfully blended with falsehood in the composition of this narrative, particularly as we perceive nothing like a forced introduction of any one circumstance. There appears to be nothing out of place,—nothing thrust in with the

view of imparting an air of probability to the history. The circumstance upon which we bring the evangelists into comparison with profane authors, is often not intimated in a direct form, but in the form of a slight or distant allusion. There is not the most remote appearance of its being fetched or sought for. It is brought in accidentally, and flows in the most natural and undesigned manner out of the progress of the narrative."

But, as from the extraordinary *circumstantiality* of these historians and writers, so from every lineament of their character, from every action of their lives, from all their labours and sufferings in the cause, we may derive irrefragable proofs of their *sincerity*. To the whole phenomena of the characters of the original witnesses, it has been often objected, or rather insinuated, that men have been frequently moved by pride of opinion, the hope of reward, by avarice or ambition, to feign characters, and impose upon the credulity of the world: that it is not improbable but that the original reporters and publishers of Christianity conspired together from some of these sinister motives to impose upon the credulity of posterity. Singular conspiracy indeed! A conspiracy to make mankind just, merciful, pure, forgiving, and affectionate to one another; to teach them to live in accordance with human nature, its origin and its destiny; to fix all their supreme hopes upon objects unseen and future; and to deny themselves of all unhallowed gratifications! Singular conspiracy, on the part of the conspirators, to forsake all earthborn interests, to expose themselves to shame, persecution, and death, for making mankind pure and happy; to court infamy with those in power, and to render themselves obnoxious to the indignation of all the reputed wise, religious, and honourable among men. Astonishing conspiracy! which promises to the conspirators the absence of all worldly good, and the presence of all temporal evils, in proportion as they would be successful in accomplishing the objects for which they had conspired.

Any suspicion or conjecture against the founders of Christianity, drawn from any document upon earth, christian or infidel, is as unreasonable as atheism itself.

Viewed in whatever light we may, the apostles, and first propagators of Christianity, are the most extraordinary men the world ever saw. As historical writers and labourers in the establishment of Christianity, they leave a character perfectly *sui generis*. They appear to have been selected, not only because they were obscure and illiterate, but because they were men of the humblest capacity. I have often admired the wisdom of the Founder in selecting such advocates of his cause. He wanted *eye witnesses* and *ear witnesses*, and selected men from a calling which was more favourable to the production of good eyes and ears than perhaps any other. Good eyes and ears were better qualifications for the original apostles, than all the learning and talents of the archbishops of York and Canterbury. Good eyes, good ears, and a good memory, were the only indispensable qualifications to constitute such witnesses as Jesus Christ required. The most important part of their office was to identify the person of

Jesus Christ, and to attest the fact of his resurrection from the dead. To know his voice, and to distinguish his person, were matters of more consequence than most of us imagine. In truth, upon this depended the proof of the very fact, upon which all Christianity rests, viz. the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. Now, I ask, what school more favourable to qualify men for such an office, than the fisherman's life? Men whose ears, and whose eyes, are accustomed to the open air, by night and day; to the roaring of the billows, and who are constantly observing the face of nature, are the most likely to possess those senses in the greatest perfection. And, ridicule the idea who may, I will contend, that good eyes, and good ears, were first-rate qualifications in an apostle—*a defect in either would have made them perfectly incompetent to the duties of that office.*

But this was not all. He wanted plain, unlettered men; men rather approaching to dullness than to acuteness of intellect; that ingenuity itself might not be able to attach suspicion to their testimony. They were neither fluent nor intelligent. They had no personal charms derived from learning or talent. On the other hand, it appears, from their frequent colloquies with Jesus, that they were uncommonly dull of apprehension. Had the original witnesses, whose first duty it was to identify the person of Jesus, and to prove his resurrection, been men so acute and learned as Paul, educated in the best schools of that day, and possessed of such a knowledge of men and things, some might have attributed their success more to *natural* than to *supernatural* aids.

The duty of the original eye witnesses and ear witnesses who were to identify the person, narrate the miracles, and repeat the discourses of the Messiah, in all their first embassies, was to proclaim a few facts without comment, and to enforce the necessity of *reformation*, because of the advent of the Messiah, and the approach of his *reign*. He did not send them, as some suppose, to make orations or sermons upon texts of scripture, but to proclaim that the era of reformation had arrived, and to confirm their proclamation by miraculous benefits bestowed promiscuously upon all.

There never was such a model of finished human testimony, since or before, as that which the New Testament exhibits; in which no human being, how ingenious or malicious soever, can find a flaw, or even a weakness.

Let us for a moment glance at another of its grand characteristics. First comes the rough, bold, and zealous Baptist, just dressed up to the taste of the times. To understand this singular appearance of John, you must recollect that the Jewish people were at this time divided into two religious sects, the pharisees and the sadducees. The pharisees were the most numerous and decent religionists in their day. The sudducees were the most wealthy class of the Jewish nation, and indulged themselves in all sensual pleasures. Like the rich generally, they wished for no future state, and fondly believed there was none. They had not much moral influence with the people on these accounts. But the pharisees had. Now, it was more necessary

that the pretensions of John should be favourably regarded by the pharisees than the sadducees; for if favourably received by the pharisees, the more general would be the reception of the Messiah by the whole nation. Now the pharisees placed the highest degree of sanctity, just in such a demeanor, dress, and manner of life, as John the baptist assumed. Thus he dressed himself to the taste of those who could give the most influence to his message. Hence we find that so soon as his preaching, dress, food, and manner of life were known, the Jews in Jerusalem deputed very honourable characters, both priests and Levites, to wait upon him to hear his testimony, and to report it in the metropolis. Thus the testimony of John, in favour of the Messiah, was favourably announced through Judea, and to the nation. In all respects, the testimony of the harbinger wonderfully accords with that of the testimony of the twelve original heralds, both in its general character and accompaniments.

But with regard to the testimony of the twelve original witnesses, I have to remark, that not one of them understood for years either the nature or design of the mission of Jesus. This fact, if correctly understood, and applied, is of immense importance to the Christian public in correcting some mistakes into which they have fallen, and it gives very great additional weight to the testimony of the apostles, respecting the capital item in the record, viz. the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. They all, without exception, expected the Messiah would found an earthly kingdom, and reign over it for ever. Their imaginations pictured out to them the mighty conquests, and illustrious victories they would achieve under him. Even the most gifted saints who departed not from the temple, when they first saw the wonderful child, moved by the Holy Spirit, as it spake in the ancient prophets (not always understood by them whose tongues uttered its suggestions) expressed their joy and hopes in such strains as indicated expectations similar to those of his disciples—"that we, said they, being *delivered from our enemies* might worship him *without fear* all the days of our lives." They, one and all, expected an all-conquering king in the person of Jesus. Hence, so much of the war-spirit in some of the apostles, and so much worldly ambition in the mother of Zebedee's sons. Let my two sons, said she, sit, good master, one on your right, and the other on your left, when you ascend the throne. A crucified Messiah was as far from her thoughts, as the day of judgment is now from the anticipations of Mr. Owen. Not a man or women on earth, till within a few days of the event, could understand or brook the idea of the crucifixion of Jesus.

I do not say that the apostles were quite disinterested in leaving their occupations to follow Jesus. This diminishes nought from their testimony. They expected he was able to reward them; and that he would reward them. They looked for something in this world when they first set out as volunteers in his cause. Peter says, "Now, Lord, what shall we have, who have forsaken all and followed you?" He made him a liberal promise which pleased him and his associates too. But this promise, even then, they misapplied. When he told

them, without a figure, that he would be crucified, they could not believe it; so contrary was this issue of his life to their expectations. And when the Roman soldiers and the chief priests came to take him before the sanhedrim, Peter was more disposed to fight than to surrender. In a word, the whole company of the disciples of Jesus, male and female, were *disappointed* when Jesus was crucified. Fear and consternation seized them all. Peter acted the coward, and they all fled. Even on the day of his resurrection, while two of them were going from Jerusalem to Emmaus, they spake of his demise as a complete frustration of all their hopes. "We *expected*," said they, "that *he would have redeemed Israel.*" But, alas! we are disappointed. He has not redeemed Israel, was their conviction at the moment. A temporal redemption was their expectation. And, as for his resurrection from the dead, so far from plotting any story about it, it was the farthest thought from their mind; the female disciples were preparing to embalm the body, when they found the grave empty; and when they told the disciples that "*the Lord was risen indeed,*" their "words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not."

Now this being the expectation of these witnesses, as every document on earth proves—to suppose them capable of plotting and executing such a fraud, as the stealing of the body, betrays the grossest ignorance of the whole history of the times, of the nation, and of the apostles. Nothing can be more plain than that when Joseph the senator petitioned the governor for the body, and interred it, the prospects of the disciples, as respected worldly objects, were buried in the same grave with it.

Hence, the incredulity of all the apostles at first hearing of his resurrection, and the stubborn incredulity of Thomas, who happened to be absent when the Lord appeared to the others—*I will not believe,* said he. I would not believe my own eyes: for unless I had handled him and felt the wounds made by the spear and nails, I would not, I could not, believe. But a single sight of Jesus, overcame all his resolution, and he is constrained to exclaim, *My Lord and my God!*

But, as I am brought forward to this most wonderful of all events, *the resurrection of Jesus Christ,* which is, too, the capital item in the apostolic testimony; and the fact on which the whole religion and hopes of Christianity depend and terminate, I feel strongly disposed to shew that it is the best attested fact in the annals of the world. For I wish to have it placed upon record, and to be known as far as this work ever shall extend, either in time or place, that, in our view, the shortest and best, because the most irrafragable way, to prove the whole truth and absolute certainty of the Christian religion, is to prove the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. This proved, and deism, atheism, and scepticism of every name, fall prostrate to the ground. The atheist will himself say, let this be proved, that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, walked upon this earth ate, drank, and talked with men for *forty* days afterwards, and in the presence of many witnesses, ascended up into heaven, and after his ascent thither, sent down infallible proofs that he was well received in the heavenly world; and I will believe.

I beg the indulgence of this assembly here. I wish to be diffuse on this one point. I desire it for the sake of every saint and sinner here, or who may read this discussion. I will aim at doing more than proving the fact, though this shall be kept continually in view. This fact proved, and all is proved. This is not a conclusion to which I have come from my own reasoning merely, nor from my own experience, though both lead to it. It is a conclusion to which the wisest of christians have been led. But that which gives the casting vote in the court of my understanding, is the fact that Paul sets the example.

Paul was not one of the original twelve. He was not chosen to be a companion of Jesus,—to be an eye and ear witness of what Jesus said and did. He was called to attest and proclaim the truth of Christianity to the world; to the pagan world, savage and civilized. All gentile nations were embraced in his commission. *He saw Jesus*, after he had spent some months or years in persecuting him. Now, the question is, how did this astonishing man argue the truth of Christianity against the philosophic Greek, Epicurean, or Stoic? How did he plead its truth with barbarian, scythian, noble and ignoble. To ascertain this, we must follow him from Jerusalem to Athens, from Athens to Rome, from city to city, from nation to nation; and after mingling with his congregations in all places, we shall hear him rest all upon the fact of Christ's resurrection. Begin where, and with whom he may, here always he makes his stand.

We shall just hear him in Athens. "Athenians," says he, "you are in all things too much addicted to the worshipping of demons. I see that you have erected an altar to the *unknown God*. This Being, whom you worship without knowing him, I now declare to you: God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with human hands, neither is he served as though he needed any thing; seeing he gives to all life, and breath, and all things, and has made of one blood all the nations of men who inhabit the earth; now one of your own poets hath said, '*For we his offspring are.*'" Now let me reason with you on your own principles. If we are the offspring of the Deity, there must be some similitude between him and us, as between parent and child. We can walk, and speak, and act; but your gods are dumb, and cannot move. They have no seeing eye, nor hearing ear, else the spiders would not spin their threads over their eyes, and weave their webs over their ears. Yet, you say, "We are the offspring of God." Thus it is easy to refute their superstition. But, after pulling down their fine air-built speculations, he appears in the majesty of the gospel. He announces the divine proclamation. This ignorant superstition of yours, God, says he, has hitherto overlooked; but now he commands *all men* every where TO REFORM. Reformation and remission of sins, he proclaims and enjoins. These he connects with the day of judgment: for, continues he, he has appointed a day in which he will judge the world, by that person whom he has constituted the judge of living and dead, concerning which matters he has given proof, faith or assurance to all the world, by RAISING HIM FROM THE DEAD. Here he stands: this proves the whole mission of Jesus, and his appoint-

ment to be the supreme judge. They had heard him talk about the *anastasis* in the market-place; but, not knowing the resurrection of the dead, they supposed this *anastasis* was a god or goddess which Paul had proclaimed. But let it be remembered, that not only in the market-place with the Epicureans and Stoics, but when amidst the *areopagi*, or aldermen of the city, he makes the all-conquering proof of his doctrine, the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

But that I may argue the truth of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, in your presence, with the greatest possible effect on this promiscuous audience, let me take another argument from this apostle, as my text.

Permit me to open the New Testament: 1 Cor. 15. You will find Paul in argument with some disciple of Epicurus, or some sadducean dogmatist. We shall hear him state the *old gospel* which he so successfully proclaimed. This old gospel was not so full of dogmas and opinions as those of the modern. We have become so *spiritual*, that our religion is rather a religion of *opinions* than of *facts*. Angels may live on opinions, or abstract truths, for aught I know; but so soon as mortals begin to live on opinions, they become lean. The primitive christians believed facts, reposed in them, and drew their joys from them. But let us hear Paul state *his gospel*: "Moreover, brethren, I will declare that gospel to you, which I once proclaimed among you; which you then received as true, in which you now profess to stand; and by which YOU ARE SAVED, provided you hold it in your memory, unless, forsooth, it is all a lie, and so in believing it, you have believed in vain." "I delivered to you when I first came to Corinth, this gospel: First, that Jesus Christ died for our sins: Second, that he was buried: and, in the third place, that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures." This was the beginning, middle, and end of Paul's gospel; whether it suit or non suit the fastidious taste of the times. He proceeds to prove the third fact; not so much to prove it, as to argue from it, as an established fact,—one admitted by all the congregation of Corinth, and by myriads of christians throughout the world.

Old Plato reasoned about the *immortality* of the soul; but in the genuine spirit of Christianity, Paul avers that Jesus Christ brought *life and immortality* to our bodies. The dispute among the Jews was not about the immortality of the soul; but, shall the generations of the dead ever come back again? This was the question which the Pharisees and the Sadducees argued This is the grand point which must be always kept in view. Only shew me the man, who, on the testimony of the apostles and prophets, believes that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, and I will engage to show you a christian, not only in faith, but in works. A belief in this fact is the *fons et principium* of Christianity—the source from which the practice of all christian virtues must be derived. This is the principle which leavens the whole mass; this is the balm of gilead, the cordial which calms, and cheers, and comforts the heart.

A person may believe opinions (it is, however, a misapplication of

the term *believe*) until his soul freezes, or falls asleep (pardon the expression.) Facts, testimony, and faith belong to the same chapter; and the last can only be in company with the former two. But we shall soon wander from the point before us. The old gospel was summarily comprehended in *these three facts*. The meaning of these facts is, what is called, *the doctrine* of Christ.

Paul proceeds to state the evidence on which the third fact was proclaimed in Corinth. He states a number of times that Jesus was seen alive; first by Cephas; then by all the apostles; then by five hundred disciples at one time; then by James; then again by all the apostles, and last of all he was seen by himself. The number of times and witnesses greatly transcend all that is ever required to prove any fact. He, however, simply asserts the fact of his having been seen so often, and by so many witnesses, the majority of whom are appealed to *as still living*. We have the fact of his resurrection here asserted, and the evidence adduced. Now for the argument derived from the evidence submitted. To estimate the weight of this, let it be remembered that Paul had some bitter enemies in Corinth. These were the old materialists—the Sadducees. Very like my friend Mr. Owen, they held to no spirit, resurrection, nor future state. Now, as opposers of the apostle, they would be disposed to detect, if possible, any error, weakness, flaw, or falsehood in the argument. Mark how he challenges them!—"*How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?*" They had insulted him. He does not spare them. Surely, in the polished, shrewd, and captious city of Corinth, which Cicero compliments as the *lumen totius Graeciæ*, the *eye of all Greece*. Surely, I say, if Paul be vulnerable; if his facts be false; if his arguments be inconclusive, the "*eye of all Greece*" will see it; and the wounded pride of his opponents will publish it to the world.

When I came to you first, did I not proclaim the resurrection of Jesus? Did I not prove it? Did you not believe it? Why, then, deny the resurrection of the dead saints? for both stand or fall together. If the dead saints are not raised, then why was Christ raised? and, you know, if he was not raised, and we affirmed that he was, we are found liars: our preaching and your faith are both vain. You are yet in your sins.

Did I not tell you, *he was seen by me also?* Why did you believe me? Were not the signs of an apostle with me? Besides, you knew my history. The Jews all knew it; and some of you are acquainted with it. I am proud to confess it was not my education, nor the circumstances which surrounded me from birth to manhood, which made me what I am. I was born a Jew, and all my prospects were Jewish. My ancestors on both sides were Jews. My preceptor, Gamaliel, was a learned Doctor of the Jewish law: I was educated in the metropolis, at his feet. I was intimate with the whole sanhedrim. I was brought up in the greatest antipathy against Jesus and the christians. I became a persecutor as soon as I finished my education. I went even to strange cities in pursuit of christians, male and female. All this,

my education and the circumstances which surrounded me from birth to manhood, prompted me to. But, contrary to the influence of both, by the evidence which I have detailed to you, I was constrained to renounce these vicious influences, and to proclaim the faith which you have received."

We shall now let Paul plead his own cause with the Corinthian materialists.

He opens the case: he asserts the fact: *Jesus rose from the dead.* He summons the witnesses. They depose that they saw the same identical person who was crucified and buried, alive again. That they had the most indubitable evidence of the fact of his resurrection. They saw him, handled him, ate with him, drank with him, and conversed with him, and saw him ascend into heaven.

Paul's first argument on the premises, is a *reductio ad absurdum.* You Sadducees, that are members of the congregation in Corinth, believed, and still declare your belief, of the above testimony, that Jesus rose from the dead. Now, if you deny the future resurrection of the saints, you make the resurrection of Jesus of none account. For why should Christ alone, rise to die no more, as one of the sons of men? If, then, you would prove that there is no resurrection of the dead, you must deny a fact which all christians admit, and which you yourselves admit upon the aforesaid evidence; namely, the undeniable fact of the resurrection of Jesus. To deny the resurrection of the dead, is, then, to deny your own acknowledged belief in the resurrection of Jesus.

2. Again, if Christ be not raised, our proclamation of that fact is false, and your belief predicated thereupon, is also false. This is another *reductio ad absurdum.*

3. Again, we have been false witnesses concerning God, when we said that he raised up Christ: if, indeed, your assertion be true, that the dead are not to be raised, we are not merely deceivers of men, but reproachers of God. This is inadmissible, as all our deeds declare.

4. Again, on your hypothesis, faith is *useless.* You are still in your sins. This is contrary to your own experience.

5. Also, all who have died for attesting their belief in Christ's resurrection, have thrown their lives away, and have actually, on your principles, *perished.*

6. And we too, who are suffering shame, and hazarding our lives every day for proclaiming this fact, are of all men the most miserable; for we gain nothing in this life, as you yourselves know, but stripes, reproaches, and dangers, for publishing the fact of his resurrection. If we should have to fight with the wild beasts at Ephesus, for the amusement of our adversaries, what would be the avails, if there be no resurrection, nor future state?

7. But, again, what is more reasonable upon your own principles, believing, as you do, the five books of Moses, than that all the saints by one man should live again, seeing that by a man they all die.

8. But, in the last place, if you will not admit the truth of the resurrection of the dead, your creed ought to be reduced to the standard

of the brute; and, like them, make eating, and drinking, and all animal enjoyments, the all-engrossing concern of life. For death will soon reduce us back, upon your principles, to senseless matter. So reasons the apostle Paul with the Sadducean materialists, who lived too soon to deny the resurrection of Jesus, but not too soon to question the ultimate resurrection of all the dead.

I ought, perhaps, to apologize to some present, for the manner in which we connect the argument of the apostle in this chapter. You must know that we do not subscribe to that system of text preaching which authorizes a man to make as many sermons as there are verses in a chapter; and oftentimes these sermons on these texts, are as detached from the scope in which they stand, as if the whole New Testament was a book of proverbs. Hence we cannot agree with him who makes these words, "If in this life only we have hope by Christ, we are of all men the most miserable," a text to prove that all the rich and honourable christians in this day are of all men the most miserable: nor with him who makes these words, "As by Adam all die, even so by Christ shall all be made alive," a proof that all men, good and evil, shall be for ever happy. This text preaching, which has made the Bible the most unmeaning book in the world, has contributed much to make such men as Mr. Owen, sceptics. Indeed, the sects and parties which now exist, built, as they are, upon *text taking* and *sermon making*, are the most formidable weapons with which the sceptics attack the citadel of truth. But yet they might as reasonably blame the sun for all the darkness now on this globe, as charge Christianity with such perversions as those to which we now allude.

Luther and Calvin began a great reformation, and ever since we have been quarrelling about what Luther and Calvin meant; and thus people get to hating one another on account of religious opinions. Whenever men will make the belief of *Christian facts*, and not an *argument in abstruse opinions*, or in the inferential reasonings of some orthodox commentator, the bond of Christian union, divisions, and all their evil concomitants will cease; but so long as christians demand unity of opinion, or a concurrence in the conclusion of some philosophic or speculative mind, essential to Christian faith and Christian character, so long will discords and divisions abound.

Sceptics sometimes boast that they are more courteous to those who differ from them, than christians. So, well they may boast! But there is not so much real cause of triumph in this matter, as we suppose. They feel so little interest in all things pertaining to a future state, that it gives them no concern what any person thinks about it. But christians feel so much at stake, so vast an interest in all religious matters, that I can excuse them much more easily for being somewhat warmed at times, than I can praise the stoical apathy of the sceptics. If I were a materialist, I might be as courteous, and as indifferent to the opinions of others, as my friend Mr. Owen. But should I ever appear to feel any more earnest than he, it must be attributed to the greater interest I feel in all matters which are connected with immortality. It rouses a christian to make him a bankrupt by a quibble, to

rob him of the hope of immortal glory. While I disclaim all sectarianism, and all sectarian feeling, I would be the last to compliment away for a smile, a single filing of sacred truth.

But to return to the close of the apostle's most triumphant argument with the Sadducean materialist.

What could induce us to die every day, to rise every morning determined to die, if called upon, rather than to deny the truth which we promulge? What could induce us, not only to hazard death, but, while we live, to be accounted the off-scouring of the earth and the filth of all things; to suffer hunger, nakedness, and stripes, for attesting and promulging falsehoods? Has ever the like occurred? If we be deceivers knowingly, and in such a case as this, if deceivers—we must be *designedly* so: Do we not bear false witness in the presence of God, and do we not expose ourselves to the severest punishment? We must willingly prefer pain to happiness, if we are deceivers; for pain is our present earthly gain, and pain must be our future reward. We are, then, not only of all men the most miserable here, but must be so hereafter!! It cannot be; we must cease to be accounted human beings, before we can be accounted deceivers.

But, says some sceptic, (for Mr. Owen fails to make objections, and we will make them for him,) how many thousands have suffered death in attestation of false religions? How many have suffered themselves to be burned, or crushed to pieces under the ponderous car of Juggernaut, in attestation of their religion? Will you, then, make the martyrdom and sufferings of the ancient witnesses, a proof of the verity of their religion, and reject the same as proof of the truth of many pagan, and, what you would call, anti-Christian religions? This is something like you christians—but it is a good rule which works both ways; and if you will prove Christianity to be divine, because some of its votaries suffered, you will be able to prove all the religions of the world divine for the same reasons; for some of their votaries suffered.

Not so fast with your conclusion. All that we contend for, is, that martyrdom proves the *sincerity* of the witness. This is all we want. Now we all admit that a man may be *sincerely* wrong in his opinions, and so misled as to die for them, rather than to retract. But if, in matters of fact, such as the assassination of Julius Cæsar, such as the death of Napoleon, or the battle of Bunker's Hill, where the fact is submitted to all the senses, our senses could not be relied on, there would be an end to all certainty in the world. Now, when a person is so fully persuaded of such facts as to die in attestation of them, the death of such a person is not only a proof of his *sincerity*, but of *the fact*, because it is an object of sensible proof in which there was no possibility of deception.

The martyr to an opinion, in dying, says, *I sincerely think*. But the martyr to a fact, in dying, says, *I most assuredly saw*, or *I certainly heard*. Now the possibility of thinking wrong, even after having thought for years, is quite conceivable; but the possibility of seeing or hearing wrong, or not seeing or hearing at all, when opportunities have been frequent, and every way favourable, is inconceivable. A person

who sees an object only once, or hears a narrative only once, can with difficulty be deceived or misled; but where an object has been repeatedly addressed to the eye, or to the ear, deception is not to be supposed. Every man may test this principle, by inquiring how much more certain he is that a friend is dead whom he saw expire, than he is of the truth of any opinion derived from the mere comparison of abstract propositions.

It was for publishing facts, *sensible facts*, and not for propagating opinions, that all the original martyrs suffered and died. Martyrdom, therefore, proves the sincerity of the martyr, who dies for an opinion; but it proves the truth of the fact, when a person dies in attestation of a sensible fact.*

But, so soon as we have rebutted, and I hope refuted, the objection made to the superior credibility of the original witnesses, from the fact of their sufferings and martyrdom, I am assailed by another. Granted, for the moment, says some sceptic, that you have fairly made out the fact of Christ's resurrection, by the testimony of his friends; still, there is a suspicion resting upon that testimony, just from the fact that all the witnesses were christians. Let us have some sceptical Jew, or some sceptical Greek, affirming the fact; produce some respectable Roman author, like Tacitus or Suetonius, who affirms the same fact, and then you may claim our assent with more reason.

Strange illusion this, which compels a person to reject the better, and to believe the worse testimony. Now, why prefer the testimony of a man who will assert a great practical truth, and not accord with it in his behaviour, to the testimony of another, who espouses the same truth, and lives conformably to it. Does the fact of a person's living conformably to what he testifies, discredit his testimony? Yet this is precisely the logic of this objection. The man who cries fire, and sits in the burning house, is more to be believed than the man who cries fire, and runs out of it! Now, suppose Tacitus had said that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, and that he believed it, would he not have been enrolled among the Christians? And so of all others, Jews and

* *Mr. Addison* regards the courage and patience shewn by these witnesses under their tortures as of itself supernatural and miraculous. "I cannot conceive," says he, "a man placed in the burning chair at Lyons, amid the insults and mockery of the crowded amphitheatre, and still keeping his seat, or stretched upon a grate, over coals of fire, and breathing out his soul among the exquisite sufferings of such a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion and blaspheme his Saviour. Such trials seem to me above the strength of human nature, and able to overbear reason, duty, faith, conviction; nay, and the most absolute certainty of a future state. Humanity, unassisted in an extraordinary manner, must have shaken off the present pressure, and have delivered itself out of such dreadful distress, by any means that could have been suggested to it. We can easily imagine, that any person, in a good cause, might have laid down their lives at a gibbet, the stake, or the block; but to expire leisurely, among the most exquisite tortures, when they might have come out of them, even by a mental reservation, or a hypocrisy which was not without the possibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveness, has something in it so far beyond the force and natural strength of mortals, that we cannot but think that there was some miraculous power to support the sufferer."—*Reporter.*

pagans. The instant they believed the fact, they would have ceased to be Jews and pagans; they would have been embodied in the ranks of christians. So that a little common sense, or a little reflection, would have taught such a sceptic in Christianity, that in asking for such evidence, he only asked for an impossibility: yes, an impossibility as great as to place two substances in the same spot at the same instant. If I could find a pagan such as Tacitus, affirming that Jesus Christ rose from the dead, and he still continuing a pagan, I would have said that he did not believe it himself, or else viewed it as an inoperative opinion. Nay, indeed, we have infinitely better testimony than that of Tacitus, or a thousand such; for we have the testimony of Paul, and myriads of Jews and Greeks who lived in those times and places, and had access to the evidences, who were as hostile to christians and Christianity, as any sceptics now can be; and yet, so overpowering was the evidence, that from enemies they became friends. Now, to a logician, every convert made to Christianity, in those days, is a disinterested witness, and a most credible one too. For, if thousands of individuals, and of all ranks and degrees, Nicodemus and Joseph amongst the Jews, the Roman proconsuls, the Athenian mayor Dionysius, down through all the ranks in Judea, Greece, and Rome, and to the very slaves themselves, embraced at the peril of rank, fortune and good name, of life and limb, the testimony of the apostles living in their own times, with all the evidences triable by all the means which we could wish to have had—surely we have disinterested witnesses by the hundred, thousand, and myriad. I would not rank him amongst the sane intellect, who would not admit that the *three thousand* on Pentecost, converted to the Christian faith, with all the cotemporary converts, for twenty or thirty years, were disinterested witnesses. They were so. Their conversion was a proof of the facts attested, and their changing ranks made them only better witnesses than had they continued to admit the facts without being governed by them. I hope we shall hear no more about disinterested witnesses, when we have myriads of them ready to obey the summons.

The hour of adjournment, I am admonished, has arrived. Perhaps Mr. Owen wishes to be heard. Before I sit down, I would observe, that it is due to the community, to the importance of the subject, and to ourselves, that we should bring this subject to a legitimate close. Circumstances to which I have before alluded; have deprived me of bringing forward, say two-thirds of the documentary evidence I expected to offer. I do wish my friend Mr. Owen, to pay the greatest attention, and to offer every objection he can frame to this argument. We entreat any other person present, who has any objection, to make it known, either by word or writing. We do confidently believe, that we are able to demonstrate, that we have not been following any cunningly devised fable, but that we are compelled, by every rational consideration, to admit the truth of the divine oracles; and to repose implicit faith on that grand fact on which the whole of Christianity is predicated.

Saturday forenoon, 18th April.

Mr. Campbell resumes.

Mr. Chairman—When interrupted yesterday evening, by the arrival of the hour of adjournment, we were engaged in demonstrating the truth and certainty of the historic fact, on which is predicated the Christian religion. I mean the great fact of *the resurrection of the man, Christ Jesus, from the dead.* We progressed so far in the proof of this fact, as to show not only the testimony of the original witnesses themselves, but also the method in which they argued upon the evidence, and the reasons urged *why* their testimony should be accredited. The apostles, we saw, presented themselves before the public as the most competent and credible witnesses that the world ever saw. They resembled, in no one point, persons carried away by enthusiasm, or attachment to opinions, about which honest men might differ, but as men whose sole business it was to proclaim *facts*, which had been submitted to the cognizance of all their senses. They do not merely affirm, that they only saw the Saviour after his resurrection. They urge the matter, not only as affording ocular and audible, but every other kind of sensible proof. They proclaim that he repeatedly and familiarly conversed with them, for forty days; and that, during that time, he had, by many *infallible proofs*, shown himself to be the identical person whom they had seen crucified, and concerning whose identity there could not exist the shadow of a doubt. Their testimony differs, *toto cælo*, from any testimony on the subject of speculative opinions. Their sincerity is also a sincerity *sui generis*, of its own peculiar kind. The difference between martyrdom for tenacity of opinion, and for attestation of fact, we have shown to be immeasurable. Martyrdom is, in all cases, evidence of sincerity: in the former case, it only proves belief in, and tenacity of, principles; in the latter case, inasmuch as it is impossible for *all* the senses of man to be imposed upon: there cannot, in the nature of things, be any stronger proof of the verity of a *sensible* fact, than to see men dying in attestation of it.

These men were never accused of any crime, except what grew out of the pernicious influence which a belief in this fact was supposed to have upon mankind. We shall show, from all the annals of ecclesiastic history, that their persecutions originated in a dread of the influence which the promulgation of these facts was supposed to possess. The sole misdemeanor charged upon them, was their fearless development of this fact.

We have stated that, on the morning of the first day of the week, the body was missing. We have shewn that His resurrection was not anticipated by any of his disciples; that there was not an individual in the whole Christian fraternity that had the remotest expectation of his resurrection. On the contrary, their expectation was that he would have redeemed Israel. This precludes all possibility of his friends stealing the body, for they could have no temptation to steal it.

We must look at the state of parties, at this time, in Jerusalem.

They were divided into the opponents and friends of Christianity. There were no neutrals. The abduction of the body can be accounted for only in two ways. 1st. His friends must have been the thieves; but to give colour to this suspicion, *they* must have anticipated such an influence upon society, as that which actually did result from the fact of the resurrection. But this, it has been shown, they never did anticipate. 2d. If his enemies had stolen the body, and had it in their possession, they would have produced it, in order to confound the opposite party. Suppose that, on the day of Pentecost, when the influence of the fact of the resurrection first began to be remarked, that they had then the body in their possession, the bare production of it would have silenced the christians for ever. The fact of the non-production of the body, by the enemies of Christ, proves, conclusively, that *they* had not got it.

The historians say, that the Jewish authorities placed a guard over the sepulchre. When the absence of the body was discovered, the sentinels, in their own exculpation, declared that his disciples stole him away whilst they slept. The story itself was incredible, and the author could, therefore, be no better.

But, on analysing the natural feelings, both of his enemies and friends, we can discover no motive which could prompt either of them to such an abduction. The whole accumulation of evidence is of such a character, that, in order to estimate the exact weight of it, we must take into view all the circumstances of the case. We have not merely their naked assertion that they had seen the Saviour. The weight of the evidence does not rest merely upon this statement; nor does it rest upon our inability to account for the absence of the body, and its resuscitation; although all the witnesses concurred, yet the proof rests not there. Though these testimonies all corroborate and support each other, still the sequence and dependence of the facts are so arranged in all the histories of these times, that the weight of the testimony rests not upon these alone, but upon circumstances of still greater moment connected with these, viz. the personal sufferings of the disciples; the devotion of their whole lives to the attestation and promulgation of this fact. This is a very different kind of testimony from that of a man who should attest any particular fact, when the truth or falsehood of the fact could in nowise interest him. The concurrent testimony of a thousand persons in proof of any marvellous event, would not be the strongest evidence, if it were not an event of such a character as ever afterwards to exercise a paramount influence over their whole lives, and give birth to an entire change of conduct. But the naked assertion is but a small part of the evidence, compared with the principles which the fact itself necessarily involves. The twelve apostles, and many of their coadjutors, who were the earliest converts to Christianity, and some of whom had as fair a start in the race for honour and distinction; these individuals, I say, all go forward in attestation of a simple fact, and thereby expose themselves not only to the persecutions of the Jews, but also of the Romans; for they also began to be jealous of the christians. They suffered not only the loss of popularity with their

countrymen, but they endangered themselves with the sanhedrim, and with the Roman authorities. The motives which influenced them, in declaring this truth, could have been of no ordinary character, since their attestation involved the sacrifice of every worldly interest. And not only this, but they were assured by the Saviour that, for this very cause, they would be put to death. He told Peter that this cause would one day cost him his life.

Peter was not a brave man. He shews himself, in one instance, to be under the influence of the greatest weakness. He denied his Lord, to save himself from persecution. These men were, without any remarkable exception, as great cowards as any that are to be found now-a-days. To be told, in the first instance, that their declaration of this truth would procure their persecution and death, was presenting the matter in such a light as would overcome their resolution; but when once they had received the knowledge that the Lord had risen, they became as bold as lions. After this, we see Peter and John standing up in the temple, and proclaiming this truth in open defiance of the whole sanhedrim. Here we see that the influence of the belief of this fact of the resurrection, made cowards brave. We see the timid Peter standing up boldly with his associates, men of no address, and with no arm of flesh to support them; yet they fearlessly proclaim the fact. They are put into prison; when released, they go back to the temple and repeat the proclamation, and travel from place to place, in order to disseminate it far and wide; until, at last, the opposite party began to perceive, that if they did not put forth all their power, the existing order of things would be subverted by this sedition. To put a stop to the further spread of it, the disciples were martyrized.

There is nothing like this in the ancient or modern world. Here you see men acting contrary to all the ordinary principles of human conduct: men naturally timid, shaking off their timidity and dying, rather than recant their proclamation of a fact. They did not die for their tenacious attachment to any speculative opinion, but for asserting that they had seen their crucified Saviour risen from the dead. Having received those proofs, they risked and sacrificed life in order to attest and to promulgate the fact. The weight of the testimony does not consist in any of these circumstances alone, but in the whole body of the evidence, taken in connexion with its inseparable adjuncts.

But we have not yet done with the proofs. There is no other historical fact of equal antiquity, that can be supported by one thousandth part of the testimony that this is. There is no principle of *criterion* of evidence but what is to be found in this attestation. Even experience contributes its share to make this matter of fact more clear than any other historic fact to be found in the annals of antiquity.

There now exists the institution of a day consecrated to the commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus. We are not aware of the peculiar force of this institution. Had there been no weekly appropriation of time before the resurrection of Jesus, the commencement of such an appropriation would be an irrefragable monument of the

event. But still it is attended with more force than usually accompanies a new institution. There was the abolition of the seventh day among the first converts, as well as the appointment of the first. The seventh day was observed from Abraham's time; nay, from the creation. The Jews identified their own history with the institution of the sabbath day. They loved and venerated it as a patriarchal usage. But it was not primarily observed on that account; for it was given to them as a part of their national compact. You will find the Lord enjoins the sabbath day upon them with this preface: "I brought you out of the land of bondage; *therefore*, keep the sabbath holy." The observance of this day, therefore, is not so much to be regarded as an usage derived from the patriarchs, as a divine national institution, intended to perpetuate the memory of that wonderful deliverance which the Lord had wrought out for them. Here, then, is a nation strongly attached to this institution of the sabbath day, because their forefathers had observed it. We well know the powerful influence of ancient, national customs. Men love them; nay, venerate them, because their forefathers were attached to them. But taking into view the re-enactment of that day, and the making it a part of the national institution, and we find the sabbath existing in the most powerful force, and sanctioned by the highest authority. Now, to abandon the observance of that day, as every christian did, and to substitute a new day of the week having a different object and view, was greatly more difficult than to originate an institution entirely new—more difficult than to institute it co-ordinately with the old sabbath day, so as to perpetuate the observance of the first and the seventh day also. I presume that even christians have not sufficiently appreciated the import of this evidence. It would have been more easy to have superinduced the first day, and left the seventh day standing, because of its antiquity, and as an important part of the national covenant, than to change the day from the seventh to the first of the week. For these reasons, we perceive, that it must have been much more difficult to abolish the old institution than to *originate* a new one.

You will remember, that our Saviour was frequently charged with not keeping the sabbath—how often was he accused of sabbath breaking: there was no disrespect of the Jewish ritual, so frequently charged upon him. How did he refute the accusation? Why, says he, the Son of Man is Lord of the sabbath day. After his resurrection he explained this, and other sayings; and we find no difficulty in understanding a *dictum* in which we recognize a principle entirely new, which is not referrable to the decalogue, and which, in fact, abrogates that precept of it which enjoins the observance of the seventh day. It was not the seventh part of time, but the seventh day, which was claimed by the Lord in the first instance. The commandment was this:—"But the seventh is the sabbath of the Lord thy God." The reason assigned must be changed before the day of observance could be altered. "The Lord *rested* on the seventh day and hallowed it." We could not substitute the observance of the fifth for the fourth of July, because there exists no rational pretext for it. Not so with re-

gard to the consecration of the seventh part of our time. But the substitution of the *first day* for the Jewish sabbath, was as positive an origination of a new religious institution, as the feast of the passover, or Pentecost, or circumcision, or any other part of the Jewish ritual. But what distinguished the first day of the week? And why was it set apart? Solely in commemoration of a new creation. The last sabbath day was kept by Jesus in the tomb; and it was so ordered as exactly to coincide with that symbolic representation of things which we find in the Old Testament. You shall not go out of your house on the sabbath day, you shall rest within your house. Now, the Saviour did, through this day, lie in the grave. But the resurrection of Jesus on the first day of the week, was the commencement of a new creation. Sublime as were the reasons which originally influenced the patriarchs to keep the sabbath day incomparably more sublime, are those which now influence christians to observe it. Hence the institution and consecration of the first day of the week, in commemoration of the matter of fact that our Saviour rose from the dead, on the morning of that day, is a positive commemorative institution, in direct attestation of the truth of the matter of fact and of the unspeakable importance of the occasion. This was not an event to be engraven on pillars of marble in order to perpetuate it, but upon the hearts of christians; for all christian hopes and joys must ever spring from it. It is a perpetual commemorative institution of the birth of immortal hope,—of the dawn of life and immortality upon the human race.

Whilst examining the divine mission of Moses, we remarked that the *criteria* of the verity of historic facts, were those:—That the facts should have been sensible ones; should have been witnessed by many persons; should have some commemorative institutions; and that those commemorative institutions should have been continuous from the instant in which the facts took place, down to our own time. All these strictly apply to this institution. For we read, in the New Testament history, that, from the day of his resurrection, the Lord himself honoured its weekly return. This was the day in which he was wont to have interviews with his disciples; and from that day until now, all christians, Jews and gentiles, have celebrated it. To feel the force of the argument, let us place before our minds a Jew, zealous of the law of Moses, standing before a Christian preacher. He is convinced of the fact of the resurrection, is baptized, and thus becomes a christian. In becoming a christian, he not only rejects the whole of the Jewish economy, but ceases to observe an institution as ancient as the creation, and becomes an observer of the first day, for new reasons, and in obedience to a new Master. The revolution wrought in such an individual is a sample of the power of truth, and of the changes which Christianity made upon whole communities at its first promulgation.

All histories declare that the observance of the Lord's day has been continuous, from the morning of the resurrection down to the present day. All the *criteria* of infallible evidence appear in this instance

The resurrection was witnessed by many, the commemorative institution takes place immediately, and has been perpetuated down to the present hour. The observance of the first day of the week has been opposed, because the seventh was enjoined in the Jewish ritual. But they who argue thus, are not thoroughly converted to Jesus Christ: they have not been divorced from the law, and seem not to regard the first day in the light of a commemorative institution at all. They seem to forget, or not to know, that the observance of days must be necessarily commemorative or prospective; for all time, abstract from this consideration, is alike holy and religious. They certainly live in the smoke of the great city of Babylon, who observe the seventh day in commemoration of the work of creation; rather than the *first day* of the week, in commemoration of the resurrection of our Lord. But we must proceed to another evidence of the resurrection.

Before Jesus had ascended from Mount Olivet, he told them they were not to leave the city of Jerusalem in order to promulgate the resurrection, until they were clothed with new powers, every way adequate to confirm their proclamation. "Tarry there, (said he) until you be endued with power from on high." The commemorative day of Pentecost had fully arrived. In the metropolis, at this time there was but one hundred and twenty disciples. They were all convened in one place on the morning of that memorable day; that day on which the first sheaf of wheat was to be waved in the air or carried over their heads, as a thank-offering for the new harvest. Mark the coincidence of time, and the accomplishment of the ancient symbol. On that day, the earnest of the harvest, he commences the new economy; that the converts of that day might indicate the immense in-gathering of the nations to the fold of the Messiah. Now, when the day of Pentecost was fully come, that very day, in commemoration of the Saviour's resurrection, as "the *first fruits* of them that slept," that first day of the week—while the whole nation was assembled to celebrate this great festival, and his disciples convened to commemorate his resurrection, behold the sound of a mighty rushing wind is heard, and all eyes and ears are turned to the place whence it proceeded. While they are flocking from all quarters to this place, in an instant many tongues of fire are seen encircling the persons of the apostles. These tongues of lambent flame, which covered the heads and faces of these apostles, were emblems of those *foreign tongues* which, in a moment of time, they were able fluently to speak without ever having learned them. Not only the inhabitants of Jerusalem saw and heard the wonders of that day, but persons assembled at this great festival from all the Roman empire, heard and saw these tokens of the resurrection and ascension of the Lord. There were present foreigners from Rome, Parthia, Media, Persia, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia Minor, Phrygia, Egypt, Pamphilia, Crete, and all the African coasts of the Mediterranean. There were, of all languages and nations, auditors and spectators of this event. They heard the marvellous sound from heaven, and saw the tongues of fire. They, moreover, heard the Galileans, with their Galilean brogue, pronouncing all the languages of

the world; speaking to every man, in his vernacular tongue, the wonderful works of God. Peter explained the matter to them all. He gave meaning and emphasis to the whole scene. "The oracle of your prophet Joel is this day fulfilled. Jesus has been received into the heavens. He promised us supernatural aid to attest his resurrection. He has now accomplished it. Let all the house of Israel know, assuredly, that God has made that Jesus whom you, with wicked hands, by the Roman soldiers, slew, the anointed Lord or King of the universe. He is now in heaven, placed upon that throne which governs all, and has received from his Father this gift, as a token of his love, and approbation of his wonderful works on earth, which he has now exhibited upon us in the midst of you."

In full conviction of all they saw and heard, as confirmatory of this proclamation, and deeply convicted of their guilt and danger, they exclaimed, "*Men and brethren, what shall we do?*" Seeing them deeply penitent of their former course, Peter answers their question by announcing to them the gospel, or good news, which he was authorized now, for the first time, to proclaim to the nation. He makes his proclamation in language clear and forcible: "Reform (said he) and be immersed, or, as it is in *Greek*, be *baptized every one* of you in the name of the Lord Jesus, FOR THE REMISSION OF YOUR SINS, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit; for the promise you have heard from Joel, is to you, and your children, and to all that are afar off, even to as many as the Lord our God shall call." They rejoiced that remission could be so easily received under the reign of the Messiah, and forthwith were baptized *for the remission of their sins,* and were filled with all joy, and peace, and good hope; so that they ate their food with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising God. Now, let me ask, what sort of vouchers are these to the truth of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus? Will the wonders of that day, witnessed by thousands of the most disinterested persons; nay, many of them embittered enemies to the truth of Christianity; I say, will the testimony of *three thousand, one hundred, and twenty* persons, in attestation of a fact happening on the most public occasion, even on a national *anniversary,* in the metropolis, frequented and crowded with strangers, from all nations under heaven, be admitted in the courts of sceptics as good evidence!

I would now ask, what could be added to the cumulative evidences of the resurrection of Jesus? The uncontradicted fact, that the accounts we now have of it, were written at the times and places alleged; the number and character of the witnesses; the sensible and frequent interviews which they had with *him;* the length of time he continued with *them;* his visible ascension into heaven in the presence of all of them; the descent of the Holy Spirit, just now mentioned in attestation of his reception into heaven; the appointment of one day in every week to commemorate it; the effects it produced at home and abroad; and the sufferings and reproaches attendant on the publication of it, which terminated only with the martyrdom of most of the original witnesses. I say, to all this, what could be added? And

yet, when all this is said, but a feeble representation of the amount of evidence and documentary proof is presented.

We shall follow the witnesses a little farther. The Saviour rose on the first day of the week. He shewed himself alive, by many *infallible* proofs, during *forty days*. He appointed his disciples to meet with him on a specified day, on a mount which he had named: they did so. He gave them orders concerning their future course. They asked him a question concerning his kingdom, which he declined answering at that time. He forthwith ascended up, gradually receding from their sight, towards heaven. They stood gazing after him, expecting him to descend; and might have stood there till the sun descended, had not two angels descended to console them, with the tidings that he was gone to heaven, never to return until he came to judge the world. They went to Jerusalem—waited for *ten days*. Pentecost arrived: the incidents of that day we have noticed. The facts of his resurrection and ascension were then fully proved, to the conviction of thousands in one day. But we must accompany them a little farther, and scrutinize their doctrine and their progress.

The next incident in Luke's history of the labours of some of the apostles, presents another marvellous scene to our eyes. Peter and John are going up into the temple at three in the afternoon, when all the devout persons of Jerusalem assembled for prayer. A notable cripple, more than forty years old, well known to many of the citizens of Jerusalem, perhaps to all of them, because he was every day carried and laid upon a couch, at the *beautiful gate* of the temple, was in the act of asking alms from two of the apostles, then ascending the stairs. Peter and John told him to look on them. He did so, expecting to receive alms. Peter said, silver and gold I have none, but such as I have, I give you—"In the *name of Jesus the Nazarene, rise up and walk.*" He caught him by the hand. The cripple rose, stood, walked, leaped, shouted, praised the Lord Messiah. The congregation rose, crowded out into Solomon's portico, which held many thousands. They looked with astonishment, first on the cripple, then on Peter and John. Peter opened his mouth to explain this fact to them. He declined all praise, as due to him, for this miracle of healing—the power passed through *the name* of Jesus. He then told them how they had treated Jesus in the presence of Pontius Pilate, how they renounced him and released a murderer. Then he asserts his resurrection—and claims merely the honour of being *a witness* of this fact. He explains how the cripple was cured; shews them their error; excuses their infidelity, as arising from a misapprehension of the prophets; appeals to their own prophets; shews that Moses had distinctly pointed the nation to Jesus of Nazareth. In conclusion, he informed them, that God, having raised up his Son from the dead, authorized them *first* to announce him to the seed of Abraham, with the assurance that God would yet bless and pardon them, every one of them, who turned from his iniquities. Here the number of the male disciples is augmented to five thousand.

They were interrupted, at this time, by the priests and the captain

of the temple guard. The Sadducees disliked this new way of proclaiming the resurrection of the dead in the person of Jesus, for it was irresistible, and like to demolish their whole sect. They imprisoned Peter and John. The next day, the whole sanhedrim in the city, many being present who had tried and condemned Jesus, assembled to try and interrogate these two witnesses of the resurrection. Peter, formerly a coward, and constitutionally a coward, rises above himself, and with the utmost courage and confidence, addresses them on the indictment, in the following words:—"Rulers of the people and senators of Israel—if we are this day examined about the benefit conferred upon the cripple, by what means he has been cured, be it known to you, and to all the people of Israel, that BY THE NAME of Jesus of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God has raised from the dead—yes, by HIM, this man stands BEFORE YOU *sound*. This is *the stone* which was set at nought BY YOU BUILDERS, that is become the head of the corner. Neither is there ANY OTHER NAME UNDER HEAVEN among men in which *we can be saved*."

When they saw the boldness of Peter and John, perceived that they were *illiterate* men, and in *private stations* of life, they were astonished; and recollected that they had seen them in company with Jesus, about the time of his trial; and when they saw the cripple, standing sound and active before them, they were every man silent and confounded. After sending them out of the council chamber for a little, they consulted on the measures next to be pursued. That a signal miracle was done by these men, they said, THEY COULD NOT DENY, for it was manifest to all the citizens of Jerusalem; but to prevent its spreading farther, they agreed to severely *threaten* them to speak no more *in that name*. They did so. But Peter proposed them a question which they did not answer to this day. "Whether, (said he) is it righteous, in the sight of God, to obey you rather than God? Decide this, if you please." They threatened them and dismissed them, for because of the veneration of the people, and the publicity of the good deed *done in the name of Jesus*, they dare do no more than *threaten* them.

Thus they proceeded in Jerusalem. Multitudes flocked to the metropolis from the surrounding country and villages; and Peter became as famous for his miraculous powers in that city, as Jesus had been. They imprisoned him and some of his associates; but, the next morning, they found them in the temple, declaring the resurrection, and proclaiming reformation. The angel of the Lord discharged them from prison; and now the whole senate are alarmed, and begin to fear that the blood of Jesus would come upon them. "So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed." They had Peter and his associates called before them again. They inquired why they had disregarded their threats? Peter, in his christian boldness, replied to the charge OF HAVING FILLED JERUSALEM with their doctrine in defiance of those threats, in these words: "*It is necessary to obey God rather than you.*" This was his apology. But he must do more than apologize. He must attest the all-conquering fact. He adds:

"The God of our fathers *has raised up Jesus* whom you slew, hanging him on a tree. HIM HAS GOD EXALTED *at his right hand*, to be a PRINCE and a SAVIOUR, to give *reformation* to Israel and *forgiveness of sins*. And WE ARE WITNESSES of these things, and the Holy Spirit also, whom God has given to them WHO SUBMIT TO HIS GOVERNMENT. Had it not been for Gamaliel the *Pharisee*, who had some reason, as well as strong prepossession, in favour of *the resurrection of the dead*, they would have attempted their martyrdom. They were released, and home they went, "*rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer shame for his name.*"

So they progressed, till myriads of the Jews became *obedient to the faith*. Even many of the priests were baptized, and the crucified Jesus was *worshipped* by tens of thousands of those who had once considered him an impostor, or as a doubtful character. The sanhedrim became more exasperated. The sadducees are enraged. Stephen is murdered, INVOKING *the name of the Lord*, and attesting, with his last breath, THAT HE SAW JESUS *standing on the right hand of God*. Saul of Tarsus, who, at that time, consented to the death of Stephen, afterwards converted, SAW JESUS, and attested it with his blood. How increasing yet the evidence of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ!

Persecution dispersed the disciples from the metropolis—the congregation is broken up: all are dispersed through Judea and Samaria, except the apostles. They continue where the persecution rages most, and courageously hazard all, *in attesting the resurrection*. The land of Judea falls before these dispersed proclaimers—and Samaria rejoices in the Lord. But to specify the conquests of this truth, would be to narrate the whole Acts of the Apostles. Let the sceptics examine Luke's narrative through; his memoirs of Jesus Christ, and his Acts of Apostles; and then reply.

Were we to follow these apostles to gentile cities, we should find them proclaiming the same facts, and we should see the same results attending. In the presence of magistrates, philosophers, and priests, they narrate the same facts, exhibit the same proofs, and all ranks and degrees submit to the government of the Messiah. The idols are hurled from their seats, the temples are deserted, and no price is offered for victims. Rome itself is now convulsed, and the Galileans are likely to fill the imperial city with their doctrine. The Roman writers now, we may expect, will notice them, as soon as the gospel makes inroads upon *their superstitions*. Here, then, we shall close the testimony of the authors of the New Testament, and we will inquire what the pagans have to say about these wonderful events.

But I must again remark, how much more attention is paid to the testimony of infidel Jews and pagans, than to believing Jews and pagans, by those who pretend to be so rational as to doubt the truth of Christianity. How often have we heard such persons say, "Produce some *disinterested witness*, some pagan, or some Jew, who was never converted to Christianity, who will attest the gospel facts, and we will believe." We will believe an incredible witness, and reject the credi-

ble! We would believe Tacitus, but we will not believe Paul. Let Tacitus assert the resurrection of Jesus, and we will contend no longer. Well, now, suppose Tacitus had unequivocally said, *Jesus rose from the dead.* What would have been our logical conclusion? Either that Tacitus was a christian, or a hypocrite; and if either the one or the other, he would be unworthy of credit amongst sceptics. For, if he were a christian, he would be as objectionable as Paul or Peter; for these *rationals* have no other objection to their testimony, than because it was *ex parte,* or because it was the testimony of friends. Now, if Tacitus had said that Jesus rose from the dead, and continued an idolater, he must have acted the part of a knave or a hypocrite. He could not sincerely believe this fact, and continue a worshipper of idols. His testimony, in that case, would be worth nothing. It would be much more forcible as it stands, for he goes just as far as he could go, to continue a pagan, and be worthy of credit. The rationals would have us to produce an impossibility as glaring, as to place two substances in the same place at the same time. They would have us to produce an unbelieving pagan, speaking and acting as, and being, in fact, a believing pagan. They want a Jew or a pagan who will speak like a christian, but who will not act like one. Now, as far as I can judge of testimony, I would incomparably prefer the testimony of the person whose life conforms to his testimony, to the testimony of the person whose life and whose testimony disagree. Now, if I found the words of Tacitus to differ from his character, I would not rely upon them as I do; and taking into view the character of the man, I have no hesitation in saying, that his testimony is always credible; and, I am quite sure, proves every thing that we wish, and every thing that an infidel can require.*

The same may be said of other pagan authorities. Taking into view their times, circumstances, and general character, I presume they are all worthy and credible witnesses. Josephus, too, excepting that *interpolation found in some copies,* is a good witness; not respecting Jesus Christ, but many of the facts and circumstances recorded or alluded to in the historical books of the New Testament. But it is more to *shame* than to *convince* sceptics, that we trouble ourselves with the testimonies of either unbelieving Jews or pagans. Those who will not believe such witnesses as sacrificed all temporal enjoyments, and laid down their lives in attesting the Christian facts, who were above all temptation to deceive; so numerous, so well attested by their contemporaries, for all moral excellence, will never be convinced by the testimony of pagans like themselves.

Perhaps I should place at the head of the list of infidel, pagan, and Jewish witnesses, the testimony of one Judas Iscariot, a traitor to Jesus Christ. The testimony of a traitor is sometimes more worthy of credit than the testimony of a friend. This Judas, as the case now stands, is a better testimony than the combined testimony of the eleven friends.

* I find that I have given these ideas in my speech, on Friday evening; having forgotten this circumstance, I made the same remarks on Saturday morning, and give them a second time as I find them in the report.

Judas had long been a familiar acquaintance, and ranked amongst the most intimate friends of Jesus. He was enrolled among the twelve apostles. He had been so impartially treated by Jesus, that, until the night he betrayed him, not one of the others could suspect that he would prove a traitor. Now, had there ever been the least reserve shewn by Jesus to Judas, or had he been treated in any way less confidentially than any of the other apostles, so soon as Jesus told them that one of them should betray him, all eyes would have turned to Judas. To him they would have all pointed. Instead of saying, one by one, "*Lord, is it I?*" they would have said within themselves, "It is Judas." He had been, during the whole ministry of Jesus, most intimately acquainted with his speeches and his actions. If any thing *insincere, political,* or *contrary to the ostensible object* of the mission of Jesus, had ever transpired in secret, or if ever there had been any *conspiracy* amongst his followers, to delude or impose upon the nation, Judas must have known it. This must be conceded by all who have ever read the gospel histories.

Now, that Judas was a designing, selfish, covetous, and insincere adherent to the party, must also be conceded. Seeing things going contrary to his calculations, that no immediate gain, honour, or advantage was likely soon to accrue—in an evil hour, his passion for gain impelled him to seize the first opportunity of making as much as possible, by way of reprisals, for his disappointment in attaching himself to the retinue of Jesus. He therefore covenanted for *thirty* pieces of silver, the sum for which Joseph was sold into Egypt, to deliver into the custody of the sanhedrim, the person of Jesus. He did so. Now, had he been able to impeach Jesus of aught amiss in word or deed, it is evident he had the disposition and the opportunity; nay, to extenuate his own conduct, even in the eyes of the chief priests and elders, it was necessary for him to make a disclosure; but he had nothing to disclose, save, after a little reflection, the agonies of his own mind. "I have," said he, "betrayed innocent blood." Heart-rending thought! Here is the money: release him. If you have done so, we care not, said the priests; that is your concern, not ours. Now, the import of the testimony of Judas is something like the following:—

A. B. is accused of some base or unworthy action. Eleven of his intimate friends and acquaintances, all of good character too, are summoned to give testimony in favour of A. B. They all give him a good character, and exculpate him from the charge. Their testimony, though not the same words, concurs in every grand point, or fact. There is a twelfth person summoned, who is known to the court and jury to be at that instant a *bitter enemy* of the accused. He is interrogated, and deposes—"That he has been intimately acquainted with A. B. for years, and that never did he know him speak an unbecoming word, or commit an unworthy action, in any one instance, either bearing upon the accused or any other human being. Nay, so far from that, he has lived the most exemplary life, and his whole conduct has been nothing but a bright display of purity, piety, and benevolence; and, moreover, adds he, I do not think him capable of an evil word or

deed." Now such a testimony weighs as much, yes, weighs more, with the jury, than the testimony of many friends, however unexceptionable their character. Now, just such a witness was Judas. I have betrayed INNOCENT blood, said he; I have been instigated by the devil; my soul has no rest, and peace has departed from me. For so worthy a person as Jesus of Nazareth never lived—release him, or I die. He dies; and though a *felo de se*, he is a martyr to the truth of the pretensions and character of Jesus.

We shall now present to this audience a few extracts from the historians of those times, from the *edicts* of the Roman emperors, and other public documents:—

Josephus, the Jewish historian, was contemporary with the apostles, having been born in the year 37. From his situation and habits, he had every access to know all that took place at the rise of the Christian religion.

Respecting the founder of this religion, Josephus has thought fit to be silent in history. The present copies of his work contain one passage which speaks very respectfully of Jesus Christ, and ascribes to him the character of the Messiah. But as Josephus did not embrace Christianity, and as this passage is not quoted or referred to till the beginning of the fourth century, it is, for these and other reasons, generally accounted spurious. It is also according to the manner of Josephus, in other parts of his history, to pass over in silence what appeared to make against his nation. When he wrote, the Christian religion had made considerable progress, and every thing respecting it must have been well known to him. He had therefore no middle way. It was necessary either to enter somewhat particularly into the subject, or to pass it over entirely. To have mentioned it, as is done in the passage in question, would have been to condemn himself. His testimony, then, to Christianity, is found in his silence; and especially as he was a priest, is abundantly strong. Not having embraced the Christian religion, and, at the same time, being unable to contradict the facts on which it was founded, or to set them aside, he passes it quietly by. The minute description he has given of the other religious sects in Judea, fully proves that his silence was that of design, to which his circumstances compelled him.

His account, however, of the civil and religious affairs of Judea, of the princes and rulers who governed the nation, of the situations of places, of the customs of the country, and of the manners of the people, is perfectly agreeable to the representation of these things which we have in the gospels. In addition to this, he has given a decided testimony to the appearance of John the Baptist, and also an account of his being put to death by Herod. The reason he assigns for his execution is different from that given by the sacred historian; but as to the fact, there is an entire coincidence between them. His words are, "Some of the Jews thought Herod's army was destroyed of God, he being justly punished for the slaughter of John, who was surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put that good man to death, although he exhorted the Jews, after having exercised virtue and righteousness

towards one another, and having performed the duties of piety towards God, to come to baptism. For thus baptism would be acceptable to him, not if they abstained from some sins only, but if, to purity of body, they joined a soul first cleansed by righteousness. But when many gathered round him, for they were much pleased with the hearing of such discourses, Herod, fearing lest the people, who were greatly under the influence of his persuasion, might be carried to some insurrection, (for they seemed to do nothing but by his counsel,) judged that it might be better to seize him before any insurrection was made, and to take him off, than, after affairs were disturbed, to repent of his negligence. Thus he, by the jealousy of Herod, being sent bound to Machærus, was there put to death; and the Jews thought that, on account of the punishment of this person, destruction had befallen the army, God being displeased with Herod." In this passage, Josephus attests John's preaching and baptism, and the general attention which his ministry attracted, as well as his being put to death by Herod.

Under the Roman government, it was customary for governors of provinces to send to the emperor an account of remarkable transactions in the place where they resided. Referring to this custom, Eusebius says, "Our Saviour's resurrection being much talked of throughout Palestine, Pilate informed the emperor of it, as likewise of his miracles, which he had heard of, and that, being raised up after he had been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a God." These accounts were never made public, nor were any similar ones likely to be published, as such accounts were intended for only the information of government. Augustus forbade publishing the acts of the senate. But the above fact is attested by Justin Martyr in his first apology, which, in the year 140, was presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius and the senate of Rome. Having mentioned the crucifixion of Jesus, and some of the circumstances of it, he adds, "And that these things were so done, you may know from the acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate." Tertullian, in his Apology, about the year 198, having spoken of our Saviour's crucifixion and resurrection, his appearances to his disciples, and his ascension to heaven in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to preach the gospel all over the world, goes on, "Of all these things relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a christian, sent an account to Tiberius, then Emperor."

In another part of the same Apology, he speaks to this purpose:—"There was an ancient decree, that no one should be received for a deity unless he was first approved of by the senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had its rise, having received from Palestine in Syria, an account of such things as manifested our Saviour's divinity, proposed to the senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favour, that he should be placed among the gods. The senate refused, because he had himself declined that honour. Nevertheless, the Emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered, that if any accused the christians they should be punished."

These testimonies are taken from public Apologies for the Christian

religion, presented, or proposed and recommended, to the Emperor and senate of Rome, or to magistrates of public authority and great distinction in the Roman empire.

Tacitus, the Roman historian, was born in the year 61 or 62. He was Prætor of Rome under Domitian in 88, and Consul in the short reign of Nerva in 97. In giving an account of the great fire at Rome in the 10th of Nero, about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, he says, "To suppress, therefore, this common rumour," (viz. that the Emperor himself had set fire to the city,) "Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people who were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of christians. They had their denomination from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal by the procurator, Pontius Pilate. This pernicious superstition, though checked for a while, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city also, whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and encouragement. At first, they only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; afterwards a vast multitude, discovered by them; all which were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights, in the night time, and thus burnt to death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre upon this occasion, and also exhibited the diversions of the circus, sometimes standing in the crowd as a spectator, in the habit of a charioteer; at other times driving a chariot himself, till at length these men, though really criminal, and deserving exemplary punishment, began to be commiserated as a people who were destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to gratify the cruelty of one man."

Such is the testimony of Tacitus, who lived in the same age with the apostles, to the principal facts which relate to the origin of the gospel, as well as to its rapid progress. He here attests that Jesus Christ was put to death as a malefactor, by Pontius Pilate, procurator under Tiberius; that, from Christ, the people called christians took their name; that this religion had its rise in Judea; that thence it was propagated into other parts of the world, as far as Rome, where christians were very numerous; and that they were reproached and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings.

Suetonius, another eminent Roman historian, was born about the year 70. He says, in his History of the Life of the Emperor Claudius, who reigned from the year 41 to 54, that "he banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, Christus being their leader." The first christians being of the Jewish nation, were for a while confounded with the rest of that people, and shared in the hardships that were imposed on them. This account, however, attests what is said in the Acts of the Apostles, (xviii. 2,) that Clau-

dius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome, when Aquila and Priscilla, two Jewish christians, were compelled to leave it. In the life of Nero, whose reign began in 54, and ended in 68, Suetonius says, "The christians too were punished with death; a sort of people addicted to a new and mischievous superstition."

On the foregoing passage of Tacitus, and in reference to the persecution of the christians under Nero, Gibbon remarks, "The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The former is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted on the christians."

In this persecution, Paul is said to have been beheaded.

The reign of the Emperor Domitian, under whom the second persecution of the christians took place, began in the year 81, and terminated in the year 96. Domitian made inquiry after the posterity of David, and two men were brought before him of that family. "At that time," says Hegesippus, "there were yet remaining of the kindred of Christ, the grandsons of Jude, who was called his brother according to the flesh. These, some accused as being of the race of David, and Evocatus brought them before Domitianus Cæsar; for he too was afraid of the coming of the Christ, as well as Herod." Of these men, Mr. Gibbon says, "They frankly confessed their royal origin, and their near relation to the Messiah; but they disclaimed any temporal views, and professed that his kingdom, which they devoutly expected, was purely of a spiritual and angelic nature. When they were examined concerning their origin and occupation, they showed their hands, hardened with daily labour, and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a farm near Cocaba, of the extent of about twenty-four English acres, and of the value of three hundred pounds sterling. The grandsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and contempt."

During the third persecution, which began in the year 100, in the third year of the Emperor Trajan, the younger Pliny was appointed pro-consul of Bithynia, a province of the Roman empire, on the Euxine Sea. In that distant country there were now vast numbers of christians, against whom the pro-consul, according to the Emperor's edict, used great severity. Being desirous of more full information how to proceed against the christians, and "being moved," as Eusebius says, "at the multitude of those who were slain for the faith," he wrote the following letter to Trajan, in the year 107, which was formerly noticed, and in the same year received the Emperor's rescript.

"Pliny, to the Emperor Trajan, wisheth health and happiness. It is my constant custom, sir, to refer myself to you, in all matters concerning which I have any doubt. For who can better direct me where I hesitate, or instruct me where I am ignorant? I have never been present at any trials of christians; so that I know not well what is the subject-matter of punishment or of inquiry, or what strictness ought to be used in either. Nor have I been a little perplexed to determine whether any difference ought to be made upon account of age, or

whether the young and tender, and the full-grown and robust, ought to be treated all alike; whether repentance should entitle to pardon, or whether all who have once been christians ought to be punished, though they are now no longer so; whether the name itself, although no crimes be detected, or crimes only belonging to the name, ought to be punished. Concerning all these things I am in doubt.

"In the mean time I have taken this course with all who have been brought before me, and have been accused as christians. I have put the question to them, Whether they were christians? Upon their confessing to me they were, I repeated the question a second and a third time, threatening also to punish them with death. Such as still persisted, I ordered away to be punished; for, it was no doubt with me, whatever might be the nature of their opinion, that contumacy and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished. There were others of the same infatuation, whom, because they are Roman citizens, I have noted down to be sent to the city.

"In a short time, the crime spreading itself, even whilst under persecution, as is usual in such cases, divers sorts of people came in my way. An information was presented to me, without mentioning the author, containing the names of many persons, who, upon examination, denied that they were christians, or had ever been so; who repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and with wine and frankincense made supplication to your image, which, for that purpose, I had caused to be brought and set before them, together with the statues of the deities. Moreover they reviled the name of Christ; none of which things, as is said, they who are really christians can by any means be compelled to do. These, therefore, I thought proper to discharge.

"Others were named by an informer, who at first confessed themselves christians, and afterwards denied it; the rest said they had been christians, but had left them some three years ago; some longer, and one or more above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods: these also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault or error lay in this, that they were wont to meet together, on a stated day, before it was light, and sing among themselves alternately, a hymn to Christ as God; and bind themselves by an oath, not to the commission of any wickedness, not to be guilty of theft, or robbery, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then to come together again to a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder; but this they had forborne since the publication of my edict, by which, according to your commands, I prohibited assemblies.

"After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two-maid servants, which were called ministers. But I have discovered nothing beside a bad and excessive superstition.

"Suspending, therefore, all judicial proceedings, I have recourse to

you for advice; for it has appeared to me a matter highly deserving consideration, especially upon account of the great number of persons who are in danger of suffering; for many of all ages, and every rank, of both sexes likewise, are accused, and will be accused. Nor has the contagion of this superstition seized cities only, but the lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples, which were almost forsaken, begin to be more frequented. And the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims, likewise, are every where bought up; whereas, for some time, there were few purchasers. Whence, it is easy to imagine what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if pardon were granted to those who shall repent."

To the above letter, the Emperor Trajan sent the following answer:

"Trajan to Pliny wisheth health and happiness.

"You have taken the right method, my Pliny, in your proceedings with those who have been brought before you as christians; for it is impossible to establish any one rule that shall hold universally. They are not to be sought for. If any are brought before you, and are convicted, they ought to be punished. However, he that denies his being a christian, and makes it evident in fact; that is, by supplicating to our gods, though he be suspected to have been so formerly, let him be pardoned upon repentance. But in no case, of any crime whatever, may a bill of information be received, without being signed by him who presents it; for that would be a dangerous precedent, and unworthy of my government."

In the above letters, we have a public and authentic attestation to the amazing growth of the Christian religion, which had made such progress in the remote country of Bithynia, that the pagan temples were, according to Pliny, "almost forsaken;" he also mentions that there had been christians in that country, twenty years before. Their blameless lives, the purity of their religious worship, their obedience to their civil rulers, in giving up what they did not consider to be enjoined by divine authority, and their fortitude in suffering, and steady perseverance in the faith of Christ, are all unequivocally attested by their persecutors.

The Emperor Adrian was born in the year 76. He reigned twenty years from the death of Trajan, in 117. Trajan's edict being still in force against the christians, they suffered persecution under Adrian's reign, although he published no new edict against them. Upon occasion, however, of the apologies which Quadratus and Aristides presented to him at Athens, in the year 126, that persecution was moderated. Of Aristides, Jerome says, "He was a most eloquent Athenian philosopher; and in his former habit he presented to the Emperor Adrian, at the same time with Quadratus, a book containing an account of our sect; that is, an apology for the christians, which is still extant,—a monument with the learned of his ingenuity."

This apology is now lost. To Quadratus was ascribed the gift of prophecy, and he is said to have been "a disciple of the apostles."

The following is all that remains of the Apology which he presented to Adrian. "The works of our Saviour were always conspicuous; for they were real, both they that were healed, and they that were raised from the dead:—who were seen not only when they were healed or raised, but for a long time afterwards; not only whilst he dwelt on this earth, but also after his departure, and for a good while after it, insomuch that some of them have reached to our times."

We are informed by Eusebius, that "Serenius Granianus, proconsul, wrote to the Emperor Adrian, that it seemed to him unjust that the christians should be put to death, only to gratify the clamours of the people, without trial.' The apologies of Aristides and Quadratus, presented about the same time with the above letter, appear to have contributed to procure the following favourable rescript from the Emperor Adrian. "Adrian to Manucius Fundanus:—I have received a letter written to me by the illustrious Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. It seems, then, to me, that this is an affair which ought not to be passed over without being examined into, if it were only to prevent disturbance being given to people, and that you may not be left for informers to practice their wicked arts. If, therefore, the people of the province will appear publicly, and in a legal way charge the christians, that they may answer for themselves in court, let them take that course, and not proceed by importunate demands and loud clamours only. For it is much the best method, if any bring accusations, that you should take cognizance of them. If, then, any one shall accuse, and make out any thing contrary to the laws, do you determine according to the nature of the crime; but, by Hercules, if the charge be only a calumny, do you take care to punish the author of it with the severity it deserves."

In the above rescript, Trajan's edict is not repealed: according to which, if a man was accused and proved to be a christian, a president is required to punish him, unless he recant. But, in a considerable degree this rescript was favourable to the christians. And the persecution, which before had been violent, was now restrained and moderated.

Besides the rescript, there is a letter of Adrian to Servianus, (husband of Paulina, the Emperor's sister,) who was consul in the year 134. "Adrian Augustus to the consul Servianus, wisheth health. I have found Egypt, my dear Servianus, which you commended to me, all over fickle and inconstant, and continually shaken by the slightest reports of fame. The worshippers of Serapis are christians, and they are devoted to Serapis, who call themselves Christ's bishops. There is no ruler of the Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter of the christians, no mathematician, no soothsayer, no anointer; even the patriarch, if he should come to Egypt, would be required by some, to worship Serapis; by others, Christ. A seditious and turbulent sort of men. However, the city is rich and populous. Nor are any idle: some are employed in making glass, others paper, others in weaving linen. They have one God: him the christians, him the Jews, him all the gentile people worship."

It is not surprising, that in the above letter, the christians in Egypt, as to their worship, and in other respects, are confounded with the other Egyptians. But the inaccuracy of the representation in these things, does not invalidate the general fact, which the Emperor here authenticates, that the christians, within a century after the resurrection of Jesus, were so numerous throughout Egypt."

Antoninus, surnamed the Pious, succeeded Adrian, in the year 138. To this Emperor, Justin Martyr presented at Rome his first apology, in the year 140. It is inscribed in this manner. "To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus the Pious, and to his sons Verissimus and Lucius, and the senate, and all the people of the Romans, in behalf of men gathered out of all nations, who are unjustly hated and ill-treated, I, Justin, son of Priscus, son of Bacchius, one of them of the city of Flavia Neapolis, in that part of Syria which is called Palestine, making this address and supplication." The following are the concluding words of this apology: "On the day called Sunday, we all meet together; on which day, Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead; on the day before Saturday he was crucified; and on the day after Saturday, which is Sunday, he appeared to his apostles and disciples, and taught them those things which we have set before you, and refer to your consideration. If these things appear agreeable to reason and truth, pay a regard to them; if they appear trifling, reject them as such; but do not treat as enemies, nor appoint capital punishment to those who have done no harm; for we foretell unto you that you will not escape the future judgment of God, if you persist in unrighteousness: and we shall say the will of the Lord be done."

The copy of an edict said to be presented to the states in Asia, in consequence of the above and other representations from christians, is still extant. It contains a strong testimony in favour of the christians; but as its genuineness is doubted by some, it is here omitted, as well as every thing among these early testimonies, of whose genuineness there is the smallest doubt.

Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher, succeeded Antoninus Pius, as Emperor, in the year 161. There is still extant a book written by him, called his "Meditations," In the eleventh book, the following passage occurs, in which he mentions the christians. "What a soul is that, which is prepared, even now presently, if needful, to be separated from the body, whether it be to be extinguished, or to be dispersed, or to subsist still. But this readiness must proceed from a well-weighed judgment, not from mere obstinacy like the christians. And it should be done considerately, and with gravity, without tragical exclamations, and so as to persuade another."

The foregoing passage contains an attestation to the fortitude of the christians who lived in the age next to the apostles, grounded on the assured conviction of the truth of that religion for which they suffered so much. The Emperor was a bigot in religion and in philosophy; and nothing but his prejudices against Christianity can account for his condemning that fortitude which he ought to have approved.

He ascribes the willingness of the christians to die to obstinacy, and says, that "a man ought to resign life only upon a well-formed judgment, and considerately." But did not the christians die in this manner? He says, "It should be done with gravity, and without tragical exclamations;" upon which it has been observed, that "It is not a little strange that a Stoic, whose writings are full of affectation, and are all over tragical, should blame the christians for not dying without tragical noise and exclamation. If they then called upon God and Christ; if they then exhorted their brethren to constancy and perseverance; if they expressed a contempt of this world, and its fading enjoyments; if they spake in sublime strains of the felicities of the world to come; in a word, if they triumphed in death, as some of them did, there is nothing in it absurd or unreasonable, nothing but what is truly admirable. The heathen people around them wanted nothing to make them sensible of it, but a better knowledge of the Christian principles; such a persuasion of the boundless power and goodness of the One God, creator of all, and a well-grounded expectation of eternal life." It will be recollected, that the great persecution against the churches at Lyons and Vienne, in France,—some account of which has been given already,—took place under this Emperor, who, therefore, ought not to have spoken in this manner of the sufferings of the christians.

Marcus's expressions denote great uncertainty concerning a future state of existence. He is doubtful whether the soul, when separated from the body, shall be "extinguished or dispersed, or shall still subsist." He says again, "To what purpose all this? You have made your voyage, and arrived at your port. Go ashore: if into another life, the gods are there: if into a state of insensibility, you will be no longer distracted by pains and pleasures, nor be in subjection to this mean vessel."

Such was the amount of the speculations of heathen philosophers, respecting a future state; yet, with but few exceptions, they went hand in hand in violently opposing that gospel which, presenting to all who will take the trouble to examine it, the most indubitable evidence of its divine original, has brought life and immortality to light.

To trace this chain of evidence any further, would be superfluous. Nothing can be more fully authenticated, than what has been brought forward on this head; all of which so forcibly reminds us of what Paul said before King Agrippa—"*This thing was not done in a corner.*"

From these documents, it is incontrovertibly evident that the establishment and progress of Christianity was a matter of public and general notoriety; that it arrested the attention of all ranks and degrees of men, Jewish and pagan; that all antiquity, Jewish and Christian, admit the gospel facts; namely, that Jesus of Nazareth was a Jew, became the author of a new religion in Judea, was of the most obscure birth, was famous for supernatural powers, was crucified in, or near the metropolis, under Pontius Pilate, then procurator of Judea; that this suppressed the cause for a little time; that his resurrection, or some unexpected circumstance, caused it to revive and progress with uncon-

trollable power; that immense multitudes in Judea, and in all parts of the Roman empire, embraced it; that the christians were a virtuous, patient, and religious people, only censured for their inflexible adherence to the gospel facts, and unequivocal reprobation of idolatry, which the Romans called "obstinacy;" that they endured every kind of indignity, persecution, torture, and death, rather than renounce their confidence in Jesus, and their hopes of future happiness.

It is also unquestionably evident, that it spread with the utmost rapidity over all the Roman empire; and that in about two centuries after the death of the apostles, did, in despite of the power of circumstances, and Mr. Owen's whole theory, establish itself upon the ruins of all the superstitions of ancient Rome. In whatever light we view the conversion of Constantine, whether as sincere or feigned, (the latter is the more probable,) it proves that Christianity had won the day in leavening the minds of a majority of the millions composing this immense empire, before it had any favour shown it by the civil magistrates, or had a single legal provision in its favour. From the partial survey which we are now able to take of all the documents before us, with others of a kindred nature, it appears to me, at least, that he must believe a greater miracle than any which Christianity exhibits, because altogether contrary to reason and experience, who can prevail upon himself to think that Christianity is either the offspring of fraud or fiction; or that it is not, what it purports to be, a religion of supernatural and divine origin.

All sorts of witnesses attest the truth of the pretensions of Jesus Christ—friends, enemies, neutrals—Jews, christians, pagans—believers, unbelievers, and apostates. But still the pillars are the twelve apostles. There is admirably worked up in their testimony, more of the constituents of *demonstration* than are to be found in any testimony ever exhibited on earth. It is a species of testimony which, when well understood and carefully weighed, produces a certainty in the mind not inferior to the certainty derived from demonstration.

It is a very singular circumstance, as one observes, in this testimony, that it is such as no length of time can diminish. It is founded upon the universal principles of human nature; upon maxims which are the same in all ages, and operate with equal strength in all mankind, under all the varieties of temper and habit of constitution. So long as it shall be contrary to the first principles of the human mind to delight in falsehood for its own sake; so long as it shall be true that no man willingly propagates a lie to his own detriment, and to no purpose, so long it will be certain that the apostles were serious and sincere in the assertion of our Lord's resurrection. So long as it shall be absurd to suppose that twelve men could all be deceived in the person of a friend with whom they had lived three years; so long it will be certain that the apostles were competent to judge of the truth and reality of the fact which they asserted. So long as it shall be in the nature of man for his own interest and ease to be dearer to himself, than that of another; so long it will be an absurdity to suppose that twelve men should persevere for years in the joint attestation of

a lie, to the great detriment of every individual of the conspiracy, and without any joint or separate advantage, when any one of them had it in his power, by a discovery of the fraud, to advance his own fame and fortune, by the sacrifice of nothing more dear to himself than the reputation of the rest; and so long will it be incredible, that the story of our Lord's resurrection was a fiction, which the twelve men, (to mention no greater number) with unparalleled fortitude, and with equal folly conspired to support; so long, therefore, as the evangelical history shall be preserved, so long as the books are extant, so long the credibility of the apostle's testimony will remain whole and unbroken.

But still we cannot dismiss this topic, until we glance at the other two commemorative institutions. For not only is there a *commemorative day,* but two *commemorative actions,* instituted to speak forth the certainty and importance of this event. These are the *Lord's supper* and *Christian Immersion,* or, as it is often called, *Christian Baptism.* I place the Lord's supper first, because first instituted, and because it commemorates an event prior to those which baptism chiefly contemplates. Before the Messiah was betrayed, on the night of the passover, he institutes the *breaking* and *eating of a loaf,* and the drinking of a cup of wine, jointly among his disciples; as symbolically commemorative of the wounding or breaking of his body even unto death, and the shedding of his blood as the seal of the love of God to man; as a *sin-offering,* or a *sacrifice for sin,* indicative of the *great pacification; of the reconciliation of a sinful world to the character and government of God.* This wonderful scheme or plan of things for the redemption of man, now consummated by the shedding of the blood of the Son of God, was to be adumbrated or portrayed in a solemn commemorative institution, from that moment till the end of time. And so in all the public meetings of the Christian communities on the commemorative day, this commemorative action, this Christian festival, is to be, as it was from the beginning, observed. Not a single first day of the week has since transpired, not one week since the first constitution of the Christian church, without the celebration of the Lord's supper. Till the days of Constantine, it was universal in every Christian congregation on earth; and although some churches made the celebration of the Lord's death an annual or semi-annual thing, yet the Romanists themselves, and some of those called dissenters, have never pretermitted this observance.

The four grand *criteria* of Leslie, in all their force, apply to this institution; the death of Jesus was a public and sensible fact—exhibited in the face of open day, and before many witnesses; the supper instituted in anticipation of it, the night in which he was betrayed, has continued from that time to the present moment, now nearly eighteen hundred years; and, in defiance of scepticism, will continue till Jesus comes to judge the world.

After the resurrection of Jesus, and before his ascension into heaven, his last act is the institution of Christian immersion, *into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* He

introduces this institution by avowing that "ALL AUTHORITY *in heaven and earth* was delegated to him as the Son of man." "Therefore," adds he, "go you (my apostles) into all the world, and convert the nations, *baptizing* them *into* the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." I would not be thought, my friends, to be influenced by any sectarian peculiarity in speaking of this institution. I trust I have given you evidence, at least, that I have no sectional, partizan, or sectarian feelings in this common cause. I am sorry that the naming of this institution in English, gives offence to some, I choose here to use the Greek word *baptizing*, instead of the English word *immersing;* and I would not mention this institution at this time, if I could do justice to this cause without it. But we all agree, and know, and feel, that this commemorative institution is one of *the memorials*, yes, one of the most important *monumental actions* in the Christian religion, and what is called the Christian world. For while the Lord's day commemorates merely the *time* of the resurrection, while the Lord's supper commemorates merely the *death* of the Redeemer—this institution commemorates his *death, burial,* and *resurrection;* the former, indirectly; the latter two, directly, symbolically, and explicitly. All christians know that this was *the converting act*, or, to speak less offensively, it was the act enjoined in the commission for converting the nations of the world. Hence the very place which it occupies, and the relation which it bears to the object and end of the mission, gives great emphasis to it. "Disciple the nations, baptizing them into the name, or convert the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." The active participle shews its importance as much as the words of Jesus to Nicodemus, "Except a man *be born of water and of the Spirit*, he cannot enter my kingdom," (that was the kingdom which he was about to establish upon this earth.) But all christendom agree in this, that this is the *first action* necessary to making or forming a disciple. Even some of our brethren are so impatient for its influences, that they carry their new-born infants to it. All this proves that all christendom now, as they did from the beginning, esteem this as the first act, *formative* of a disciple of Christ; as far, at least, as a profession, or public avowal of Christianity, imports. And why has this been almost as universal as Christianity itself? Because that it alludes to, and commemorates, the great facts—*the burial and resurrection* of Christ. Jesus died, was buried, and rose again. So we die unto all authority and hope, save that of our Lord Jesus the Messiah, and consequently unto sin in this act. We, as all *dead* persons are, are then buried with Christ for a short time: he for a short time in the earth, and we for a short time in the water. We also rise with him; he rose from the dead, and we rise from our death unto sin; to walk, and live, and rejoice in *a new life.* He died unto sin once, but rose released, or "*justified by the Spirit,*" from all imputation; so we rise released from sin, pardoned, justified, believing in him as "having been delivered for our offences, and raised for our justification." So admirably exact is this commemorative

institution, which is now, and has been almost incessantly observed, since the ascension of Jesus into heaven. From the day of Pentecost till now, not an hour, and for ages past, not a second has passed without the repetition of this commorative institution, in some way or other. Till the council of Ravenna, till the reign of Queen Elizabeth in England, this ordinance was significant of the burial and resurrection of Jesus Christ; for every time that we see a person *buried* in the water and raised out of it, by the power of another, we see Jesus emblematically buried and raised again. And the millions who profess Christianity, every one, (with the exception of a few Quakers, who understand not the use nor meaning of commemorative institutions) does *actively* or *passively* submit to this monumental action, and publish, without uttering a word, to every spectator, the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus.

What a wonderfully contrived constitution this! which, by *positive acts,* which no *a priori* principles nor modes of reasoning could have suggested, keeps itself for ever standing before the eyes of men. Christ crucified, pierced, wounded, dead, buried, quickened again, ascending, exhibited in all its sacred acts of worship. In our prayers we speak to Him, in our praises we speak of Him, in our positive acts of worship commemorate Him, and in our moral actions imitate Him.

We now proceed to the next chapter of evidence which we proposed, viz.

PROPHECY.

Though both poetry and moral lessons extemporaneously expressed, have been called *prophecy* in an enlarged sense of the term; yet, in its restricted and most appropriate use and acceptation, the term denotes the foretelling of things future and unknown. It is, therefore, in this sense, the word is used in the following argument.

The foretelling of future events depends upon a knowledge of them; or of the causes and connexions of things, which, from established principles, necessarily issue in certain results. All men are possessed of a certain species of this sort of knowledge. They have a *data,* which enables them not only to conjecture, but even to foreknow with certainty what shall come to pass. This data is either the result of experience, of reasoning upon well-established principles, or upon testimony. We know that all the living shall die: that the trees will bud and blossom in spring: that the moon will change: a comet appear: or that an eclipse of the sun will happen on a certain day. Men of extraordinary sagacity can penetrate into futurity, and sometimes guess, conjecture, and even foretell, upon a large accumulation of probabilities, certain political events. But still the limitations and utmost bounds of this knowledge are very narrow; and comparatively few are the future events, of which any man can speak with certainty.

But, although we admit that such foreknowledge is possessed by many, yet the foundation on which it rests, is not what the sceptical philosophers allow it to be. For, if they were to be put to the test, they could not prove any topics or data within the area of the pre-

mises from which they reason, that the sun will rise to-morrow, or that the laws of nature will continue to operate as they have done a single day. Let them, or let Mr. Owen, set about the proof of such a position. But that knowledge of future events, which we call prophecy, or which is necessary to the foretelling of future events, is possessed by no mere man; and therefore, no man, unaided by some supernatural knowledge, can foretell any future event, except such as we have already defined. For example, no man could have foretold, 300 years ago, that in the island of Corsica, from a particular person there living, would rise, in three centuries, a man of extraordinary military prowess and political skill, who, by a succession of the most brilliant exploits and victories, should exile an old dynasty from France, raise himself to imperial dignity, affright the monarchs of Europe, and after having dazzled the world with his success, should, by a more sudden descent and overthrow, die an exile in a remote island of the ocean. No man could have told, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that in the colony of Virginia, from an old English family, there would, in less than two centuries, rise a man who should be the firm and undaunted asserter of his country's rights; and by his counsel and heroic achievements, after a seven years' struggle, not only succeed in detaching thirteen colonies from the despotism of England, but in establishing a new world of republics, surpassing, in the march of intellect, in advances towards national greatness, and in all the enjoyments of rational liberty, all nations upon the earth. No mere man could have foretold such events. Now, this is precisely the species of prophecy of which we are to speak in this branch of the argument. Such prophets, and such prophecies, do the sacred oracles present. But before we open the sacred volume, it is necessary to premise still farther.

It has been remarked that the existence of counterfeits and hypocrites, is a very stubborn and irrefragable proof that there is something genuine and authentic. No man is wont to pretend to any thing which has not somewhere a real existence: at least, we have never met with such a case. All pretences prove that something real exists. Now, amongst all nations there have been false prophets. The pagans had their oracles, their auguries, and their divinations. Modern idolaters have their diviners and necromancers. Jews and christians alone possessed, and gave the original of this idea. They alone afforded the *realities*, of which these are the pretences.

Great were the ends, and most important were the uses of prophecy, in the estimation of the author of the Christian religion. It is interwoven through the whole web. Scarce a leaf is turned in the sacred volume, without some prophetic annunciation. For giving to men just views of God's omnisciency, of his interest in the human family, and of his government or providence, and for inspiring them with the spirit of true devotion, the prophecies were promulged.

But all prophecies have one single end in view—Messiah and his kingdom. Whether individuals, cities, tribes, nations, empires, proximate or remote ages, are the burthen of the particular prophecies, —Jesus, the Messiah, is the spirit and object of them all.

Had we time, and the audience patience, to go into a methodical detail of the evidences arising from prophecy, we should have taken the following course:—

1. We should have examined the direct, literal, and express prophetic annunciations of the fates of the great empires and cities of antiquity. Amongst these, the fates of Egypt, Tyre, Nineveh, Babylon, and Jerusalem would have merited particular attention.

2. The symbolic or figurative prospective institutions of the Jews' religion.

3. The allusive and picturesque representations of double reference; first to persons and events immediately pressing upon the attention of the speaker, but ultimately adumbrating and applying to the Messiah and his kingdom.

4. The direct literal and express predictions concerning the Messiah and his kingdom, found in the Jewish scriptures—and

5. The literal and symbolic prophecies of the New Testament, reaching down to our own times, and to the ultimate fates of all the nations now on earth.

Such would have been the outlines, were we to go into a general examination of this almost inexhaustible source of evidence, argument, and proof of the authenticity of our religion.

Under the first head, we should have read the predictions of the fates of Egypt; particularly the 29th and 30th chapters of the prophecy of Ezekiel, delivered 589 years before the birth of the Messiah; and from the history of Rollin, and the modern history of Egypt, shewn that these predictions, *literal* and *direct*, have been fully accomplished; that, from the most renowned and powerful of the kingdoms of the world, Egypt has become the "basest of kingdoms, and no more able to rule over the nations," according to the express declarations of the Jewish prophets.*

We should then have laid the oracles concerning Tyre before you, as uttered by Ezekiel xxviii., 1—21. This great city, who boasted in her strength, wealth, and beauty, and scoffed at Jerusalem, utterly perished, according to the oracle delivered 588 years before Christ.†

Next, we should have called your attention to the predictions concerning Nineveh, as expressed by Nahum ii. 8, and iii. 1—9; by Zephaniah ii. 12—15. In these predictions it was distinctly declared, that the Lord would make Nineveh *a desolation, and dry like a wilderness.* This oracle was delivered by Nahum, 710 years before the Messiah, and little more than 100 years afterwards it was literally fulfilled.‡

After this, the fates of Babylon would have come into review. Concerning this city, we should have read Isaiah xiii. 1—22. This prediction was delivered by Isaiah, 739 years before Christ, and about 200 years before the destruction of Babylon. But on these fates of Babylon, we should have read Isaiah xlv. 1., Jeremiah l. 1, and then Rollin's description of its destruction, vol. ii. from page 102 to 116,

* Rollin, vol. i. p. 213, &c. † vol. ii. pp. 30, 31. ‡ vol. ii. pp. 43, 44.

Philadelphia ed. 1825. But these would require too much time. Concerning Jerusalem, we may yet be somewhat particular.

The predictions concerning the Jews are so very minute, literal, and graphical, extending through the greatest lapse of time, and occupying the largest number of prophets, living through many centuries, that it is most astonishing that any rational being can examine these and the history of this people, and doubt the inspiration of these prophets. Even Moses, in the 32d chapter of Deuteronomy, gives the whole prospective history, reaching down to times yet unborn. We may, perhaps, call your attention to this prophecy. But at present we shall pass on, with one or two brief notices, to other matters of more direct bearing.

Jeremiah, xxxi. 32, expressly declares that the national constitution under which they then stood, should be vacated, and a new one of different provisions instituted. But, in connexion with this explicit promise and prediction, the Lord declares, that sooner will the sun, moon, and stars cease to exist, than Israel cease to be a nation or a people before him, Jeremiah xxxi. 35, 36. His words are, "Thus saith the Lord, who gives the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and stars for a light by night; if those ordinances depart from my presence, says the Lord, then the seed of Israel shall cease from being a nation before me for ever." Thus adds the Lord, "If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth can be searched out beneath, I will also cast off all the seed of Israel, for all that they have done, says the Lord." This prediction is now nearly 2500 years old; and the children of Israel remain, even in their dispersion, a separate and distinct people. They have not amalgamated with any nation, nor can they. It is now nearly 4000 years since God made promises to Abraham concerning his seed, which have been accomplished, and are still accomplishing. They continue a separate and distinct people; and although the great and mighty empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans have wasted away, still the seed of Abraham remains a people.

That the Jewish scriptures which contain these prophecies, read before the Christian era as they now read, is susceptible of the fullest proof. The version made by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus was completed nearly 300 years before the birth of the Messiah; and thus the Greeks were in possession of these oracles, as well as the Jews. The version of the *Seventy* Jews was read in all the synagogues of the Jews, where the Greek language was spoken; they were public property ages before Jesus Christ was born, John the Baptist, or any of the persons recorded in the New Testament history. No person could have any *motive* to interpolate them in favour of these persons. They wanted motive as well as opportunity. Admitting, then, that these oracles read before the coming of the Messiah, only one hundred years before his birth, as they read now, no man can, with any pretension to rationality, resist the claims and pretensions of Jesus Christ. For he is as obviously the scope, drift, and termination of these prophecies, as ever did a conclusion flow from any premises. Now that these oracles

were universally read, by Jews and Greeks, as they now read, ages before the birth of Jesus, is as well established as any historic fact in the literature of the world. It was then read and known centuries before the birth of the Messiah, that God had said, that the sun, moon, and stars would cease to shine in the heavens, sooner than this people cease to be a nation. No conquest, nor dispersion, then, ever could annihilate their national peculiarities. They yet continue, and if there was not another prediction, this one alone is sufficient to convince them that are not so blind as not to see the force of reason, nor to judge of the weight of testimony, beyond all rational objection. It would appear that nothing is wanting to gather this people into their own land, but the destruction of the Ottoman empire. This the prophecies seem to indicate. They are ever prepared to return, for they will not hold any real estate in any country in the world. Their expectation is to return; and who can say that the evidence in favour of such an event is at all doubtful, or the event itself improbable? "Blindness," says Paul, "has happened to them in part, till the times of the gentiles be fulfilled;" then all Israel shall be saved, then the Jews shall be consolidated and become the light of the whole world. And so all Israel shall yet be saved. "For if the casting of them away has been the means of reconciling the nations to the love of God, what shall be the restoration of Israel to the favour of God, but, as it were, light from the dead!" Then shall the funeral song of infidelity be sung. The destruction of the Mohammedan and antichristian kingdoms, and the restoration of the seed of Abraham to the favour of God, are all that is necessary to the introduction of the millennium. And that these events are upon the eve of being born, no man acquainted with the present history of the world, nor with the Christian prophecies, can doubt.

But that many errors have been committed in certain interpretations of these oracles, we are willing to confess. But what sort of errors have they been? Errors arising from dates, rather than from a mistake of the symbols; or from localities, rather than from a failure to understand the general drift of them. Prophecy is more like a blank map than a full history. The outlines of the countries and their relative situation are accurately defined, but only a few of the principal places are named. It requires a very correct and minute knowledge of the countries, such only as travellers possess, to qualify a person to affix to every place its proper name. Now, in naming the places, there may be many mistakes committed by them who know and understand the outlines well. Such a knowledge of the prophecies all intelligent christians may acquire who study them; but few can, with perfect precision, fix all the dates and circumstances belonging to the accomplishment of many of these predictions. We must always consider prophecy rather in the light of a general chart, delineating the outlines of a country, than as a topographical map fixing the locality of small places.

But I should have observed, before now, that if we had intended a minute examination of all the grand items of prophetic importance,

we would have paid some attention to the symbolic representations of the Jewish worship and history, as very exactly portraying the advent, mission, and work of the Messiah. This is a singular institution. That a people should be nearly 1500 years attending to a symbolic worship, not one of them clearly apprehending the import of it, in all its beerings, and that these symbols should, all at once, burst forth upon a nation like so many witnesses rising from the dead, is as stupendous a display of the divine wisdom and goodness, as any other part of the whole economy. And such was the fact. A hundred incidents, never before understood, all coincide in their application to Jesus and his kingdom, and exactly concur in illustrating his person, mission, life, death, resurrection, and ascension, as so many commentators. It now appeared that not only the prophecies, but the *law* itself, was full of the Messiah, and a witness for him with a hundred tongues. But all the evidences arising from this species of prophecy, we must dispense with at this crisis.

In like manner, all those symbolic personages and typical occurrences which, though seeming to refer exclusively to persons and events of their own times, look forward. As the satirist, full of his object, glances at it in every person and incident he names; so these prophets, full of the spirit respecting the Messiah, glance at him through every person and event, as though he was the ultimate object continually in their eyes. I say, that this double *entendre*, or as some improperly call them, double meanings, apparent in many persons and events, must be omitted at this time; and instead of dilating upon those symbolic personages, events, and institutions, we will fix our attention upon one vein of the prophetic mine, and work it with some degree of industry. And here, perhaps, we have raised too much expectation; for so ample are the direct and most explicit prophecies concerning the Messiah and his kingdom, that to set these in order, and pay a slight attention to each, would be more than our present strength, opportunity, and circumstances might permit. But, without further preamble, we shall begin.

A brief notice of the direct, literal, and express predictions of the Messiah and his kingdom, found in the Jewish scriptures, is all that we shall now promise.

I ought, perhaps, to name seven of his most illustrious progenitors, who are signalized with oracles concerning him; all discriminating him, and turning the eyes of an expecting world towards his more immediate parentage, according to the flesh.

Shem, son of Noah, stands at the head of this list—"*Blessed be the Lord God of Shem.*" "God shall persuade Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." But soon the posterity of Shem branches out into numerous and powerful families, each of which founds an ancient nation. Another discrimination becomes necessary. Abraham is marked out, and the God of Shem becomes the God of Abraham. In the seed of Abraham the blessing is now promised. But Abraham has a son by Hagar, several sons by Kiturah, and one by Sarah;—which of these shall be the

honoured progenitor? "*In Isaac shall thy seed be called,*" directs our eyes to this branch of Abraham's descendants. But Isaac has two sons, Jacob and Esau; which of these? "The elder shall serve the younger,"—gives the superiority to Jacob. Now Jacob has twelve sons; and which of these shall have the honour of giving a Saviour to the world? "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from amongst his descendants, till *Shiloh* come, and *to him shall nations come.*" But again, Judah becomes a numerous tribe, and still we desire another limitation. David, then, the son of Jesse, becomes the King of Israel, and David's son is to become *David's Lord.* But David sings more than a hundred songs concerning him, which detail his history as if written after "*the root and offspring of David*" had finished all the wonders of redemption.

But the indices that point our way to the Messiah, do not stop with David; they multiply so long as a prophet visits Israel; hence his mother is described as a *virgin* by Isaiah—*a virgin of the family of David.* Singular prediction! "Behold, *the virgin* shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son, and his name shall be *Immanuel.*" The sneers and impious scoffs of sceptics at the nativity of Jesus, had they noticed this oracle, would have been prevented or confounded. Let it then be noticed, that 700 years before this child was born, it was foretold that his mother should be a *virgin.*

But *the place* of his nativity is also clearly and expressly named. So clearly and unequivocally was the place of the Messiah's birth ascertained in the Jewish scriptures, that all the priests and scribes in Jerusalem, could tell Herod the place, without a difficulty. "And thou, Bethlehem, art not the least among the cantons of Judah; for out of thee shall come a *Governor*, that shall rule my people Israel."

But *the time* of the birth and appearance of the Messiah, was most exactly pointed out. And as this is a matter of great moment, I shall just notice the various descriptions of this time, found in the Jewish prophets. It was defined by several remarkable characters. The chief are—

1. He was to come before the second temple decayed, or was to appear in the second temple.
2. He was to come before Judah ceased to furnish a governor.
3. He was to come while the Roman emperors were in their glory.
4. And he was to come at the end of a definite number of years, from the permission given to rebuild the temple.

Concerning the first of these predictions, we have to remark, that when the second temple was building, the old men who had seen the first, are said to have wept when they saw the second edifice progressing, because it was so inferior to that which Solomon built; but to console them, it is foretold that the glory of the latter house shall greatly excel that of the former. So speaks Haggai, ii. 7. "I will shake all nations," says the Lord, "and the *desire of all nations* shall come, and I will fill this house with glory." "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former." And why? Let Malachi declare. "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall

prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom you seek *will suddenly come to his temple,* even the messenger of the covenant whom you delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts." So that it is clearly and expressly stated, that the Lord would come while the second temple was yet standing. The first temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, on the tenth day of August, 583 years before Jesus was born; and so the second was built about 500 years before the birth of the Messiah.

[*Here Mr. Campbell moved to adjourn till half past two o'clock p. m.*

Saturday afternoon, 18*th April.*

MR. CAMPBELL resumes.

Mr. Chairman—When we adjourned, we were shewing that the *time* of the coming of the Messiah was marked out and defined by a variety of characters that could not be mistaken.

The sceptre was not to depart from Judah till *Shiloh* came. But it was merely lingering in that tribe for some years before the birth of the Messiah, for the land of Judea had become a Roman province, but still the remains of the ancient regal power had not been wrested from the hands of Judah. But so feebly did he grasp the sceptre, that it seemed to fall at the crisis when the Harbinger appeared.

The prophecy of Daniel more circumstantially describes the time in the wonderful vision which he explained for Nebuchadnezzar. In this vision, there was a prospective view of the history of the world, from the time of the Chaldean or Assyrian monarchy down to the end of time. That this vision and prophecy might sufficiently attract the attention, and interest the feelings of all the world, it was vouchsafed to an Assyrian king, and explained by a Jewish prophet. The Jews and gentiles are both concerned in it. Nebuchadnezzar had the vision, and Daniel interpreted it. Thus Babylon and Jerusalem attest its truth. In this vision, and the interpretation of it, the four great pagan empires are most accurately defined. The golden *head* of the image which the king saw, was avowed by Daniel to be the Chaldean dynasty; the silver *shoulders* was the Medo-Persian dynasty; the brazen *body,* the Macedonian empire; and the iron *legs,* the Roman empire. These were the only *four* empires of the pagan world which attained to universal dominion: they all had it for a time: they were all pagan empires, and exactly delineated in this image. These great empires are represented in the interpretation, as the only empires that should have universal dominion. The Assyrians began 2233 years before the birth of Christ; lasted 1400 years; and ended 770 years before Christ. The Persian empire began 538 years before Christ, continued 200 years, and fell 336 years before the Christian era; the Macedonian, or Grecian, only continued 10 years; it began in 334, and ended 324 years before Christ. The Roman began 31 years before Christ, and after continuing 500 years, ended A. D. 476.

Now, it was distinctly said, that in the days of the last empire, the God of heaven would set up a kingdom in the world, which should obtain the universal empire of the world, and that it should break and

bruise to atoms every particle of the pagan governments; and most astonishing of all, it would begin without human aid, or it would resemble a stone cut out of a mountain without hands, which self-propelled, should roll on, increase, smite this wonderful image of pagan government, demolish it, and fill the whole earth. Such was the imagery of the vision. And was not the Messiah born in the days of the Cæsars, who first formed and governed the *iron* empire?

Two incidents in this prophecy are worthy of notice. First, The time fixed for the commencement of this *new kingdom of God* in the world; and second, That the Roman empire once subdued, there should never again be an universal empire upon the earth, save that of the crucified King. Now, we do know what efforts have been made to build up great empires, and how abortive they have all proved. The most successful effort ever made since the downfal of the Romans, was that made by Napoleon. In the year 1813, he controlled the temporal destinies of sixty-four millions of human beings. But what was this number, to the whole population of Europe, to say nothing of the other three quarters of the globe? Nothing like an universal empire has ever been established since the division of the Roman into ten comparatively petty sovereignties.

But Gabriel informs Daniel more definitely of the date of Messiah's birth, and of the commencement of the last great empire. He says, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sin-offerings, and to make reconciliations for iniquity, and to bring in an everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know, therefore, and understand, that from the going forth of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. The streets shall be built again, and the walls, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood; and unto the end of the war, desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many, for a week; and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease; and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." When I have made another extract from Daniel, we have all the data before us. In chap. viii. 13, the question proposed, is, "How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?" And he said to me, "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." Now, as the Lord said to Ezekiel, "*I have appointed one day for a year,*" and as we find, in symbolic language, one day stands for a year, we are at no loss in coming to the following conclusions.

From the time of the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem,

until the death of Messiah, would be threescore and nine and a half weeks; that is, a period of four hundred and eighty-five or eighty-six years. Seven weeks make forty-nine years; sixty-two weeks make four hundred and thirty-four years; and in the middle of the week he was to establish the new institution; that is three and a half, or four years more. From the going forth of the decree to rebuild Jerusalem, to the baptism of Jesus, was four hundred and eighty-three years: his ministry was three years and a half, or the middle of one week; then he was cut off. And in half a week; that is, three years and a half more, Christianity was sent to all nations. This completes the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of Daniel. Now, from the birth of Jesus till the general proclamation of the gospel, was about thirty-seven years; which, subtracted from four hundred and ninety, makes the nativity of Jesus four hundred and fifty-three years from the commencement of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which occupied seven weeks; that is forty-nine years. Daniel then fixes the time of the nativity; the commencement of the kingdom, or confirmation of the covenant; and the ultimate cleansing of the sanctuary, or purgation of the Christian church from antichristian abominations. This last event was to be two thousand three hundred years from the aforesaid date: that is, from the birth of Jesus, about eighteen hundred and forty-seven years. But all that lies before us now, is the fact that Daniel gives the whole time intervening from the rebuilding of Jerusalem, after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, till the birth of Jesus.

Now, from these premises, it is clearly established that the Messiah should be born while the second temple was standing; before the sceptre and a lawgiver finally departed from Judah, in the reign of the Roman Cæsars, and four hundred and fifty-three years from the commencement of the rebuilding of Jerusalem. And does not the event exactly correspond with the predictions?

But so clearly was the event predicted, and so general was the knowledge of it, through the Septuagint version of the Jewish scripture then read through the Roman empire, that the expectation became general, that at this time some wonderful personage was to be born, who would put the world under a new government. This singular fact shows that the prophecies concerning the time in which the Messiah should be born, were so plain in the estimation of all who read them, as to preclude all doubt as to the time of the appearance of the Messiah. But some will ask, Where is the proof of the fact that such an expectation was general? I answer, The history and poetry of Rome prove it. We shall summon some of their historians, and the Mantuan bard, to give their evidence in the case.

Suetonius, in the life of Vespasian: "Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore, Judea profecti rerum potirentur." An ancient and constant tradition has obtained throughout all the East, that in the *fates* it was decreed, that, about that time, "some who should come from Judea would obtain the dominion of the world."

Cornelius Tacitus speaks to the same effect when speaking of the prodigies which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. He says: "Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret oriens, profectique Judeæ rerum potirentur." That "many understood them as forerunners of that extraordinary person whom the *ancient books* of the priests did foretell should come about that time from Judea, and obtain the dominion."

From the Jewish prophets, the pagan Sibyls gave out their oracles; so that the expectation was universal. The same year that Pompey took Jerusalem, one of the Sybil oracles made a great noise, "that Nature was about to bring forth a king to the Romans." Suetonius says this so terrified the Roman senate, that they made a decree that none born that year should be educated. And in his life of Augustus, he says, that "those whose wives were pregnant that year, did each conceive great hopes, applying the prophecy to themselves." "Senatum exterritum censuisse, ne quis illo anno genitus, educaretur, eos qui gravidas uxores haberent, quod ad se quisque spem traheret curasse ne senatus consultum ad Ærarium deferretur."

Appian, Sallust, Plutarch, and Cicero say that this prophecy of the Sibyls stirred up Cornelius Lentulus to think that he was the man who should be king of the Romans. Some applied it to Cæsar. Cicero laughed at the application, and affirmed that this prophecy should not be applied to any one born in Rome.

Even Virgil the poet, who wrote his fourth Eclogue about the time of Herod the Great, compliments the Consul Pollio with this prophecy, supposing it might refer to his son Saloninus then born. Virgil substantially quotes and versifies the prophecies of Isaiah, and applies them to this child Saloninus:

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo.

The last age, decreed by Fate, is come;
And a new frame of all things does begin.
A holy progeny from heaven descends.
Auspicious be his birth! which puts an end
To the iron age! and from whence shall rise
A golden state far glorious through the earth!

Then the poet alludes to Isaiah lxv. 17: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain:

————Nec magnos metuent armenta leones:
Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet.

Nor shall the flocks fierce lions fear,
Nor serpent shall be there, nor herb of poisonous juice.

Then the expiation of Daniel is referred to:

> Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
> Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
>
> By thee, what footsteps of our sins remain
> Are blotted out, and the whole world set free
> From her perpetual bondage and her fear.

The very words of Haggai last quoted, are by the poet next referred to:

> Aggredere, O magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
> Cara Deum soboles, magnum Jovis incrementum.
> Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
> Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum:
> Aspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo.
>
> Enter on thy honours! Now 's the time
> Offspring of God! O thou great gift of Jove!
> Behold the world! Heaven, earth, and seas do shake!
> Behold how all rejoice to greet that glorious day!

Virgil, as if he were skilled in the Jewish scriptures, goes on to state that these glorious times should not immediately succeed the birth of that wonderful child:

> Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis;
> ——Erunt etiam altera bella.
>
> Yet some remains shall still be left
> Of ancient fraud; and wars shall still go on.

Now, the question is not, whether Virgil applied this partly to Augustus, Pollio, or Saloninus then born; but, whether he did not apply it to the general expectation every where prevalent, that a wonderful person was to be born, and a new age to commence?

The Jews have been so confounded with these prophecies and events, that such of them as did not believe, have degraded Daniel from the rank of a great prophet, to one of the inferior prophets; and others have said that there were two Messiahs to come,—one a suffering, and one a triumphant Messiah. But the excuses of mankind for their unbelief are so frivolous and irrational, that they deserve pity, rather than argument. It is worthy of remark, however, that not only the gentiles, the proselytes to the Jews' religion, the eastern Magi, but myriads of the Jews themselves recognized these evidences, and bowed to their authority.

But not only are the time and place of the birth of the Messiah pointed out in plain and direct predictions, but many of the prominent incidents in his life. I once attempted to enumerate the distinct and independent predictions concerning the Messiah and his kingdom, but after progressing beyond a hundred, I desisted from the undertaking, perceiving, as is said by John, that the testimony concerning Jesus is the spirit of prophecy. I will just mention a few incidents in the prophetic communications concerning him. That he should go

down into Egypt, and be called back to Nazareth; the appearance, spirit, and mission of John the harbinger; the slaughter of the infants by the decree of Herod; his general character, meekness, mildness, and unostentatious appearance. "A bruised reed he was not to break; a smoking taper he was not to quench;" he was to use no sword, spear, sceptre, nor torch, until he made his laws victorious. He was to make his most august entry into Jerusalem, mounted upon an ass; he was to be a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs; his zeal was to be so intense as to consume and waste his corporeal vigour; he was to be betrayed by a familiar friend; when delivered up, his friends were to forsake him; his condemnation was to be extorted in violation of law and precedent; he was to be sold for thirty pieces of silver; the money was to be appropriated to the purchase of the potter's field; he was to be scourged, smitten on the face, wounded in the hands and feet, laughed to scorn, presented with vinegar and gall; to be patient and silent under all these indignities and trials; he was to be crucified in company with malefactors; his garment was to be parted; and for his vesture they were to cast lots; his side was to be pierced, and yet not a bone was to be broken, and he was to be buried in the grave of a wealthy nobleman. All these, and many more incidents were spoken of, recorded, and anticipated from five hundred to a thousand years before he was born. And mark it well, the records which thus spoke of him were to be kept by the Jews, and held sacred by the opponents of Christianity. So that the documents could not be interpolated. So precise were the Jews in the copies of their scriptures, that as some of the Rabbims assert, all the words, and even letters used in their sacred books, were numbered.

I would here introduce a very rational argument, of the nature of mathematical demonstration, showing the utter impossibility of so many predicted incidents ever meeting in any individual by chance, guess, or conjecture; in any other way, in brief, than in consequence of divine prescience or arrangement. It is extracted from a very valuable work published by Gulian C. Verplanck, Esq. in 1824, page 11—13.

"Rosseau, in the eloquent and paradoxical confession of faith which he puts in the mouth of his Savoyard Vicar in Emilius, has said that no fulfilment of prophecy could be of any weight with him, to prove a divine interposition, unless it could be demonstrated that the agreement between the prophecy and the event could not possibly have been fortuitous. This proof is more than any fair objector has a right to claim, since it is moral probability and not strict demonstration which we must act upon in the most momentous concerns of life; and as reasonable men, we should rest on the same evidences in matters of faith. In both, the wise man will be governed by common sense, applied to the investigation of rational probability.

"In this case, however, we may accept the challenge of the sceptic. Where the points of fulfilment of prediction are numerous, it may be literally 'demonstrated' that the probability of such accomplishment, having occurred fortuitously, is the most remote possible.

"This argument is put in a practical and striking point of view by Dr. Gregory, of the Military Academy, at Warwick, well known for many respectable and useful works, especially on mathematics and scientific mechanics.

"'Suppose,' says he, 'that instead of the spirit of prophecy breathing more or less in every book of scripture, predicting events relative to a great variety of general topics, and delivering besides almost innumerable characteristics of the Messiah, all meeting in the person of Jesus, there had been only *ten* men in ancient times who pretended to be prophets, each of whom exhibited only *five* independent *criteria* as to place, government, concomitant events, doctrine taught, effects of doctrine, character, sufferings, or death—the meeting of all which in one person should prove the reality of their calling as prophets, and of his mission in the character they have assigned him. Suppose, moreover, that all events were left to *chance* merely, and we were to compute, from the principles employed by mathematicians in the investigations of such subjects, the probability of these fifty independent circumstances happening at all. Assume that there is, according to the technical phrase, *an equal chance* for the happening or the failure of any one of these specified particulars; then the probability against the occurrence of all the particulars in any way is that of the fiftieth power of two to unity; that is, the probability is greater than *eleven hundred and twenty-five millions of millions to one* that all these circumstances do not turn up even at distinct periods. This computation, however, is independent of the consideration of time. Let it be recollected farther, that if any one of the specified circumstances happen, it may be the day after the delivery of the prophecy, or at any period from that time to the end of the world; this will so indefinitely augment the probability against the cotemporaneous occurrence of merely these fifty circumstances, that it surpasses the power of numbers to express correctly the immense improbability of its taking place.'

"It is hardly necessary to draw the inference, which Dr. Gregory goes on to establish, that all probability, and even possibility, of accidental fulfilment, as well as of fraud, must be excluded. The sole reasonable solution of the question is, that these predictions and their fulfilments can only be ascribed to the intention of a being, whose knowledge can foresee future events, unconnected with each other, depending on various contingencies, and the will and acts of free agents; or whose power is so omnipotent as to bend to the accomplishment of his own purpose the passions of multitudes, the ambition of princes, the studies of the wise, the craft of the wicked, the wars, the revolutions, and the varied destinies of nations."

I would here ask any rational sceptic how he will dispose of this argument? how can he remove this stumbling-block out of the way of his infidelity? by what logic can he dispose of this document?

I will now introduce the sceptics to the character of the Founder of the Christian religion, as a logician, and give them a specimen of that ratiocination which he exhibited in pleading his cause with those who opposed his pretensions, in the metropolis of the Jewish nation. I will

first read the passage as correctly rendered by Dr. George Campbell, of Aberdeen, for it is very much obscured in the common version. It reads thus: John's Testimony, chapter v. from verse 31 to 44. "If I (alone) testify concerning myself, my testimony is not to be regarded: there is another who testifies concerning me; and I know that his testimony of me ought to be regarded. You yourselves sent to John, and he bore witness to the truth. As for me, I need no human testimony; I only urge this for your salvation. He was the lighted and shining lamp; and for a while you were glad to enjoy his light.

"But I have greater testimony than John's; for the works which the Father has empowered me to perform, the works themselves which I do, testify for me, that the Father has sent me.

"Nay, the Father who sent me, has himself attested me. Did you never hear his voice, or see his form? Or have you forgotten his declaration, that you believe not him whom he has commissioned?

"You search the scriptures, because you think to obtain, by them, eternal life. Now these also are witnesses for me; yet you will not come unto me that you may obtain life. I desire not honour from men; but I know that you are strangers to the love of God. I am come in my Father's name, and you do not receive me; if another come in his own name, you will receive him. How can you believe, while you court honour one from another, regardless of the honour which comes from God alone? Do not think that I am he who will accuse you to the Father. Your accuser is Moses, in whom you confide. For, if you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote concerning me. But if you believe not his writings, how shall you believe my words?"

To the captious Jews he thus addresses himself:

1. "*If I alone bear testimony of myself, my testimony ought not to be regarded.*" This is declaiming any special regard as due to him, above others, on the mere ground of his own pretensions. It was equivalent to saying, No person pretending to honours and relations, a mission and office, such as I pretend, ought to be accredited and received upon his mere professions. No assertion, abstract from other documents in such a case, is worthy of credit. *Is not this reasonable?*

2. But, waving my own testimony, *there is another person whose testimony ought to be regarded.* But let us hear the reason why—some reason must be assigned, on account of which more credit is due to this testimony. The reason is: '*You yourselves sent to John.*' But in what does the cogency of this declaration consist? You Jews of this city, of your own accord, had formed such a high character of the integrity, capacity, and piety of John the Baptist, as to depute priests and Levites to him to know what his errand, mission, or testimony was. His character had convinced you of the reality of his pretensions, and he proved himself to your own satisfaction, as being far exalted above any earth-born motives of fraud or deceit. He was, yourselves being judges, a competent and credible witness. Now, what did he testify? Did he not tell you that he was not the Messiah; that he was but his harbinger; and that his fame must decrease, while mine must increase; that he was from below, but I was from

above? Why then did you not believe such a credible witness? Or why receive one part of his testimony, and reject the other? I *think*, then, said he, his testimony ought, in such circumstances, to be regarded. *Is not this also reasonable?*

3. But he proceeds: "*I need not human testimony. I only urge this for your salvation.*" I would convict you upon your own principles; and show that your rejection of me is without excuse. John, indeed, was a brilliant light; and for a time you considered him an oracle, and rejoiced in his light. "*But the works that I do,*" are superior to any human testimony; and these "*shew that the Father has sent me.*" To these I appeal; they are public, sensible, notorious, benevolent, supernatural. Could mortal man have performed them? Have not the laws of nature been suspended by my word? Have not the winds, waves, demons, and diseases of every name, acknowledged my power? To these works, only, as proof of my mission, I appeal. They prove not that I am the Son of God, the Messiah. They only prove that *the Father has sent me.* This is all I urge them for; but if they prove that the Father has sent me, then all my pretensions are credible; for the Father would not have sent a liar or deceiver, invested with such powers. Now, I ask, *Is not all this reasonable and logical?*

4. But again, *The Father has himself attested me by his own voice;* and by a visible appearance—"DID YOU NOT HEAR HIS VOICE? *Did you not see his* FORM?" Were not some of you on the Jordan when he attested me when I came up out of the water? Was there not a voice then heard, saying, audibly, "*This is my beloved* SON *in whom I delight?*" You could not mistake the person of whom this was spoken; for over my head the heavens opened, and you *saw* the Spirit in the *form* of a dove, coming down and lighting upon my head. You heard his voice then, and saw his manifestation. But you have *forgotten* this *declaration* concerning me! *Is this not rational and pointed.*

5. Once more—"*You do search the scriptures;*" and why do you search them? Because you think them to contain a revelation from God; you think and acknowledge that eternal life is in them. This is all true; and in doing this, you act rationally; but why stop here? Now these very scriptures testify of me. To them I make my appeal. They all speak of me; and now shew me the oracle, prophecy, or symbol in them, which respected him that was to come, which does not suit my character and pretensions, and I will find an excuse for you. Now, I ask, *Is not this conclusive?*

If this be not argument and logic, I never heard any. So reasons the Saviour. This grand climax of reason ends in the prophecies of the Old Testament. But it is not yet finished.

6. But adds he, *You* WILL NOT COME *to me.* It is not the want of light and evidence. You are now unable to reply. Yet you will not come to me that you might obtain that eternal life promised in the scriptures. I know you well. You have not a spark of the love of God in you. Had you loved God you would have come to me. Your hearts are full of the honours of this world—these you seek more than

the honours which come from God only; Yes, this is the secret. It is not argument nor proof, but *disposition* that you want. You pretend great veneration for Moses. But you do not really venerate him: you do not believe him; for he wrote of me. Now, if you do not, with all your professed veneration for Moses, believe him, how will you, or can you, believe me? If prejudiced in his favour, you do not receive his testimony, how, prejudiced against me, will you receive mine? But I tell you, however, I will not become your accuser. Your own Moses, in whom you trust, will one day convict you; for he said of me, that whosoever would not hearken to me, should be cut off from the congregation of God.

Such is a specimen of the topics from which, and of the manner how, the Saviour argued his pretensions, and pleaded his cause with the people. A more cogent and unanswerable argument is not, if I am any judge, to be found among all the fine models of ancient and modern literature. And let it, I repeat, be borne in mind, that he makes his last appeal to the scriptures and to Moses. Prophecy, then, in his judgment, is among the highest species of evidence, and it is that which, as a standing miracle, he has made to speak for him in every age, and to all people.

But I must notice, while on this topic, that Jesus pronounced prophecies himself, which, to that generation, and, indeed, to subsequent generations, speak as convincingly as Moses spoke to the Jews; and his predictions have produced, and do produce, upon the minds of a vast community, similar expectations to those produced among the Jews.

Hume says that "prophecy could not be a proof that the person who pretended to deliver oracles, spoke by inspiration; because the prophet is absent at the time of its fulfilment; he is dead, and it could not prove to his contemporaries that he was inspired." This would be true in one case, but in no other; when the prediction had respect to events at a distance; but this is only sometimes the case: for most of the prophets foretold events soon to appear, as well as events to happen after long intervals. We shall find, if we examine the New Testament, that Jesus foretold many incidents immediately to happen, which required as perfect an insight into futurity, as events at the distance of a thousand years. His telling Peter, that, on casting a hook and line into the sea, he should draw out a fish with a *stater* in its mouth; or his telling his disciples, that, at a certain place, they should find an ass, and his master so circumstanced, and that such events would happen on their application for him, required as exact and as perfect a prescience as could have, four thousand years ago, foretold this discussion between Mr. Owen and me. How many events of immediate occurrence did the Saviour foretell, with this additional remark, "This I have told you before it happen; that when it happens, you may believe." Prophecy, indeed, seems designed to *confirm* faith as the events occur, as well as to produce faith by contemplating those which have been fulfilled. But we shall find that, besides the predictions uttered by the Saviour, concerning his own demise, and

all the circumstances attendant upon it, he foretold one event of such notoriety and importance as to confirm the faith of one generation, and to produce faith in all subsequent generations. This I specify as one of great interest and notoriety. This was the destruction of Jerusalem, the temple, and the dispersion of the nation with all the tremendous adjuncts of this national catastrophe.

Upon one occasion, when the sun was beaming upon the beautiful gate of the temple, which radiated with all conceivable splendour, when that edifice stood in all the glistening beauties of the precious metals, costly stones, and the finest specimens of architecture, the Saviour took occasion to tell its fate, and that of the people who frequented it, in such language as precluded the possibility of mistake in the interpretation. No prediction was more minute or more circumstantial than this one, and none could be more literal or direct. Both Matthew and Luke give us this prediction; the former in the 24th, and the latter in the 21st chapter of his testimony. The complete desolation of the temple to the foundation, to the removing of every stone, is foretold. The compassing the city with armies, the slaughter of the inhabitants, and the captivity of those who escaped, are described. The fortunes of his disciples at this time, with all the terrors of the siege, and all the tremendous prodigies in the heavens and the earth accompanying these desolations, are named. And in the conclusion, the audience is assured that all these things should happen before forty years, "before that generation should pass away." Now this prophecy was written, published, and read through Judea, and mentioned in the apostolic epistles for years before it happened; and a general expectation of this event pervaded the whole Christian communities from Jerusalem to Rome, and, indeed, through all the Roman provinces. The allusions to these predictions are frequent in the apostolic writings. It was necessary they should, for this reason: the Jews, as long as they possessed the government of Judea, the temple, and the metropolis; as long as they had any particle of influence at home or abroad, they used it with relentless cruelty against the christians. The apostles had to succour the minds of their persecuted brethren, and exhort them to patience and perseverance, by reminding them of the speedy dispersion of them among the nations. So that all the christians throughout the Roman empire looked for this catastrophe: and so it came to pass, that such of the christians as were in Jerusalem and Judea, about the time of the siege of Titus, fled according to the directions given by the Saviour; and thus not a believing Jew perished in the siege.

We lose many of the allusions to this event in the epistles, from our irrational modes of explanation, and neglect of the history of those times. Of these allusions the following specimens may suffice:—To the church of Rome, Paul says, "God will bruise *Satan*, or the adversary, under your feet soon"—not the devil, as some ignorantly suppose. *Adversary* in English is *Satan* in Hebrew. "Get thee behind me, *Satan*," is a terrible translation of the Saviour's address to Peter. The synagogue of Satan was only a synagogue of unbelieving Jews *adverse* to Christianity. "Brethren in Rome," says Paul, "God will

soon put down the adversary of your religion, the Jews, who persecute you. Yes: their power to oppose you will soon be past." This clearly alludes to the expectation predicated upon the prediction before us.

Paul more plainly intimates the destruction of the Jewish power in his first letter to the Thessalonians, written eighteen years before the siege. "Brethren in Thessalonica, you have suffered from your gentile brethren such persecution as the congregations in Judea have suffered from their Jewish brethren, who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have greatly persecuted us, and do not please God, and are contrary to all men; hindering us to speak to the gentiles, that they might be saved; so that they are always filling up the measure of their iniquities. But the *wrath of God is coming upon them at length.*"

Indeed, so frequent were the allusions to this prophecy, both in the public discourses and writings of the apostles, that their enemies began to mock them, and treat them as if they had been imposing upon the credulity of their contemporaries. Hence such allusions as these:— "*Where is the promise of his coming;* for, from the times the fathers have fallen asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." Thus was Peter upbraided six years before the siege. The old apostle, however, is not discouraged, being assured that He would make good his promise. "Yes," says he, "they think that we have too long talked of the coming of the Lord to avenge the iniquities of these people. They think that we mock your fears, and they say, 'The Lord long delays his coming to execute his vengeance upon this stubborn people.' But, my brethren, the Lord does not delay in the manner some account delaying; but he exercises long-suffering towards us, that all might be brought to reformation."

In the letter to the Hebrews, written about six or seven years before the siege, Paul speaks to the persecuted Jewish brethren in the same style: "Yet a very little while, and he that is coming will come, and will not tarry." "Persevere, then, brethren, in doing the will of the Lord, that you may obtain the promised reward." James, too, in his letter of the same date, addresses both the believing and unbelieving Jews on the impending vengeance. The wealthy and infidel Jew he commands to "weep because of the miseries coming upon them:" and the suffering christians he animates with the hope that "the coming of the Lord is nigh." Thus do all the apostles speak of this event, with the same certainty as if it had actually happened.

I need not detail the awful accomplishment of this prediction. Josephus has done this in awful colours. Tacitus, too, relates some of the circumstances. Every word of the prediction was exactly fulfilled, even to the ploughing up of the foundations of the temple. It is remarkable that, on the tenth day of August, the very same day the temple and city were laid waste by the Babylonians, the temple was burned by Titus' army.*

* I have read somewhere, that, before the temple was burned, Titus entered the temple, got out some of the sacred utensils, among which were the golden candlestick and the table of the shewbread. These he carried as trophies home

I shall only give you another specimen of the prophetic spirit of the New Testament writers. Paul, in his letter to the Thessalonians, intimates that some persons had suggested that the end of the world was at hand. To counteract such an idea, which seemed to have influenced some to abandon the ordinary business of this life, he gives us a succinct view of the great series of events which were to come to pass before the end of the world He describes a tremendous *apostacy*, in 2d Thessalonians, ii. 1—10.

"Now, we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together around him; that you be not soon shaken from your purpose, nor troubled, neither by spirit nor by word, nor by letter from us, intimating that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any method; for that day shall not come, unless there come the apostacy first, and there be revealed that man of sin, that son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above every one who is called a god, or an object of worship. So that he, in the temple of God, *as a god* sitteth openly showing himself that he is a god. Do you not remember, that when I was with you, I told you these things? And you know what now restrains him, in order to his being revealed in his own season. For the secret of iniquity already inwardly works, only till he who now restrains be taken out of the way. And then shall be revealed that lawless one; him the Lord will consume by the breath of his mouth, and will render ineffectual, by the brightness of his coming; of whom the coming is after the strong working of Satan, with all power and signs, and miracles of falsehood. And with all the deceit of unrighteousness, among them who perish, because they embraced not the love of the truth that they might be saved."

On this observe that the apostle declares that, in the great drama of human existence, the end of the world could not come until after the apostacy. This apostacy he describes as beginning to work in the first age of Christianity, but that it could not succeed in attaining its full vigour, until pagan Rome should yield to Christian Rome. Until he that sat upon the throne and supported the pagan superstition, should be supplanted and succeeded by a Christian emperor, in plain English. Then, says he, will come forth that lawless one, who will usurp the honours of God alone, in his dominion over the faith and the consciences of men. I shall be interrogated here by the short-sighted sceptics, how it came to pass that a scheme so benevolent as the Christian scheme, if designed by a benevolent and wise being, could so far have missed its aim? How strange is it, say they, if Christianity originated in divine benevolence, that there should be such a scene in the great drama as this long night of apostacy and darkness! And I

to Rome; and on the triumphal arch which was raised for him in the city of Rome, this candlestick and table were carved upon it. This triumphal arch yet stands; and even yet the Jews who now visit Rome will not pass under it. There is a side-walk and a gate through which the Jews pass. So deeply-rooted is the remembrance of this indignity upon their religion and nation, that eighteen centuries have not obliterated it!

reply, how strange is it that this terraqueous globe, created by a wise and benevolent Being, should be three-fourths covered with immense oceans; and of the remaining one-fourth, so large a portion of mountains and fens, deserts and morasses; one part of it parched with an arid sky, and another locked up in relentless ice! Short-sighted mortals that we are; and yet we will scan the universe! Could not the earth have been a thousand times more fruitful! Nay: could it not have been a thousand times more comfortable to live in! Might we not have had loaves growing upon the trees, and wine in bottles hanging upon the vines, and thus have been exempted from so much labour, and toil, and care!! In this way we might object to every thing in the universe.

I have, for years, contended that the hand-writing of God can be proved. And can we not, even under oath, attest the hand-writing of some men? Men have their peculiarities, which will always designate them from the whole species. No two men write, speak, or walk alike. They are as distinct in each, as in the features of their countenances, and the constitution of their minds. Each has an idiosyncrasy of mind, an idiomatic style, as well as a peculiar chirography.

No man who has accurately analyzed the few general principles which govern the universe, and examined the poisons and sweets which are strewed with so much liberality over the face of the globe; who has explored the regularities and incongruities which appear above and beneath, can doubt that the mind which originated the harmonies, the beauties, the sweets, and all the blessings of nature, originated also their contraries; and that it is the same wisdom and benevolence working in the natural and moral empires of the universe. They both exhibit the impress of the same hand.

We cannot give a fair view of the next item on the genius and spirit of Christianity, unless we enlarge a little more upon this. We must glance at the design of the Jewish religion. In the logical arrangement of all subjects, much depends upon taking hold of a few general principles. Generalizing is not only the most improving exercise of the mind, but the best means of knowing things in the detail. This is that power which, in a great degree, distinguishes the vigorous and well-disciplined mind, from that of inferior *calibre* and cultivation. If it were possible to present a general synthetic view, without a previous analysis, we would prefer it; for the only utility of analysis is to put us in possession of synthetic views.

There is an error into which we are all apt to fall, in attempting to scan the moral government of the world. We do not like to be kept in suspense. Rather than remain in suspense, we will be satisfied with very incorrect, or partial views of things. There is nothing more uncomfortable than a state of suspense upon any subject which interests us. Our views are always partial at best, but much more so when we have not put ourselves to the trouble to analyse, with patience, the whole data presented.

When I hear persons cavilling at the present state of things, and objecting to matters which they do not understand, I figure to myself

a person stationed in a small room, say ten feet square, before which is passing continually a map ten thousand square miles in extent, ten feet of which only, at a time, can be seen through an opening in one side. In this small room he sits, and peruses this map for seventy years. For many weeks at a time he sees nothing but immense oceans of water; then apparently boundless forests; then prodigious chains of mountains; then deserts, flats, wastes, and wildernesses. Here and there a succession of beautiful country passes before his eyes. After contemplating this map for seventy years, he exclaims, what an irrational, ill-conducted, and incongruous looking thing is this! I have seen forests, deserts, and oceans, interspersed here and there with some small specks of beautiful country. I must conclude that the Creator of this planet was either unwise, or not benevolent. But suppose, that on a sudden, the walls of his cottage fell down, and his vision was enlarged and strengthened so as to comprehend, in one glance, the whole sweep of ten thousand square miles; what a wonderful revolution would he undergo! Infinite wisdom and design now appear, where before he saw nothing but confusion and deformity. So it is with him who sits judging on the moral government of the world.

We have but a small part of the picture before us. Paul explains the whole of it. He teaches us that this world is, in the moral empire, what it is in the natural—a part of a great whole. When speaking of all the irregularities in human lot, and all the diversities in the divine government in the different ages of the world, Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, he teaches us that the whole of this arrangement is subordinate to another state of things, having relation to the whole rational universe. All this is done, said he, that now unto the thrones, principalities, and powers, in the heavenly regions, might be exhibited, by the Christian scheme, the manifold wisdom of God. There are various grades of intelligent beings, who, in their different capacities, and according to their different situations and relations, are contemplating this scene of things; and from these volumes of human nature the divine character is continually developing itself to their view.

Yes, my friends, your various lots, capacities, and opportunities, and your respective behaviour under these varieties, with the divine economy over you, are furnishing new essays to be read in other worlds. You are all but different letters; some capital, some small letters, some mere abbreviations, commas, semicolons, colons, periods, notes of admiration, notes of interrogation, and dashes; all making sense when wisely combined; but when jumbled together, or separated, you are unintelligible and uninstructive to yourselves and all other intelligent beings. Angels read men, and by-and-by men will read angels, to learn the Deity. In the rational delights and entertainments of heaven, you and they will read each other. Gabriel will tell you what were his emotions, when first he saw the sun open his eyes and smile upon the new-born earth; what he thought when he shut up Noah in the ark, and opened the windows of heaven and the fountains of the deep. Yes: Raphael will tell you with what astonishment he saw Eve put forth her hand to the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Gabriel

will relate his joy, when he saw the rainbow of peace span the vault of heaven in token of no more deluge. He will give you to know what were his emotions, when sent to salute the mother of our Lord; and all the multitude will rehearse the song they sung the night they visited the shepherds of Bethlehem. In turn you will tell them your first thoughts of God and his love; your own feelings as sinners; the agonies of sorrow and grief which once you felt; and how you met the king of terrors. Then will all the shades in the picture appear to proper advantage, and the seraphim and cherubim with their wings no more hide their faces from man. All happiness, rational, human, or angelic, springs from the knowledge of God. As it is now eternal life, so it will then be eternal happiness, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus the Messiah, thy apostle.

A veil is yet on the face of Moses, and, indeed, on the face of many of the conspicuous characters of antiquity, in the views of many of our sectarian dogmatists. Some think that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were called, chosen, and elected, for their own sakes. They seem not yet to have learned this important lesson, that there never has as yet been one human being selected by the Almighty for his own sake. If it were necessary that the Messiah should enter our world, it was necessary that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, David, Daniel, and a thousand others, should have been selected from the family of man, and discriminated by the Great King as they were. On this one principle the religions of the Jews and christians are altogether reconcileable. They mutually explain each other. They are but the portico and holy place, leading to the holiest of all.

The calling and congregating of the Jews were for the same intent, and as relative to the general good of all nations as was the calling of Abraham, or the first promise of a Redeemer to the human race. They must be put under a special arrangement for developing the divine character and government, and for giving us a few lessons upon human nature, which never could have been taught by any other means.

What does the Lord say concerning Pharaoh? "I have raised thee up for this purpose, that in your history, and my government over you, *my name* might be known through all the earth." The localities and symbols of the Jewish religion made it entirely subordinate to the Christian; but the genius and spirit of the latter is universal, or adapted to the whole human family, irrespective of all localities. But this only by the way. My remarks upon the *apostacy* gave rise to this disquisition, or rather an objection which we saw rising in the faces of some, constrained me to take this course, and to attempt to give some general hints which, I trust, may repress that restive spirit of scepticism, which, like the demoniac among the tombs, is cutting itself to pieces when pretending to forsake the haunts of the living for its own safety.

In one sentence, it appears to be a law of human nature, that man can only be developed and brought into proper circumstances to please himself, by what we call *experience*. You may not be able to account for it, but so it is, that man must be taught by experience.

I think we shall all agree in this, that if Adam and Eve could have had, while in Eden, the experience which they obtained after their exile, and which the world now presents, they never could have been induced to taste the forbidden tree. Every revolution of the earth, and all the incidents recorded in human history, are but so many preparations for the introduction of that last and most perfect state of society on earth, called the *millennium*. First we have the germ, then the blade, then the stem, then the leaves, then the blossoms, and last of all, the fruit. Therefore, as Paul said, the apostacy came first.

The mystery of iniquity early began to work. She made mysteries of plain facts that she might work out her own delusions. She it was that loved mysteries,—that paralysed the energies of the christian spirit, and inundated the world with all superstitions, fables, counterfeit gospels, and all the follies of paganism in a new garb. These found many admirers among the doting philosophers of Asia; and thus, by degrees, the lights of heaven were extinguished, or put under a bushel of these abominable, delusive mysteries, until a long, dark, and dreary night of superstition besotted the world. These dark ages have sent them down to our times, and bequeathed a legacy which has impoverished, rather than enriched, the legatees. That man does not breathe, whose mind is purified from all the influences of the night of superstition which has so long obscured the light of the Sun of Righteousness.

Great and noble efforts have been made; but they ended in speculations; and sects and parties, built upon metaphysical hair-splittings, have long been the order of the day. These speculations are turning grey with age; and a religion, pure and social, springing from the meaning of gospel facts, will soon triumph on all the speculations of the day.

All the Bible critics, and even the commentators themselves, agree that Babylon must soon fall, like a mill-stone into the sea, never to emerge; and that her catastrophe will be succeeded by the millennial order of society. She shall be visited with the calamities of Egypt, Sodom, and Jerusalem, combined; for she has combined within her dominions the enormities of the three: the filthiness of Sodom, the tyranny of Egypt, and the persecuting spirit of Jerusalem.

Had not this defection been clearly arraigned before me, and predicted by the apostle Paul himself—had he not told us that under the form of godliness, all the vices of the world would be arraigned; that "self-lovers, money-lovers, proud, defamers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, unholy, without natural affection, covenant or bargain breakers, slanderers, incontinent, fierce persons, without any love to good men, betrayers, headstrong, puffed up, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness but denying the power of it;" I say, had he not taught us to expect such characters to creep into the church, I should have been prepared to join with Mr. Owen in opposing the religions of the world. But when I began to reason, I was taught to distinguish a thing from the abuse of it; and never to condemn any thing until I was fully acquainted with it. I see that

the *apostacy* which yet exists, is as clearly foretold as was the birth of Christ; and why should the accomplishment of one prediction confirm my faith, and the accomplishment of another weaken it!

But this defection is not only foretold literally, but symbolized by John, in the *Apocalypse*, under such combinations, and under such figures as are well calculated to inspire us with a horrible idea of it. Do not be alarmed, my friends, at my naming the Apocalypse. This book is not so unintelligible as you have been taught to think. But I am not going into an analysis of it. I will only trace one idea which runs through it; and then I shall have done with the apostacy.

John, you remember, lived to be an old man—he survived the destruction of Jerusalem about thirty years. He saw antichrists beginning to show their faces, and was alarmed at the sight. He was exiled to Patmos for the testimony he gave of Jesus; and while there, viewing with anguish the apostacy beginning, it pleased the Lord, who had, while on earth, honoured this disciple with so many tokens of his love, to confer upon him another signal pledge. He cheered the heart of the old apostle by promising him a view of the future fortunes of the church. After inditing seven letters to the seven congregations in Asia, he presents him with this astonishing vision: A window, as it were, is opened in heaven, and a scroll, in the hand-writing of an angel, arrests his attention. This parchment, written within and without, and sealed with seven seals, is raised aloft in the hand of an angel; and a challenge is given to all the inhabitants of heaven, earth, and sea to take and open the book. All was silent—John wept—why did he weep? Because he knew the future fortunes of the church were written there, sealed up from all the living, and no one appeared able to open the seals and disclose the secrets. These he wished to know above every thing in the world; therefore, he wept bitterly.

At length the Lion of the tribe of Judah comes forward and takes the scroll, and prepares to open the seal. Universal joy is every where diffused, and John dries up his tears. The first seal is broken, and the scroll once unrolled. "Come *and see*," a mighty angel proclaims. John heard; looked, and beheld "a white horse, and on him sat a king, wearing one crown, with a bow and a quiver full of arrows." He rides off. Instructive emblem of the Lord beginning to subdue the nations to the obedience of faith! I will not detain you with a notice of all the seals. They are all opened: seven trumpets are blown when the seventh seal is opened, and seven vials are poured out in judgments upon the inhabitants of the earth. The intermediate seals, trumpets, and vials, symbolize the events of one thousand, two hundred, and forty years; or more fully, all the events since the pagan persecutions down to our own times.

But, at the close of the different acts of this great *drama*, John sees the same person he formerly saw, mounted on a white horse, followed by all the armies of heaven mounted on white horses; he had now upon his head *many crowns;* and he was clothed with a vesture *dyed with blood*, emblem of his conquests; and he had now, from the num-

ber of his conquests, obtained all the crowns of the kingdoms of the earth, and had a name written which no one understood but himself, and upon his vesture and on his thigh was written in brilliant capitals, "KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS." So that the termination of the vision of the seals, trumpets, and vials, places the Lord Jesus before us, as having subdued all the nations of the world to the obedience of faith. This is the animating view which the Lord gave John, and through him has communicated to all nations of the earth who consult these divine oracles. We rejoice to know that this period is nigh at hand, when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the whole earth as the waters cover the channel of the sea.

The world, I mean the Christian communities, are tired of sectarianism; light is rapidly progressing; the true nature of the Christian institution is beginning to be understood, and all the signs of the times indicate the approach, the near approach of this happy era.

You have, my friends, in the preceding hints, a solution of all the difficulties which can be proposed upon the past or present order of society; an explanation of all the dark specks which appear upon the moral map of the world. My object was not to unfold the prophecies, but to give you a few hints upon the grand outlines, and to afford sufficient data evincive that the authors or writers of the New Testament were most certainly under the guidance of that Omniscient One to whom the end of all things is as open and manifest as the beginning. To suppose that all these predictions found in both Testaments, first, concerning the fates of the mighty empires of the pagan world; next, concerning the character, coming, and kingdom of Jesus Christ; then, concerning the fates of his religion, and the fortunes of all the superstitions in the world; I say, to suppose that all these predictions are mere guesses, or conjectures; or that they were written after the events transpired, or never written at all, by the persons whose names they bear, are superstitions, assertions, or what you please to call them, at war with all the literature of the world, with universal experience, with the common sense of mankind, and with the events which are now transpiring in the world. Such a supposition no rational mind can entertain; and we may say further, that neither Mr. Owen, nor any other person, will venture to examine or attempt to refute the argument derived from this source. It stands now as it stood two thousand years ago, a document which defied criticism, which, with but half the light which New Testament prophecy has accumulated, convinced every man who had the patience and the honesty to examine it; and which, by the gradual and constant completion of the unfulfilled predictions, is designed one day to prostrate all the infidelity upon the face of the earth.

We promised you some remarks upon the genius and tendency of the Christian religion, and also some strictures upon the Social System. These will require another day. Indeed, my respected auditors, I have much reason to admire your patience, and the deep interest you have taken in this discussion. It proves that you are alive to the great importance of the subject. The good order and decorum which

have been exhibited by this assembly, on this occasion, have never been surpassed, I presume, by any congregation, on any occasion. I am unwilling to trespass upon your patience, or farther to exhaust my own strength, already far spent; but when I reflect upon the immense importance of the subject, I should think that I was sinning against the best cause in the world, and was wanting in benevolence to my contemporaries, were I not to attend to the subjects proposed. For although the evidence which has been deduced, from any one of the topics introduced, is sufficient to establish the truth of our religion to the honest inquirer, as we judge; and you must see, I think, by this time, that it is more than my friend, Mr. Owen, can refute; yet being conscious that each argument in the series confirms all the rest, and that, without the topics proposed, the evidence would be incomplete, I must, therefore, my friends, beg your attendance another day. Not, indeed, for the sake of carrying a point, nor for the pride of victory; for well I know, that the evidences of Christianity have been triumphantly established long ago. It was my intention, from the commencement, that all the documents relied on in conducting this controversy should go to the public in a permanent form; such also has been the intention of my opponent. We are constrained to think that he is actuated by a noble benevolence, though sadly mistaken in his views. But that our contemporaries may have the advantage of all the lights that the present controversy can elicit from a new exhibition of a part of the magazine in the Christian treasury, we wish to be favoured with your attendance another day. Will the Moderators please to signify whether they will honour us with their presence on Monday next, at the usual hour?

[The Chairman rises and says—*The Moderators will do so if circumstances permit.*]

[Mr. Campbell cannot say whether he shall be able to conclude in the forenoon on Monday.]

[Mr. Campbell has agreed to deliver a discourse in this meeting-house to-morrow, at eleven o'clock.]

Adjourned till Monday morning.

Monday morning, April 20th, nine o'Clock, a. m.

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—I have just now found on my desk a few questions from some unknown hand, which, I suppose, have been presented to me from my own invitations given during the discussion. As these questions bear upon our discussion, I beg leave to give a brief answer.

The first is, *Are the books composing the Old and New Testaments the only books of divine authority in the world?*

I answer, positively, *Yes.* I have already said, that the books composing the two Testaments, contain more than what is properly called a *divine revelation.* They contain much history which can, with no propriety, be called a divine revelation; for example: the history of the deluge; the confusion of human language; the dispersion of the human family; the biography of the patriarchs, judges, and kings of

Israel; the chronicles of Judah and Israel. All the things recorded in these sections were known before written, and therefore could not be REVELATIONS. But it was necessary that these important facts, because of their intimate connexion with the people to whom divine revelations were made, should be recorded and divinely authenticated. Hence the Pentateuch, in addition to all the revelations which it contains, presents us with a historic record of the first ages of the world divinely authenticated.

The question concerning the *nature* of inspiration, whether, for instance, original ideas were *always* suggested to the writer, or whether the ideas sometimes communicated, were only a mere revivescence of former impressions, is one that has been ably discussed. However this question may be decided, it affects not the question before us. The Holy Spirit, promised to the apostles, was to do one of two things; either to suggest things entirely new, or to bring all things to their remembrance which they had seen or heard. This was done. The writings of the apostles and of the prophets are authentic histories written under the guidance of the Spirit of God; or they are immediate and direct revelations of matters inaccessible to mortal man.

Query 2.—*What credit is due to the books in the Old Testament, called the* APOCRYPHA?

Let it be observed that there were many other authentic and true narratives and documents among the Jews, as there are among the christians, besides the sacred writings of the prophets and apostles. But it was not necessary to have, under the divine patronage, various histories by various authors upon the same subjects. It would have greatly increased the natural and necessary labours of life, had all these records been preserved and collected into a set of volumes, and the reading of them all, made necessary to understand either the scheme of divine government, or of man's redemption. But to enable us to acquire all that is necessary to be known, certain books have been preserved by the divine authority. The *Apocrypha*, at least some books of it, contain a true history; but it does not claim to be a divine revelation. We receive the records of Philo and Josephus, and many of the primitive christian writers, as credible narratives of their own times; and as far as they treat of times immediately subsequent to the apostolic age, they may be called the *Apocrypha* of the New Testament. All these writings may be, and most of them are, certainly credible and authentic works; but they constitute no part of either religion, and make no such claims upon us.

Query 3.—*How are we to ascertain the authorship of Job; some parts of the book of Deuteronomy, such as the death and burial of Moses; the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews?*

It is not necessary that we should be able to prove the authorship of every particular piece composing the Old and New Testament to prove their *authenticity*.* The book of Job, for instance, has no

* Bishop Watson, in his Apology for the Bible, in reply to Thomas Paine, on the subject of these anonymous parts of the Old Testament, very pertinently remarks as follows, p. 50, 51, 52:—

"Having finished your objections to the genuineness of the books of Moses,

name attached to it, nor circumstances mentioned in it, which could decide the author of it. Whether it was written by Ezra, Nehemiah, or any Jewish prophet, perhaps, could not now be decided. My belief in the authenticity and authority of this book, and all anonymous parts of the Old Testament, is founded upon the following basis. The Jewish scribes received them; the whole Jewish nation received them; their own internal evidence attests their pretensions; and, above all, they were quoted as genuine, and approbated as parts of the sacred records and revelations by Jesus Christ or his apostles, concerning whose inspiration and certain knowledge of the character of these works we cannot entertain a rational doubt.

Concerning the question about the burial of Moses, and other such additions made to some books in the Old Testament, they proceed from inattention to the contents of the volume. Joshua wrote some additions to the books of Moses, called "*the law of God*; and that he, or Ezra, or some of the distinguished guardians of these sacred records, should have added the deaths or other posthumous circumstances belonging to the history of these great prophets, is inferrable from this fact just now stated. Joshua says he wrote some additions to "*the book of the law of God;*" a name applied to the books of Moses. It is, in the style of Cæsar's commentaries, expressed in the

you proceed to your remarks on the book of Joshua; and from its internal evidence, you endeavour to prove that this book was not written by Joshua. What then? What is your conclusion? "That it is anonymous, and without authority." Stop a little; your conclusion is not connected with your premises; your friend Euclid would have been ashamed of it. "Anonymous, and therefore without authority!" I have noticed this solicism before; but as you frequently bring it forward, and, indeed, your book stands much in need of it, I will submit to your consideration another observation on the subject. The book called Fleta is anonymous; but it is not, on that account, without authority. Doomsday book is anonymous, and was written above seven hundred years ago; yet our courts of law do not hold it to be without authority, as to the facts related in it. Yes, you will say, but this book has been preserved with singular care among the records of the nation. And who told you that the Jews had no records, or that they did not preserve them with singular care? Josephus says the contrary: and, in the Bible itself, an appeal is made to many books, which have perished: such as the book of Jasher, the book of Nathan, of Abijah, of Iddo, of Jehu, of natural history by Solomon, of the acts of Manasseh, and others which might be mentioned. If any one, having access to the journals of the Lords and Commons, to the books of the treasury, war office, privy council, and other public documents, should at this day write a history of the reigns of George the First and Second, and should publish it without his name, would any man, three or four hundreds or thousands of years hence, question the authority of that book, when he knew that the whole British nation had received it as an authentic book from the time of its first publication to the age in which he lived? This supposition is in point. The books of the Old Testament were composed from the records of the Jewish nation, and they have been received as true by that nation, from the time in which they were written to the present day. Dodsley's Annual Register is an anonymous book; we only know the name of its editor: the New Annual Register is an anonymous book: the Reviews are anonymous books; but do we, or will our posterity, esteem these books of no authority? On the contrary, they are admitted at present, and will be received in after ages, as authoritative records of the civil, military, and literary history of England and of Europe. So little foundation is there for our being startled by your assertion, "It is anonymous, and without authority."

third person: "So Joshua made a covenant with the people that day, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem; and Joshua wrote these words in the *book of the law of God.*"

Respecting the letter to the Hebrews, although not having directly the authority of Paul's name, it proves itself to be his work. It contains certain direct allusions to Paul's labours; and he speaks of himself in such a style, and with such references to circumstances in which he was a party, as to render it certain that he is the writer. A person may introduce himself by a *periphrasis*, or circumlocution, without directly naming himself. Thus Paul introduces himself to the Hebrews, to avoid encountering a prejudice existing against him in the minds of the unbelieving Jews, for whose benefit, as well as that of the believing Jews, he designed this letter.

Touching the authorship of these writings, although I think we have already sufficiently established this matter, I would remark, that, of the apostle's letters, the *autographs* themselves, as well as many extrinsic circumstances, decided their pretensions. Paul's name, written by *his own hand*, after his amanuensis had written an epistle, was added to such of them as were not wholly written by himself. The congregations or individuals to whom they were addressed,—some of whom were so addressed as to have provoked them to have rejected the letters if they had dared—were the best judges of the authenticity of these writings; and the fact of their having been received as such by these congregations alone, had we no other proof, amounts to the whole evidence we have, in proof of the authorship of the most popular works of Greece and Rome. If these writings had not been the productions of their reputed authors, or if such of them as are anonymous had not been known to have been the works of well-attested authors by their contemporaries, many would have been proud to have claimed them as their own. I do not know what human being would not have been proud to have been the author of the book of Job, or the letter to the Hebrews; and their being anonymous, yet received into the sacred writings, is as valid proof of their authenticity, as if they had, like the greater part of both Testaments, been inscribed with the names of their authors.

Query 4.—But we are also asked, *Are we sure that we have the genuine works of these authors? Are there no interpolations?*

When I hear of interpolations and contradictions, I think of the honourable Soame Jenyns, once a sceptic. He had concluded to publish a work against the Christian religion; but thinking that he ought to be well acquainted with its fables and absurdities before he ventured to appear before the public, he determined to make himself well acquainted with the contents of the book. But he soon found good reasons to reform his plan; and, instead of furnishing a work *against* the Christian religion, he gave the world a short and unanswerable treatise upon the *truth* and *authenticity* of it. This treatise on the "*Internal Evidences*," is written in a masterly style, and with a boldness which nothing but the assurance of faith could inspire. He makes the following bold assertion, which many would think is going too far.

"For I will venture to affirm, that if any one could prove, what is impossible to be proved because it is not true, that there are errors in geography, chronology, and philosophy, in every page of the Bible; that the prophecies therein delivered, are all but fortunate guesses, or artful applications, and the miracles there recorded, no better than legendary tales: if any one could show, that these books were never written by their pretended authors, but were posterior impositions on illiterate and credulous ages, all these wonderful discoveries would prove no more than this, that God, for reasons to us unknown, had thought proper to permit a revelation by him communicated to mankind, to be mixed with their ignorance, and corrupted by their frauds from its earliest infancy, in the same manner in which he has visibly permitted it to be mixed, and corrupted from that period to the present hour. If, in these books, a religion, superior to all human imagination, actually exists, it is of no consequence to the proof of its divine origin, by what means it was there introduced, or with what human errors and imperfections it is blended. A diamond, though found in a bed of mud, is still a diamond, nor can the dirt which surrounds it, depreciate its value, or destroy its lustre."

All the interpolations and different readings, though numerous as *Michaelis*, a very learned German professor, makes them, counting all the minutia of letters and points, do not affect the character of a single fact recorded in the whole of the New Testament. Indeed, men have been so much more concerned about the *doctrines*, than the *facts* of scripture, that they are much more alarmed about the omission or change of a term, affecting some favourite conclusion to which they have come, than about the evidence on which the great salutary facts are established. Hence has arisen the great ado about interpolations. And if there were ever any interpolations designedly introduced, it was for carrying some doctrine, or theorem, and not for proving a fact. Hence sceptics have nothing to fear from interpolations. But a notice of the dark ages here, may not be out of place, especially as most of these different readings and interpolations occurred during this dreary period.

During this period, all learning was locked up in the dark cloisters, and confined to the gloomy monasteries, of papal superstition. The scriptures, before the art of printing, were in the hands of ignorant monks and nuns, who spent their lives in transcribing them. A majority of these copyists did not understand the language in which they wrote them. We have seen some of these ancient manuscript copies. Large margins for the purpose of notes and references were usually left on these manuscripts. It frequently happened that some of the copyists, not able to discriminate the marginal notes from the text, transcribed some of the explanations into the text. This occasioned various discrepancies between the copies. After the revival of literature, and the reformation, careful and exact comparisons of these copies were made, and the text was purged of most, if not all, these interpolations. In these numerous and careful revisals and comparisons, not only of the copies, but of the most ancient manuscripts, and the quotations found in the works of the primitive fathers,

almost every thing of a doubtful character, even to the very expletives, were rejected. We have, most unquestionably, the most exact and faithful representation of the prototype of this volume, than we have of any other book in the world. It would be impossible to interpolate the sacred text now, because of the rival sects. The same difficulty existed always, almost from the beginning; excepting that the invention of printing, and the multiplication of copies consequent thereupon, have imposed more insuperable barriers in the way of such liberties, than existed before. But when we take into view, the VENERATION of even the most ignorant ages, for these writings, and the tremendous awe inspired from the sanctions found at the close of the volume, together with sectarian jealousy, no work has been so much guarded against corruption. And a greater proof we cannot have of the truth of these remarks, than the fact that the church of Rome, in which most of the copies now extant were found, the corruptions of which are so clearly pointed out and condemned in the Epistles, have for ages transcribed the predictions, expositions, and censures pronounced upon herself, and handed to the reformers the sacred text to condemn and expose her own abuses.

Query 5.—*How is it that St. Matthew says, in a certain place, "It was prophesied by the prophet Jeremiah," and no such a prophecy is found in Jeremiah, but in Zechariah?*

To this we reply, that the divisions which now obtain in both the Old Testament and the New, are of modern origin. Cardinal Cairo, in the twelfth century, divided the scriptures of the New Testament into chapters; and Robert Stephens, in the sixteenth century, divided them into verses. These distributions were made to facilitate references to these writings, but in thousands of instances they have obscured the sense of them.

The Jews divided all the writings of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, into fifty-four sections, for the purpose of reading them once in a year in their synagogues. Four of these sections were shorter than the others; and whether designed for two of their greatest solemnities, to be read together, two on each occasion, we cannot say; but so it was, that the whole volume was read once every year in their public meetings. But, in quoting these writings, they sometimes quoted them under the general running title of these sections; or more loosely, under three heads—the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. At other times they were quoted with the most minute reference, as, for instance, "It is so written in the *second* Psalm." Sometimes the whole writings are called *the Law*. The Saviour once quotes the Psalms thus, "It is written in the Law, *They hated me without a cause*;" yet this is found in the book of Psalms. The running title to the sections of the prophetic writings is said by some to have been *Jeremiah;* others have said that the Jews called Jeremiah *the weeping prophet*, and used his name as an *appellative*, to denote all those predictions which had respect to the sufferings of the Messiah. But one thing is obvious, that there was among all persons in that age a loose or general reference, as well as a strict and accurate reference to say-

ings in the prophets. If, then, Matthew did actually use the name of Jeremiah instead of the name of *Zechariah,* it may have proceeded from some of those causes assigned. But whether or not, it affects no more the credibility of the testimony of Matthew concerning Jesus Christ, than the fact of Paul's forgetting how many he had baptized in Corinth, proves that he was not inspired with an infallible knowledge of the gospel.

Such objections as these exhibit a very strange state of mind, and show that the objector is entirely ignorant of the real grounds on which we assent to the divine authority of these records.

Having, then, very briefly attended to these questions, I proceed to the topic proposed on Saturday evening. To form correct ideas of the *genius* and tendency of Christianity, we must pay some attention to the genius and design of the former dispensation. This we have already glanced at in our remarks upon *the apostacy.* Until the time of Abraham, all the nations upon the earth had the same general views of the Divinity that created all things and presided over the world. This will appear from all the ancient documents which penetrate into the most remote antiquity of the world.

In forming a correct view of the religious character of the ancient nations, it is necessary here to inquire how far the inhabitants of Persia, Assyria, Arabia, Canaan, and Egypt, were affected or influenced by the religious institutions of this period; for these were the first nations whose institutions gave a character to all the nations of the world.

Abraham was the son of Shem, by Arphaxad. The Persians were the descendants of Shem by *Elam.* The common parentage of Abraham and the Persians laid a foundation for some similarity in their religion. Abraham's ancestors dwelt in Chaldea, and at the time that God signalized Abraham, the Chaldeans had begun to apostatize from the service of the true God. Hence the separation of Abraham from among them. But Dr. Hyde and the most learned antiquarians present documental proof that the Persians retained the true history of the creation, of the antediluvian age; and so attached were the Persians to the religion of Abraham, that the sacred book which contained their religion is called *Sohi Ibrahim, i. e.* the book of Abraham. For a considerable time after Abraham's day, they worshipped the God of Shem, for they did not know all the special communications to Abraham.

The Arabians, down to the time of Jethro, retained the knowledge of the true God. How long after, we are not informed; but their religious institutions, as far as we have account, differed little from those practised by Abraham, with the exception of circumcision.

The Canaanites themselves, in Abraham's time, had not apostatized wholly from the religion of Shem. The king of Salem was priest of the Most High God; and during Abraham's sojourning among them, they treated him with all respect as a prophet of the true God.

Even among the Philistines at Gera, Abraham found a good and virtuous king, favoured with the admonitions of the Almighty. This he little expected, for he was so prejudiced against this people, that, on

entering their metropolis, he said, "Surely the fear of God is not in this place." But he was happily disappointed; for Abimelech, in his appeal to heaven, says, "*Lord, wilt thou slay a virtuous nation?*" And the Lord did not deny his plea, but heard and answered his request. There appears, in the whole narrative, no difference in the religious views or practice between Abraham and Abimelech, the king of the nation.

The Egyptians, too, in the time of Abraham, were worshippers of the true God. In upper Egypt they refused, as Plutarch informs us, to pay any taxes for the support of the idolatrous worship; asserting, that they owned no *mortal*, dead or alive, to be a God. The incorruptible and eternal God they called *Cneph*, who, they affirmed, had no beginning, and never should have an end. In the first advances to mythology in Egypt, they represented God by the figure of a *serpent*, with the head of a hawk in the middle of a circle. We find no misunderstandings nor difference between Pharoah and Abraham, when the latter went down into Egypt. Indeed, with the exception of the Chaldeans, who were the oldest nation, and the first to introduce idol or image worship, we find a very general agreement in all the ancient nations respecting religious views and practice. And the first defection from the religion of Noah and Shem which we meet with in all antiquity, was that of the Chaldeans.

Now, to save the world from universal idolatry, Abraham is called; and in four centuries his posterity were erected into a nation for this primary object, to teach the unity, spirituality, and providence of God, as well as to introduce a new vocabulary by a symbolic worship, to prepare the world for understanding the divine character and government, preparatory to the mission of his Son.

Abraham was called at a time when idolatry began to appear in Chaldea, and when families began to have each a family god. When his descendants became numerous, and large enough to become a nation, and the nations had each its own god, it pleased the Ruler of the universe to exhibit himself as the God of a nation. Hence originated the theocracy. Here, it is necessary to suggest a few general principles, of much importance in understanding the varieties which have appeared in the divine government. From the fall of man, the Governor of the world withdrew from all personal intimacies with the race. He no longer conversed with man, face to face, as he was wont to do in Eden. The recollections of the Divinity became more and more faint, as Adam advanced in years; and the traditionary information communicated to his descendants became less vivid and impressive in every generation. All new communications from the Creator were through symbols, by messengers; or, rather, through things already known. *Things entirely unknown can only be communicated to the mind by things already known.* This axiom is at the basis of all revelations, and explains many otherwise inexplicable incidents in the divine communications to man. The natural symbols and the artificial names of things became, from a necessity of nature, the only means through which God could make himself known to man. This,

too, has been the invariable rule and measure of all the discoveries which God has made of himself, his purposes, and his will. Hence the spangled heavens, all the elements of nature, the earth, and the sea, with all their inhabitants; the relations, customs, and usages existing among men, have all been so many types or letters in the great alphabet which constitutes the vocabulary of divine revelation to man. He has even personated himself by his own creatures, and spoken to man through human institutions. Hence he has been called a Sun, Light, Father, Husband, Man of War, General of Hosts, a Lord of Battles, King, Prince, and Master. He has been spoken of as having eyes, ears, mouth, hands, and feet. He has been represented as sitting, standing, walking, hasting, awaking. He has been compared to a unicorn, lion, rock, and mountain. He has made himself known in his character, perfections, purposes, and will, by things already known to man. This is the grand secret, which, when disclosed, removes many difficulties and objections, and sets, in a clear light, the genius of the Jewish age of the religious world.

Now, when God became *the king of one nation*, it was only doing what, on a more extensive scale, and with more various and powerful effects, he had done in calling himself a *Father*. Both were designed to make himself known through human relations and institutions. One type, symbol, or name, is altogether incompetent to develop the wonderful and incomprehensible God. But his wisdom and goodness are most apparent in making himself known in those relations, and to those extents, which are best adapted to human wants and imperfections. And the perfection of these discoveries consists in their being exactly suited to the different ages of the world, and stages of human improvement. At the time when he chose *one nation*, and made himself known to all the earth as its King and God, no other name, type, or symbol was so well adapted to the benevolent purpose, as those selected. For, when Israel was brought out of Egypt, all the nations had their gods; and these gods were esteemed and admired according to the strength, skill, prowess, and prosperity of the nation over which they were supposed to preside. Hence, that god was the most adorable in human eyes, whose people were most conspicuous.

Wars and battles were the offspring of the spirit of those ages contemporaneous with the first five hundred years of the Jewish history, and with the ages immediately preceding. Hence, the idea was, that the nation most powerful in war, had the greatest and most adorable god. Now, as the *Most High* (a name borrowed from this very age) always took the world as it was, in every period in which he chose to develop himself anew, or his purposes, he chose to appear as the *Lord of Hosts*, or God of Armies. And to make his name known through all the earth, he took one nation under his auspices, and appeared as their sovereign, and the commander-in-chief of all their armies. Hence the splendid and easy-bought victories of the Israelites. One could chase a hundred, and ten put a thousand to flight. This explains the deliverance out of Egypt, and how the Lord permitted Pharaoh's heart to be hardened—for the purpose of *making his name known*

through all the earth. Pharaoh and his court knew not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and impiously asked, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey him?" But Moses made him know, and tremble, and bow. By the time when the Jews were settled in Canaan, the world was taught to fear the God of Israel, the Lord of Hosts; and so it came to pass, that all the true and consistent knowledge of God upon the earth, among all nations, was derived directly or indirectly from the Jewish people.

But we must not think that only one purpose was gained, or one object was exclusively in view in any of these great movements of the Governor of the world. This is contrary to the general analogy of the material and spiritual systems. By the annual and diurnal revolutions of the earth, although by the former, the seasons of the year, and by the latter, day and night, seem to be the chief objects, there are a thousand ends gained in conjunction with one principal one. So, in this grand economy, many, very many, illustrious ends were gained, besides the capital one just mentioned. For, as in the vegetable kingdom we have a succession of stages in the growth of plants; as in the animal kingdom we have a succession of stages in the growth of animals; so in the kingdom of God there is a similar progression of light, knowledge, life, and bliss. We have in the vegetable kingdom the period of germinating, the period of blossoming, and the period of ripening the fruit. So we have infancy, childhood, youth, and manhood, in our species. Each period calls for special influences and a peculiar treatment. So it is in the kingdom of God. It had its infancy, its childhood, and its manhood. In each stage it was diversely exhibited. The Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian ages were adapted to these.

Again, we are not to consider the special temporal favours bestowed upon the Jews, as indicative that the divine benevolence was exclusively confined to one nation, to the exclusion of all the earth besides. As well might we say that the husbandman who cultivates his garden despises or neglects his farm, or that he exclusively loved that part of the soil which he encloses with a peculiar fence. Other circumstances and considerations require these specialities. The general good of the human race, and the blessing of all nations in a son of Abraham, were the ultimate and gracious ends in view in all these peculiar arrangements. This promise and guarantee was made to Abraham before the time of these ages or dispensations. So that the calling of the Jews, and their erection into a nation under the special government of God, were but means necessary to that reign of favour under which we now live.

But some will still say, why was not the Messiah born immediately after the fall, and why was not the Christian era the only era of the world? Why did not the Universal Benevolence introduce the best possible order of things first? Such cavillers remind me of the child who asks, whether from curiosity or petulance, "Why does not the ripe ear of corn come up from the seed deposited in the earth? Why does not the full ripe ear first present itself to our eye? Would not a

kind and benevolent Being have done this, rather than have kept us waiting for many months, for the tedious process of germinating, growing, shooting, and blossoming? Could not an almighty and benevolent Being have produced the ripe ear, without waiting for a sprout, stalk, leaves, blossoms, and all the other preparations of nature to form an ear of corn?" We are, even in the common concerns of life, but poor judges of propriety; and it is extreme arrogance for us to arraign Omniscience at the tribunal of our reason, when we cannot tell the reason why the blossom presedes the fruit. Do we not see that it is the order of the universe, *natural* as well as moral, that there should be a gradual development? "*In the fullness of time,*" when all things were fully ripe, he sent forth his Son.

One part of the human family is cultivated like a garden, and another part is left like a wilderness, unfenced and undressed. The vineyard, however, after a while, produces, through an unavoidable degeneracy, no better grapes than the wild vines in the forest—and the hedge is torn down. A new order of things is developed, and the middle wall of partition crumbles to pieces. The Jew and gentile are alike degenerated, and the new order proceeds upon a levelling principle. Now, no human being could have known that a government like the theocracy, placing a people in such enviable circumstances as that system placed the seed of Abraham, would have secured so little to itself, and so little to the people under it, had not the experiment been made and continued as it was.

But all these matters will be much better understood, when we contemplate the constitution of the Jewish nation. This constitution is, in one point of view, very pertinently called by the apostle Paul, *the letter.* No term could have been more appropriate to exhibit the views which Paul taught, than this term *letter.* The constitution under which this nation came into existence, as a nation, was written by the *finger of God,* upon two tables of stone. But here let me explain myself. The instrument written upon these two tables, is sometimes called the moral law of the whole universe; sometimes the ten commandments; sometimes the old covenant, and the old testament. Now, the terms testament and covenant in the Scotch idiom, and in the English, are supposed equivalent to one and the same Greek word, *diatheke.* For the king's translators have many a time rendered this Greek word by both of these English nouns. The term *covenant,* in Scotland, has been applied not only to individual agreements, but to *national* compacts. *Institution,* or even *constitution,* in our day, much more correctly represents to us, in our modes of thinking, the true import of this term. The writing upon the two tables was, in reality, in its original promulgation, and in the use made of it, precisely what we call a *constitution.* The nation received it as such, and the two tables on which it was written, were called "*the two tables of the covenant;*" and the chest, or ark, into which it was deposited, was called "the *ark of the covenant.*" The whole covenant must have been on the two tables, else it must have been an imposition to call them *the two tables of the covenant;* and, again, the whole covenant

must have been in the ark, or it would have been a deception to call that ark "*the ark of the covenant.*" I need scarcely add, that the reason why the volume is called *the old testament*, containing the writings of Moses, the prophets, and the devotional pieces called *the Hagiographa*, is not because all these writings were the covenant, or testament, or constitution of Israel, but by a figure of speech the *thing containing* is often called from the *thing contained.* Because these writings contain this covenant, or constitution, they are all called by the name of the old covenant, testament, or constitution. In like manner, we shall see that the New Testament has received its name from the same figure and example.

There were many other laws given to the Jews from the King besides this instrument, but these were not of the same high character with those written on the two tables. They were only "*leges sub graviore lege,*" *laws under a supreme law;*" for the constitution of every country is the supreme law of the land. But the proof lies here: the Lord declared, if Israel would accede to the items to be proposed, they would, in consequence, become a peculiar nation, a new sort of kingdom; a community exalted above all the national communities upon earth. They agreed to these preliminaries. Then the Lord said, in their hearing, "*I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage;* therefore ye shall," &c. Such was the agreement, and such were the items afterwards called *the covenant*, or constitution.

This constitution continued, in one sense, for about 1500 years. It could not be broken, or made of none effect, by the transgression of a few individuals. But as soon as the great majority of the people departed from it, God ceased to reign over them as he had done. He allowed their enemies to make prisoners of them; to invade and devastate their land, and carry them into bondage again. Now, so long as this people lived up to the *letter* of this instrument, so long they were under the special government of God; and under all the miraculous displays which we see distinguished their history, from their eduction from Egypt till they were carried into Babylon by the Assyrian monarch. This explains the reason why miracles continued in Israel so long, and why they ceased at the period alluded to. Miracles were the order of the day for many hundred years, in all the important epochs of their history. But, after the captivity, the special providences ceased.

Now, let us hear Jeremiah, who lived about these times, speak of this covenant, and the intentions of the Lord concerning them.—Jer. xxxi. 31, 32, 33, 34.

"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah.; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day *that* I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt; (which my covenant they brake, although I was a husband to them, saith the Lord;) but this *shall be* the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my

law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more."

Jeremiah then predicts a time when this constitution would cease to be the constitution of Israel, and a new one of a different character introduced. We do not, as some might think, speak of the abrogation or disannulling of any thing *moral*. The laws of morality, like those of nature, are immutable; but the particular forms, and arrangements, and modifications of these principles should be changed, and the whole inscribed, not upon stone, but upon the hearts of men. Now, here is the essential difference between the *old* and the *new* constitution. The former was not written upon the heart, the latter is. The former was pure *letter*, the latter, is pure *spirit*. The first, pointed out to the eye, to the *intellect* of man, a rule of life; the latter infuses it into the soul, or gives a disposition and bias to these principles of action: nay, it imparts to the heart the principle which the letter, or law, only laid before the eyes. I develop the matter no farther here. I only prepare the way for this sweeping distinction, that the Jewish covenant, or institution, was a covenant or *constitution of the letter, or law*. In one sentence, the first was *a constitution of law;* the second, or christian, is a *constitution of favour*.

Let us hear Paul elaborate this matter, 2 Cor. iii. 6—18.

"Who, indeed, hath fitted us to be ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter, but of the spirit: now, the letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive. Besides, if the ministry of death, imprinted on stones with letters, was done with glory, so that the children of Israel could not look steadfastly on the face of Moses, because of the glory of his face which was to be abolished, how shall not the ministry of the spirit rather be with glory? And if the ministry of condemnation was honour, much more doth the ministry of righteousness, abound in honour. And therefore, that which was glorified, was not glorified in this respect, by reason of the excelling glory. Besides, if that which is abolished, is abolished by glory, much more that which remaineth, remaineth in glory. Wherefore, having such a persuasion, we use much plainness of speech; and not as Moses, who put a veil upon his face, that the children of Israel might not steadfastly look to the end of the thing to be abolished. Now, their minds were blinded: for, until this day, the same veil remaineth in the reading of the old covenant, it not being revealed that it is abolished by Christ. Moreover, until this day, when Moses is read, the veil lieth upon their heart. But, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken from around it. Now, the Lord is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. For we all, with an unveiled face, reflecting as mirrors the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as from the Lord, the Spirit."

Here is the contrast; letter and spirit. "The letter kills; the

spirit gives life. Ministration of death; ministration of spirit: that which is done away, and that which remains." Glorious the former in its promulgation, more glorious the latter in its introduction: the tending of the one is to bondage; of the other, to liberty. All human privileges are *constitutional*. Therefore, as is the constitution, so are the privileges of the people whose it is.

But here we must observe, that there is some reason in Mr. Owen's remark, that men are not to be made happy by letter, or by law. Written codes of laws, however good, are not adapted to augment human happiness, much less to produce it. Laws are restraints: the more numerous, the more are the restraints; to restrain a person, is to diminish his enjoyments. It is, therefore, much more conducive to human happiness to remove the cause which makes these restraints necessary. To infuse into the mind such principles as will make men happy, is infinitely more rational than by good laws to curb evil principles already implanted. To remove the disposition to steal, is much more rational than to promulge laws against theft. That system, then, is incomparably the most conducive to morality, good order, and happiness, and is therefore by far the most rational, which removes the evil principle, rather than attempts to curb it by legal restraints. The law was not made for good men. In any state of society, the only happiness good men derive from law, is protection. In no other way can it conduce to their happiness. It is made for evil doers.

So far, then, Mr. Owen is right; but had he known what follows, he never would have adopted so ineffectual a scheme as that which he has proposed. The Almighty gave us an excellent specimen of what a good law could do: he made the experiment for us in the history of the Jews. He gave them the best constitution, the finest country, and a well-arranged society—a very *social system*. The twelve tribes were twelve communities. They supplied themselves, and created a large surplus; so that for two years, at least, in every seven, they rested, and their land rested one. They were under the best government, and enjoyed the greatest share of social privileges ever enjoyed by any people; yet they became worse and worse.

Now, he found fault with the whole economy, and introduced a new one upon quite different principles. Instead of circumcising the flesh, he circumcised the heart; and instead of giving a code of laws to govern men's outward actions, he gives them new hearts; or, in other words, by a constitution of pure favour, or grace, he implants noble principles, so efficient, as neither confiscation of goods, imprisonment, nor death itself, could induce them to do a mean action. I admit, that since men have corrupted Christianity by converting it into a new code of laws, observances, and ceremonies, it has not been so productive of these happy influences as it once was almost universally; yet still its direct influences upon all who believe and understand it, are equal to what they ever where; and its indirect influences upon society at large, have civilized and moralized it to an extent far beyond any system ever exhibited on earth.

But what I now contend for, is, that pure Christianity is predicated upon the most philosophic view of human nature. It aims not at reforming or happifying the world by a system of legal restraints, however excellent; but its immediate object is to implant in the human heart, through a discovery of the divine philanthropy, a principle of love which fulfils every moral precept ever promulged on earth. Here is the grand secret. The religion of Jesus Christ melts the hearts of men into pure philanthropy. It converts a lion into a lamb. It has done this in our times in countless instances. Mr. Owen only dreams of reformations. Christianity alone, changes, regenerates, and reforms wicked men. The materialists declare their system "*cannot make a wicked man good.*" Scepticism never converted a wicked man since the days of Celsus till now. Mr. Owen cannot produce one instance. But Christianity, taking hold of the heart of man, not by law, but by love; not by letter, but by favour, has converted millions of the worst characters into the very best. Yes: the religion of Jesus sheds abroad in the human heart, the love of God; and that love, purifying the heart, overflows in all good actions; kind, humane, benevolent; not only to the good, but to the evil. This is the true philosophy. Correct the spring,—the fountain. "*Make the tree good.*" Engraft a new scion on the old stock. Infuse new life. Warm the heart by the wonderful love of God, exhibited and sealed by the blood of his Son. Let this love—this pure benevolence—this genuine philanthropy, but reach the soul of man, and then all is pure within, and moral without:—

> "Talk they of morals! O thou bleeding ~~Lord~~ Love!
> The chief morality is love of Thee!"

What law could never do, though as holy, just, and good as the constitution of Israel, through the weakness of the flesh, God, sending his own Son, in the likeness of sinful flesh, has done: he has condemned sin, wounded it, and killed it by a most transcendantly glorious display of love.

Where are Mr. Owen's weapons to reform the world? He dare not; in fact, he does not, pretend to reform the world. He owns he has nothing to propose adequate to the task; and, therefore, only promises to save the next generation by a whimsical arrangement of circumstances. He proposes to grow better men and women;—*not to improve the present race.* And what is the pith of his philosophy? Why, it is this: *Transplant a crab tree and it becomes an apple tree!* But the Great Reformer's philosophy was, *Engraft a new scion.* Such is the exact difference between the scheme of Mr. Owen, and the Founder of Christianity.

But let us have a word from Paul on the contrast between the Jewish and Christian religion. I will, for the sake of despatch, paraphrase a part of the fourth chapter to the Galatians, thus: "Now, I say, the heir, as long as he is a minor, differs in no respect from a slave, though he be lord of all; for he is kept under tutors and stewards until he is of age, or until the time appointed in the will of

his father. Just so it was with the Jews, while in our minority, which was during the dominion of the old constitution; we were kept in bondage, restrained, and curbed by the elements, or leading principles of that institution of law. But when the fulness of time appointed by our father in his will, had come, God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, and born under the old constitution, that he might be a *fellow-subject*, (I cannot say, fellow-citizen) with us under that constitution, that he might be constitutionally qualified to buy us off out of the slavery of *the letter*, that we might be elevated from the rank of trembling slaves, to the adoption of sons. And now, having been raised to the rank of sons, God has, under a *new constitution*, given us the spirit of his Son in our hearts, so that we confidently and affectionately say, as little children speak, *Abba, Father*. Now, my brethren of the Jews, once subjects of the old constitution, you are no more *bondmen*, but *sons* in feeling, in spirit; and, in truth, too, by relation; and if sons, you know you are heirs of God through his Son, the Messiah. Well, then, brethren, you will never, I hope, desire to be under the old constitution again; but, I trust, you will stand firm in the liberty which you enjoy, of serving God under the new constitution, not *in the oldness of the letter*, but *in a new spirit*."

Often does Paul rally upon this point: You, christians, are "*not under law, but under favour;*" sin shall not, then, have power to lord it over you, seeing you are not under the condemning genius of law, but under the pardoning, reconciling, purifying, and ennobling genius of favour.

This is the genius of Christianity. By Moses came the age of law. By Jesus the Messiah came the reign of favour. So sang the angels when they announced his birth, "Glory to God in the highest heavens; peace on earth, and good-will among men." *Letters* only reach the eyes, but *favour* can touch the heart. Laws expressed in words, assail the ears, and aim at restraining actions; but love pierces to the heart, and disarms the rising thought of mischievous intent. It is called the reign of heaven, because, down into the heart it draws the heavenly feelings, desires, and aims. From heaven it came, and to heaven it leads. "I will shake the heavens and the earth," says the Lord. I will revolutionize the world; and how, my friends, but by introducing new principles of human actions?

Paul informs us that the new constitution is every way better than the old one. The Mediator is superior to Moses; its provisions better; its seal and pledges better. It runs in a few sentences. It promises:

First, To write the law upon the heart: that is, to implant the principle which induces to all the good and pious works which the law demanded, and which will exclude the necessity of law taking cognizance only of the outward deeds.

Second, It promises to all subjects *the remission of all sins;* and, consequently, banishes all guilt and fear from the conscience.

Third, It assures all the citizens of having a just knowledge of God; and

Fourth, It promises that God himself shall be theirs, and they his.

Now, let me ask, what is wanting in this new constitution,—and

this is the whole of it—to make men just what reason says they ought to be; to make them good companions, and happy in themselves?

How much happiness is there in doing good? All this happiness is theirs, for it imparts the disposition. How much happiness is there in having all fear of death; all guilt and shame removed from the soul of man? This happiness is theirs. How much happiness in seeing all our fellow-citizens knowing the character of God, his will, and designs with regard to the whole human race, and all rejoicing in God? This happiness is theirs. And how much real felicity is there in having all the treasures of God, all the riches of the heavenly inheritance in prospect, as well as all assurance given us, that on earth we shall never be deserted nor forsaken by the Lord? Now, all these are *constitutional* privileges belonging to *every citizen* of this kingdom; to every one under the new constitution. There is not one citizen in the kingdom, of which this is the constitution, who has not in his heart the law of love written: not one who does not know God: not one who has not all his sins forgiven: not one who has not a good hope of the heavenly and eternal inheritance. Such is the unexaggerated character, genius, and design of the new constitution, or Christian religion.

We are not, my friends, to suppose that the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian religions, as we call them, are three distinct religions. They are but one religion. The seed was sown in the Patriarchal age; the plant sprang up and put forth its leaves, and blossoms under the cultivation of the Jewish: it ripened and was matured under the Christian. Favour was *promised* under the Patriarchal; was *symbolized* and shadowed forth under the Jewish; and accomplished and realized under the new constitution. The first, formed good individuals; the second, while held sacred, made a happy nation, and comparatively a moral people; but the third fills men with heavenly influences—with peace, and joy, and righteousness; and can make, and will terminate in, a pure and happy world.

Mohammedanism is only a corruption and perversion of Judaism and Christianity. Idolatry is but a perversion and corruption of the Patriarchal and Jewish dispensations. The apostacy, or antichrist, is but a corruption of Christianity—a heterogeneous commixture of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity. There has never been but one religion in the world: in other words, the fountain whence all superstitions have originated, was one and the same. Hence, we find the prominent ideas of divine revelation in every superstition on earth. As we trace languages to a common foundation and origin, so we trace religions. Idolatry and polytheism were the worst of all the corruptions in degrading man. But, as the sweetest wine will make the sourest vinegar; Christianity, when corrupted, has exhibited the most cruelty and tyranny. Hence the inquisition has been the most cruel and wicked tribunal upon this earth. The fine, vigorous, plethoric constitution, when subdued by a malignant fever, exhibits the greatest mass of corruption. But he who argues hence that a fine, vigorous, and healthy constitution is a curse, shocks all common sense.

But the root of all the corruptions of Christianity, was the incorpo-

rating with it, the opinions and speculations of Egyptian and Indian philosophy. All the systems that flourished upon the earth when Jesus was born, were, with the exception of the Jewish, (and that, we all know, was much corrupted,) mere systems of abstract opinions and speculations. Grecian and Roman, as well as the Eastern philosophy, had filled all the reasoning part of society with the most air-built and visionary schemes about matter and mind, creation and providence. Conversions from these ranks, from all the sects of philosophers, polluted, finally polluted, the Christian sanctuary. So that Christianity became, with them, a science,—a fit subject of speculation as much as any of the doctrines of Plato or Socrates. From these unhallowed commixtures sprang the creed systems of ancient and modern times, so that finally almost every vestige of the ancient simplicity and the true genius of Christianity disappeared; and various schemes of sectarian and philosophic christianity succeeded and supplanted it.

This creed-system has been the fruitful source of all the corruptions in morals, as well as the parent of all the religious discords now in christendom. But, for it, deism, atheism, and scepticism would have found no resting-place amongst us. Many of the sceptics, and even Mr. Owen himself, have been attacking antichrist, and thought they were opposing Christ. They have not the disposition to discriminate between what Christianity is, and the abuses of it. It requires but little logical acumen to detect the sophistry, and but moderate powers of declamation to expose the fooleries of most of the systems and exhibitions of Christianity. And he must be dull of apprehension who has not felt, in this discussion, that Mr. Owen has been fighting against the perversions of Christianity, rather than against the religion of facts, of morals, and of happiness, which our Redeemer has established in the world. But matter and mind, body and spirit, in their greatest supposed opposition to each other, are not greater contrasts than a religion of opinions and a religion of facts.

And here I beg leave to illustrate this distinction very briefly:—It seems to have been abundantly proved, before the Christian era, that opinions are too feeble to stimulate to virtue and goodness, and too impotent to restrain from vice and immorality. Correct opinions, we see in our own times, will not purify the heart, nor reform the life. Nothing that must be argued out by a long process of ratiocination, can be of much power in regulating human conduct. Its strength is exhausted by the time the point is proved. And it must be evident to all, that a system which requires much reason to comprehend, would be most unsuitable to the great mass of mankind. A thousand persons can believe a fact for every one that can comprehend a logical process of reasoning. Opinions, too, are, after all, but probabilities. They can never rise higher than a strong probability; but faith produces, in many instances, absolute certainty, and is, in the very constitution of human nature, evidently intended to be a common and a most powerful principle of action. But opinions are not, in the constitution of human nature, ever intended to be a common or

a powerful principle of action. They are only to govern us, or to teach us to move with caution, or sometimes not to move at all, in the absence of faith and knowledge. Faith and knowledge are the governing principles of action, and opinion is only to be consulted in the absence of these two.

The Messiah, well knowing what was in man, adapted his religion to the nature and wants of men, and hence made its reforming, purifying, and saving efficacy to consist in the belief of naked facts. Facts which, when believed, have an intrinsic, inherent, and inalienable power to govern a man's thoughts, wishes, motives, and conduct. The christian's creed, then, runs in the following style:—I believe that Jesus was the son of Mary, and the Son of God; that he cured all sorts of human maladies by his power; was persecuted and rejected by his own nation; crucified, buried, and rose again, and ascended into heaven. Whatever *was done or said* by him, reported and attested by his companions, who were his witnesses to the ends of the earth and the end of time, constitutes a legitimate article of the christian's creed. If there have been one hundred well-attested facts, there are a hundred articles in the christian's creed. This is the only way that a reasonable and an intelligent man can enumerate the articles of his belief. But, because all the facts, minor and major, in the evangelical histories, are comprised, or rather terminate, in the death, burial, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; nay, indeed, in *one*, that HE ROSE AGAIN *by the power of the Father;* the apostle identified the belief of these with salvation; or, in other words, he said, "If you confess with your lips the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God has raised him from the dead, you shall be saved." This belief, as far as faith is concerned, brings a man into the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

But how different this from creeds of human construction! They begin and proceed with the mere assertion of abstract views: such as the omnipresence and omniscience of God; the purposes and decrees of the Almighty; abstract views of the fall of man; his physical and moral powers; various schemes of redemption; the nature of faith, atonement, and righteousness. Moses did not thus frame a creed for the Jews. He lays down no definition of God, but launches off thus: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The apostles begin their creed in the same style, "In those days came John the Immerser, proclaiming and saying," &c. Such is the difference between the creed of christians and philosophers. The Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian, and Methodistic creeds are so many systems of religious philosophy, built, as they suppose, upon the Bible; just as Sir Isaac's system of nature is built upon the material universe. But the old-fashioned creed of the first christians ran in such sentences as these: "The Lord is risen, indeed, and has appeared to Peter."—"God has commanded reformation and forgiveness of sins to be proclaimed to all nations under heaven," &c.

But up comes a grave, religious, philosophic sectary, and says, in a very serious mode, Why, sir, thousands believe your gospel facts,

and they have no more influence upon them than the belief of the Musselman in the mission of Mohammed. *How will you account for this?* I tell you, sir, you are the cause yourself. You have taught them to think that such a belief is good for nothing, and, in believing you, the facts are neutralized, just as acids and alkalies form new subtances, and neutralize each other. It is so in the minds of men. A lie may be believed along with truth; and the particular lie and particular truth taught in one sermon, equally believed, render one or both inoperative. Hence it is that the most valuable truths are inoperative. A person who has been taught all his life that nothing but silver and gold can purchase food and raiment, might be presented with a bank bill worth *ten thousand dollars*, and yet, under the belief that it was not *money*, might perish with hunger or cold in the absence of gold and silver, thinking that he had no money to go to market; but let some person teach him that this bank bill, by a new agreement of society, was, by appointment or law, good for ten thousand pieces of silver; the moment he is persuaded of this, he feels himself rich, and rejoices with exceeding joy. So let a person be undeceived on this cardinal point, and be taught, that to believe that *Jesus Christ rose from the dead*, to be assured of this fact, is all that is necessary to constitute saving faith, or such a belief as will, if obeyed, introduce a man into the kingdom of heaven, and a correspondent joy and gladness must ensue.

Ah! my friends, the dogmas which represent the scriptures as a sealed book, and that teach that new revelations must be given to open the seals, or all that is written is useless; the dogmas which teach that saving faith is a principle wrought in the heart, independent of the testimony of God; that faith is the consequence of regeneration; that a man must be first saved, then believe; and all their kindred dogmas have put weapons into the hands of the adversary of our faith, as well as have made the word of God of none effect in the hearts and lives of all who believe them. Many sceptics mistake the dross of mere human doctrines and dogmas for the pure gold of Christianity.

Men have, under the dominion of opinions, been made to love and hate one another for the agreement or collision of their opinions. But under the dominion of faith, they are taught to allow a difference of opinions. There is but "*one faith*," but nowhere is it written, that there is but *one opinion*. All christians are in reality of one faith; for all believe the gospel facts, and he that does not believe the gospel facts cannot be a christian. But the apostle Paul positively commanded all christians to maintain the "*unity of the faith*," and to "receive one another without regard to differences of opinion." There is only one faith, but many opinions, and many different degrees of knowledge; and Christianity makes allowances for these.

A *sub* and a *supra* prefixed to the word *lapsarian*, or the letter i in the word *omousios*, or *omoiousios*, have made different communities under the banners of him who, in his own person and by his apostles, condescended to all the weaknesses and dulness of intellect found in

man or woman who loved his person. Sectaries have forgotten that God is love, as manifested in Jesus Christ to the world; that all Christianity is resolvable into this grand truth, that "*God so loved the world as to send his only-begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him might be saved.*" Who, believing this, can think that he would condemn a person that loved him because he could not apprehend the metaphysical import of a prefixed *sub* or *supra*, or an intermediate *i?*

Little children can apprehend and believe the gospel facts, as well, or as firmly as Sir Isaac Newton did. But they cannot understand any of the abstract dogmas of the various philosophic sects. Why, then, exclude them from the fold of Christ? The apostle John addressed the congregations of his time as composed of old men, young men, and children. That they were literally such, appears from his address to each. The old men had known Jesus Christ from the beginning of the proclamation concerning him. The young men had overcome the world, notwithstanding the strength of youthful passions. And the little children had begun well; they had been baptized, they had just received the remission of their sins. All these had, however, *one* faith,—believed the same facts; but of very different attainments, both in knowledge and in behaviour. How foolish those systems that require all men to be of one standard height in religious opinion; which will have the iron bedstead of Procrustes for fixing the stature to which every man must grow, on peril of losing his head or his soul!

The genius of Christianity is love. Its tendency is peace on earth and good-will among men; and it will eventuate in glory to God and man in the highest heaven. It contemplates the reformation of the world upon a new principle. It aims at conquering men by *love*. And he is a superficial philosopher, who cannot see that this is the only rational way to promote purity and happiness—for these are inseparable companions—*Happy the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* And no system which leaves man not in the possession of a quiet conscience can bestow him happiness. *Love* has a transfiguring, or transforming efficacy upon the human mind. To impress the image of God upon the human heart, it is necessary that the love of God should be exhibited to the human mind. Men cannot be made to love by commands and threats—that would be most *unphilosophic*. If we would have men to love, we must present an amiable object. This is God's method. To fill men with love to him, he shews them that he loves them. They say "*we love him because he first loved us.*" That system which promotes, or is calculated to promote, the greatest degree of love among men is the most philosophic plan for purifying and reforming the world. This, Mr. Owen's system has lost sight of. There is nothing to produce love. It wants an object, amiable and magnificent, to arouse reflection, admiration, and love in man. Eating, and drinking, and lodging, in the same apartments, are all the stimulus he has to present to the human mind to promote love. And yet, who does not know that the fastings, and watchings,

and hardships, and dangers of a single campaign, or of a shipwreck, will produce more kind feelings and solicitude for the welfare of our companions than the feasting together for years at the same festive board is capable of producing? If men were to rack their ingenuity to eternity, to invent a scheme for promulging love and goodwill among men, they could find nothing half comparable to the Christian scheme. It finds men hated and hating one another, full of bitterness and wrath, yet all in the same calamity. It teaches them that they are all shipwrecked, bankrupts, miserable, and wretched. It makes them feel this; and then presents them with the love of God, sealed by the death of his Son.

But, as yet, we have said nothing about *doctrine*. True, indeed, we have not spoken of the *doctrines* of the gospel. This word is not in the plural form when applied to the truths of Christianity; we sometimes read of the *doctrines* of demons; but it is only the *doctrine* of Christ. When the term does not mean *teaching*, which it often does, it simply denotes the meaning of the facts. Hence the meaning of any fact, such as the death or burial of Jesus Christ, is the doctrine of the death or burial of Christ. As is the *moral* to the tale, so is the *doctrine* to the fact. Hence, all who believe the facts, and understand the meaning of them, have the sound or wholesome doctrine of Christ. Some may, we admit, believe the facts and not understand the meaning of them. In such a case, the facts believed will either not operate at all, or have a morbid influence. The apostolic epistles, so far as *doctrinal*, are expressive of the meaning of the gospel facts. They taught the new converts the legitimate bearing and results of the facts believed. The other parts of these letters were exhortatory or deductions from the facts, calculated to direct and comfort christians. But all the doctrine of Christ grew out of the facts, just as all Christian faith is predicated upon the testimony concerning them.

Two sentences found in John's writings explain the whole design of both the historical and epistolary parts of the apostles' writings: The design of the historical books is thus expressed by John:— "Many other signs, truly, did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book; but these that are written, are written that you might believe that *Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God;* and that believing, *you might have life through his name.*" The design of the epistolary part he has as clearly expressed: "These things do we write to you, brethren, *that your joy may be complete;*" or that you may know the things which have been gifted to you from God.

Having so far glanced at the genius and design of the Christian scriptures, and the Christian religion, and remotely at its tendencies, we shall give place to Soame Jenyns again, on the tendency of this religion. The extract which I am about to read, not only shews the natural tendency of this religion but constitutes a formidable argument in proof of its authenticity. For, as I hinted to you before, this erudite and acute statesman triumphantly proves the divine authority of this

religion, *from the religion itself*, or what is not unfrequently termed, the *internal* evidence—concerning the object of this religion, he says: page 13—16.

"First, then, the object of this religion is entirely new, and is this: to prepare us by a state of probation for the kingdom of heaven.—This is every where professed by Christ and his apostles to be the chief end of the christian's life; the crown for which he is to contend, the goal to which he is to run, the harvest which is to pay him for all his labours. Yet, previous to their preaching, no such prize was ever hung out to mankind, nor any means prescribed for the attainment of it.

It is indeed true, that some of the philosophers of antiquity entertained notions of the future state, but mixed with much doubt and uncertainty. Their legislators also endeavoured to infuse into the minds of the people a belief of rewards and punishments after death; but by this they only intended to give a sanction to their laws, and to enforce the practice of virtue for the benefit of mankind in the present life. This alone seems to have been their end, and a meritorious end it was; but Christianity not only operates more effectually to this end, but has a nobler design in view; which is, by a proper education here, to render us fit members for a celestial society hereafter. In all former religions, the good of the present life was the first object; in the Christian, it is but the second. In those, men were incited to promote that good by the hopes of a future reward; in this, the practice of virtue is enjoined in order to qualify them for that reward. There is a great difference, I apprehend, in these two plans; that is, in adhering to virtue from its present utility in expectation of a future happiness, and living in such a manner as to qualify us for the acceptance and the enjoyment of that happiness; and the conduct and disposition of those who act on these different principles, must be no less different. On the first, the constant practice of justice, temperance, and sobriety will be sufficient; but on the latter, we must add to these an habitual piety, faith, resignation, and contempt of the world. The first may make us very good citizens, but will produce but a tolerable christian. Hence it is that Christianity insists more strongly than any preceding institution, religious or moral, on purity of heart and a benevolent disposition; because these are absolutely necessary to its great end. But in those, whose recommendations of virtue regard the present life only, and whose promised rewards in another, were low and sensual, no preparatory qualifications were requisite to enable men to practice the one, or to enjoy the other; and therefore we see this object is peculiar to this religion, and without it, was entirely new.

But, although this object, and the principles on which it is founded were new, and perhaps undiscoverable by reason, yet when discovered, they are so consonant to it, that we cannot but readily assent to them. For the truth of this principle, that the present life is a state of probation and education to prepare us for another, is confirmed by every thing which we see around us. It is the only key which can open to

us the designs of providence in the economy of human affairs; the only clue which can guide us through that pathless wilderness, and the only plan on which this world could possibly have been formed, or on which the history of it can be comprehended or explained. It could never have been formed on a plan of happiness, because it is every where overspread with innumerable miseries; nor of misery, because it is interspersed with many enjoyments. It could not have been constituted for a scene of wisdom and virtue, because the history of mankind is little more than a detail of their follies and wickedness; nor of vice, because that is no plan at all, being destructive of all existence, and consequently of its own. But on this system, all that we here meet with may be easily accounted for; for this mixture of happiness and misery, of virtue and vice, necessarily results from a state of probation and education; as probation implies trials, sufferings, and a capacity of offending; and education, a propriety of chastisement for those offences."*

More has been read here than is necessary to our object: the prominent idea on which we emphasise is, that the *tendency* of this religion is to produce purity of heart, as essential to present and future happiness; not to obtain it as a reward, but to prepare ourselves for the enjoyment of it. A person, to sustain any character, must have a previous training. A plain, unlettered man would feel himself but ill at ease among the polished grandees of this world: his taste, education and habits would disqualify him for all enjoyments in their society. Now this is the prominent design of the Christian religion, not only to reveal a future state, but to prepare us for the enjoyment of it. A design so apparent in the volume as to make it a miracle, to me at least, how any person could conceive the authors of it to be bad men, deceivers, or impostors.

That the object or design of the Christian religion is not political, needs scarcely to be proved. When speaking of the personal character of this religion, Mr. Jenyns very forcibly remarks, p. 20—22.

"And here I cannot omit observing, that the personal character of the author of this religion is no less new and extraordinary, than the religion itself, who "spake as never man spake," and lived as never man lived. In proof of this, I do not mean to allege, that he fasted forty days, that he performed a variety of miracles, and after being buried three days, that he rose from the dead; because these accounts will have but little effect on the minds of unbelievers, who, if they believe not the religion, will give no credit to the relation of these facts; but I will prove it from facts which cannot be disputed. For instance, he is the only founder of a religion in the history of mankind, which is totally unconnected with all human policy and government, and therefore totally unconducive to any worldly purpose whatever. All others, Mahomet, Numa, and even Moses himself, blended their religious institutions with their civil, and by them

* See the same train of thought ingeniously pursued in one of the Spectators of Addison, in which he considers *heaven*, not so much the *reward* as the consequence of virtuous actions.—*Reporter.*

obtained dominion over their respective people; but Christ neither aimed at, nor would accept any such power. He rejected every object, which all other men pursue, and made choice of all those which others fly from, and are afraid of. He refused power, riches, honours, and pleasure; and courted poverty, ignominy, tortures, and death. Many have been the enthusiasts and impostors who have endeavoured to impose pretended revelations on the world; and some of them, from pride, obstinacy, or principle, have gone so far as to lay down their lives, rather than retract. But I defy history to show one, who ever made his own sufferings and death a necessary part of his original plan, and essential to his mission. This Christ actually did: he foresaw, foretold, declared their necessity, and voluntarily endured them. If we seriously contemplate the divine lessons, the perfect precepts, the beautiful discourses, and the consistent conduct of this wonderful person, we cannot possibly imagine that he could have been either an idiot or a madman; and yet, if he was not what he pretended to be, he can be considered in no other light. And even under this character he would deserve some attention, because of so sublime and rational an insanity there is no other instance in the history of mankind."

In speaking of the moral character and tendency of the Christian religion, the same very acute writer observes, that "every moral precept founded on reason is carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection than in any other system of the ancient philosophers of preceding ages—every moral precept, founded on false principles, is entirely omitted, and many new precepts added, peculiarly corresponding with the new object of this religion." From these peculiarities he deduces a very powerful argument in proof of its divine origin. The first item has been frequently noticed by other writers. But few have spoken more explicitly on the false virtues omitted in the Christian religion, though universally applauded in all other religions. These false virtues are *valour*, *patriotism*, and *friendship*. His remarks upon these three being very brief, I beg leave to read them. p. 31—6.

"Valour, for instance, or active courage, is for the most part constitutional, and therefore can have no more claim to moral merit, than wit, beauty, health, strength, or any other endowment of the mind or body; and so far is it from producing any salutary effects by introducing peace, order, or happiness into society, that it is the usual perpetrator of all the violences which, from retaliated injuries, distract the world with bloodshed and devastation. It is the engine by which the strong are enabled to plunder the weak, the proud to trample upon the humble, and the guilty to oppress the innocent. It is the chief instrument which ambition employs in her unjust pursuits of wealth and power, and is, therefore, so much extolled by her votaries. It was, indeed, congenial with the religion of pagans, whose gods were for the most part made out of deceased heroes, exalted to heaven as a reward for the mischiefs which they had perpetrated upon earth; and therefore, with them, this was the first of virtues, and had even engrossed that denomination of itself; but whatever merit it may have assumed among pagans, with christians it can pretend to none, and few or none

are the occasions in which they are permitted to exert it. They are so far from being allowed to inflict evil, that they are forbidden even to resist it. They are so far from being encouraged to revenge injuries, that one of their first duties is to forgive them; so far from being incited to destroy their enemies, that they are commanded to love them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. If Christian nations, therefore, were nations of christians, all war would be impossible and unknown among them, and valour could be neither of use nor estimation, and therefore could never have a place in the catalogue of Christian virtues, being irreconcilable with all its precepts. I object not to the praise and honours bestowed on the valiant; they are the least tribute which can be paid them by those who enjoy safety and affluence by the intervention of their dangers and sufferings: I assert only, that active courage can never be a Christian virtue, because a christian can have nothing to do with it. Passive courage is, indeed, frequently and properly inculcated by this meek and suffering religion, under the titles of patience and resignation: a real and substantial virtue this, and a direct contrast to the former; for passive courage arises from the noblest dispositions of the human mind, for a contempt of misfortunes, pain, and death, and a confidence in the protection of the Almighty: active, from the meanest; from passion, vanity, and self-dependence. Passive courage is derived from a zeal for truth, and a perseverance in duty; active is the offspring of pride and revenge, and the parent of cruelty and injustice. In short, passive courage is the resolution of a philosopher; active, the ferocity of a savage. Nor is this more incompatible with the precepts, than with the object of this religion, which is the attainment of the kingdom of heaven; for valour is not that sort of violence by which that kingdom is to be taken, nor are the turbulent spirits of heroes and conquerors admissible into those regions of peace, subordination, and tranquillity.

"Patriotism, also, that celebrated virtue, so much practised in ancient, and so much professed in modern times; that virtue, which so long preserved the liberties of Greece, and exalted Rome to the empire of the world: this celebrated virtue, I say, must also be excluded, because it not only falls short of, but directly counteracts, the extensive benevolence of this religion. A christian is of no country; he is a citizen of the world; and his neighbours and countrymen are the inhabitants of the remotest regions, whenever their distresses demand his friendly assistance. Christianity commands us to love all mankind; patriotism, to oppress all other countries to advance the imaginary prosperity of our own. Christianity enjoins us to imitate the universal benevolence of our Creator, who pours forth His blessings on every nation upon earth; patriotism, to copy the mean partiality of an English parish officer, who thinks injustice and cruelty meritorious, whenever they promote the interests of his own inconsiderable village. This has ever been a favourite virtue with mankind, because it conceals self-interest under the mask of public spirit, not only from others, but even from themselves, and gives a license to inflict wrongs and injuries not only with impunity, but with applause; but it is so diametrically

opposite to the great characteristic of this institution, that it never could have been admitted into the list of Christian virtues.

"Friendship, likewise, although more congenial to the principles of Christianity, arising from more tender and amiable dispositions, could never gain admittance among her benevolent precepts for the same reason; because it is too narrow and confined, and appropriates that benevolence to a single object, which is here commanded to be extended to all. Where friendship arises from similarity of sentiments, and disinterested affections, they are advantageous, agreeable, and innocent, but have little pretensions to merit; for it is justly observed, "If ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them." But if they are formed from alliances in parties, factions, and interests, or from a participation of vices, the usual parents of what are called friendships among mankind, they are then both mischievous and criminal, and consequently forbidden, but in their utmost purity deserve no recommendation from this religion."

As Mr. Jenyns, though a very honourable member of the British parliament, dared to avow that *patriotism* was not one of the Christian virtues, we may add that even the policy which we so much approbate in this community, under the name of "*The American system,*" though most unquestionably good policy, is a very bright example of the correctness of his remark upon patriotism. The patriotism of Great Britain would not permit her to buy the products of our soil, and our patriotism will not permit us to buy the products of her mechanical labours: she will compel her own subjects to suffer, rather than purchase our corn and flour; and we will endeavour to deprive the manufacturing classes in Great Britain of the means of subsistence, to hold up our own. All this is good policy and good patriotism, but no part of the Christian religion. To call this a *virtue*, may be correct in politics, or economics; but in the Christian religion it would pass for a false virtue, and very justly, according to the genius of this religion, which embraces all christians in its affections, and all mankind in its benevolence.

Some have rather censured than applauded some of the precepts found in the "*sermon on the mount.*" "Pretty thing, indeed," say they, "to be commanded to turn the other cheek to him that has already smitten us once;" and to go "two miles with him that compels us to go one." Yes, indeed, a pretty thing for the proud and retaliating! But the question is, which is the speedier way to end the controversy? Now, take the precept literally, and doubt not the controversy will be sooner terminated, and less danger will be incurred by turning the other cheek, than by striking back; and we shall sooner get rid of an unprofitable companion by going two miles with him, than to stop and quarrel on the road. Now, taking them *literally*, which is not in accordance with the genius of such maxims, nor the Saviour's intentions, I presume; but, I say, take them literally, and they are in their tendency, better than any other course which can be pursued to terminate the quarrel.

But Christianity inculcates many virtues unknown and untaught before, each of which demonstrates its divinity and excellent tendency. I will prefer taking notice of them in the words of Mr. Jenyns, to my own desultory remarks.

On the beatitude which says, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," he remarks—

"This was so new, and so opposite to the ideas of all pagan moralists, that they thought this temper of mind a criminal and contemptible meanness, which must induce men to sacrifice the glory of their country, and their own honour, to a shameful pusillanimity; and such it appears to almost all who are called christians, even at this day, who not only reject it in practice, but disavow it in principle, notwithstanding this explicit declaration of their Master. We see them revenging the smallest affronts by premeditated murder, as individuals, on principles of honour; and, in their national capacities, destroying each other with fire and sword, for the low considerations of commercial interests, the balance of rival powers, or the ambition of princes. We see them with their last breath animating each other to a savage revenge, and in the agonies of death, plunging with feeble arms their daggers into the hearts of their opponents; and, what is still worse, we hear all these barbarisms celebrated by historians, flattered by poets, applauded in theatres, approved in senates, and even sanctified in pulpits. But universal practice cannot alter the nature of things, nor universal error change the nature of truth. Pride was not made for man, but humility, meekness, and resignation; that is, poorness of spirit was made for man, and properly belongs to his dependent and precarious situation; and is the only disposition of mind which can enable him to enjoy ease and quiet here, and happiness hereafter. Yet was this important precept entirely unknown, until it was promulgated by him who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily, I say unto you, that whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein."

Another precept, equally new, and no less excellent, is forgiveness of injuries. "You have heard," says Christ to his disciples, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." This was a lesson so new, and so utterly unknown, until taught by his doctrine, and enforced by his example, that the wisest moralists of the wisest nations and ages represented the desire of revenge as a mark of a noble mind, and the accomplishment of it as one of the chief felicities attendant on a fortunate man. But how much more magnanimous, how much more beneficial to mankind, is forgiveness! It is more magnanimous, because every generous and exalted disposition of the human mind is requisite to the practice of it: for these alone can enable us to bear the wrongs and insults of wickedness and folly with patience, and to look down on the perpetrators of them with pity rather than with indignation; these alone can teach us, that such are

but a part of those sufferings allotted to us in this state of probation, and to know, that to overcome evil with good, is the most glorious of all victories: it is the most beneficial, because this amiable conduct alone can put an end to an eternal succession of injuries and retaliations; for every retaliation becomes a new injury, and requires another act of revenge for satisfaction. But would we observe this salutary precept, to love our enemies, and to do good to those who despitefully use us, this obstinate benevolence would at last conquer the most inveterate hearts, and we should have no enemies to forgive. How much more exalted a character, therefore, is a christian martyr, suffering with resignation, and praying for the guilty, than a pagan hero, breathing revenge, and destroying the innocent! Yet noble and useful as this virtue is, before the appearance of this religion, it was not only unpractised, but decried in principle as mean and ignominious, though so obvious a remedy for most of the miseries of this life, and so necessary a qualification for the happiness of another." p. 39—42.

After specifying other virtues never before promulged, such as what he calls faith, repentance, humility, and universal benevolence, he concludes with these remarks, p. 51—55:—

"It cannot be denied that the great Author of the Christian institution, first and singly ventured to oppose all the chief principles of pagan virtue, and to introduce a religion directly opposite to those erroneous, though long-established opinions, both in its duties and in its object. The most celebrated virtues of the ancients were, high spirit, intrepid courage, and implacable resentment.

"*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,*" was the portrait of the most illustrious hero, drawn by one of the first poets of antiquity. To all these admired qualities, those of a true christian are an exact contrast; for this religion constantly enjoins poorness of spirit, meekness, patience, and forgiveness of injuries. "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." The favourite characters among the pagans, were the turbulent, ambitious, and intrepid, who, through toils and dangers, acquired wealth, and spent it in luxury, magnificence, and corruption; but both these are equally adverse to the Christian system, which forbids all extraordinary efforts to obtain wealth, care to secure, or thought concerning the enjoyment of it. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," &c. "Take no thought, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? for after all these things do the gentiles seek." The chief object of the pagans was immortal fame: for this their poets sang, their heroes fought, and their patriots died; and this was hung out by their philosophers and legislators, as the great incitement to all noble and virtuous deeds. But what says the Christian Legislator to his disciples on this subject? "Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." So widely different is the genius of the Pagan and Christian morality, that I will venture to affirm, that the most celebrated virtues of the former, are more opposite to the spirit, and

more inconsistent with the end of the latter, than even their most infamous vices; and that a Brutus, wrenching vengeance out of his hands to whom alone it belongs, by murdering the oppressor of his country, or a Cato murdering himself from an impatience of control, leaves the world more unqualified for, and more inadmissible into, the kingdom of heaven, than even a Messalina, or an Heliogabalus, with all their profligacy about them.

"Nothing, I believe, has so much contributed to corrupt the true spirit of the Christian institution, as that partiality which we contract from our earliest education for the manners of pagan antiquity: from whence we learn to adopt every moral idea, which is repugnant to it; to applaud false virtues, which that disavows; to be guided by laws of honour, which that abhors; to imitate characters, which that detests; and to behold heroes, patriots, conquerors, and suicides with admiration, whose conduct that utterly condemns. From a coalition of these opposite principles was generated that monstrous system of cruelty and benevolence, of barbarism and civility, of rapine and justice, of fighting and devotion, of revenge and generosity, which harrassed the world for several centuries with crusades, holy wars, knight-errantry, and single combats, and even still retains influence enough, under the name of honour, to defeat the most beneficent ends of this holy institution. I mean not by this to pass any censure on the principles of valour, patriotism, or honour: they may be useful, and perhaps necessary, in the commerce and business of the present turbulent and imperfect state; and those who are actuated by them may be virtuous, honest, and even religious men: all that I assert is, that they cannot be christians. A profligate may be a christian, though a bad one, because he may be overpowered by passions and temptations, and his actions may contradict his principles; but a man whose ruling principle is honour, however virtuous he may be, cannot be a christian, because he erects a standard of duty, and deliberately adheres to it, diametrically opposite to the whole tenor of that religion."

To conclude, the direct tendency of the Christian religion, is to purify the heart, and to make men every thing which the perfect happiness of society requires. After Paul had gone into a long detail of Christian virtues, he concludes in this sweeping style, which suffers not one virtue to escape: "Finally, brethren, whatever things are true, whatever things are venerable, whatever things are just, whatever things are pure, whatever things are amiable, whatever things are of good fame; if there be any virtue, and if any praise be due, think on, and practice these things."

One miracle there is which Mr. Owen must believe at all events, on the whole premises before us. He must believe that a set of vile impostors, deceivers of the basest stamp, the greatest cheats and liars that ever lived, did give birth to the *purest* system of morality the world ever saw:—did recommend the practice of every virtue which human reason in the most cultivated state of society can admire and approve. He must believe that all the true religion and genuine virtue now existing, depends upon the forgeries of a pack of charlatans, who went about from place to place declaring that they had heard

what they never did hear, and that they had seen what they never saw. This miracle Mr. Owen must believe—which is a miracle of a more incredible character than any one in the volume, especially when we take into view the circumstances attendant upon the progress and sufferings of these wicked impostors.

"If weak thy faith, why choose the harder side?"

But still I have not made sufficiently emphatic the tendency of Christianity upon every one who embraces it. This I will again lay before you. It becomes the more necessary to call this up again because our opponent execrates Christianity more because of its "idle fears and terrors" than on any other account. To me, from childhood, it has seemed strange why mankind should more fear the threats, than hope for the promises of Jesus Christ. If not to a conciousness of the just desert of all that is threatened, perhaps anterior to any notice of the threats, I know not to what other cause this is to be attributed. For certain it is, threats and promises are equally credible or incredible. They both rest upon the same testimony. Now Christianity, if rationally regarded, can never fill but one class of mankind with fears. If it be regarded as a fraud or imposition, its hopes and fears are equally disannulled. If it be regarded as true, what is its truth save pardon and peace to every one who submits to the government of Jesus Christ? No person can, then, be filled with any fears or terrors from the New Testament, *but he that believes and will not obey*. The infidel cannot: the christian cannot. To the infidel it is all a romance: to the christian it is all peace, hope, and joy, real as life itself. Who, then, does Christianity make unhappy? The very persons, and none but the persons, it ought to make unhappy; viz. those who believe, and will not obey Jesus Christ. And if it did not make such unhappy, it would be unworthy of its Author and its object. And the man who labours to divest the guilty of his fears is a misanthrope, and not a philanthropist.

But there is a species of corrupt Christianity, which has made suicides through the false alarms which it creates about things unknown and unknowable. I have nothing to do with it more than with the Alcoran. It is enough for my purpose to show that Christianity promises pardon to every human being who voluntarily submits to the government of Jesus Christ; and this pardon is tendered to them the very instant they bow to the authority of Jesus Christ, or enter his kingdom. Hence the first christians always rejoiced, because the moment they were baptized into Jesus Christ, they had put him on as their Saviour; or, in other words, had put themselves under the constitution of favour, and sin could no longer lord it over them, for they were not under law. Now, all who, like Saul of Tarsus, believed in Jesus Christ and were baptized for the remission of their sins, as he was, or as the three thousand on Pentecost, could like the Eunuch, *after baptism*, go on their way *rejoicing*. So that the first christians addressed one another as having their sins forgiven; and consequently all guilt, and shame, and fear were removed from their consciences. They did not cease—they could not cease—always to rejoice, with

joy unspeakable and full of glory. It is monks, and friars, and monasteries that have invented the gloomy religion of the times. The first christians were commanded to *rejoice always*. So that the legitimate tendency of the religion of Jesus Christ, is to fill all who submit to his government, with peace, and joy, and good hope; and to cause them finally to exclaim, "O death, where now thy sting! O hades, where now thy victory!

That such are the inseparable results of a cordial reception of the gospel, or of a sincere submission to the authority of Jesus Christ, all the New Testament might be appealed to in proof: I will only allude to a few cases. Three thousand pierced to the heart by Peter's discourse in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, so soon as he announced reformation and remission of sins, were baptized *for the remission of their sins*; and straightway they were filled with joy and peace; for they ate their food with gladness, praising God. When many of the Samaritans heard Philip proclaiming the reign of favour, they believed and were baptized, both men and women; and then we learn from Luke, "*there was much joy in that city.*" So it was in all the cities where Christianity was embraced. The apostles taught the christians that God "had forgiven them all trespasses." Of their joy, Peter says, "Whom not having seen you love, but on whom not now looking, but believing, you *rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.*" The forgiveness of sins, the removal of guilt, and the consequent termination of all fear that has torment, were, *in all cases, simultaneous blessings enjoyed by all christians on their putting themselves under the guidance of Jesus Christ.* The *same cause* will produce the *same effect*, and whenever the *ancient gospel* is proclaimed, believed, and obeyed, the same effects will uniformly follow.

Now, when we add to these blessings the well-founded hope of a glorious immortality at the resurrection of the just, we have elevated man to the rank worthy of himself, and made his existence worthy of the GREAT FIRST CAUSE. So that the direct tendency of Christianity is to glorify God in the highest degree; to produce peace of mind, joy, and hope in the believers; and to diffuse good-will among men. The golden paradoxes of Paul speak more in praise of Christianity than all the encomiums ever pronounced upon it. To hear men persecuted, reproached, and destitute of almost every earthly comfort, say, "We are *sorrowful, yet always rejoicing;* we are *poor, yet making many rich;* we have *nothing, yet possessing all things,*" transcends all the encomiums from all the orators of Greece, Rome, and England, pronounced upon virtue, the gods, and religion.

Fancy to yourselves, my friends, a society in which such characters shall have the rule, and then you want no poet to describe the millennium to you. Peace, harmony, love, and universal good-will must be the order of the day. There wants nothing—believe me, my friends, there wants nothing, but a restoration of ancient Christianity, and a cordial reception of it, to fill the world with all the happiness, physical, intellectual, and moral, which beings like us in this state of trial could endure—shall I say?—yes, endure and enjoy.

But even yet, were we to close our remarks upon the tendencies of

Christianity, upon the subject of it, and upon the society at large, we should fail in doing justice to this item. We must not only speak in general terms of its influences upon the human family; we must look at it in detail. We must ask, *What has it done for* WOMAN? Yes, for woman; created to be the help-meet of man. In all pagan lands, and even among the Jews, she has been made little else than a slave to the passion and to the tyranny of man. The Jews rather exile her from the synagogue, as altogether animal in her nature; and the rude savage makes her more a beast of burthen, than a companion for man; doomed to incessant toils, to all the real drudgeries of life. Paganism, in its most improved forms, leaves her without a taste for rational enjoyment, and without a taste of it. The Jews and pagans for ages back have scarce recognized that she has any claims upon man, more than for food and raiment, and these, indeed, are often dispensed to her without a smile. But some half dozen of female names have come down to us in the annals of Grecian and Roman story, as having attracted much attention from their contemporaries, or as deserving much admiration from posterity. Natural affection, in defiance of pagan darkness, superstition, and cruelty, did in some few instances, snatch some individual females from the empire of night, and give them a place among the reputable characters of antiquity. But the sex, *as such*, were almost universally neglected. But, from the time that Gabriel visited the cottage of Mary, the mother of our Lord, down to the present, wherever Christianity has found its way, the female sex has been emancipated from ignorance, bondage, and obscurity. It has been the aim and the glory of Christianity, my female friends, to elevate your sex from the degradation of paganism, and to make you the rational, the useful, and the amiable companion of man. To it you are indebted for that influence which you now possess, and ought to possess, in forming the character of man. While Christianity has made you not the inferior, but the companion and the equal of man, it has taught you that you are to pay the impost which, for this honour, it has laid you under; that is, that you are to bring up your offspring in the discipline and education which the Lord enjoins; that you are to use all your influence in casting the minds of those under your control into the mould of the apostles' doctrine. This is the way you can perpetuate the blessings which you enjoy, and leave behind you, sons and daughters who will feel themselves equals, and mutually love, honour, and esteem one another. Let me remind you that there are more individuals of your own sex, honoured in the New Testament, more of them named, more of them applauded, and more true courtesy shown them, than is to be found in all the other works of Augustan age; and let all the world know, that in the New Testament it is a maxim that in Jesus Christ there is neither male nor female, but that both sexes are one in all moral, religious, and social privileges and enjoyments of which either sex is susceptible.

Christianity would not have commended itself to every man's conscience had it not paid a due respect to all the natural and unavoidable relations existing in society. Hence there is not a *natural* relation to which it does not allude. Husbands and wives, parents and chil-

dren, masters and servants are all addressed in a way corresponding with the nature of these relations, well designed to sanctify and render them all useful, comfortable, and happy.

Here I am informed, by a note handed to me, that I have omitted to say any thing upon the subject of *regeneration*. Some persons think as most preachers speak. If you will observe, scarce a preacher takes a text, or makes a sermon, but he must give you his whole system of theology. No matter where the text is found, the system must come out. Hence some of this audience think, that, in defending Christianity, I must defend or exhibit all the tenets of a sect, or all the essential points of some system; and so I am told that I have omitted the article on regeneration. Strange, indeed! when I have been discoursing at length upon the purifying influences of the Christian religion, and its tendencies upon the hearts and lives of men, I should be told that I have neglected *the article of regeneration!* Perhaps my informant expected to hear from me a disquisition upon the quaint theories of modern systems. In not gratifying him with such a discussion, for the time being, I hope he will have the goodness to excuse me.

Having paid some attention to the genius, design, and tendency of Christianity, I will now approach the *social system* again. Mr. Owen relies upon his twelve facts, and especially upon his sixth fact, or law, to demolish all the religions of the world. Yes, indeed, if his sixth law be a truism, he conceives that all the religions of the world are as prostrate as dagon before the ark. If it be so that we can neither make ourselves and our wills; that circumstances control us by necessity, as unchangeable as fate itself, then he has proved, by merely asserting these laws, that all the religions of the world are founded upon the ignorance of mankind. He does not seem to have noticed that there is a very learned and respectable body of christians who attribute as much to *necessity*, only under different names, as he does himself. Every action of every human being is, with them, foreknown, and *predetermined* from all eternity; or, in brief, "*that God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.*" Yet these are all firm, and rational, and argumentative believers in the divine authority of these records. How, then, in the name of reason, can Mr. Owen think, that, in proving his doctrine of fate or necessity, he has proved all the religions of the world to be predicated upon the ignorance of mankind, when he will find myriads of christians, philosophic or systematic necessarians, admitting his premises in all the prominent items, and yet dissenting from his conclusions.

It will not then follow, as a necessary consequence, in the mind of a thorough Calvinist, that if our volitions have no power over our belief, that if all things are unchangeably fixed, there is no truth in religion. Mr. Owen has taken for granted that which will not be granted by myriads of learned, acute, and talented men, that his propositions proved, and Christianity is slain. I hope he will yet turn his thoughts thitherward. He may say that they are inconsistent, and self-condemned; but still it proves that his system may be true and Christianity true—myriads being judges.

But this only on the way to another peep into his theory. I do think as Mr. Owen has paid so little attention to the objections offered to his system, that I am logically excused from paying any farther attention to it. But, as he still reiterates his fundamentals with undismayed confidence that the repetition of them is, like a charm, to effect a cure of our mental maladies; and as he has repeatedly affirmed, that if one of his principles can be proved erroneous, he will give up the whole, I will call upon another witness in the case.

If consciousness be any sort of evidence of the powers with which we are endowed, I make the following appeal to it on the subject of his sixth law:

Objects are thrown in our way, or we go in quest of them. These excite our reasoning powers, or call them into action. We reason upon them, and form judgments. These judgments or conclusions either call for some activity upon our part, or they do not. If they do not, we do not act: but if they do, we act. Now, what is the cause of these actions? Not the mere presentation of the object, but our reasonings upon it. From the first examination of the object to the last, there is a continual determination of the mind to the object; or when we have finished the first examination of the object, we will to examine it a second time: and so on to the third, or fourth examination. Mr. Owen, for example, had heard that the Mexican government had much territory to dispose of; his previous desire for territory to test his theory upon, prompts him to think upon some plan for obtaining a part of it. He reasons upon the object, and examines it in many independent points of view. On every separate view of the subject, he decides to examine it again. There are as many determinations as examinations. Finally, his ultimate conclusion is formed. Now, every one of these examinations is begun, prosecuted, and carried out, from the consciousness which he possesses of his power to accomplish the object so soon as it shall be decided which is the better course. He would never examine the subject a moment, if he was not conscious that he has the power of examining it, and the power of acting agreeably to his last decision. Now this *consciousness* of the power of examination, deciding, and acting, I summon as proof that such a controlling power the mind possesses over its own acts. It is the nearest witness which can be summoned in this case, and its testimony is the most creditable. It knows most, and is the best judge, of all our intellectual and moral powers; and it avers, as every man can hear in the court of his own understanding, that nothing could be examined, contemplated, or reasoned upon, were we destitute of a controlling power, or a power of acting conformably to our own decisions. *Consciousness* is often the ultimate arbiter in all questions concerning our intellectual and moral powers. How often do we see persons either abandon, or refuse to undertake a profession, or cause, because *conscious* their powers are not equal to it. We make consciousness a witness in all cases within its jurisdiction.

Again, in walking down street, Mr. Owen hears that his cotton factory at New Harmony is consumed by fire! He does not at first

know whether the report is credible. He goes to the river to interrogate the passengers, or captain of a steam-boat just arrived from the vicinity. He interrogates them, and from their unanimous testimony he believes the fact, and doubts no more. Now, would Mr. Owen have gone one step in this examination, if he had not been conscious that he had the power of believing upon testimony, and that there was a certain amount of evidence which would produce certainty? His ultimate belief is evidently a consequence of the existence of this controlling power; and his determination to examine the matter, proves that his volition had some influence upon his belief. For, had he not examined, he would not have believed; and had he not determined or willed to examine, he might not have obtained the evidence; so that his belief *is in this case dependent upon his will.*

Were I to ask him now to believe that his factory was not burned, he could not do it; not because his will determined any thing about it, but because he wants evidence. Pretty much the same power which the will exercises over our eyes in examining objects of sense does it exercise over our mental eye; we open or shut the eye in obedience to our wills. But we cannot will to see without light. An eye and light, and a will to see, are all necessary to vision. He that affirms, that a man believes by necessity, may as well say, that man sees by necessity. There is no person more blind than the man who will not see.

But we have still greater objections to the social system, pleaded by Mr. Owen. It is only in its best possible state, predicated upon the half of man, and only promises to make him a happy animal. For the sake of illustration, we will admit that Mr. Owen has consummated all his plans, and all his wishes, in erecting his parallelogram communities, and that he has got a whole territory, nay, the whole earth, covered with them; every thing just to his mind. Man, at *his* zenith, is a stall-fed ox. Mr. Owen has mistaken the capacity of man as much as the vintner did the capacity of a vessel, who strove to fill it with two gallons when it held four. Nothing but experiment could convince him. He thought his measure of two gallons was equal to the capacity of the vessel, until he poured in its contents. He then saw it was but half full. So with Mr. Owen's system. Men would sigh, and groan, and long for greater bliss than Mr. Owen has to bestow. His wheat, his oil, and his wine; his amusements, pastimes, and all his *fanciful* inventions would not fill the immeasurable blank yet remaining in the true enjoyment of rational beings, doomed by him only to riot, like a worm upon the damask cheek of a deceased strippling.*

* "Relentless fate forbids that we,
Through gay voluptuous worlds should ever roam;
And were the fates more kind,
Our narrow luxuries would soon grow stale.
Were these exhaustless, nature would grow sick,
And tired of novelty, would squeamishly complain;
That all was vanity, and life a dream."

Armstrong's Art of Health.—Reporter.

Man has taste, desires, aspirations after bliss higher than the earth can minister to him. Now, if Mr. Owen contemplates man as other sceptics have done, not as a privileged being; if he would give him that latitude of licentious intercourse which prevails among the brutes in the gratification of every propensity, until his capacity for sensual enjoyment is filled to overflowing; if his artificial wants have been multiplied to the utmost conceivable extent; and if he have surrounding him with the most refined circumstances imaginable, what does it all amount to? Has he made him happy? Far from it. His capacity for happiness is as far from being filled as ever it was. It is only like subtracting a few miles from infinite space, the remainder is no less. So man's desires are as eager and as unsatisfied still. Like Alexander the Great, when he had conquered the whole world, he wept, forsooth, because his arm was hampered and had not room enough to do its work. "What a misfortune! Have I, indeed, no other world to conquer?"

Whence, then, this insatiable desire for happiness? or whence, as the poet says, "this longing after immortality?" Mr. Owen can boast, he says, that he is free from the fear of death, and he may boast that he is free from any hope in death. And so, like the well-fed calf, he has neither hope nor fear from death. Is this the glorious and rational end of this new philosophy? Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die! But the time for adjournment has arrived.

[*Adjourned till Two o'clock.*]

Monday Afternoon, 20th April.

Mr. Chairman—We concluded our remarks in the forenoon, on the subject of the perfect inadequacy and mal-adaptation of my friend's scheme to the constitution of human nature;—to the extent of our capacity of fruition. We admit that, were the human family to be regarded as mere animals, whose enjoyments were all of a sensual kind, that Mr. Owen's scheme would not be liable to so much objection. We might conclude with Paul, "If there be no resurrection, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The short tenure of earthly enjoyments would compel us to make the best use of them, and to indulge in them to the greatest extent. We might then adopt the Epicurean precept, "*Carpe diem*," and say with the Epicurean poet, "*Vita summa brevis vetat spem longam inchoare.*" But, inasmuch as reason and experience prove the inadequacy of all earthly pleasures to satisfy the human mind, we are obliged to declare that my friend's scheme falls infinitely short of providing for our capacity of enjoyment. Who so dead to the charms of the material universe, as not to feel himself more refreshed and comforted by the sublime contemplation of the great Creator, through his works, than ever he felt from mere sensual enjoyment? A small portion of material good things is sufficient to satisfy all the wants of nature; but the appetite for intellectual enjoyment is insatiable.

The construction of the material universe is admirably calculated to lead us to the contemplation of the great First Cause, who created

the heavens and their hosts, and who sustains the immense universe with more ease than we move a finger, or an eye-lid. To contemplate these things, is "to look through nature up to nature's God." Shall this sublime pleasure be annihilated? Must we be for ever doomed to look downwards, and never raise our eyes to heaven? The splendours of the starry firmament, the glories hung up to human view in the majestic vault of heaven, are the natural types of the divine Majesty; while the earth presents, in all its magazines of goodness and mercy, the plain drawn characters which interpret all these sublime symbols. Must we never read this volume, nor inquire into the moral character of its great Author? And do we not, my friends, find our only consolation under the toils, anxieties, and vexations of this troubled sea of life, in the anticipation of our one day reaching those mansions of peace, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest?" Will any man's experience authorize him to say, that when, like an ox, he has eaten and drunk his fill, then he is happy? Certainly, this would be to degrade man below the dignity of which he is now conscious. Who has been so successful and prosperous in the voyage of life as to gain the object of his pursuit? Does not almost every man die in the keen pursuit of his favourite object? And does not this teach us that all our acquisitions are but progressions towards objects of distant fruition and hope? Experience teaches us that our capacity of happiness is not to be filled by sublunary pleasures; that earth and sea, with all their treasures, are far too small to fill the soul of man.

This social system robs the disconsolate of their only support; drives them to the adoption of Mirabeau's seductive cure; and when "weary of conjecture" concerning futurity, to put an end to the debate with a knife, a halter, or a pistol. Were it not for the cheering consolation which the hope of immortality inspires, what numerous suicides should we have to deplore? This hope is not only necessary to fill the measure of our capacity of enjoyment, but it is necessary that we should carefully cherish this bright hope, that we may be enabled to sustain the vicissitudes, the disasters, the moral and physical diseases, which attach to our bankrupt circumstances. Experience has proved to us all, that we have derived more pleasure from the pursuit of a favourite object, than we have enjoyed in the attainment of it; that we derive more pleasure from anticipating future gains, than in realizing them. Cut off anticipation from man, and you sever him from the most fruitful source of his happiness. The pursuit, more than the acquisition, all experience says, contributes to please, amuse, and gratify man. To place man, then, in a situation where he has nothing to wish for, nothing to desire, nor to pursue, is to cut him off from this most fruitful source of intellectual pleasure, which all men have found to be paramount to all sensual gratifications. But not only in this instance is the theory contradicted by the universal experience of mankind; but it also involves another mistake in regard to the constitution of human nature.

Mr. Owen contends that a society can exist without an idea of obligation or responsibility. This is contrary to all the past records

of time, and all present experience. A *banditti* of highway robbers could not exist without the ligament of laws, and the tie of moral obligation. Without them, it would be impossible for them to concert a scheme of co-operative plunder:

> "For not since Adam wore his verdant apron,
> Has man with man in social union dwelt;
> But laws were made to draw that union closer."—*Scott.*

No society ever has existed, or ever can exist, without some sense of responsibility or obligation. We talk of a *lawless banditti*, but this is to be understood *sub modo*. They are not without laws, and rigorous ones too, among themselves; they well know that they could not exist without them.

It is worthy of notice here, that among the rabble of superstitions professed by the pagan world, not one of them ever pretended to be derived from the First Cause. They derived their religious systems from subordinate persons, from inferior deities, who stood in some special relation to the people that adored them. The ancients ascertained that it was impossible to retain men in order, without the influence of religious restraints. The popular religions of the pagan world were all predicated upon this principle; and magistrates imposed religions upon the people which they did not believe themselves, because experience had taught them that man was not to be governed without religious restraints. The ancient philosophers saw through the cheat, and were sufficiently inclined to expose it. Some of them denied the existence of future rewards and punishments. They contended that the body must return to the earth, and the spirit to the Universal Spirit, of which it was but an emanation; and that, therefore, future punishment was impossible. But the magistracy told the philosophers, that, although this might be very true, yet the people were not to be kept in order without the restraints of religion; and the philosophers were strictly enjoined not to propagate their free-thinking notions among the vulgar. From this originated the Elusinian and other mysteries of antiquity, the object of which was to preserve among the initiated, just views of the First Cause, and of the gods worshipped by the vulgar, which dare not be divulged among them. If we examine the ancient superstitions of the pagan world, we shall find them all predicated upon this political hypothesis.

No social compact has as yet existed, without the doctrine of responsibility, obligation, or accountability. Mr. Owen's scheme is the most Utopian project in the annals of society. He lays the axe at the root of all obligation and accountability, and yet would have society to hang together without a single attraction, save animal magnetism, if such a thing exist. The doctrine of *no praise, no blame,* is to be taught from the cradle to the grave; and yet all are to live in accordance with the most virtuous principles. They are to have no principle of responsibility suggested; and yet, under the charm of social feeling alone, they are to be more firmly bound than any wedded pair! Among the visions of the wildest enthusiasm, this one appears to be a rarity.

Children are to be reared without a lesson upon obligation or duty,

and yet they are to be most orderly, neither selfish, querulous, peevish, ambitious, or in any way vicious. All these evil propensities are to be eradicated from their nature, in consequence of being born in chambers, ventilated, heated, or refrigerated, in the social way. They are to be models of beauty and rationality, too, by a mere change of circumstances. No irrational faces, no deformed countenances, no disfigured frames can grow in any of Mr. Owen's parallelogram arrangements. The romantic genius of Mr. Owen gives these babes all angelic charms, excepting wings; and while there is to be a total destitution of evil dispositions, they are to be perfect giants in literature, virtue, and benevolent enterprize—able, in two hours per diem, to provide for all their own happiness, and to perpetuate overflowing streams of bliss to posterity!

I am yet at a loss to know what Mr. Owen means by *society*. A society without a social compact, to me is unintelligible. Society is not a number of persons covering a certain piece of ground, like the trees in our forests. They must congregate upon some stipulations expressed or implied. These stipulations are to be performed, and consequently, responsibility or accountability forces itself upon Mr. Owen, in defiance of the powers of his imagination. In all other societies, except Mr. Owen's imaginary one, the people and the magistracy, whether elective or hereditary, are mutually accountable to each other. The people owe *allegiance*, which they promise in electing their rulers; and the magistracy owe *protection*, which they promise in being elected. In entering into society, man surrenders a part of his natural liberty for other benefits, which he could not enjoy as a hermit. This surrender he must never recall, nor those benefits must they withhold: they are, therefore, under continual obligations to each other. Whenever any person feels himself absolved from these obligations, he is either dangerous to, or unfit for, society. And certainly, Mr. Owen's system of training children, would naturally lead them to feel themselves absolved from all such obligations. His system directly unfits them for society. I would ask you, my friends, or I would ask him, in what light he could contemplate that society which taught every child that entered its schools, that the child which would kill its own father was not to be blamed or disliked, any more than the child which loved, caressed, and reverenced its father?

But, to be a little more plain and pointed, I must again remind you, that Mr. Owen's system, as far as it has any peculiar benevolence proposed in it, or stamped upon it, is a plagiarism from Christian society; in other words, all the benevolence about it, was derived from models furnished by Christian enterprize and Christian sympathy, and the crude notions of materialism and philosophic necessity, have been superadded from the atheistical schools of France and Epicurus. The influence of parents over their offspring, and the influence of circumstances, were popular doctrines in the reign of King Solomon; nay, in the days of Moses. Moses laid as much emphasis upon the necessity of bringing up children under the best moral influences, as any man in ancient or modern times. And so great an adept was Solomon

in this science, that he affirmed, "Train up a child in the way it should live, and when old, it will not depart from it." Mr. Owen, indeed, has confessed that he was indebted to Christian society for his first ideas of the co-operative system, in producing the greatest amount of human enjoyment, as far as our temporal wants are concerned. Mr. Owen may have had the merit of amplifying somewhat upon the data furnished by the excellent *preacher*, Mr. Dale. The advantages accruing from the experiments of Mr. Dale were sufficient to convince any person of Mr. Owen's discernment, that much might be done by benevolent co-operation in a population like that in Scotland, to diminish the evils under which a large class groan from poverty, and its handmaid, ignorance. This was the start of the benevolent part of the scheme.

About forty years ago, when my friend was just about entering manhood's prime, the French Revolution broke out, and all the covert deism, atheism, and scepticism, which the vices of popery had generated like worms in a putrid carcase, exhibited themselves. Kingcraft and priestcraft became odious all at once, and infidelity rising in the greatness of its feebleness, or strength, shook itself clean of both crafts; and ignorantly and impiously attempted to deify matter, and dethrone the legitimate Sovereign of the universe. The ravages of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, began to appear in all their horrors. Priests were now everywhere execrated, caricatured; and every printer's shop was filled with infidel and atheistical tracts. In this awful crisis, when atheism became philosophy, and scepticism was called reason; every raw and undisciplined mind who came in contact with these spirits or their works, caught the contagion; and the desire of being reputed a philosopher, or a man of reason, impelled them to laugh at religion, as if it deserved no better treatment than the puritans once thought was due to witches and necromancers. The contagion spread into England, and the woful circumstances which then surrounded my friend, furnished him with the first impulses, or data, for the infidel part of his scheme. Since then he has been labouring to amalgamate the good ideas received by the better part of his circumstances, with the bad ideas derived from the worse part of them; and it is owing to the superiority of his natural organization that he has been so moral, or that his atheism has not led him into the usual and legitimate results which have, in ninety-nine instances in every hundred, been its attendants.

But, besides the models furnished him in Scotland, the Moravian and other societies, either preaching or practising some sort of a religious community of interests and feelings, either strengthened the convictions or enlarged the views of my benevolent friend. But the misfortune was, and is, and I fear will be, that he persists in attempting to unite the lights of Christianity with the darkness of scepticism. But the greatest error which I have to attribute to Mr. Owen, is, his not discriminating what Dr. Franklin failed to teach Thomas Paine. This political philosopher, who was, like many other reasoners, sane in politics, but insane in religion, submitted his "Age of Reason" to

the revision, or inspection, of the greatest American philosopher. He read it, and agreeably to Mr. Paine's request, he wrote him his advice about its publication. After telling the sceptic what risks he would incur, and how little good his work would do, he gravely reminds him how much he was indebted for those principles of morality and benevolence which he possessed, to the influence and genius of the religion he was about to attack. He tells him that he calculates too largely upon the natural virtues of man. This advice of the American sage applies with still additional force to Mr. Owen. He possesses a most benevolent temperament: in early life, too, he went regularly to church, and from these sources, as from the "good books" which he told you he had read, he imbibed all these moralities and benevolent views which his scepticism has not, in forty years, been able to obliterate. But his fault (for I believe that men may be guilty of faults,) has been not to discriminate, not to assign to its proper cause, the influences which he feels, and which he sees in himself and in the world.

His ideas concerning matrimony, and many of his views detailed in this discussion, were all detailed with much ability by Godwin in his Political Justice, though he feared some of those conclusions from his own premises, which Mr. Owen has had the moral courage to avow. I do not say that Mr. Owen directly and literally borrowed all his ideas from these fountains; but as these were not only the fashionable books, but the common topics of the epoch of his social system, and as he has told us that he has *read five hours per day for nearly thirty years of his life*, it would be doing him injustice to suppose that these works had not occupied a due share of his attention.

I am not so sceptical in scepticism as Mr. Owen is in Christianity, or, as to think that mankind may not be improved in their condition. "*Fas est ab hoste discere.*" It is lawful to learn from an enemy. I do not doubt but that Mr. Owen has asserted many truths, and some useful truths. But not one good idea has he submitted, which has not been derived, or which is not derivable, from Christianity. There was a society in the New Testament which had all things in common; but their happiness was not derived from a community of goods, but from that principle which issued, in their circumstances, in a community of goods. I most sanguinely anticipate a restoration of the ancient order of things, and a state of society far superior to any thing yet exhibited on earth. I believe that there will be what is commonly believed by all christians, a millennium; a period, a long period of general or universal peace, happiness, and political and religious prosperity. And that some of the views of Mr. Owen may then be realized as the legitimate fruits of Christianity, I would not deny.

But I must speak plainly and say, taking the whole of Mr. Owen's theory in the mass, it is the most visionary theory which has ever been pronounced. It is, too, all *theory*, for Mr. Owen has not made a single proof of it. He cannot point to any society on earth, as a practical proof of its practicability, or of its excellency. Tell me nothing about New Lanark, for there it has never been tested; and tell me nothing about New Harmony, for there, Mr. Owen will not appeal

himself. He has given us a beautiful theory of his social system. But, Paul Brown's "Twelve months' residence in New Harmony" will show the thing in practice. ['*Tis all a lie, says Mr. Owen.*] And, although much has been said about New Lanark, I must, if testimony be a proper source of information, believe that no social system, no co-operative system was ever tried there. That many persons may there have been improved in their circumstances, is not denied. But how has that come to pass? Not on the principles which Mr. Owen now teaches. I will tell you how some of them have been reformed, and improved in their circumstances in that establishment. If, for example, a drunkard was received into the New Lanark manufactories, he was not permitted to draw any money from this company for his work, so long as he continued in the employment of the company. All his necessary demands for food, raiment, lodging, &c. were promptly paid in the articles wanted; and the surplus, if any there was, was not paid him in money during his continuance in the establishment: but when he removed, the last farthing was paid him. Thus he became sober from necessity; and temperate, because he could not get any thing to intoxicate him. The prodigal, and those destitute of economy, were improved in their finances by this same system: and there was a good school for educating the youth, for which, I believe, Mr. Owen deserves some praise. But this is about the net proceeds of the social system in New Lanark. The people of New Lanark, too, were, in the aggregate, a *religious* people. There is one Presbyterian church, in New Lanark, well frequented; also for the benefit of the Independents, who dissented from the establishment, a meeting-house was built, to which Mr. Owen himself was the principal contributor. For, to his credit, it must be told, that while he has been declaiming against priests, and their impositions, he has been liberal in building meeting-houses. The people of New Lanark are a religious people. I have learned from those who visited that place, that not only on the first day of the week, but on Thursdays, and other stated meetings during the week, they meet for social worship in some of the large rooms of the establishment.

Mr. Owen's theory, then, is without proof, unknown, and incredible. Forty years' reading, studying, travelling, and all the funds expended, have produced nothing as yet visible, except the "*Twelve fundamental divine laws of human nature.*" "Like quicksilver, the rhetoric he displays shines as it runs, but grasped at, slips away." New Harmony was once the land of promise. Bankrupt and broken fortunes were to be repaired there. Thither came the lame, the halt, the blind in fortune and in fame. The philosopher's stone, or the elixir of immortal youth, was not more eagerly sought, than the city of mental independence. But soon the charm dissolved, and all the awful realities of nature, reason, and religion, disbanded the social builders; and like those in the plains of Shinar, when one called for a brick, his attendant handed him a stone, or a blow, and utter dispersion and confusion on their banners waited. As many of these folks as had been brought to their senses, and had ever read Horace, as they

returned, admitted the truth of the old maxim, and now and then lisped it out—

"Cœlum, non animum, mutant,
Qui trans mare currunt."—*Horace.*

Their clime, and not their mind, they change,
Who sail across the sea.

The trinity of evils was the text for months at New Harmony. But soon they found a treble trinity of other evils than artificial ones. Next to religion, marriage was accursed. Marriage, the oldest institution in the world, founded in nature, reason, and religion, must be banished the dominions of the social system. It enabled parents to recognize their children, and children their parents; and natural affection would run in these channels, and *mine* and *thine*, in spite of the twelve categories, would be heard, and all this was perfect *discord* in the music of New *Harmony.* Marriage, then, must, for these reasons, be banished, that a thorough *social* system may succeed.

This attempt to dissolve, violate, or impugn the marriage contract, I think, ruined the project on the Wabash. It is hard to fight against "the trinity of nature, reason, and religion." "God said, It is not good for man to be alone." He then created "an help meet for him." Even in Paradise, man alone was but half blessed.

"The world was sad, the garden was a wild,
And man the hermit sigh'd, till woman smiled."—*Reporter.*

Polygamy was denounced in the creation of but one woman for man; and the equal distribution of the sexes since has shown, that every man ought to have his own wife, and every woman her own husband. All that adorns, animates, and exalts, as respects the finer feelings of human nature, spring from this institution in its primitive appointment. On the altar of matrimony are woven all the cords of affection, all the ligaments and bands that cement society. All natural relations are but the names of the silken cords which bind society in all the social relations which give a zest to all enjoyments, and extract the sting from the thousand griefs and sorrows of human life. He that would abolish this institution, or violate its sacred obligations, is any thing but a philanthropist. Destroy this institution, and not only the happiness of man, as a social being, but the safety of the race, would be endangered. Parental affection is the strongest passion of the human soul, which not even the deformity of person or mind, or filial ingratitude, disobedience, or impiety, can wholly obliterate. Our greatest gratifications on earth arise from this institution, and the relations to which it gives birth. And it is just as necessary for the safety, as for the happiness of the race.*

But to meet the exigencies of the new state of existence, when marriage is to be no more, a band of nurses are to be trained, who are

* This is contended for by Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws: but he goes farther; he contends that without the institution of marriage, children would never reach maturity; and hence is derived the legal maxim—
"*Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant.*"—Reporter.

to have in charge the infants of the communities. This is to save time and labour, and to economize the *productive* energies of the communities. Mothers are thus to be happily exempted from many of the toils incident to parturition; and in this arrangement Mr. Owen supposes he is promoting the happiness of mothers. This is a lame and blind philosophy. A mother feels incomparably more pleasure in having the care of her own offspring, than in being exempt from it. The smiles of her infant, the opening dawn of reason, the indications of future greatness or goodness, as they exhibit themselves to her sanguine expectations, open to her sources of enjoyment incomparably overpaying the solicitudes and gentle toils of nursing. In exempting her from the natural concern and care due to her offspring, Mr. Owen debars her from the largest portion of maternal enjoyments, for which he can substitute nothing like an equivalent. But, perhaps, when marriage is abolished, all maternal solicitudes and enjoyments will expire with it. Indeed, all the finer and more tender sensibilities of our nature appear to share the same fate, in the desolating prospects of the new order of things, for the luxury of eating and drinking. The most powerful* of all natural affections is to be waylaid in the cradle; and, if possible, slaughtered as soon as born—the affection of parents for children, flowing from the sacred institution of marriage. In every point of view in which we regard it, this system is at war with human nature, as well as with religion, matrimony, and private property. It aims a mortal blow at all our ideas of social order and social happiness. But Mr. Owen has not yet found, and I am confident he will never find, human nature and human passions so plastic as to be cast into any artificial mould he may imagine; sooner will he cause the rivers to flow backwards to their sources; sooner can he reverse the decrees of gravitation, than abolish religion, marriage, or even private property. I doubt not, either, that were men as religious as Christianity is designed to make them, they would co-operate in societies greatly to diminish the evils of life, to facilitate the education of their children, and to augment their social enjoyments. But, to attempt this without the aids, the principles, motives, and inspirations of Christianity, would be only to attempt to make a globe, a new earth, without the principle of gravitation or attraction. Mr. Owen's system always appears to me to resemble the efforts of some pagan god to build a world upon the single principle of repulsion.

But Mr. Owen is about to have the animal man improved, as the horses and sheep of this country have been improved, upon *scientific* principles. He has told us of a science, in which he is an adept, and with which all shall be well acquainted in "the new state of existence," for improving man in his animal and mental endowments, even from,

* So sensible was the old common law of England of this point, that it made the workings of parental affection a palliation for the commission of *murder*. For when a man's son was severely beaten by another boy, and came home and told his father, if his father went in pursuit of the other boy, and followed him *one mile* before he overtook him, and beat him in return, so that he died, this was held by all the judges to be only manslaughter, in consideration of the strength of natural feelings.—*Reporter*.

if not *anterior* to, his birth. This is all in accordance with the fine imagination of my friend. He is not, however, the inventor of this part of his scheme: Dr. Graham was before him, and disrobed him of the honour of originating even this part of the new sciences of the social system. We shall give you some short account of this matter.

James Graham, M.D., born at Edinburgh, 1745, a philanthropic physician, travelled over great part of England and America, administering relief in the most desperate cases, for the benefit of mankind. After returning from America, where he had realized a considerable fortune, he settled in London, about 1775. There, under the titles of a Temple of Hymen and a Temple of Health, he erected one of the most superb institutions that ever was planned, for the gratification of the votaries of pleasure; and, under the pretence of instructing all persons, of both sexes, who put themselves under his tuition, and were willing to sacrifice to Venus in these sacred domes, he engaged to teach "the art of preventing barrenness, and of propagating a much more strong, beautiful, active, healthy, wise, and virtuous race of human beings, than the present puny, insignificant, foolish, peevish, vicious, and nonsensical race of christians; who quarrel, fight, bite, devour, and cut one another's throats about they know not what." Such is a part of one of his many advertisements which then appeared in the London papers.

About the end of 1787, he returned to Edinburgh in a new and extraordinary character, viz., that of a teacher sent from God, to announce the millennium, the second coming of Christ, and the final consummation of all things. He styled himself the servant of the Lord. O. W. L., *i. e.*, as he explained it, Oh Wonderful Love. He commenced a new era, dating his bills "1st, 2nd, and 3rd, days of the first month of the New Jerusalem." But, before the commencement of the second month, he was constrained to confess "he felt the devil, the world, and the flesh too strong for him, and therefore he supposed the Lord must look out for another forerunner of his second coming."

During great part of this time, his wife (for he had married in New England) seems to have been neglected, and even forgotten: for, upon becoming acquainted with the celebrated Mrs. M'Cauley, the historian, he offered her his hand, which she would have accepted had she not accidentally discovered that he had a wife still living. Upon this, the Doctor, no wise discomfited by the discovery of this *circumstance*, protested the ardour of his passion for her. This singular and benevolent being died in 1794.

The points of similarity between my friend and the Doctor are so plain, that I need not be at the pains to point them out: your own recollection of the first and second years of the era of Mental Independence proclaimed at the metropolis of free-thinkers, and at the head of the army of the "march of mind," will, with what you have heard and seen on the present occasion, be sufficient data to trace the lineaments of Dr. Graham in my good-natured and benevolent friend.

I forgot to mention that Dr. Graham was finally placed in a lunatic asylum. But on this side of this extravagance, several miles on this

side of these enthusiastic flights, there have been schemes hatched up under the canopy of a peculiar organization, as air-built, it is true, and as benevolent, as that of Dr. Graham and Mr. Owen, which have lasted a little longer, but have finally proved quite as empty.

But, my friends, I should not have occupied a minute of your time upon these visions, and dreams, and theories, called philosophic or vulgar, had it not been for the wanton attack made by Mr. Owen, on the last best hope of mortal man. I should have permitted any other experiment to have found its quietus, as thousands such, have already done, without observation or regard. But when I see the last hope of a dying world recklessly assaulted, I feel too much interest in the eternal welfare of my fellow-creatures, to remain a mere passive spectator. I feel myself called upon to put on the armour of reason, true philosophy, and religion, and to stand to my post, lest, in the midst of such morbid excitements, in this age of extravagant theory and licentious philosophy, many over-ardent minds might be allured by the speciousness and false glare of this tinselled philosophy, which, I trust, we have shown to be anything else but consentaneous with the constitution, experience, and history of the world.

Behold the cruelty of this scheme! (not that Mr. Owen is cruel,) the hard-heartedness of the system! Think of all the labours and toils, the griefs and sorrows, through which you have passed. How have you wearied yourselves in pursuit of phantoms? Every thing you have gained has only mocked and disappointed you. Like bubbles, they have bursted when you laid your hands upon the glistening objects of your avarice or ambition. All has been fleeting and evanescent. You know, for woful experience has taught you, that you have been pursuing shadows. What pleased you at seven, you disdain at fourteen; what charmed you at fourteen, was disgusting at twenty; and what you almost adored at twenty, has been long since condemned and despised; and what now fascinates you at forty, will, should you reach seventy, appear as unworthy of your admiration as the toys of childhood now present themselves to you. But, when the curtain drops, and the last grand act of the drama of human life closes, you will be mocked still; and, on Mr. Owen's principle, you have been mocked at last. There is nothing real. You desired immortality; you sought it, each in his own way; but with him none have found it. It is deceit and mockery all through. Riches, popularity, wisdom, health, and life itself, have all been deceivers; all was promise; all is disappointment. The promised bliss, the real, substantial, and permanent good which religion has presented to you, is torn from your eyes, and everlasting death, eternal sleep, and utter annihilation is the only reality he has offered you! Cruel system! Bootless boast!

Religion—the Bible! What treasures untold reside in that heavenly word! Religion has given *meaning*, design to all that is past, and is, as the moral to the fable, the good, the only good of the whole; the earnest now of an abundant harvest of future and eternal good. Now, let me ask the living before me, for we cannot yet appeal to the

dead, whence has been derived your most rapturous delights on earth? Have not the tears, the dew of religion in the soul, afforded you incomparably more joy than all the fleshly gaieties, than all the splendid vanities, than the loud laugh and the festive song of the sons and daughters of the flesh? Even the alternations of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow of which the Christian may be conscious, in his ardent race after a glorious immortality, afford more true bliss than ever did the sparkling gems, the radiant crown, or the triumphal arch, bestowed by the gratitude or admiration of a nation on some favourite child of fortune and of fame.

Whatever comes from religion, comes from God. The greatest joys derivable to mortal man come from this source. I cannot speak for all who wear the Christian name; but, for myself, I must say, that worlds piled on worlds, to fill the universal scope of my imagination, would be a miserable per contra, against the annihilation of the idea of God the Supreme. And the paradox of paradoxes, the miracle of miracles, and the mystery of mysteries, with me now, was and evermore shall be, is, *how any good man could wish there was no God!* With the idea of God the Almighty, departs from this earth not only the idea of virtue, of moral excellence, but of all rational enjoyment. What is height without top; depth without bottom; length and breadth without limitation? What is the sublimity of the universe, without the idea of Him who created, balances, sustains, and fills the whole with goodness? The hope of one day seeing this Wonderful One, of beholding Him that made my body, and is the Father of my spirit; the anticipation of being introduced into the palace of the universe, the sanctuary of the heavens, transcends all comparison with all sublunary things. Our powers of conception, of imagination, and our powers of computation and expression, are alike baffled and prostrated in such an attempt.

Take away this hope from me, and teach me to think that I am the creature of mere chance, and to it alone indebted for all that I am, was, and ever shall be, and I see nothing in the universe but mortification and disappointment. Death is as desirable as life; and no one creature or thing is more deserving of my attention or consideration than another. But, if so much pleasure is derived from surveying the face of nature, from contemplating the heavens and the systems of astronomy; if there be so much exquisite enjoyment from peeping into the great laboratory of nature, and looking into the delicate touches, the great art, the wonderful design even in the smaller works in the kingdom which the microscope opens to our view, what will be the pleasure, the exquisite joy, in seeing and beholding Him who is the *Fountain of Life,* the Author and Artificer of the whole universe? But the natural and physical excellencies, and material glories of this great fabric, are but, as it were, the substratum, from which shine all the moral glories of the Author of *eternal life,* and of the august scheme which gives immortality to man!

No unrestrained freedom to explore the penetralia of voluptuousness, to revel in all the luxury of worms, to bask in the ephemeral glories of a sunbeam, can compensate for the immense robbery of the

idea of God, and the hope of deathless bliss. Dreadful adventure! hazardous experiment! most ruinous project, to blast the idea of God! The worst thing in such a scheme which could happen, or even appear to happen, would be success. But, as well might Mr. Owen attempt to fetter the sea, to lock up the winds, to prevent the rising of the sun, as to exile this idea from the human race. For, although man has not, circumstanced as he now is, unaided by revelation, the power to originate such an idea; yet, when it is once suggested to a child, it never can be forgotten. As soon could a child annihilate the earth, as to annihilate the idea of God once suggested. The proofs of his existence become as numerous as the drops of dew from the womb of the morning; as innumerable as the blades of grass produced by the renovating influences of spring. Every thing within us, and every thing without, from the nails upon the ends of our fingers, to the sun, moon, and stars, confirm the idea of His existence and adorable excellencies. To call upon a rational being to prove the being and perfections of God, is like asking a man to prove that he exists himself. What! shall a man be called upon to prove, *a priori*, or *a posteriori*, that there is one great Fountain of Life! a Universal Creator! If the millions of millions of witnesses which speak for Him in heaven, earth, and sea will not be heard, the feeble voice of man will be heard in vain.

Some questions have been handed me to-day, which do not come within the lawful purview of this discussion. They are of a sectarian character, and therefore we cannot attend to them at this time, however agreeable it might be for us on some other occasion to attend to them.

The question, *What is the word of God?* has already been anticipated in my remarks upon what constitutes *revelation*. In the Bible, we have seen, are the revelations of God; but, besides these, much of the history of the world. The discriminations already laid down on this subject are, we presume, sufficiently plain to enable all to form a correct decision upon this subject.

That which is emphatically called *the word of God, the word of the Lord*, or *the word*, in the New Testament, is generally, if not exclusively, the gospel, or good news concerning Jesus Christ. Of the many proofs of this, I will give you but one at present, and then conclude: Peter had the honour of making the first clear, explicit, and correct confession of *the faith*, ever made upon earth. When all the apostles were interrogated by the Lord, in his own person, concerning their views of himself, Peter thus spake, "*We believe, and are sure that* THOU ART THE MESSIAH, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD." This drew the blessing of the Saviour upon the head of Peter, and obtained him the honour of *the keys of the kingdom of heaven*. By this figure was meant, that Peter should have the honour of opening the gates of the kingdom of heaven, or the *new reign*, announced by John the Baptist, the Saviour, the twelve apostles, and the seventy disciples, as near at hand, or as approaching. These keys have long been a bone of contention among the clergy. The pope says he wears them at his girdle; the archbishops of York and Canterbury think they have them in joint keeping; the good old Kirk

of Scotland thinks she has them in the archives of her General Assembly; and Independents think each congregation, or an association of congregations, have them in charge. But, as we have no account of them in the last will and testament of the apostle Peter, we have no good reason to conclude that he made any, or all, of these good ecclesiastics the *keepers of the keys*. Besides, I do not know that we have any use for them. Peter opened that kingdom of which they were the keys to the Jews and proselytes in Jerusalem upon the ever-memorable Pentecost. And some years afterwards, when God designed to call the gentiles into his kingdom, much pains were taken to obtain Peter. He was sent for to Joppa, and came to Cesarea, and opened the kingdom to the gentiles. The gates of this kingdom have never since been locked against Jew or gentile; against none but the impenitent and unbelieving; and Peter declared once already, that he could not open the kingdom to such. But having once opened the kingdom, and never having locked it, he took the keys with him; and so it is all an idle controversy about the keys: none of them, none of us, have them.

But my special object in introducing this occurrence, is to show how Peter, when opening the reign of favour in Jerusalem and Cesarea, defined *the word of God*, or, THE WORD. In opening the kingdom of heaven, or that new state of society and privilege of which the Saviour spoke to Nicodemus, when he told him, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, into the kingdom of God, he could not enter.*" Peter narrated the deeds, and mission, and death, and resurrection of Jesus; and showed the Jews how they might be born of water and of the Spirit, and thus enter the kingdom. He did so also in Cesarea. He defined the message, or proclamation, in this way, "That *word*, or message, which God sent by Jesus Christ, you have, no doubt, heard the report of; how it was proclaimed by John concerning the mission of Jesus, who did so and so. To him," said he, "did all the prophets testify, that whosoever believeth in him might obtain remission of sins." They were born of the Spirit, and of water too; and, moreover, received the miraculous powers of the Holy Spirit. Thus Peter defined *the word of God*. And this is now emphatically *the word of the Lord*, or, *the word of God*, to which, my friends, we ought, one and all, to pay supreme regard.

We rejoice that *the word* of God is well defined in this volume, and most easily distinguished, not only from all former communications of the Almighty, but from all other information found in the sacred records. They who presumed to make criticisms upon the terms and phrases found in the Bible, ought first to ascertain well, whether they are biblical critics.

I should now proceed to give you a concentrated view of the whole argument, but I must give place to my friend, that he may make his objections to my long speech.

Monday evening, four o'clock.

[The above speech commenced on Friday, at three o'clock, and in all, occupied twelve hours.]

MR. OWEN rises.

It is my wish to make the present meeting, which is a very singular one in its nature, as extensively beneficial as possible. After the full statement of my views, with which I opened this discussion, it was not my intention to occupy much of your time in listening to a rejoinder to Mr. Campbell. But not knowing what my friend was going to say in answer to that statement, and finding that, instead of replying to my arguments, he has given you a full and elaborate development of the Christian religion, it is necessary to detain you somewhat longer than I intended.

I have listened to Mr. Campbell with profound attention; and have, therefore, received the impressions which his elaborate exposition of the Christian system, and his whole chain of evidence, are capable of producing on a mind long accustomed to severe and accurate reasoning. I now owe it you who have attended here so patiently through this discussion; I owe it to the present generation, and to all future generations, to declare without reserve what these impressions are.

My friends, Mr. Campbell appears to me to have done his duty manfully, and with a zeal that would have been creditable to any of the primitive fathers of the church. His own conviction of the truth and divine origin of the system which he advocates, and his ardent desire to impress that conviction upon my mind, and upon yours, all here have witnessed. His learning, his industry, and some very extraordinary talents for supporting the cause which he advocates, have been conspicuous; and for one trained in the *fiery* notions produced by the free-will doctrines, he has restrained his temper beyond my most sanguine expectations. That, however, which I admire in him above all, is his downright honesty and fairness in what he believes to be the cause of truth. He says to his opponent: "I am strong in the cause I advocate. It is from heaven; and I fear not what man can do against it. I am ready to meet you at any time and place, provided I may reply to you, and that our arguments shall go together to the public, to pass its ordeal, and await its ultimate calm decision." Now as this is a straightforward proceeding in the investigation of truth, which I have long sought for, but which, until now, I have sought for in vain. The friends of truth, therefore, on which side soever of the question it may be found, are now more indebted to Mr. Campbell, than any other Christian minister of the present day.

These are the impressions made upon my mind, with regard to my friend Mr. Campbell's conduct in this delicate and difficult task which he volunteered to perform. It is now my duty to give you the living impressions which Mr. Campbell's learning, industry, and zeal have made upon my mind, through the long discussion we have heard. And you will not, I trust, imagine that what I am about to state proceeds from *any other cause than the love of truth, and a sincere desire to benefit the present and future generations.*

Then, my friends, my impressions are, that Christianity is *not* of divine origin; that it is *not* true; and that its doctrines are now any

thing but beneficial to mankind. On the contrary, my impressions are deeply confirmed that its miracles and mysteries are of man's contrivance, to impose on the great mass of mankind who have never yet been taught to reason; to enable the few to govern the many, through their interested hopes and fears for the future; and to induce the many to prostrate their minds before an order of men, who through these means, can easily keep them in subjection to the powers that be. That its doctrines are now, by turning aside the mind from investigating its own powers, the only obstacle in christendom to the most important improvements; and that the whole system, in its principles and practice, in despite of all we have heard in advocating it, is the greatest bar to the progress of knowledge that now exists; and that, if my impressions are right, Christianity, as it is now taught all over christendom, by preventing man from acquiring an accurate knowledge of himself, or of the only means by which his character can be uniformly well formed, is the greatest curse with which our race is at this time afflicted.

My friends, do you suppose that I would utter such a sensation as you have now heard, lightly, and without due consideration? No! it is the settled conviction of my mind, arising from forty years of the greatest possible industry in tracing Christianity, in all its influences and operations, upon the whole of society.

There is no individual in this assembly who regrets the necessity of wounding your feelings more than I do. But, my friends, I am not speaking for the hour, or the day, or the few hundreds that are here. I speak to you a truth, which I expect, when once promulgated, will pass from mind to mind, until it shall pervade every part of the world. I speak to you, a truth, which, whatever may be your present impressions, will one day prove to you the most valuable truth you ever heard.

My friends, would you not suppose, from what you have heard of the practical advantages of Christianity, that all is now right amongst you; that you are very angels in conduct; that you have among you the very perfection of virtue and of all excellence? But you all well know this is not the case. You well know that Christian society, all over christendom, abounds in vice and iniquity. [*Here there was some stir among the audience*] My friends, if any of you are afraid to hear the truth it is time for you to depart. [*Here a little more excitement, and some few left the church.*]*

My friends, when the Jewish system was worn out, and the time had arrived for another to be introduced, the excitement which took place when communications were publicly made that a new order of things was about to commence, was much greater than the trifling movement which we have just now witnessed. The time, however, has arrived, when the corruptions of the Christian system, like the corruptions of all preceding and existing old systems, call loudly for a great and mighty moral change. Do not you all acknowledge daily, and with great truth, that you are now dead in trespasses and

* Here a lady almost fainted, and another had her foot bruised in the crowd.

sins? If you really mean what you say, it is high time that you should arise under new circumstances into new life. But, unless the truth, without any fear of man, shall be honestly spoken to you, what help is there for you? You have not, in this discussion, heard from me one syllable that is not deeply fixed in my mind as a valuable truth; nor during the remainder of these proceedings, shall you hear a word from me, that is not dictated by an ardent desire to place without disguise the most valuable truths before you.

The evidences which Mr. Campbell has brought to prove the truth of Christianity, prove to me its falsehood. And all he has said about the purity of its doctrines, and their efficacy for practice, is disproved by the daily conduct of every Christian population in every quarter of the world.

A Christian population is, emphatically, in practice, a population preying upon each other, and living very generally in a state of unnatural anxiety for useless and surplus property, in the midst of hourly deception and hypocrisy; hating and disliking each other because they cannot think and feel alike; having been taught the notion that they may think and feel as they please. It is every where a population of inequality of condition, and necessarily of pride, poverty, envy, and jealousy. It is a population in which tenfold more of exertion and anxiety is required from each, to produce the misery they experience, than is necessary to secure a full supply of the best of every thing for all. In short, I find it to be, in practice, so full of ignorance, weakness, insincerity, and counteraction of each other's views and objects, and of weekly preaching to perpetuate all these evils, that, did I not firmly believe that truth is omnipotent to remove error, and that we are in consequence rapidly approaching a new state of existence, in which, with regard to these things, there will be a new birth and a new life, a regeneration that will purge man from all these abominations, I could feel no interest in the present irrational proceedings of the human race. And if I had wanted any further proof of the Christian world being in this wretched condition, Mr. Campbell's sermon in this place, on Sunday last, and the appearance of the state of mind of the congregation, would have rendered more unnecessary. Never did I see so much fine talent so miserably misdirected. Never did I see human beings so ready to receive poison under the undoubting supposition that it was good and wholesome food.

Mr. Campbell is, however, according to my conviction of right and wrong, blameless. Like all other men, he has been made subject to the fifth law contained in the casket; he has been compelled to receive the instructions which have been forced into his mind, which is by nature of that honest firmness and consistency, that he is compelled to retain them with great tenacity.

My friends, I do say again, that so long as this weekly preaching, without reply from the congregation, shall be allowed to proceed, you and your posterity will be kept in the very depth of darkness, as you are at this hour. In consequence of this preaching, Mr. Campbell, unconscious to himself, with all his energies and fine natural talents,

has fallen a complete victim to it. His mind has been closed by his early training and consequent prepossessions, and held in chains, by which he is prevented from receiving one ray of natural and true light. He is, at this time, I am compelled to believe, in the depth of mental darkness—blind as a mole.

Thus from age to age do the blind lead the blind, until they all fall into the ditch of error. And out of this ditch, I perceive, they cannot come, until some one shall open the eyes of their mind, and enable them to see the wretched condition in which they are. The present and past generations have been rendered mentally blind from their birth, and they truly require many physicians to make them whole. Now, I am persuaded, that neither Mr. Campbell nor the larger part of his congregation were, in the least, conscious that, throughout his sermon on Sunday morning, he reasoned as falsely, and spoke as much error, as could well be spoken in the same period.

And these false impressions were taken home by those present, whose conduct would not be improved by it in the least; for they would think worse of their neighbours who are compelled to differ from them in opinions and feelings, and immediately begin to enter upon the regular daily sins of life, such as I have described them to be: the same, in fact, as they were engaged in the day before, and all their lives. This kind of preaching has no other effect—it can have no other effect in practice, than to perpetuate the dark ages of ignorance and hypocrisy.

And before I leave this part of the subject, I wish to put it upon record, that the most despotic power in the world, at this day, is the weekly preachings in the churches, without the liberty of reply to the preacher. And the United States, free and independent as they are supposed to be, are more overrun with the blind thus leading the blind than many other countries. Yes, my friends, by this cunningly devised mechanism, which extends its ramifications far and wide, even into lands and territories the most distant, you are made to pay for erecting the buildings, and the cost of repairs; to pay the preacher, and bow your neck to him, that he may the more conveniently rivet on you the chains of ignorance, and make you always subservient to his purposes. Until this evil shall be removed, there will be no hope for the rising generation. You can never be free as long as you have weekly or frequent unanswered preachings and prayings.

Now, this is a different view of the subject from any anticipated by Mr. Campbell. His mind, in consequence of his early instruction and prepossession, has not been, in any degree, prepared for it; nor does he now, as it appears to me, perceive or comprehend much of my reasoning. I apprehend, also, there are but few in this assembly, who, with their present impressions, can be prepared to understand it.

The twelve old laws, which appear so much to puzzle Mr. Campbell, may be fitly compared to a casket in which are contained twelve of the most valuable jewels that the imagination can conceive; but a casket composed of steel so highly polished, that all who look upon it see only the reflection of their own minds. You may also imagine

that the casket has been closed by ingenious workmen employed for that purpose, many thousand years, in order that no ordinary person should open it to inspect its contents. Mr. Campbell has looked upon this casket; but, with all his talents, owing to the tenacity of his early impressions, it has reflected the association only of his instructions in the Christian mysteries.

A fortunate combination of circumstances, originating in certain causes, over which I had no control, has enabled me to open this casket, and at leisure, calmly to survey the precious deposit therein.

The jewels it contains have lain within it for unnumbered thousands of years. They have not, therefore, that brilliant appearance which they would possess if they had been lately polished by professed and experienced jewellers. But, this evening, after the meeting adjourns, I will, although I am not an experienced working jeweller, in the absence of those more expert in the trade, take the liberty to burnish them up a little, and to-morrow endeavour to bring out some of their beauties for your inspection. I shall not have time to perform this burnishing as it ought to be done; but what the time will permit, I will do.

Adjourned till to-morrow.

Tuesday, April 21, 10 *o'clock, a. m.*

[Met agreeably to adjournment.]

Mr. Owen proceeded—

Mr. Campbell has said that the Christian religion is divine, and that the Supreme Power, who revealed it, is most anxious that men should believe it. How came it, then, that Mahomet, after Christ had preceded him six hundred years, and the Christians had all that time to mature their plans, should have obtained more proselytes, and that the Mussulmen should at that day nearly equal, if not outnumber, the Christians! That which proves the truth of the Christian religion, as Mr. Campbell has attempted to prove it, will equally prove the truth of the Mahomedan and every other religion. The verity of each depends upon the same kind of testimony: they all have their mysteries and their miracles. Whenever we become rational beings we shall be assured that the power which governs the universe, whatever it may be, requires no mysteries or miracles to effect its purposes.

If my plan was to arouse too much local irrational feelings, it would not be difficult to make very short work of these proceedings. To enter fully into an examination of the mysteries, miracles, and errors which Christians have been taught from infancy to hear with reverence, would be productive of no practical benefit. I shall, therefore, not go much into detail upon subjects which so few are yet prepared to hear freely discussed.

There may, however, be some utility in deviating a little from the course to which, originally, I intended to adhere. For, although I think it right, for the reasons stated, not to enter minutely into what appears to me the glaring inconsistencies of any of the religions of the world; yet, as Mr. Campbell has taken so much pains to develop

the whole of the Christian scheme, I will advert to some of his points of defence, and afterwards give a further development of those twelve fundamental laws, which Mr. Campbell calls old principles, and show that these old principles, being all proved to be facts, it becomes utterly impossible that any religion can be true.

Mr. Campbell has told you the Christian religion consists in faith, and that faith depends upon testimony; that the faith necessary for you to have, is an undoubting belief in the miraculous birth, in the death and burial, and in the ascension into heaven of the man Jesus Christ, who—it is the most essential, however, to believe—was really and truly the Son of God, begotten by him of a virgin.

This is the position in which Mr. Campbell has placed the discussion. He is, from the circumstances in which he has been placed from his infancy, unprepared to discuss it upon any other grounds. His mind is completely overwhelmed with the theological learning he has been induced to acquire. Mr. Campbell has little or no practical knowledge of the present state of the human mind, or of society, out of the western districts of this country.

It was not my intention, as I have previously mentioned, to enter at all into the endless details of the incomprehensible mysteries which have been contrived to confound the understandings of the ignorant, in all the religions of the world, past and now existing.

The most intelligent of the population of Europe never think of introducing religious subjects for argument. They are well aware that all religious mysteries and miracles are opposed to reason, and are useless for any good purpose. They abandon them, therefore, to men who discard reason—to untaught women and children; and by these means relieve their society from a subject, upon which they tacitly acknowledge that all men, who devote their time to it, become more or less insane.

I shall, therefore, not waste much of your time, and mine, by entering upon a discussion of subjects in which reason can be of no manner of use, but quite the reverse. For reason would say, that if God made us, and could make us as he liked, and he desired we should believe in his existence with any definite qualities, and to obey any fixed laws for his advantage or ours, that he would at once have made us so to believe, and so to act. That he never could be angry or displeased with his own work; and that, having the ordering and direction of all things, even, as they say, of creating the very materials, all things must exist, be, and act as he intended; and that nothing, by any possibility, and more particularly after the Creator saw and pronounced that "all was very good," could go wrong, or remove out of the eternal order which he foreknew, or preordained.

Reason also would say, that if, by some mystery wholly incomprehensible to reason, man, the last and most finished work of this all-wise, all-good, and all-powerful Creator, did actually disobey the laws given to him by his Creator, almost as soon as man and woman were created; and that the Creator really wished to have a good and happy race of human beings; the better mode would have been to have put

Adam and Eve quietly asleep, and humanely put them out of existence again, before they had begotten any children, if they also were to be rendered unhappy for their parents' acting naturally under the circumstances in which they were placed.

And when Adam and Eve were thus, without experiencing pain, or knowing evil, put, without noise or disturbance, out of the way, reason would say, that the Creator, if such were his wishes, having acquired the experience in which he proved himself to be deficient at the creation of the first man and woman, might, in this second attempt, have succeeded to his utmost desire, and obtained men and women who would always think as he intended they should think, and act as he made them to act.

But again—if some other mysteries, quite incomprehensible for human nature to divine, did stand in the way of God acting in this reasonable manner; and that, for this one action of man and woman, performed, no one knows how, contrary to the divine will, it became the wish of God that innumerable myriads of human beings should suffer, through thousands of generations in this world, and eternally in another; reason cannot discover why God repented himself that he had made man, or why he should suffer man to make him angry, or to thwart all his good intentions for the benefit of the human race.

But passing over these impassable matters to reason, it seems strange that God should relent in part of the horrid, cruel, and unjust treatment to which, as it appears to reason, he had doomed mankind; and wish to devise some expedient by which man might have some chance of relieving himself from that part of his punishment which consigns him to eternal misery.

Again: it seems very extraordinary to our faculties, that he should have created man without any power over his belief; and that God should make the condition of his escape from hell and damnation to consist in firmly believing what is opposed to his senses, and what he cannot receive into his mind until he has been reduced from a rational to an irrational being. That is, he must believe that the Power which pervades all space overshadowed a particular virgin of the human race, and that thus the Son of God was procreated and produced; that the Son of God was an infant man, and grew as other men grow; that he was upwards of thirty years in making a few individuals believe that he was the Son of God; that then he was crucified as an impostor; that this, the only Son of God in the universe, was God himself; that he died, although we are told God cannot die; that on the third day he rose from the dead, and appeared, as in his life-time, with his natural material body; that he ate and drank with some of his disciples for forty days, at divers times and places, and then, with all his materiality, (for they saw him with their material eyes,) he ascended up to heaven, as they say, from whence he has never returned.

Why were these strange things made of so doubtful a character to man, that very few, compared with the number living at the time they were said to have occurred, could or did believe them? Reason also says, if God and the Son desired that all men should believe

these mysteries and miracles, how came it that Mahomet successfully opposed both Father and Son on this subject, and got the better of the christians, after they had had six hundred years to fix these divine doctrines among mankind?

Reason also asks, how is it that, at this day, there are, as christians say, but few sincere believers in the story of Adam and Eve, and the apple and serpent, and in the birth, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ?

But reason would ask ten thousand pertinent questions of this nature, to not one of which could a rational answer be given.

I shall only offend my intelligent hearers by pursuing such a heterogenous mass of incomprehensible absurdities as these; and I will, therefore, conclude this part of the subject, by asking Mr. Campbell, what evidence, in these days, would now be sufficient to induce him to believe that a virgin had conceived, and was delivered of a male child? or that one rose from the dead, and appeared with a material body; and with that body, or without it, was seen ascending up to heaven? I know that, as *I* am constituted, and as *millions* of my fellows are, no power which we possess over our wills can prevent us having the most thorough conviction that the whole is nothing but an invention, and a very inferior and inconsistent one, to frighten ignorant men, weak women, and children, out of their sober senses, and to render them, for life, irrational beings, and bad members of society. And if we cannot avoid these impressions, who is to blame? Man, who cannot, by his organization, command his will contrary to his conviction, or the being who created the will for man?

This part of the subject is to me, as it exhibits the degradation to which the reasoning faculties of man has been reduced, most unpleasant, and more especially as all must become irrational on these topics, before they can become sincere. I will, therefore, dismiss it, as I hope all mankind will before a few years have expired, and proceed to subjects which the human mind can reason upon, without feeling that it is degraded by the operation.

I shall, therefore, merely repeat, that to a sane mind, Mr. Campbell's evidences are no evidences at all, except to prove the errors of the doctrines which, according to a known law of our nature, he has been compelled to receive, and which, of his own power, he cannot remove from his mind.

I hope, that when he shall hereafter reflect upon this discussion, the facts stated will be sufficient to overcome his present convictions, and make a right impression on his mind, and enable him to see the inestimable practical value of the twelve fundamental laws of our nature; for then, with his talents, he would be a powerful advocate in dispelling error from the minds of others.

After taking up a large portion of your time upon these evidences, none of which would be admitted into any of our courts of law to prove to the value of one dollar, Mr. Campbell gave us many learned documents as extracts from deists, atheists, and sceptics; but, for what purpose, in this discussion, I know not, except to prove that

there was no connexion between my views and those of many of these writers.

The truth is, I cannot feel that high importance that many do, for writings which proceed from mere closet speculators in metaphysics, who, perceiving some of the false notions derived from the doctrines of free-will, could not discover what human nature really is, so as to be competent to recommend any practical improvement in relation to the affairs of life.

They were, therefore, men in the second stage of the human mind. They had discovered some of the errors of religion, and had lost its influences, without acquiring any better, or any substitute at all for them. I consider them, therefore, to have been in the state in which almost all the learned and most enlightened men of Europe are at this moment—without religion, and without knowledge of any other principles which can produce a superior practice in the conduct of the population of the world. This is the worst state in which society can be; and, from my extensive communications with the leading minds of Europe and America, I know it to be the present condition of the civilized world. And this is the true reason why this discussion has been so necessary at this period. The world must have a change, and it well merits a public contest to ascertain what that change shall be; whether it shall return back to the superstition and ignorance of the dark ages, or proceed forward, to bring into full practice, physically, mentally, and morally, the discoveries and improvements of the past ages, for the benefit of the human race.

It is from knowing the danger of this second stage of the human mind, and the necessity of union to accomplish any great change without evil, that you have heard of my progress from country to country. I thus proceed from one country to another, with the view of laying a broad and solid foundation for a new mode of life and enjoyment, and to prepare the means to prevent society from continuing long in its present condition without a beneficial governing principle. For, whatever you may think in this part of the world, the governors and great men of all countries are, at present, with few exceptions, without religion, and without a knowledge of those principles which alone can create real virtue in the world. They are more at a loss to know how to govern their respective states now, owing to the general progress of knowledge, than they have been for centuries. They perceive that a great change is unavoidable; but they are at a loss to know how it is to be effected without confusion.

The British government and nation, now while I speak, are at the very height of civilization, under the present irrational system of society. They inhabit a beautiful island, and possess another immediately adjoining, with a valuable population, capable of rendering to, and receiving from, each other, every possible social service, benefit, and advantage; yet, at this moment, that government is greatly at a loss to determine what measures to adopt, to put that population in a state of prosperity. The opposing parties were lately on the point of dissension; and if they had proceeded to hostilities,

no one could calculate the extent of the evil and misery that would have followed. And what is the real obstacle to their union, prosperity, and happiness?—It is religion. Ask the Irish, if, to their cost, they have not found religion to be the greatest curse with which they have ever been afflicted? In Ireland, it has been the parent of every crime and evil of which the mind can conceive. Were that obstacle removed, what a glorious opportunity would arise to make that country one of the most beautiful, and the inhabitants among the most happy, in any part of the world! Yes! I know of nothing but religion, and the consequent ignorance which it generates of our nature, which now prevents Ireland from becoming one of the most desirable places of abode in any of the four quarters of the globe; little short, indeed, of the paradise described by Mr. Campbell. But all the members who administer the government of Great Britain, as well as the population, are utterly at a loss to know what to do with their overabundant means of creating a surplus wealth, and a superior character for the population of both islands. They are like sheep without a shepherd: they know not whither to go; what new direction to take; or how to overcome the difficulties in which they are involved. I well know, and I have known for twenty years past, that measures were in a steady progress to produce this state of things in both islands. I have long known that they were proceeding at a rapid pace through all the necessary previous stages, until they should come to a point, beyond which they could not advance without an entire change of the principles by which they have been governed. And they have now reached this point. Fortunately for them, and the world, they must now adopt new principles and practices.

The circumstances which now exist every where, plainly indicate to all who are engaged in the affairs of men, that the population of the world is gorged with the means of obtaining every good thing; but that such is the ignorance which prevails, that instead of rationally using the wealth so easily to be obtained, or properly applying the newly-acquired scientific means, by which the best things to promote the happiness of society may be beneficially procured in the greatest abundance, the wealth accumulates in a few hands, and is misapplied; while the new producing powers obtained from mechanical improvements and chemical discoveries are so misdirected, as to be made the most powerful engines yet known, to inflict poverty and distress on the largest portion of mankind. I mean that portion of it which, by their labour, produces all the wealth which is consumed by those who create none for themselves.

But, my friends, although I foresaw distinctly, twenty years ago, that these results would necessarily arise from the progress of new improvements and inventions, and published my reasons for these opinions; yet, so little is the world aware of these movements, the inevitable consequences of this new state of things, that the change is, even now, coming upon the most civilized nations "like a thief in the night," unheeded and unprovided for. You know not, that the very circumstances in which you, and the whole population of the

world at present exist, render it inevitable that this, the most mighty change which the world has yet experienced, must take place within a few years. There is no power on earth that can resist its progress. It is proceeding forward with a mighty impetus, such as our minds are now inadequate to comprehend. This new scientific, mechanical, and chemical power is advancing, with the efficient force of an army equal to many hundred millions of men, well-disciplined, equipped, and provided, to accomplish its purpose.

Irresistible, however, as this force now is, it is daily upon the increase. It is annually recruited in Europe and America, but chiefly in Great Britain and the United States, by new inventions, and extensions of the old, with new powers, such as appal the present state of the human mind to contemplate, and far exceed the belief of those who are inexperienced upon these subjects. I believe I am much within the real amount, when I state, that the increase of this new power, within the last ten years, over Europe and America, has exceeded, in its results, each year, upon the average of that period, the well-directed industry of *twenty millions of labourers*, unaided by machinery or other scientific aid.

This is the power which will force the nations who are now the most advanced in arts and sciences to stand still, and inquire what is to be done with this enormous force, daily increasing, in direct competition with all the producing classes, having a continual tendency to diminish, under the existing system of trade and commerce, the value of their labour, and to reduce them and their families to poverty and slavery. Modern governments know not what measures to adopt, to give this enormous and continually-increasing power a right direction. Yes! as governments and nations, they will be speedily overwhelmed by that worthless object for which they have been all taught to sacrifice their real happiness, and which they now worship as their god. I mean WEALTH—what is called gold, and silver, and bank notes, which, after all, but represent *real* wealth.

There will soon be so much real wealth produced, by the daily multiplying labour-saving machines, that nations will be no longer competent to prosecute any of their present measures with success. This wealth will accumulate, and become as an impassable mountain-barrier to permanent prosperity. It has already, in your technical phrase, overstocked many, and soon it will oversupply all markets; and require, in consequence, more and more exertion from the working and middle classes, to enable them to live.

These are the signs of the times. I wish your eyes could be opened, to enable you to perceive these things even a little way off; for they are, while I speak, but a short distance from us. I see it in the smoke of your new factories before me. I hear it in the strokes of your heavy hammers, mechanically moved, which now din upon the ear. This is one reason why this discussion is so necessary at this period. It well merits a public contest, to ascertain what that change, which all things indicate to be so near at hand, shall be: whether it shall return back to the superstition and ignorance of the

dark ages; or proceed forward, to bring into full practice, physically, mentally, and morally, the discoveries and improvements of the past ages, for the benefit of the human race.

We may, therefore, dismiss these quotations of Mr. Campbell's, from the atheists, deists, sceptics, &c., as he calls them; for they do not, in any degree, belong to the subject. I brought none of them forward to support my argument. He had supposed that I had none but such broken reeds to depend upon, and he prepared his defence accordingly. I have derived little advantage from the past writings of the human race, except as finger-posts, to inform me "that this is not the right road to virtue and happiness."

I have derived far more wisdom from calmly and attentively watching the minds and proceedings of children, from a very early age, than I have acquired from all the writings, sacred and profane, that I have read.

The authors of these works assumed facts which did not exist, reasoned upon them as though they were true, and let their imaginations run into every kind of error. Hence the mythologies of the Pagans, and the mysteries and miracles of the Jews, Hindoos, Christians, and Mohammedans. All the sacred and theological writings of the Pagans, Jews, Hindoos, Christians, and Mohammedans, are of no value. Nay, my friends, instead of any real value, they are the greatest evils existing among men; for they derange or destroy all the superior faculties and feelings of the human race, and make man, as he is at this day, more irrational than any of the animal creation.

For the brute creation, as we call them, act agreeably to their nature, and enjoy it; while man, governed by the caprice of his imagination, acts contrary to it, and is miserable.

The millions of volumes of this kind of writing, with which the world has been burdened, have had but one object; and that is, to derange all the faculties of those who read them. It were happy for mankind if they could all be collected in one heap—and an immense one it would be—with fire placed under it, so that it might be consumed until not a fragment was left. The conflagration would be the greatest blessing that could now be conferred upon the human family. It is from these books that you have derived your present irrational ideas. And until those ideas can be extracted from your minds; until they can be unassociated even to their very foundations; until your minds can be regenerated, and made to receive other and wholly opposite ideas, founded on principles all true, and therefore all consistent with each other, you will see nothing, except through a glass so dark and obscure, that you cannot distinguish one object as it really exists in nature.

I have said that all the sacred and theological writings, of all religions, are of no value; for they have not taught us a practice that is of any utility:—they cannot teach one.

To acquire true wisdom, the world must become again as little children, and observe with care the facts which every where abound, to give them true and valuable knowledge. For the world has almost

every thing to acquire from these facts, relative to a superior mode of existence.

The inhabitants of the earth have, indeed, eyes, but see not; ears have they, but hear not; understandings, and understand not. For all their natural senses are deceived by false instructions from infancy, and thereby rendered highly injurious.

While every past and present fact demonstrates that your character, from birth to death, is formed for you, you have been made, by a legerdemain of which you are quite unconscious, to believe that you form them yourselves, and that you have merit or demerit for what you are. Why, my friends, whether you have been made vessels of honour or dishonour, you are no more than wax or clay in the hands of the potter.

I hope the time is approaching when I shall be permitted to discharge an important duty to you and all mankind. Silver and gold have I not now to spare; and if I had, it could be of no real use to you. But I trust that I shall give you that which is beyond all price, and thereby render gold and silver unnecessary to you, to your children, and all future generations. Instead of mankind being, as heretofore, as clay in the hands of the potter, I have the most thorough conviction, that it is now practicable to make you potters yourselves for your children; and I can show you the way to become good potters, so as to enable you to new-form them, to the extent that the materials of which they are composed will admit; then shall I do for you, and them, and future generations the greatest service that one man has ever performed for his fellows. I do not despair, indeed, of enabling many of the present generation, by certain inducements derived from real knowledge, to place themselves in a new furnace, as it were, in which their hearts and minds shall be softened, and by which operation they may be enabled in part even to amend some of the numerous deformities and imperfections, which, through the ignorance of their instructers, they have been compelled to receive.

This, many will be enabled to do for themselves; but their children, through an early training and instruction in this invaluable knowledge, may be made to become greatly superior in this new art or calling; while their children again, will greatly improve upon their immediate predecessors. And thus shall an improved character be given, through all future time, to every succeeding generation.

This happy result will arise, when all the jewels within the casket shall be so burnished as to compel public attention to examine, not only their external beauty, but also their intrinsic worth.

Now, my friends, can I give you any thing of more intrinsic value, than to enable you to make your offspring superior, physically and intellectually, to the most perfect human being that now exists? I *can* do this; and this I will not cease to endeavour to do, while health and the power of exertion shall be spared to me. There is nothing in the whole range of human society, that can be, in any degree, compared with the value of this knowledge. Having this, you will have every thing; and without it, you have comparatively nothing.

When you shall thus become expert potters, and be enabled to put your children in superior moulds, there will be no occasion for weekly preachings; no necessity for formal precepts of any kind, to adults. The superior formation of the character of each individual will be secured in childhood; and before the period of youth expires, it will be matured in good habits and dispositions; in a correct knowledge of human nature, through a close inspection of the laws within the casket; and it will have attained the high intellectual acquirements and fixed moral principles which will make it evident to all, that the present weekly preachings are most injurious to the best and highest interests of the human race.

And unless this superior workmanship shall be applied at an early period of life, it is useless to expect that it can ever be effectually well done afterwards. When your children have been put into an ill-formed mould from infancy, and thereby forced to acquire irrational feelings for their fellows, erroneous ideas and notions respecting their own powers, and bad habits, which tenaciously adhere to them, it is in vain to expect that you can undo that, except by some accidental occurrence, which has been so unfortunately done at the most important period of the child's life, for giving the best form to his character.

You have heard much from my friend, Mr. Campbell, of the genius and tendency of the Christian faith and religion. He has told you what he has been taught to believe of it from his youth upwards. And he has informed you what his impressions are, with as much honesty as a conscientious Mussulman would tell you of the spirit and genius of the Mohammedan faith and religion. For the Mohammedans and Hindoos are as conscientious in their belief, and as tenacious of the superiority of their religion, as Mr. Campbell, or any christian in christendom, can be of theirs. And have they not as much faith as the members of any other religion?

But the conscientiousness or tenacity of the Pagan, Jew, Hindoo, Christian, or Mohammedan do not add one grain to the argument in favour of the divine origin or truth of either. They prove only the divine origin and truth of the fifth law of human nature; and the value, beyond price, which it will become to the world when it shall be regenerated and born again, and it shall cease to be dead in trespasses and sins, as almost all christendom, as the other portions of the world are at present.

We shall presently see how these laws of nature harmonize and explain each other, and their applicability to all the business and duties of life.

Did Mr. Campbell explain to you the spirit and genius of the Christian system? I listened to him with all the attention in my power; and then I contrasted, in my mind, the real effects produced in christendom by that spirit and genius. Because, my friends, it is "by the fruits that ye shall know them."

The mode of judging of the tree by its fruit, is alone the one I adopt, when I examine the spirit and genius of any religion, of any

government, of any code of laws, or any of the institutions which flow from them. And by this guide I have, without prejudice or favour, compared the spirit and genius of the Christian mysteries, miracles, fables, and dogmas, with their fruits; and by their fruits, so abundantly growing around me in every direction, I have become intimately acquainted with the tree, from the blossom to the root.

And what have I found this tree, of two thousand years' growth, to produce in every soil in which it has been planted? Abundance of insincerity and deception: for the whole life of a christian is a continued striving in opposition to his nature, and therefore, of necessity, he must be a hypocrite. It is notorious over Asia and Africa, that there is so little truth in a christian, that little or no faith is placed in what he may say or do. But, to come nearer home: show me a man or woman in the city of Cincinnati, whose daily life is not a perpetual lie to his or her profession. It cannot be otherwise. It is necessarily so; and no one can avoid this consequence, without being so unnatural as not to partake of human nature. It is the natural fruit of the tree. It is the spirit, the genius, the necessary tendency of Christianity; and, therefore, the individuals who have been compelled to receive it, are objects of our greatest compassion.

Other fruits of this tree are, pride and spiritual pride; among many other kinds of it, envy and jealousy.

My friends, do you know any pride of wealth, of birth, of connexions; any spiritual pride, any pride of learning, or personal pride, in this city? Do you know any who envy the advantages possessed, or which they suppose to be possessed, by others? Or do you know any who are jealous of their neighbour's superiority, or of their feelings for others in preference to themselves? If you do, these are the genuine fruits of this tree; and you well know they superabound every where.

Other fruits of this same tree are, iguorauce and presumption, most peculiarly combined.

Have you any ignorant among you, who know nothing of themselves, and very little of nature, who yet imagine themselves to be *God's elect*; and who, in consequence, look down upon their fellow-beings as though they were not of the same species, and say, "Stand aloof, for I am more holy than thou?"

This, again, is the natural fruit of the tree. Religious wars, massacres, and persecutions for conscience' sake, are also some of its fruits; and these have been shed abundantly all over christendom.

It is unnecessary to tell me what any system will do when carried into practice, whilst I have its practical results before me; whilst I see what it has produced in the past, and what it is producing in the present time; what it produces to-day, and what it must produce during the continuance of the practice among men. From the facts and reasonings thus obtained, it is most evident, that if the Christian doctrines were to continue to form your characters for ten thousand years, they would make you, at the end of that period, worse than you are to-day; for they are daily becoming more and more incon-

gruous, when compared with the knowledge derived from the growing experience of the world. In the very nature of the doctrines which the gospel enforces upon the young and tender mind, every generation, if it can be supposed possible that these doctrines, in opposition to experience, could continue to influence them, must become more and more irrational. For, as the world advances in knowledge and experience, the professing christian must necessarily become either more hypocritical, or more ignorant. And from this simple cause, I doubt whether, since the days of Christ's first appearing, there ever was a time of more hypocrisy over the world of christendom than at the present.

I know the world cannot help being what it is: you cannot help being what you are. And in consequence of the overwhelming circumstances which now exist, religious societies are now every where a cheat from beginning to end. Owing to the certain information I have derived from the casket, I can easily discover that your looks, your words, and your actions are continually opposed to each other.

Do not be offended, my friends, nor suppose I speak in anger, or with the intention to offend you. So far from being angry, I feel the utmost, the most sincere compassion for you, and all who are, like you, under the influence of any religious delusion.

I do not attach a particle of blame to one of you. Possessing the knowledge contained in this casket, and the charity which it necessarily compels me to have for every human being, how can I blame you? Do I not know, with the greatest certainty, how the character of each has been formed *for* him from infancy?

My friends, every one admits, even your sacred books teach, that there is no possibility of judging fairly of any tree, save by its fruits. I therefore judge of Christianity by the bitter fruits which it has produced wheresoever it has been planted.

My friends, I have had time only to polish some parts, and those imperfectly, of the contents of this casket, as you have witnessed. This afternoon I shall be prepared with some more of it, and I will endeavour to produce as much as will occupy our attention from four to five o'clock. Seeing the course Mr. Campbell has adopted, I wish to have time to do equal justice to the subject which I advocate. I do not like to depend solely upon the accidental ideas which may arise when I address you, without any preparation; for, as I enter more fully into this subject, its importance continually grows upon me. Having proceeded thus far in attempts to open a new light in this city, as it must be to some of you, I am the more desirous not to leave you partially informed respecting it. I wish to do justice, in this case, to the subject, to you, and to the millions to whom these records will be transmitted. I therefore trust that it will not be too inconvenient to the gentlemen who sit as moderators, to allow time sufficient to do that which it would be most improper to leave undone. I could not begin to reply to Mr. Campbell until he had finished his elaborate argument, and his long chain of documents, which have occupied one half more time than I required to place my views before

you; and he speaks, as you may notice, three words for two of mine. I mean not, however, to occupy your time with words without corresponding ideas, as must be done in all cases in which much is spoken on the subject of any religion. For the mysteries of religion can be made to pass current only when many words are used to confound the understanding of the hearers, by no definite meaning being attached to them. When the deepest prejudices of mankind have to be uprooted, there must be substantial ideas for each word to represent, and ideas, too, that are perfectly consistent with each other, or I shall have no chance of making the permanent impression I intend. I have promised, that when I shall have finished this part of the discussion, if Mr. Campbell, or any other individual, shall discover one error, or one inconsistency, in the principles and system which I advocate, I will give up the whole contest. For, should one error be found, I shall be convinced I have been deceived; for where there is inconsistency, there cannot be truth. At present I say no more.

[*Here some conversation took place between the chairman and Mr. Campbell. Mr. Owen stated that he would be prepared to proceed with his afternoon's address, after Mr. Campbell had replied, as he wished to do, to what he had offered this morning.*]*

Mr. Owen resumed. I am sure we are all greatly indebted to the moderators, who have attended here so punctually day by day. They have given us already so much of their time, that I can readily suppose it will be inconvenient for them to continue their attendance much longer. I have done all that seemed to me desirable, to curtail the duration of this discussion. My friend, Mr. Campbell, no doubt, deemed it of great importance to place before the public all his notions of the system in which he has been trained; and it has been the extraordinary length of my friend's erudite exposition, (during the utterance of which I was under the necessity to remain silent,) that has taken up so much of the time.

But, my friends, there is another view of this subject. The systems which I have to oppose are of several thousand years' standing. They have been supported, during these thousand years, by millions of ministers, who have been paid, in that time, enormous sums to instruct the population in various countries; and for more than a hundred in this.

Can it be expected, then, that in a few days, or rather in little more than one—for, during this discussion, I have spoken but fifteen hours—I can unassociate in your minds all the ideas thus derived from

* This conversation was to this effect: Mr. Campbell asked Mr. Chairman whether Mr. Owen had a right to change the times of adjournment, and whether his having adjourned to ten o'clock this morning was not contrary to our original stipulations. Moreover, said Mr. Campbell, I would ask whether Mr. Owen should be allowed time to retire to *write* speeches as circumstances may require; and whether we must wait here from day to day, so long as Mr. Owen can write new essays upon the twelve "*divine* laws of human nature;" adjourning from time to time, as may suit his writing convenience? Mr. Owen's recalling the motion to adjourn till four o'clock, and promising to be prepared at three, prevented a reply from the board.

past ages; ideas which have been instilled into your minds with so much care from your birth? Is it to be expected, I ask you, my friends, that, in a few hours, I can combat and put to flight all the host of errors which have been accumulated for thousands of years, when, by the fundamental laws of human nature we are compelled to retain early impressions with great tenacity?

Although such a result no one would anticipate, I have yet unbounded confidence in the omnipotence of truth. I care not what obstacles may be placed in its way; whatever they are, I expect that, sooner or later, they will be overcome. If, on the present occasion, I shall not be allowed time for the full performance of the task I wish to accomplish, I trust it shall be so executed, within whatever time is now to be allowed before the discussion terminates, that what I put upon record will be sufficient to induce those who have not yet been taught to reflect upon these subjects, to begin to think for themselves. I can hardly believe, that there can be any wish that this subject should not be as fully heard on one side, as it has been on the other; or that what remains to be said on my part should not be said in the best manner.

But, my friends, I find that upon this, as upon all other occasions, we must necessarily be governed by the circumstances which surround us. To these circumstances I must yield, as we are all obliged to do, when we cannot change those in which we are involved. It seems the circumstances which limit this debate cannot now be easily changed. I must, therefore, submit to the audience the remainder of what I intend to say, without having time to do all the justice to the subject, which its high practical importance deserves.

These debates are familiar to Mr. Campbell, and he has been in practice of public speaking week after week, or rather day by day, for many years. I am obliged to think well what I say, before I give it utterance. It is always necessary, but now peculiarly so, for me, after the engagement I have made, to take care that there shall be no inconsistency in any thing I may say. I have only to regret, that what I may speak is not likely to be so well digested, as that which I should write at more leisure. But as I now must be governed in what I shall say, to the termination of this discussion, by the impulse of the moment, I trust that the ideas and expressions which may arise, when I address you in the afternoon, will be equal to the emergency.

Adjourned to meet at three o'clock, when the discussion is to be closed.

Tuesday afternoon, 21st April.

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—Public attention and curiosity have been much excited, from the first proposal of this discussion, even up to the present moment. On Mr. Owen's first appearance in this country, our expectations were raised to an unusual degree. Coming direct from one of the most enlightened countries in the world, having traversed the British Isles, and visited several places on the continent of Europe;

professing to have discovered very great errors in the present order of society, and to have it in his power to new modify the world by some very rational changes resulting from the march of mind and the progress of science; our expectations were very much raised, and we bade the benevolent visitant a hearty welcome to our shores. Under these favourable circumstances, Mr. Owen was received by the good citizens of these United States. He was treated with all the liberality of our republican institutions.

In his first addresses he was cautious and reserved on the subject of religion. It is true, indeed, that, from the first address which I saw in print from Mr. Owen, I observed the poison artfully infused into the golden chalice which he presented to the American people. But for some time he was a little cautious. He became bold; and finally, as large as life, he appeared the advocate of irreligion, or no religion; and, like all his brotherhood in France, he talked much of reason and common sense. Philosophy, too, (most abused word), was adored as the patron goddess of the whole scheme. All this, too, associated with a good moral exterior, uncommon mildness and suavity of temper, procured for Mr. Owen, (to say nothing of the charms of wealth,) a degree of respect and courtesy, which would not have been shown to the system in the person of almost any other advocate, and still less in the person of one who should have exhibited the more natural and the more usual tendency of the system in his own conduct.

But, added to all this, it was published, far and wide, that Mr. Owen was a gentleman of the most extensive reading, great research, a first-rate political economist, and profoundly acquainted with every thing connected with the political, religious, and economical systems, practices, and relations of mankind. He seemed to understand every thing relative to the subjects on which he declaimed and wrote, more profoundly than any person else; and from the plenary confidence, and the air of infallibility which decorated his ratiocinations, deductions, and proofs, all were almost afraid to call any of his dogmas in question. Progressing thus, specious in his philosophy, and the perfect gentleman in his manners, it was not to be wondered at that he found many disciples and admirers in all parts of the country, whithersoever he turned his course. He attempted to organize societies among us, and to set on foot a new order of things. But religion impedes his progress, and finally it absorbs all his energies, and those of his friends. It is combated on new principles, as it did appear, and was threatened to be prostrated by *reason* and *science*. The old artillery of the *little deists* and *petty cavillers* were all to be laid aside, and nothing but the apparatus of good logic and genuine philosophy were to be employed by Mr. Owen in pulling down all the religions of the world. And now our ears have heard, and our eyes have seen, the whole strength of this new armament against the faith. This discussion will, I think, be a new and no ordinary confirmation of the faith of christians. Mr. Owen, the cool philosopher, the great political economist, the universal reader, the extensive traveller, the shrewd and logical thinker, after surveying the productions of six thousand

years, appears with the maturity of almost threescore years, laden with the spoils of time, standing upon the shoulders of all the sceptics of Greece, Rome, England, and America, selects the most puissant weapons, and chooses the best mode of attack, which all his reading, observation, and experience could devise. You have heard it, my friends, you have seen it all in twelve principles, all poised *upon one metaphysical question*. This is the *dos pou sto* of Archimedes. Here Mr. Owen places the fulcrum for his puissant lever, which is to raise the human family from all the superstitions, good and bad, and from all political degradation, from poverty, ignorance, and suffering. This is the "*summum bonum*," "the philosopher's stone," the old doctrine of Epicurus, in modern broad cloth.

Now, it is lawfully to be presumed, that Mr. Owen has taken the strongest ground which can be taken upon the sceptical hypotheses. He has seen where all his predecessors have been foiled; and therefore selects the ark of safety, the impregnable fortress, the strongest tower which his imagination and reason could grasp. Forth comes the essay which you have heard. This is the cream of fifty years' reading, travelling, studying, conversing with minds of the "best calibre." Arrayed in the majesty of twelve propositions, which will equally suit the horse and his rider, Mr. Owen appears brandishing the *sixth, the fatal sixth*, which, like a two-edged sword, is to cut off all the heads of all the priests and kings in the world.

Upon the whole, we are glad to see Mr. Owen take such high ground. First, because he made Thomas Paine, Gibbon, *cum multis aliis*, with all the old sceptics, a set of simpletons and drivelling philosophers: and next, because he was all for reason and philosophy, which no intelligent christian ever feared, we met him on his own *five propositions*, on which he defied the world. You, however, heard the contents of Mr. Owen's logic upon these premises; and you have seen what he has offered in defence of them. It would be only a species of insult to the good sense of any hearer of this discussion, to state again that Mr. Owen has only repeated over and over the same dogmas; and that he has, *in every instance*, refused joining issue either upon his own propositions or mine. He has met all sorts of argument by mere assertions, by mere declamation.

Regarding Mr. Owen as the present *magnus Apollo* of scepticism, as a man of great reason and philosophy, we did most certainly expect that he would *reason*, and not merely *assert*—that he would not, at last, when foiled in argument, descend into the ranks of those little spirits who strut about in the pomposity of two or three witticisms, or sneers, which they have heard and retail from some infidel apostle. Nay, indeed, I did not expect to hear Mr. Owen talking in the ribaldry of these little demagogues of infidelity, who talk about Eve, and the apple, and the serpent, about the virgin Mary, and Joseph, with a sort of insignificant grin, expressing the great detestation of their great little souls against such fables!

There is nothing proof against these Parthian missiles, that the vanquished Parthian throws behind him, on his retreat from the pur-

suing conqueror. I could, without pretending to any genius in this way, turn every virtue in the world to ridicule, and laugh out of countenance the gravest and best man that ever lived. Only, as the great Warburton said, "put a fool's coat upon a philosopher or a saint, and you may under this covering laugh him down." Call *bravery*, temerity; call *generosity*, prodigality; call *wisdom*, gravity; call *honesty*, simplicity; and *good manners*, foppery; and the work is done. So the atheist ridicules the idea of God. A pretty world this, to come from a *rational first cause!* Talk not of wisdom, while you see so much folly in the universe! Only see the waste of water and the waste of land; only look, says he, how many half-begun operations, and how many unfinished enterprizes there are. Look at the deformities and the irregularities, and the maladaptations every where. Talk not of goodness, says the ridiculing atheist; do not you see poisons lurking in your fields and gardens—pestilence and death stealing upon you in the invisible miasmata? Talk not of justice; see the good man punished for his virtue, and the wicked rewarded for his vice. So the idea of God is laughed out of the world by the atheists. Tell me the virtue I cannot caricature and render ridiculous. I will call humility, meanness; charity, pride or ostentation; and then, under such a garb, laugh them out of society.

Is there any way of proving, in a court of law, that Queen Elizabeth, or Oliver Cromwell, once lived? If there be, the same sort of evidence will prove, in a court of law, that all the gospel facts are true. But there is as much wit in a pedlar's telling you to prove how many yards are in a given web, by weighing it in scales, or by putting it into a bushel, as there is in Mr. Owen's telling you, you cannot prove the gospel facts in a court of law.

His Adam and Eve, the apple and serpent puns, are very puissant weapons in his armour; and his representing the imbecility, or folly, or malevolence of the Deity, in giving birth to the present state of things, are all in unison with the nice discernment, good taste, and fine feelings, of the champion of scepticism. The human body, and all its organs, internal and external, by the same logic could be shown to be ridiculous. Call it an animal machine, and then examine it in detail. You may then laugh at yourselves, as we might conceive an actor would, who had assumed a character which did not suit him.

But, my friends, I cannot but admire the influence which Christianity has now exhibited in you. In speaking of the Christian religion this morning, as on other occasions, Mr. Owen has severely tested the influence of Christianity upon us. He has tried our christian patience and forbearance to the utmost. I feel a degree of pride to see you bear these indignities with so much patience. These insults were all gratuitous, and ill-timed too, if there be any time for insults. When I was laying before you the historic evidences of Christianity, if Mr. Owen had any objection to any of the historic facts, testimonies, or proofs adduced, then was the time to have made his objections. But it is an easy method of refuting any argument, to say it is impertinent or inconclusive; to call any document a fable, a legend; and to repre-

sent the most credible story in the world as a story, a fiction. This is a wholesale way of rebutting all argument and proof, and I am much disappointed to find the boasted reason of the sceptical heroes, compelled to adopt this miserable subterfuge of the poorest drivellers, who have not sense to know when a point is proved, or when a conclusion is fairly drawn from just premises. Mr. Owen arrogates too much for a philosopher. He puts himself in the pope's chair, and makes his *say so*, his *ipse dixit*, go as far as the Roman pontiff ever claimed for himself. I have never heard so few *therefores*, so few *illative* particles, in as much reading as in Mr. Owen's speeches.

But, after all Mr. Owen's great reading and research, there is one book which he has not often read, and which above all others he ought *(even to attack it successfully,)* often to have read. I need not tell you that this is the Bible. It is true, indeed, that he told me he read it some two or three times when an infant at school; but what of that? At this I am astonished. How dare any man attack a book, of such high pretensions, from a school-boy-reading of it! But this is in unison with the sceptical school. Thomas Paine wrote against the Bible from recollections, and acknowledged that he had not much read it. David Hume acknowledged, not long before his death, that he had never seriously read the New Testament through. I have never, to this hour, met with a sceptic who was well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, or who had in his writings evinced that he had given them a close or critical examination. If it were lawful thus to retort upon Mr. Owen, I would engage to prove that his opposition to Christianity is predicated upon his ignorance of it, instead of its being predicated upon the ignorance of mankind, in his sense, or as he presumes.

Mr. Owen's logic reads thus: I have read five hours *per diem* for twenty-five years. I have explored all the systems of government, political economy, and of religion, for forty years. I have visited many countries. I have early discovered the influence which the doctrines of *freewill* have upon the advocates of this system. I have come in contact with the greatest minds of the present day: *therefore*, (pardon this one *therefore*,) all religions are false. Moses was an astrologer, a sorcerer, or what you please; the passage of Israel through the Red Sea, and the miracles said to have been wrought in Egypt, are mere legends; all the prophets and apostles were impostors. Yes: from my experience and observation, all religions ought to be proved by arithmetic, and when we come to add up the evidences, they are as absurd as one plus one, equal three. This is one half of his logic; and the other is as follows: I say to a blind man, This is a piece of *blue* cloth; I do not believe you, sir, he replies. Why? I ask. He answers, it does not *smell blue;* I do not *hear* or *taste* it *blue;* I cannot *feel* it *blue*. All this may be true; yet all this will not prove that it is not blue. But upon such logic does Mr. Owen rely for the proof of his five positions.

If Mr. Owen's experience is to be relied upon by us, he claims the very same sort of faith from us that the apostle Paul claimed, and

without affording us any evidence. And, surely, we have infinitely more reason to rely upon the testimony of Paul in attestation of *palpable facts*, than upon the testimony of Mr. Owen in attestation of his *opinions;* I *think*, and I *saw*, are very different sorts of evidence upon matters of fact.

Mr. Owen might think, from his mode of reasoning, that the inhabitants of the torrid zone, who would not believe him that water became, in the Ohio river, so hard and firm, that waggons and horses passed upon its surface; or that the inhabitants of Iceland, who would not believe him that there were men as black as jet, in Virginia; I say, he might think such persons very incredulous; and yet, upon his own principles, they could not believe him because they had no such experience.* I presume the absurdity of this species of reasoning has already been made apparent to the dullest capacity. We do not suppose that Mr. Owen's experience is equal to set aside any single fact well attested, of any ordinary or extraordinary character, and still less equal to disprove any fact which occurred two thousand years ago.

To ridicule your faith, my friends, upon such feeble arguments as Mr. Owen has offered in favour of infidelity, appears to me as impolitic as it is profane. When men have reasoned very strongly, and carried a point by a very powerful attack upon the human understanding, they may be allowed to slacken the reins upon their passions, and to make some appeal to the hearts or feelings of the audience. But this supposes a case very unlike that before us. Mr. Owen commenced his ridicule before he had weakened the faith of a single soul in the audience. And, indeed, I must tell you, that I have never felt so much disgusted at the spirit of infidelity, as in hearing this last speech from Mr. Owen. The abuse was uncalled for, undeserved, and every way mal-apropos. I could not but think of, I could not but remember, while he was uttering those scoffs, an anecdote which I heard a few days ago from a citizen of this city, concerning a Dr. Patterson of England. This bold and impious sceptic riding out in harvest time in England, was overtaken with his companions in a violent storm of wind and rain, which prostrated the harvest fields, and seemed to blast the hopes of the husbandmen of the vicinity. Coming into contact with some christians, who were probably talking of the calamity, he remarked, "Only see what sort of a God you christians worship! Do you not think he ought to be tied up and whipped for sending such a storm upon your fields in this important crisis!" But this saucy sceptic was not permitted long to pass unpunished; (call it my superstition if you please) and by a shower of rain too, the God of christians called him to an account. For, not long after, while attending a horse-race, a heavy shower of rain coming up, compelled him and his companions to seek a shelter. While endeavouring to escape, his horse stumbled, fell, and broke his

* It is said that the king of Siam ordered the Dutch navigator who asserted that water in Holland occasionally became passable for men and horses, to be punished for lying.—*Reporter.*

master's neck. So departed this life the scoffing Doctor. But, although I doubt not many thousand such occurrences happen, I would not draw a general conclusion from them, and say, that so it shall always happen. No, indeed, "the Lord knows how to reserve the ungodly until the day of judgment to be punished." But, to speak as philosophy authorizes, it is only in the absence of argument, that recourse is had to ridicule; and the chair of the scoffer is never filled until that of the logician is vacated.

But when Mr. Owen assails us, my friends, through the medium of our sectarian divisions and discords, it is then he wounds us most sensibly. He has told you very plainly, several times in this discussion, that it was the wild and conflicting dogmas and rancors of sectarian pride and jealousy that made him first of all a sceptic; and you see this yet confirms him in his scepticism. Here we are vulnerable. Were it not for a spirit and temper, as well as for the foolish and absurd dogmas of the fashionable systems of religion, the attacks of sceptics would avail no more than the barking of a dog at the full moon. Even here, however, his logic fails; for what good thing under heaven has not been abused and perverted by the wickedness of man? And is it not an axiom among all reasoners upon all subjects, that no man can reasonably make the *abuse* of any thing an argument, either against the use of the thing, or the thing itself?

But as the matter has stood, and now stands, we should have been discouraged long since in vindicating the divine authority of this religion, had not Paul and the other apostles foretold these times—these divisions; their rise, continuance, and termination. And, although it is a fact, and an evidence, which, in itself, and abstractly considered, is very discouraging; yet, when contemplated through the data which the New Testament affords, it forms a very powerful evidence of the divine authenticity of this religion. To this we have paid sufficient attention while reasoning upon *the apostacy*, and need not now repeat what was then demonstrated: namely, that from the beginning, it was known, foreseen, and declared, that such an apostacy should, for certain ends and purposes, take place. It has taken place, and has fully corresponded with all the predictions of its rise and progress, and the signs of its speedy destruction are among the most impressive signs of the times.

The necessity of the *union* of all the disciples of Christ, in order to the triumphant and universal spread of the gospel throughout all nations, was distinctly declared, and its influence fully depicted in that admirable prayer of the Founder of our religion, in the 17th chapter of John: "Neither," said he, "pray I for these alone, (who now believe in me and are my apostles to the nations) but for all them who will hereafter believe on me *through their testimony;* that they *all may be one*, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." The universal conviction of the world of the truth of the divine mission of Jesus, is made dependent on the union and harmony of the disciples of Jesus. And as this view of the matter came from the fountain-head of all wisdom and goodness, it is fairly to be presumed, that it is a *sine qua non*—a something indispensable to the progress

and all-triumphant success of Christianity; *that until christians are united, the world cannot be converted to the belief of the mission of Jesus.*

I doubt not but the ground, the true ground of christian union, is now discovered; and it has been declared in this discussion more than once—indirectly it is true, but it is fairly inferrable from these premises. It is this: *that Christian faith is to be known and recognized as a belief of the gospel facts, and not the assent of human understanding to certain matters of opinion;* a belief of *facts*, and not of *doctrines:* of facts resting upon the *divine testimony;* and not of opinions dependent upon the acuteness of the human intellect or the logical powers of inferential reasoners. A regard to men's moral actions, more than to the strength of their intellects, will soon subvert the metaphysical systems of past ages; and place Christianity upon a new footing in the eyes of the world. This is not the place, nor the occasion, for minute expositions of these sentiments; but they can be given, and they do now appear in the publications of the day; but so far we deemed it expedient to call up this matter, alike to the consideration of sceptics and of christians.

But still I am very far from agreeing with Mr. Owen that Christianity, as it is now taught, is the greatest curse to mankind. Mr Owen, who never speaks any thing but the truth, will have to retract this assertion. For, most surely, there are many greater curses in the nations of this world, than is Christianity to the people of the United States. *Credat Judæus Apella, non ego.* Apella, the Jew, may believe it, not I. It will require more facts and documents than Mr. Owen can command to make good this assertion.

I did entertain some hopes that when Mr. Owen arose, he was about to concede that he had been mistaken; that Christianity is what it purports to be—a revelation from God. I felt conscious that he could not rebut the arguments in favour of Christianity; and did hope, as he would doubtless find them too strong for him, that he would have the candour to retract the rash positions he had taken.

It is true, indeed, that I thought Mr. Owen, of all men, the most unlikely to be convinced. I knew that the circumstances created for him, and by him, rendered his conviction almost impossible. He has been so long the apostle of his own tenets, his whole soul has been engrossed in these speculations. He is one of the most extraordinary men; he cares not for praise; he knows, he says, he deserves it not; and as for fame, he has no taste for it at all! To these causes is to be attributed, perhaps, his insensibility to the force or power of argument. It is not reasonable that a person who has so far wandered from the common sentiments, feelings, and, indeed, *nature* of the species, could feel the force of arguments. For my part, when I shall be insensible of praise or blame, or any difference other than utility between virtue and vice, I shall then consider myself incapable of distinguishing the truth or force of any argument. And, therefore, taking all these things into view, I do not wonder that Mr. Owen *cannot* be convinced.

There was, notwithstanding, one good omen; one symptom of re-

turning conviction in his last address. He qualified his denunciation of Christianity with these words: "*As it is now taught.*" He did admit that I had given such an exhibition of the genius and spirit of Christianity, as to make it appear most excellent. My opponent would not venture to attack the Bible Christianity, "*but Christianity as it is now taught.*" But even with this reservation, I cannot admit this sweeping denunciation. Mr. Owen's social system has never been tested; but his materialist or atheistical system has been tested. France, revolutionary France, can tell the tale. Equality and liberty!—no religion, no God, no hereafter. On the gates of the grave-yards were inscribed, "*Death, an everlasting sleep.*" The division of time into weeks of seven days, because it was of no human origin, became obnoxious to the materialists; and nothing short of an indiscriminate obliteration of every vestige of Christianity, even to new-modifying the divisions of time, would satiate their deadly antipathy against every thing like religion. Paris, in 1789, under the domination of the infamous Robespierre and his brethren, is a pretty good example of the tendency of the *no praise, no blame* system; and an admirable per contra to the assertion that Christianity, in its present form, is the greatest curse that can happen to any nation. I think not so bad as atheism when it had the ascendency, Mr. Owen himself being judge.

Christianity has its direct and its indirect influences upon society. The direct or the reflex light of this holy religion affects almost every man in the region where it shines. It shines into the hearts of some, and in their lives it is reflected as from a mirror upon all around. And thus some are *christianized*, more are *moralized*, and all are, in some good degree, *civilized* by its light. A single pious man in a village is a restraint upon the wickedness and profanity of all the villagers. I have known some instances, and have heard of others, where a general deterioration of morals has followed the death or removal of a good man out of a small town or neighbourhood. There is a charm; there is an indescribable influence in the genuine fruits of Christianity, which, when exhibited in living christians, the most abandoned are constrained to respect. Hence an increase of genuine christians is one of the greatest national blessings; if, indeed, it be a truth that *righteousness exalteth a nation.*

But, says Mr. Owen, where is the christian now living whose whole life is not in direct contradiction to his professions? Christianity certainly is highly encomiazed in this challenge: so excellent that it condemns in every point the best man living! By this appeal to our modesty, Mr. Owen has prevented us from pointing to any one present, and he would not believe upon any testimony any thing favourable of the absent living. We shall then have to go to the dead. I have, then, just lately heard that in this city, two very good christians recently died, both members of the Methodist church, in whose house we now meet. The one had been sixty years, and the other forty, professors of the Christian religion; both of the most unexceptionable reputation; living proofs of the excellency of the religion

which they professed, and conformed to it in temper and behaviour. But, after thus giving us a new sort of "*argumentum ad hominem*," or "*ad modestiam*," Mr. Owen is ready to claim all the men of large souls, of great minds, as of his creed, while we have not one; no, not one who lives up to the Christian religion. I fear Mr. Owen is, in this respect, of that jaundiced or distempered eye to which every thing appears discoloured. There is a malady called *hysteria;* corporeal and mental too. Some of those, labouring under a real mental *hysteria*, cherish their hallucinations until at last they imagine that demonstration itself is not half so clear as their wide conceptions. In this state of mind, all arguments are thrown away. It is much more difficult to convince a man whose mind is in this morbid state, than it is to convince the most confirmed hypochondriac, that his legs are not made of glass, or that there is not some other peculiarity in his composition. But, Mr. Owen will have all the sons of science, all the enlightened minds in the world, on his side of the question. Let him make out his list: we have ours ready; here it is, (Mr. Campbell pointed to a manuscript) we are prepared to shew that all the fathers of modern science; in fact, that all the men of profound erudition, and of mighty enterprize, are of the Christian school. This, however, is no argument; but when Mr. Owen gives his cloud of witnesses, ours shall be forthcoming.

The most intelligent persons in Europe, Mr. Owen says, "are well aware that all religious mysteries and miracles are opposed to reason, and therefore abandon them to men who discard reason." Thus, by the authority of these "intelligent men," Mr. Owen would rebut all argument and demonstration. But we must have faith in Mr. Owen's testimony about these intelligent men; and hence Mr. Owen requires us to exercise faith in his mere assertion, as the best weapon he can wield against the Christian faith. I might tell Mr. Owen, in the same loose style, that I believe that all the mysteries and miracles, (meaning thereby the pretended miracles, and artificial mysteries of popery) were all contrary to reason. But what of that? Will my arguing, or my proving that certain bank bills are counterfeits, prove that all bank bills are counterfeits; and that there is not a genuine bank note? No: nor ever was, nor ever will be!

We want, moreover, to hear the names of some of these intelligent men; perhaps they are the sceptics of France and Germany, and not an intelligent man among them. We must first agree that they are intelligent men, and then to refer this discussion to them as arbitrators before their verdict will be of any consequence. Mr. Owen may tell us we are "*insane*," "*blind as moles*," and that he sees like Argus: is sane, a sage, a philosopher, a reasoner, a logician, a standard of reason; and with the powerful artillery of such browbeating syllogisms, and with such egotistic demonstrations amongst the *vulgum pecus*, the common mass of society, who think that he who asserts most stoutly and arrogates most to himself is the hero, the logician, and the philosopher, he may obtain faith, confidence, and admiration. But the really intelligent will always discriminate between argument

and assertion, between logic and calumny, between philosophy and egotism.

Were I to talk about *sanity of mind*, I would undertake to prove that every atheist under heaven is *insane*. And that there can be no greater proof of insanity, than to hear a person say that there is no God. Such persons may, like other insane persons, be irrational upon many other subjects. But all the arguments, counting them one by one, by which any person is proved to be insane, I will engage, logically, to prove that all atheists are insane. By atheists, here I mean those who oppose the being and government of God, after having heard and understood the terms and phrases used in the Holy Scriptures upon this subject.

Mr. Owen puts into the mouth of reason certain interrogatories, which, of course, his obsequious reason answers, just to suit him. This reason is more religious than Mr. Owen, for it acknowledges its Creator; and unreservedly complies with all his requisitions.—"Reason would ask ten thousand questions *of this nature*, says he, to not one of which could a rational answer be given." Yes: but Sir Isaac Newton's reason, and Mr. Owen's reason, are very different sorts of *matter*. What would convince the former, would not convince the latter—and what would convince the latter would appear ridiculous in the eyes of the former. The secret is here, my friends, there is no *inconsistency* at all in Mr. Owen's system. For, you know, there can be nothing crooked unless there be something straight. Now Mr. Owen has a vast advantage over us christians; there is something straight in our system to which we can compare, and by which he can measure, and which will show all our aberrations; but there is nothing in his system to which he can measure, or to which we can compare any part of it. Every thing with Mr. Owen is quite straight: if a child kill its mother, it is quite right; for it is according to nature; if it support and honour its mother, it is quite right; for it is according to nature or necessity. All things are straight; that is, exactly conformable to necessity. Mr. Owen, then, has a system of straight lines, and nothing in it is crooked. There is no aberration from necessity, and therefore, all is straight. There is then no inconsistency in Mr. Owen's scheme. I have but *one fault to it*, and that is, his measuring rod is crooked itself; and while he thinks it is straight, he must inevitably be in an error in every comparison or measurement which he makes. A person who has a false standard, who calls a rule *straight* which is *crooked*, will err in every measurement. And so all his conclusions are false. If that be a straight line which makes every thing straight to which it is applied, then is Mr. Owen's standard correct.

Mr. Owen this morning, deeply lamented this weekly preaching institution; or rather that no person was permitted to reply. I should not care, provided it did not disturb the worship of a Christian congregation, that any person would rise up in the midst of an assembly, and in good order, make his objections to the Christian religion. For my part I think, if we had a few such gentlemen as Mr. Owen,

so privileged as to rise in congregations, calmly to interrogate or to oppose, it would tend much to confirm the christians, and to confute the scepties, provided they would reason as my friend, Mr. Owen, reasons. Christianity, like its Founder, never loved darkness. It never shunned light. But it would ill suit the peaceful worship of Christian congregations to turn them into debating schools. There is a time for every thing. But I think after the results of the present discussion are appreciated and known, Mr. Owen will think it safer for his cause, that the preachers be permitted to proceed as usual in their weekly sermons.

I never saw the superiority of the evidences of Christianity so fully exhibited as Mr. Owen's last speech has evinced. He presumed not to attack a single position in my long speech, although he promised to reply to it, and come to "*close quarters*" as soon as it should be brought to a close. A few general assertions, such as, Christianity is all fable, and every way pernicious, constitutes the inventory of the whole of the magazine of Mr. Owen's logic against it. This *eclaircissement* fully proves Dr. Chalmers' position, that there is nothing left after the argument for Christianity is fairly stated, but a firm belief of it, or atheism.

Mr. Owen has said that I have made my defence of Christianity to rest upon testimony alone, or that I have made Christianity altogether a matter of faith. This is true, but not as Mr. Owen represents it. I do certainly contend that Christianity is legitimately predicated upon historic facts, and that it is properly a matter of belief. But I have done more than was necessary to be done: I have, by one philosophic series of reasonings shown, that no man, philosophically or rationally, can object to the Christian religion; and that upon principles of reason he is compelled to assent to the divine truth of Christianity. I know Mr. Owen intends to communicate an idea something like this: that I have conceded that a person cannot prove Christianity to be divine, upon principles of reason, and must make it altogether a matter of belief through a fatal necessity, and *faith* passing for little else than *superstition* among sceptics, he thinks his cause pretty safe with the sceptics upon this representation of my defence. This is, then, not a correct statement in the meaning which he intends to convey. I have shown that if a person act rationally, upon principles of reason, he must assent to the truth and certainty of the Christian religion, as supernatural and divine. I have called the argument based upon these principles a philosophic argument in the singular number, though comprising many distinct arguments, as the historic argument is one. I must then call upon Mr. Owen to admit that I have produced one philosophic argument which he has not in one instance attempted to oppugn. He may call it by what name he pleases; but I am thoroughly convinced neither he nor any sceptic on the globe can shake it. I only have to regret that I was not opposed with earnestness and ability on this topic, because then I would have illustrated and confirmed it more fully. An attempt to refute it on the part of Mr. Owen, would be more compatible with the character of a

truth-loving philosopher, than to hear such unfounded assertions as that "I am unprepared to discuss the evidences of Christianity upon any other ground than that of testimony."

MR. OWEN rises.

Mr. Chairman—Mr. Campbell, as you heard, has just concluded, by desiring me to retract my assertion that I have not heard from him one philosophical argument in support of the Christian religion. While he was speaking, I have again taxed my memory, and I cannot recollect one. I have no doubt that he has adduced many arguments which he deems philosophic; but they do not appear so to me. My conviction is, that no philosophic argument, derived from facts to be understood by men, can be adduced in favour of any religion. And therefore, however acute Mr. Campbell's mind may be; however much he may have read; yet, owing to the nature of the subject, he has not, and in my mind, he cannot bring one philosophic argument —one that is in accordance with facts—in support of Christianity, or any other religion. I can only speak of arguments, according to the impressions they have made upon my mind.

But there was another point adverted to, which it seems quite necessary to explain. I did not, in the remotest degree, mean, by any expression which might have fallen from me, to impeach Mr. Campbell's disinterestedness. If I have done so, it would have been doing violence to my own feelings; because I know, from various sources, that both Mr. Campbell and his father have suffered by their disinterestedness in supporting what they have been compelled to believe to be a right view of Christianity. I have not the remotest idea that Mr. Campbell has come forward, upon this occasion, with any interested motive.

When I terminated my part of the discussion this morning, I was proceeding to show in detail the number of vices and crimes which were prevalent in Christian society, and which I mean to prove emanate directly from religion. But as the period for this discussion will be very much limited, I shall avoid much of the detail which it was my intention to develop, and shall apply the remaining part of our time to effect the most important purposes. I was about to state the horrors of the inquisition, as well as of the religious wars and massacres of many centuries, as emanating directly from different sects of different religions. But I shall not now take up your time with matters which many of you can readily bring to your recollection, but proceed to those which are more important in practice.

As circumstances now render it necessary that this discussion should be brought to a speedy termination, I must wave all minor points, and give you as much of the essence of the subject as time will permit, and come at once into the midst of it.

Mr. Campbell, by his defence and manner of reasoning, shows that his mind has been formed altogether upon the notion that man is born with a will to think and to act, free as he chooses, upon all occasions, or that he possesses a free-will, and that he is responsible for his

thoughts and actions. All christendom, and all the world, have been trained, educated, and confirmed in these notions, and in the practice which they necessarily engender. The Christian, and all the religions, are founded on these notions. It was these notions alone, that made any religion necessary. They became necessary, as artificial means to check the enormous evils that the notions of man's free-will and free-agency were sure to produce in practice. But they have proved themselves incompetent to the task; and like every other attempt to counteract nature, they greatly increase the evil, and become themselves, more injurious than the evil which they were introduced to check. In fact, upon the theory of free-will and action in man, are founded not only all the religions of the earth, but all the governments, codes of laws, and customs, with all phraseology of all languages, creating thereby feelings, thoughts, and actions of a peculiar cast, derived immediately from this origin, which extend their ramifications through every portion of the individual and through society, wherever man has yet been found.

It is, however, as we have proved by the twelve fundamental laws of human nature, an error more obvious, upon reflection, than the one universally received by all our ancestors, that the sun moved round the earth. Both errors were derived from the first impressions of our senses; but facts, subsequently acquired, demonstrate both impressions to be contrary to reason.

We see, then, that the notion of free-will and action has given birth to all the religions, governments, laws, phraseology, customs, and practices of mankind; and that it has, through these agencies, formed the mind and character of the whole human race. The existing ignorance, poverty, vice, and suffering of mankind are all directly chargeable upon the errors of free-will doctrine, acting through these mighty agencies.

It is the extraordinary deceptions produced on human nature, by being subjected, every moment of its existence, to the influences of this doctrine, that compel the most enlightened men of the age to acknowledge the impossibility of denying the truth of all the principles on which the doctrines of the formation of character are predicated; and yet to say that they are, at the same time, conscious that they must be governed, in their feelings, thoughts, and actions, by their pre-received notions of free-will. They cannot, of themselves, so thoroughly have been imbued, through religion, government, laws, language, and practice, with all the physical and mental influences arising from the notions of free-will, ever afterwards divest themselves of the feelings and habits which they generate. It is this which makes these men say, Our judgments are convinced; but in spite of ourselves, the feelings which have, by some means or other, been formed within us, are opposed to our judgments. We are, therefore, constrained to think one way, and to act another—to act contrary to our judgments.

Now, my friends, this doctrine, the origin of all religions, governments, laws, institutions, and practices, carries with it sin and misery through the whole extent of its ramifications. It is destructive of

sincerity, of affection, of confidence, of charity, and of permanent prosperity and happiness, among the whole family of mankind. It is the direct cause, operating through those influences, that generates anger, irritation, and all the inferior passions and jealousies which are now so prevalent in human society. And until its influences shall be withdrawn, the world will be filled, as heretofore, with contention, and strife, and all evil, and peace and good-will can never enter among the habitations of men,—and that charity which *thinketh no ill*, will be, as at present, unknown except in name.

Instead of this doctrine, which directly emanates from the ignorance and experience of the least experienced, and therefore the most ignorant, I place before you the laws of human life,—the same which existed from the beginning, as they are to-day, and as I believe they will be for ever.

They are laws which require not to *persuade* you to consent to acts in obedience to them. Knowing them—understanding them in all their connexions one with another, *they will* make so much real knowledge present to your mind, upon all occasions, that you will be *compelled* to act in obedience to their dictates, and you will always act right.

These twelve fundamental laws of human nature, or laws of life, are the only foundation for real virtue that man can discover.

They are complete in themselves, and need no aid from any doubtful authority. They are divine decrees, if ever decrees were divine; and they have now gone forth to the uttermost parts of the earth. They will, my friends, produce in due time, "Peace on earth, and good-will to man."

[*Here Mr. Owen held up a copy of the twelve laws which had just come from the printer.*]

If you could remember all I stated to you in the early part of this discussion, it would be unnecessary for me to rise again, or say one word more. But aware, as I am, that the subject is new to many, that very few, if any, can retain the remembrance of conclusions which are the condensed results of forty years' reading, reflection, and experience; I will endeavour to make these fundamental laws still more easy to be understood.

Mr. Campbell says, and I know he believes it, that I have not brought forward one argument against the Christian religion. I want no other proof, that Mr. Campbell has looked at this casket, and seen only his own ideas reflected in it, being altogether unable to discover the spring, and to open it.

Mr. Campbell says I have advanced no argument to prove that religions are founded in ignorance. Here are twelve arguments, each one of which, when it shall be understood, is more than sufficient to lay the axe to the root of every religion, and of all the codes of law that ever emanated from them. They do not send you to the dark ages, to look for authority that deserves the consideration of the better informed mind of the present day. These laws speak intelligibly to the understanding of all who have been trained to think and reflect. When

these shall be understood, and taught to the rising generation, we need not tell them that they must be good boys and girls, or men and women; for they cannot possibly be otherwise.

They will be compelled by the strongest of all possible motives, a clear and distinct knowledge of their own interests and happiness, to act, at all times and upon all occasions, according to the perfect law of obedience—according to that law which, they must perceive and feel, will secure their happiness.

It is, my friends, the full understanding of the twelve laws contained in so small a compass, that can alone make you, and your children, and your children's children, through innumerable generations, potters of the very highest class, in the formation of the characters of your descendants. You will hence discover how to mould human nature in a manner so superior to what has yet been done, as to become more perfect than the population of the world, in its present ignorant state, is prepared to suppose practicable.

You will know how to impress the minds of all your descendants with that pure charity of which I have spoken—that charity which thinketh no evil.

We shall have our minds so purged from all those inferior passions, jealousies, and feelings which now distract the world, that we shall go straight forward to our object, seeing most distinctly what it is we all have to do. We shall then know how to form the most perfect mould, and to put the clay properly within it, and to finish it in the best manner. And will not this be an acquisition of great value?

A knowledge, however, of these laws, will not only lay the foundation for this charity in the hearts of all, but it will speedily enable us to discover the beauty of an intelligent existence in unison with all nature, when contrasted with the glare and fashion of an artificial life? We shall then not contest with each other who shall have the largest and most splendid house, the richest clothing, or the greatest variety of useless trappings of any kind.

We shall understand wherein the real, substantial, tangible happiness of life consists. We shall know that a nation, trained in simplicity of manners, taught to acquire high intelligence with regard to what constitutes real knowledge, and to possess the most charitable feelings toward the whole human race, will form that combination of circumstances, from which alone any thing that deserves the name of happiness can be looked for.

Shall I now, in detail, unlock the casket for you? Shall I again go through the twelve laws, and enable you how to understand how each sentence applies directly to the subject of this discussion? There is not one sentence, or a clause of a sentence, that does not apply to the questions intended to be solved at this meeting.

What does the casket disclose to us at its commencement? "That man, at birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to his organization." And, if this be true,—and who doubts it?—surely, for that organization, and its qualities, no individual can be justly made responsible. I ask Mr. Campbell, and all who are present, whether any other

conclusion can be adduced from this important fact? Whether any other conclusion would be rational? What, then, becomes of the imaginary notion taught to our ancestors and to ourselves, that we are bad by nature? My friends, to say that man is culpably bad by nature, is an assertion not less untrue and absurd, than if I were to say that the sun is culpably bad by nature; for both have their origin from the same cause, whatever that cause may be. And that we are ignorant, at birth, of every thing relative to our organization, is an eternal truth, depending solely upon facts obvious to every one; a law which came with us into existence, and will remain until man shall cease to exist. It is no law of man's devising; but a law emanating from the same Eternal Source from whence all facts proceed.

The casket tells you, moreover, on its first opening, that man has not been permitted to create the slightest part of any of his natural propensities, faculties, or qualities, physical or mental. And do you not know, my friends, that the infant, at birth, is the foundation of the man? Some will say that the infant, the original organization at birth, is the whole man; that he only requires time to grow; and that what he is at birth, he will be till death. I know the contrary. I know that it forms the foundation, but only the foundation, of the character of man. But I also know, if any unchangeable foundation be laid for a house, that whatever superstructure may be subsequently raised upon it, the foundation itself ought not to be blamed for any imperfection it may possess, but the architect. And, my friends, although I do not agree with those philosophers who take but a partial view of human nature, and who do not investigate all the facts for themselves, being content to receive them from others, and conclude that man is wholly formed by his education; I do not agree with those other philosophers, who hold that the organization, at birth, is every thing, and that education, or the circumstances in which it is placed, is a mere covering and deceptious garb, in the character of man. This organization is unquestionably a very important part of our nature; and if we are to be made responsible for it, we ought to have had the forming of all its minute and general qualities for ourselves. It is surely irrational for any one to assert, that after we have been compelled to receive our organization, which is the foundation, and contains the germ of all our faculties, we should be held responsible for it. This is a notion wholly irreconcilable to common sense, and it is also exceedingly unfavourable to the formation of a superior character by a right education; for it destroys all correct ideas upon the subject. There never can be any virtue in the world, so long as this error respecting the nature of man shall continue; so long as men are made to believe that they ought to be held responsible for that over which they have no control. If we really desire to improve man, and to form a virtuous, intelligent, and happy state of society, we must make haste to discard notions so directly opposed to common sense.

My friends, this first law gives us a distinct knowledge of what we are, when we first come into the world. Here we are ushered into

existence, utterly unconscious of any thing appertaining to ourselves. Then what follows? how is the remainder of our character made up? Let us see.

I requést your best attention to this part of the subject, for all our subsequent reasoning will be erected on this foundation; for this is not the wordy wandering you have been accustomed to hear, week after week, during your lives, and to which you may listen, or not, and be as wise in the former case as the latter. No: this part of our subject is fraught with consequences of deep import to every human being. Every word of it, when understood, will be found invaluable for future practice.

The second law is, "That no two infants, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization; while the physical, mental, and moral differences between all infants are formed without their knowledge or will."

No two infants have ever been known to be alike. This a most important conclusion. It lays the foundation for virtues in the human character, which no other knowledge can ever form, or make permanent and ever active. It is the only knowledge on which genuine charity can be formed to apply to every individual of the human race, and it is abundant to effect this object. A knowledge of this single fact, when rightly understood, will so form our minds as to compel us to be charitable to all mankind, without any exception.

[*Here Mr. Campbell rose, and remarked, that he would beg leave to suggest that these laws should not be commented on more than* ELEVEN *times.*]

Mr. Owen resumed—I find the expounding of these laws, and bringing them to bear on the practical conduct of mankind, is more than my friend Mr. Campbell can bear. Well: you see, my friends, this second law is quite sufficient to overset all the arguments of my friend Mr. Campbell, and it is evident he begins to feel its extensive influence.

Assuredly, if no two infants are born alike, but receive from that Power which gives them existence, qualities which differ in their strength and combinations, there ought to be, in justice to these individuals, if they are to be considered responsible beings, a different religion for every child that is born. Is not this true? If they are organized differently, can we with one atom of rationality render them amenable to the same laws? I do say, that to act justly to the human race, if a religion be necessary for any one individual, a different religion is equally necessary for every other individual of the human family; and that these religions must necessarily be as various, and as multiform, as are the individual organizations of our species; and also, that these countless religions should be so modified as to adapt themselves precisely to the strength or weakness of the faculties with which each individual has been endowed.

Now, my friends, I *could touch* Mr. Campbell again and again with these simple, plain facts; but they are so decisive of the great questions before us, that I am afraid of exhausting his patience and good

feelings. I will take compassion on him, therefore, and proceed to the third law. It is, "That each individual is placed, at birth, without his knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which acting upon his peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant, child, or man. Yet, that the influence of those circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar organization of each individual."

Now we come to another part of the subject, which is most interesting to all, and which has not been explained sufficiently to give those unacquainted with these facts in the formation of the human character, a right understanding of its importance in the every day practice of life.

It is not only that all infants are made, by the constitution of their respective natures, to differ from each other, and probably to differ in every one of their senses, as well as in their general organization; but that these infants, after their birth, are placed in circumstances so different, that their characters must be often formed on models having little or no resemblance to each other; frequently, indeed, the very opposite. For as there are no two infants born alike, neither is it in the power of man to place two infants under the same identical circumstances, even when they appear to be the most alike. And, therefore, my friends, you not only require a different religion for every individual, in consequence of their organic difference at birth, but you also require a separate and distinct religion for each, according to the various kinds of circumstances or temptations in which each of these individuals may be placed, from their birth to death.

My friends, there never were two infants, who, for one day, or even for an hour, have been placed under precisely the same circumstances. Now, only look at the cruelty and injustice, in this respect, of the doctrines of rewards and punishments of all religions. A moment's reflection will convince any intelligent mind, that no two can be placed under the same circumstances, after birth. To be so placed, they must be born at the same moment; open their eyes and see the light precisely in the same direction: whatever impressions are made upon the one, must be made upon the other, and in precisely the same order and sequence of strength. Now this is utterly impracticable. And, therefore, the notion that any human being is the legitimate object of reward or punishment, on account of the circumstances in which he has been placed without his control, knowledge, or consent, is an error only to be accounted for from the irrational impressions made upon us by our ancestors, relative to the real character of human nature.

We well know, from the general history of the world, that when infants are born, they must become men according to the country and district in which they are reared; that they must be influenced by the circumstances existing in that particular country or district. They cannot be influenced by that which they do not know and cannot feel. Therefore, as infants and children have no power whatever to direct or control these circumstances, no religion can be made to

apply to them without the greatest injustice. And as it is demonstrated that children and men are the effects of their organization and external circumstances; that these combined operations form them to be whatever they are, at every moment of their time, no religion can be applicable to beings whose characters are so formed.

It is from this view of the subject that I have said, again and again, that it is most irrational to treat children or men in the manner in which we have hitherto done, and to consider them responsible, as the cause of their own characters; when, from their nature, they have been, and must continue to be, the effects of combined causes, over which they have had no control.

But, my friends, although it were possible to impress children with precisely the same circumstances, at and from their birth, the variety of their original organization would make a material and very important difference. For the circumstances operating upon and influencing the mind of one child, would create a very different impression from those made upon another; and yet the child itself is in no degree the cause of this difference. And therefore, again, none of the religions of the world can apply with justice to a being so formed and matured.

Well, let us look at the next argument against all religions, contained in the fourth law. I stated to you, that "no infant has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world it shall come into existence, of whom it shall be born, in what particular religion it shall be trained to believe, or by what other circumstances it shall be surrounded from birth to death."

Now, my friends, I wish you to remark, as I proceed, that each of these laws, by itself, even taken separately and distinctly from their natural and necessary connexion and dependence one upon the other, is much more than sufficient to refute all my friend's fallacies.

This fourth law is so full of matter and meaning, that to do it ample justice, and direct your attention fully to all its important physical, intellectual, and moral considerations, many days would be necessary, instead of the hour or two now left for me to explain many other parts of the subject equally important. But as the discussion, at the request of the moderators, must terminate to-night, and the evening is rapidly advancing upon us, I will endeavour, before it becomes dark, to place before you as many facts as will hereafter beneficially occupy your minds for reflection; and refer to the early part of my statement for a more full explanation of this law, and hasten to elucidate some of the remaining.

The next in order is the fifth law, viz. "That each individual is so created, that, when young, he may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity."

My friend, Mr. Campbell, is a most striking living example of the overwhelming influence of this law of our nature. He has been organized as we behold him; for which he has neither merit nor demerit. He was afterwards trained and educated in a particular part of Europe, and subsequently in this country, and placed under circumstances by

which he has been forced to believe in his particular views of the Christian religion, and by which we all perceive he is now influenced. He has been thus influenced to his peculiar conduct by the same general laws of our nature that have compelled me to act as I have done, and which govern the birth, life, and death of every being that has yet been born.

You see, then, my friends, that, through this law of our nature, we may force any child to become a Mohammedan, a christian, or an idolater; a Jew, a quaker, or a cannibal. The child is a perfectly passive piece of clay, to be moulded by those around him into any shape they please. And then the greater or less tenacity with which the ideas given to it will be retained, depends upon a great many circumstances, as much beyond the individual's control, as was his original organization.

This is that law of our nature which, when thoroughly understood, will enable you to become potters; to enable you, through an accurate knowledge of it, to place your children in any mould, more or less perfect, according as you may have been better or worse informed upon the subject, or more or less expert in the practice. None of the religions of the world, however, can be applicable to a being whose character is thus formed necessarily by his nature and condition in life.

The sixth law states, that "each individual is so created, that, when young, he must believe according to the strongest conviction that is made on his mind and other faculties; while his belief in no case depends upon his will."

In commenting on this sixth law, Mr. Campbell entangled himself and his audience in the mazes of metaphysical disquisition. I saw at once, that his notions regarding this law were confused by the notions early forced into his mind, relative to free-will and action in man; and became, therefore, merely metaphysical. But this law promulgates facts which are either true or false. Now, it is a fact, that man can believe according to his will, or that he cannot. Now, let all of you endeavour to recollect something which you believe; and then try if you have power sufficient over your will to disbelieve it, even for a few minutes. Why, my friends, it is contrary to this law of our nature, which cannot be made to change its character at the bidding of any individual, however learned. I perceive you discover, that by your utmost efforts you cannot accomplish it. You might, indeed, as well attempt, by the bare exercise of your volition, to bring down the sun from the firmament, as to disbelieve what you have been compelled to believe, until a more powerful conviction shall be made upon your minds. Try again, then, and see if you can believe, for ever so short a period, what former convictions now compel you to disbelieve. You find the one as impracticable as the other.

The same irresistible law of your nature governs and controls you in your disbelief, as well as your belief. We have no metaphysics here; we discard them as useless for the real happiness of life, and unworthy a discussion of this character; for we ought to proceed entirely upon those facts which all can examine for themselves, and

which change not—facts which can be investigated with all their attendant circumstances, at all times, by all men, who desire to acquire a knowledge of the truth for the love of truth.

From a hint I have just received from my friend Mr. Campbell, I perceive he is again becoming very impatient under this obvious exposition of a few plain facts; so plain, indeed, and so essential for present purposes, that he feels no reply but a metaphysical one can be made to them.

I did not promise, as Mr. Campbell appears to suppose, that I would conclude in an hour; but I stated to Mr. Campbell that I was willing to rest all the points in controversy between us upon this single position, as upon it the whole controversy depended: Is there an exception to be found, throughout the whole human family, to the universal application of this law? Is there a single individual who, by the fiat of his own will, can believe or disbelieve contrary to previous conviction made upon his mind?

But, my friends, we have all been trained from infancy in the opposite notions. Mr. Campbell has been trained in them, and it is, therefore, no wonder that all our minds have been forced to become irrational.

The notion that our will has power over our belief or disbelief, is the principal source from which emanate the mistaken notions, the injurious feelings, the malignant passions, the want of universal charity, and the vicious conduct of men. This subject, my friends, to be fully developed, so as to make a proper impression upon your minds, would also take many days to elucidate and trace to all its practical results. It is this kind of knowledge, deeply affecting the well-being of each, and the happiness of all, that this little casket contains. It is true, this knowledge, valuable as it is, has laid buried for several thousand years, and no one suspected its intrinsic practical worth, to induce a sufficient search for its discovery. It has been covered with so much rubbish, that it required forty years' daily exertion before I could discover it and make it sufficiently known and attractive to draw public attention to its real merits. The question I have put to you, taken out of this casket, and which no one can answer, is decisive of the result of the whole debate; of the futility and uselessness of all religions, and whether or not they are derived from any other source than the ignorance of mankind.

Mr. Campbell rose and said—The stipulation was, that Mr. Owen was to speak for one hour, and that I should have the conclusion.

Mr. Owen rose.—I did not understand that I was to be tied down to an hour in making my reply. Mr. Campbell has spoken, throughout this debate, nearly twice as long as I have done, and now he feels that——

The Hon. Chairman said—You have spoken longer than Mr. Campbell did the last time he was up.

Mr. Campbell rises.

Mr. Chairman—Mr. Owen has no good reason to complain of the

time fixed for bringing this discussion to a close. He first suggested the idea that *two* hours would be sufficient for his reply to my long speech. He seems now to act with a little of that art, of which I did not think him capable. And what *new* matter has he now to offer? Since opening his casket, nothing has appeared but the same old twelve positions, facts, or laws, as you please to call them. If he have any thing *new* to offer, why does he not now offer it? True, indeed, I ought to except the abusive document, which he read this morning; and some remarks upon the Mohammedan religion. This latter I neglected, or forgot, to notice in my last speech. The establishment and progress of this religion, all the world knows. No greater contrast can be found in any book, upon any subject, than the contrast between the establishment and progress of Mohammedanism and Christianity. The ruffian exploits of a crew of pirates, or a banditti of highwaymen, might as justly be contrasted with the peaceful march of a missionary family, or of the almoners of a Christian community, in distributing their charities among a suffering population, as to compare the lustful, vengeful, avaricious exploits of Mohammed and the Koran, with Jesus the Messiah and his apostles. While the language of the Christian teachers was, "Glory to God in the highest—peace on earth, and good-will among men," that of the marauding false prophet was, "*Dogs, you know your option, the Koran, tribute, or the sword.*" Here lies the volume. [*Mr. Campbell pointing to the Koran.*] Here is the Mohammedan Bible. I have examined it with at least as much care, as most sceptics do the Bible; and while it admits the mission of Moses, Jesus, and the apostles, and then directly proves the truth of Christianity, as the institution of Jesus Christ, its doctrines, as far as they have a supernatural idea in them, are as evidently stolen from the two testaments, as is the English word *philanthropy* from the Greek *philanthropia.*

But the Koran proves the divine authorship of the New Testament, as clearly as ever did accomplishment prove the truth of prophecy; for, in the seven letters addressed by Jesus Christ to the seven congregations in Asia, written by John while in Patmos, the setting of the Sun of Righteousness, or the extinguishment of the light of Christianity, in that country, is threatened as consequent upon the progression of the dereliction of Christian principle and practice then appearing among the dissolute Asiatics. All the world, Jewish, Christian, and sceptical, know that the Mohammedan superstition is a vile imposition, and not in any one feature comparable to Christianity. Counter testimony, and every sort of testimony, can be adduced against the pretensions of the Koran; and both literally and symbolically is the rise and progress of the imposture pourtrayed in the Apocalypse.

Mr. Owen has told us how long the contents of his casket have lain hid. For four thousand years anterior, and two thousand years subsequent to the Christian religion, have these jewels been buried. How Mr. Owen happened to disinter them is the question. Was it never known before the year of favour, 1829, that no child chose its parentage, nor the place and circumstances of its nativity!! Was it never

known before Mr. Owen descried it, that children are much influenced by the circumstances of their childhood, and by the example of their parents!!! These burnished gems, now made brilliant by being changed from manuscript to *print* [*Mr. Owen had them printed yesterday,*] have been like the twelve apostles; the twelve lions on which the throne of Solomon stood; the twelve foundations of the new institution, now read twelve times, destined to great honour and glory. As Mr. Owen has read them so often, I hope I may be indulged to read them once; and that I may make them more famous by my reading them, I will show the whole extent of their latitude; and I think Mr. Owen himself will be indebted to me for the liberal and extensive construction which I am about to give them. I will show that they are so large and so liberal, as to engross almost every animal in the creation within their lawful jurisdiction. But for the sake of trial and proof, I will only try how they will suit one species of quadrupeds. Mr. Owen has told you twelve times, that they will exactly suit for bipeds.

THE TWELVE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF BRUTAL NATURE,

On which Robert Owen predicates a change of society that will form an entire new state of existence.

1. That a goat, at its birth, is ignorant of every thing relative to its own organization; and that it has not been permitted to create the slightest part of any of its natural propensities, faculties, or qualities, physical or mental.

2. That no two kids, at birth, have yet been known to possess precisely the same organization; while the physical, mental, and moral differences, between all kids, are formed without their knowledge or will.

3. That each individual kid is placed, at birth, without its knowledge or consent, within circumstances, which, acting upon its peculiar organization, impress the general character of those circumstances upon the infant kid or goat. Yet that the influence of those circumstances is, to a certain degree, modified by the peculiar natural organization of each individual goat.

4. That no kid has the power of deciding at what period of time, or in what part of the world, it shall come into existence; of what goat it shall be born, what particular tricks it shall be trained to, or by what other circumstances it shall be surrounded from birth to death.

5. That each individual goat is so created, that, when young, it may be made to receive impressions, to produce either true ideas or false notions, and beneficial or injurious habits, and to retain them with great tenacity.

6. That each individual goat is so created, that he must feel according to the strongest impressions that can be made on its feelings, and other faculties, while its feelings in no case depend upon its will.

7. That each individual is so created that it must like that which is pleasant to it, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his individual organization, and it must dislike that which creates in it

unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while it cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be.

8. That each individual goat is so created, that the sensations made upon its organization, although pleasant and delightful at their commencement and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period without change, disagreeable and painful. While, on the contrary, when a too rapid change of sensations is made on its organization, it dissipates, weakens, and otherwise injures its physical, intellectual, and moral powers and enjoyments.

9. That the highest health, the greatest progressive improvements, and the most permanent happiness of each individual goat, depend in a great degree upon the proper cultivation of all its physical, intellectual, and moral faculties and powers from infancy to maturity, and upon all these parts of its nature being duly called into action at their proper periods, and temperately exercised according to the strength and capacity of the individual goat.

10. That the individual goat is made to possess and to acquire the *worst* character, when its organization at birth has been compounded of the most inferior propensities, faculties, and qualities of its common nature; and when so organized, it has been placed, from birth to death, amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances.

11. That the individual goat is made to possess, and to acquire a medium character, when his original organization has been created *superior*, and when the circumstances which surround it from birth to death, produce continued *vicious* or unfavourable impressions. Or when its organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which it has been placed from birth to death are of a character to produce *superior* impressions only. Or when there has been some mixture of good and bad qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed, through life, in varied circumstances of *good* and *evil*. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of all goats.

12. That each individual goat is made the most superior to its species, when its original organization has been compounded of the best proportions of the best ingredients of which goat nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround it from birth to death are of a character to produce only superior impressions; or, in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions and customs in which it is placed, are all in unison with its nature.

Mr. Owen has told you that he believes not in a spiritual system, consequently, none of these laws are predicated upon any thing *spiritual* in man. Now, as his laws are all built upon the hypothesis that man is a pure animal, if it should ever appear to Mr. Owen that there is a spiritual system, he must add a few laws to his code, I will, therefore, add a few laws to them, which will, indeed, exclude the goat and every other animal from being a legitimate subject of them. The four following laws are just as plain, as true, and as palpable as the first one. As these are the beginning of a new series for Mr. Owen, I will call my first, the thirteenth "law of human nature"

13. That man has aspirations after knowledge, which would not cease, did he know and perfectly comprehend every particle of matter in the globe, in the solar system, in the universe, with all its laws, properties, and modifications; and never can he feel so well pleased with his acquisitions of knowledge as to fix a period to his inquiries.

14. That man has a taste for society which the largest and most accomplished society which could exist contemporaneously with himself cannot gratify.

15. That he has desires for happiness which no circumstances on earth can satisfy; and that these desires are commensurate with infinite objects which the present state of existence cannot present to him.

16. That when he has formed the best conceptions of himself which all earth-born opportunities present, he feels himself painfully ignorant of every grand fact connected with the origin of his existence, and of every grand result involving his own ultimate destiny.

These are a sample of the additions which I hope Mr. Owen will yet see necessary to append to his original twelve. No sheep or goat can dispute its right or title to any of these four.

I would also prefix two to his animal code as also prefatory to the original twelve; these would be,

1. That the first man was not born, and,

2. That man, at his birth, is the child of some body, and by nature is dependent upon some body for his subsistence, for his language, modes of thinking, and for a majority of all the peculiarities of his constitution.

But, before taking my final leave of the new code of twelve, I must give Mr. Owen a critique upon the sixth, which he has so often thrown in our way. He has often said, prove one of the twelve to be erroneous, and we will abandon all of them. That the sixth is so, I hope the following critique will show:

1. The first and fundamental principles of our nature which excite to action, are our appetites and affections. These instinctive faculties we have in common with all animals. A high excitement of these we call passion.

2. Next to these is that class of powers by which we obtain all our simple, original ideas; into which, as elementary principles, is ultimately resolvable all our knowledge, viz. sensation, perception, memory, reason, and consciousness. Now, although these faculties are affected, or called into action, when their objects are presented; yet, in many important cases, it is quite optional whether the objects shall be presented or not.

3. In the next place, the use or operation of these faculties, for the acquisition of knowledge, is dependent on our volition; viz. recollecting, reflecting, imagining, reasoning, judging.

4. Lastly, the combined or separate influence of our appetites, affections, passions, and judgments, determine our wills, and produce those volitions which terminate in action.

Inferences: Hence it follows that every action of our lives is naturally subjected to our judgments; which are, or ought to be, the

combined and ultimate results of all our intellectual powers. We say, our actions ought to be such; first, because we possess these powers; second, because we are instinctively impelled to desire and will our own happiness or gratification; and third, because we are accountable to our Creator and Benefactor for the use we make of our powers for our own profit and his good pleasure, which is the happiness of his rational creatures, for whose sakes he has created all things.

Again, in classifying these powers in relation to their peculiar and appropriate objects, we denominate them sensitive, intellectual, and moral; which last distinction does not mean a new class of powers not included in the two previous classes; but only those of thinking and acting with respect to law, and of the law itself by which we are to be governed. These are the powers of reasoning, judging, and believing. Hence faith or belief is not the proper and immediate effect of volition, but of our reason and judgment duly exercised upon testimony. We, therefore, cannot believe at will, or by virtue of an act of volition without evidence, any more than we can, by an act of our will, see without light; nevertheless, it would be absurd to affirm that we see by necessity; that our sight, or perception of objects, in no case depended upon, or was influenced by, our will. The truth is, that although we can neither believe nor see what, nor when we please, yet both our believing and seeing are in many very important cases, dependent upon our volition.

Then, it may be asked, What is it that determines our will to investigate? Answer: duty, curiosity, or interest. But, whatever may be the motive, still it is evident, that being excited to will to investigate, our will has a proper and rational influence upon our belief, just as it has upon our power of seeing, or upon our sight.

Upon the whole, to suppose that a rational creature acts without motive, is the same as to say that it acts irrationally, or without reason. And to assert that because it acts irrationally it acts necessarily, and therefore is neither praise nor blame-worthy, is contrary to reason itself; for every man's reason condemns him when he acts irrationally, and approves or acquits him when he acts rationally. Therefore, Mr. Owen's sixth law is manifestly erroneous, being in direct contradiction to a fundamental law of rational nature.

Again, what is natural, must be right; if not, what is the standard of right? or, if nature be wrong, who or what shall correct, seeing it produces all things as they are? Shall the effect correct the cause? or shall the cause, that is, *nature*, correct itself, and therefore be wiser and better than itself? Therefore, if things be as nature produced them, are they not as they ought to be? But, if not, who can better them, seeing that every thing is the effect of nature, and that the effect cannot correct or rectify the cause?

But, if it be supposed that things are in a disordered and preternatural state, how came they into such a state? For, seeing the creature has no influence either upon its constitution or circumstances, according to law one, two, how could it change for the worse? Or, being deteriorated in its nature and circumstances, having no power over

them, how can it change for the better; having no independent, inherent, self determining power?

Nature, then, being equally the author both of our nature and circumstances, who can change either of them but the author? But, are we naturally constituted capable of improving both our nature and circumstances? How can this be, if we came into existence, at first, in an adult state? For, then, we were the creatures of circumstances; and, as every thing must necessarily act as it is; that is, according to its nature and circumstances, therefore, we could never better our conditions, being limited by our nature and circumstances. But, if there be a principle in our nature, by which we can rise superior to our nature and circumstances; (and such there must be, if we can ameliorate our condition in both these respects, as Mr. Owen's system pretends) then, surely, his display of the fundamental laws of our nature are essentially deficient, inasmuch as they nowhere develop this principle.

Having now laid my objections fairly before Mr. Owen, and that he may be induced not to pass them by as formerly, I will sit down that he may attack and remove my objections if he can.

Mr. Owen rises.

My friends—Mr. Campbell very naturally wishes that I should follow his lead in this discussion: that is, that I should reply to his metaphysical argument, and leave these facts, which can alone throw any real light upon the subject, and which he ought to have prepared himself to refute, and thus involve myself in a debate which would only darken knowledge and confound your understandings. Now all this is perfectly natural on the part of Mr. Campbell. But I wish to set myself right with this assembly before we separate, in consequence of some of Mr. Campbell's observations upon my supposed opinion on the subject of Deity. I have never denied the existence of a Deity. I distinctly and most pointedly gave my reasons for what I believe on this subject. I stated what I believe to be the whole amount of our knowledge in regard to those things which are called divine; but I will not affirm or deny that for which we have not sufficient facts to enable us to form correct or rational ideas.

Now, my friends, you may be sure that, in a discussion of this character, the last expedient an opponent can resort to, is an attempt to ridicule his antagonist's argument. To this dernier resort, my friend Mr. Campbell has been driven. But the shafts of Mr. Campbell's ridicule have been very harmless: they struck pointless, and without the least effect on the mark at which they were aimed; and why? Because the casket was too well tempered, and too highly polished, to be penetrable by such feeble missiles. But, if ridicule were to be recognized as a fair weapon in religious controversial warfare, only consider the game that lies before me; only imagine for a moment how the whole Christian scheme could be cut up, and rendered almost too ridiculous for ridicule itself. I have, however, too much regard for your feelings, and for the importance of the

subject under discussion, to pursue this course. On my side of the question I defy ridicule; for, as you perceive, none can be successfully made to bear upon even one of the fundamental laws of nature, on the accuracy or truth of which, the real merits of this discussion will be ultimately discovered to rest. And this is the true cause why they have so grievously nonplussed Mr. Campbell. But could I so far forget the magnitude of the cause I have undertaken to advocate, as to resort for arguments to ridicule, and thereby unnecessarily wound your feelings, every one knows how easy it would be to use this weapon to expose the pretensions of any, and of all religion. But this is a proceeding to which I have no inclination to resort, when the improvement of the human race, in the reformation of its character and general practice, is the subject before me. My object here, upon the present occasion, is not to obtain a personal victory over any man, or any portion of my fellows: to me, such a victory would be of the least possible estimation. But it is to promulgate truth for its own value, and for the incalculable, practical benefits that must accrue to the race of man from its development. This is a consideration with me beyond all others. This, my friends, is my only object. Were you to give me your whole state; nay, the whole United States, I should consider the gift as valueless, compared with the discovery of one truth of such a character as will penetrate the understanding of all men; arrest their present irrational career, and induce them to adopt a practice which shall make themselves and their posterity happy.

Mr. Campbell has given you his views and reasonings upon this sixth law of our nature, but they amount to nothing. He did not take up the position which is here laid down. This position is: that each individual is so created, that he must believe according to the strongest impression that is made upon his feelings and other faculties, while his belief in no case depends upon his will. This is a clear and distinct position, and leaves no room for a metaphysical retreat.

Mr. Campbell rose and said: There is no metaphysical subterfuge in me. I contend that I have met the position fairly. The clause I objected to is this, "that belief in no case depends upon will."

Mr. Owen.—Well, gentlemen, I will bring this matter to a speedy issue. If Mr. Campbell can adduce a single instance wherein his belief depends upon his will, I will give up the whole question.

[*Here Mr. Owen waited some time for Mr. Campbell's reply. Mr. Campbell could not then make any.*]

My friends, there is no power that can coerce a man to believe contrary to the conviction upon his mind. The change can be effected only by producing evidence that shall appear to him still stronger; and then, often against his will, he is obliged to change his belief. The cause of truth is thus gained.

We will, however, proceed to the seventh law of our nature, viz., "That each individual is so created, that he must like that which is pleasant to him, or that which produces agreeable sensations on his

individual organization; and he must dislike that which creates in him unpleasant or disagreeable sensations; while he cannot discover, previous to experience, what those sensations shall be."

I have placed upon record the very important consequences of this law of our nature. It will have a weighty influence on the future destinies of man; it will change all the present family relations of life; it will create a new order of existence, as much superior to the present, as light is to darkness. But I will now trespass no longer on your patience, except to remark, that Mr. Campbell, when speaking of this very law, as applicable to marriage, gave quite a different colour to the argument from what he was justified in doing, from any thing I have ever written or said. He endeavoured to make it appear, no doubt from previous misconceptions in his mind, that I intended to encourage prostitution, as it is now understood and practised, generally throughout society.

Why, my friends, it is the infraction of this very law of our nature that has produced all the vices and evils attendant upon prostitution. It is the infraction of this law that has produced a vicious and most degrading connexion between the sexes unavoidable over the world. I wish to *withdraw* all the *causes* which render prostitution necessary and unavoidable, and to propose the means by which a society may be formed, in which chastity alone shall be known. Let me hear no more, therefore, from any quarter, of the vulgar jargon that I advocate this law of our nature from a desire to increase the vice and misery which the infraction of this law has made every where to abound; and when I well know there are already so many dreadful evils created by prostitution, as threaten to overwhelm the health and happiness of the population of all countries.

No, my friends, I would not have travelled to and fro, sacrificing my ease, expending my substance, exposing my health, and risking my life, were it not with the intention of improving, and highly improving too, the whole condition of man. What motive short of this could have induced me to adopt the course which I have so long pursued, or to persevere in that course? Therefore, my friends, listen no more to such mistaken notions relative to my views and intentions on this most important subject. Such misrepresentations, derived from the ignorant multitude, are unworthy of repetition by Mr. Campbell;—unworthy of the cause he supports, and of the magnitude of the interests which we have met to discuss. This law of our nature, when it shall be understood, and properly applied to practice, will put an end to the cause which renders prostitution, under your present errors, unavoidable.

The eighth law of our nature is: "That each individual is so created, that the sensations made upon his organization, although pleasant and delightful at their commencement, and for some duration, generally become, when continued beyond a certain period without change, disagreeable and painful. And when a too rapid change of sensations is made on his organization, it dissipates, weakens, and otherwise injures his physical, intellectual, and moral powers and enjoyments."

In this law is to be found the foundation of all excellence in human conduct. The desire of happiness, is a principle coeval with life, and the most powerful feeling to stimulate to action, in human nature. And by this law, and the one immediately succeeding it, (the ninth) we shall discover that temperance in the enjoyment and exercise of all our faculties, according to the different degrees of strength, is that habit by which alone the highest point of happiness is to be attained.

The tenth law is, "That the individual is made to possess and acquire the *worst* character, when his organization at birth has been compounded of the most inferior propensities and faculties of our common nature; and when so organized, he has been placed from birth to death amidst the most vicious or worst circumstances.

My friends, this is one of these laws that will instruct you, in your new art as fathers, as soon as you begin to undertake the task: it will show you what you have to do for your infants, your children, and your youth. It will show you, that while you permit them to be surrounded with vicious circumstances, they must receive vitiating impressions from them; and that, in the formation of the characters of your children, such of them as have been so unfortunate as to receive a vicious organization ought to be the objects of your especial compassion and kindness; and that they have a just and rational claim upon you, for fourfold more care and attention in forming them in the most perfect mould, that such of your children as have been blessed with a more perfect natural organization are entitled to receive at your hands. This law, my friends, lays the foundation also for much good feeling and genuine charity. In fact, each of these laws speak peace to you and all mankind: they all concur to lay the foundations of charity, deeper and still deeper within us, and to exterminate every germ of unkind feeling. They are, indeed, a perfect system of moral laws; and all of them being derived from the constitution of man, as it has been ascertained to be, will, when once understood, recognized, and adopted by society, irresistibly enforce their precepts upon the hearts and the understandings, and direct all the actions of man. Their effect will be as certain upon the individual, as are the effects of physical laws in the progress of plants, from the seed to the fruit, and the full formed tree; or in any other branch of vital economy. Now, my friends, under the wholesome and beneficent government of these laws, you will not, as at present, have to grope your way in perpetual and anxious uncertainty. When you begin to form the character of a human being, you may calculate upon the result, with the same undoubting confidence which the mathematician feels, when he begins to calculate upon known and certain *data*. If the work be correctly performed, there can be no mistake in the result. It will be a sort of *moral rule of three* calculation, which might, perhaps, be stated thus: *As* the *organization* of the individual is to his *circumstances, so* will be the *character* compounded out of both.

This change in society will abrogate two thirds of our present vocabulary; the hacknied phrases arising from our deceptive notions of free-will, will be exploded; they convey impressions only of error

to the mind; and in our new and rational state of existence, not a single harsh epithet, or unkind or censorious expression, in which all languages now abound, will receive admission. And why? Because there will be no harsh, malignant, uncharitable feelings to be expressed. Hatred and anger will be unknown, for we shall have peace within us, and all will be peace around us.

We come now, my friends, to the eleventh law of our nature, "That the individual is made to possess and acquire a medium character, when his original organization has been created superior, and when the circumstances which surround him from birth to death, produce continual *vicious* and *unfavourable* impressions. Or, when his organization has been formed of *inferior* materials, and the circumstances in which he has been placed from birth to death, are of a character to produce superior impressions only. Or, when there has been some mixture of superior and inferior qualities in the original organization, and when it has also been placed, through life, in varied circumstances of good and evil. This last compound has been hitherto the common lot of mankind."

My friends, this eleventh law is a mirror to all of you. You have all been forced to acquire this medium character. You are none of you so bad, nor any of you so good, as you might have been formed to be. And why are all of you now, as well as all christendom, and, indeed, the inhabitants of every other portion of the globe, only of a very ordinary medium character? It is because of the universal first impressions forced upon mankind in favour of the doctrines of free-will. These impressions, which commenced in times beyond our knowledge, and have always been the fruitful source of error in the thoughts, feelings, and actions of man, originated in the dark ages, when science was unknown, when men knew but few facts, and those few imperfectly. These false notions were, probably, received into the human mind at the time it imbibed its undoubting belief for ages, that the earth was flat and immoveable; the sun, planets, and stars all being formed to be attendants on this globe, for the use of man.

Time, however, advanced; science dawned upon the world in spite of monkish ignorance, and printing was discovered. Facts began to be investigated, real knowledge, in consequence, to be introduced, and to escape by little and little among the multitude.

Thus commenced an opposition to religious ignorance, and it advanced against the efforts of the priesthood, aided even by the inquisition. Within the last two or three hundred years, knowledge has been disseminated in an extraordinary manner by the art of printing. This inestimable art has preserved to us so many important facts, derived from the experience of former times, that they serve in part to counteract the vicious circumstances which have been generated by the doctrine of free-will, and all the religious notions founded on it. It is the knowledge derived from recorded experience, and the errors generated by the notion of free-will, combatting and counteracting each other, that has placed you in your present medium scale of character.

It is the religions over the earth, emanating directly from the unsubstantial notions derived from the doctrines of free-will, and their necessary consequences in forming the feelings, thoughts, and actions of men, that have formed the present medium character of the inhabitants of the civilized world.

And so long as these free-will notions can be taught and received in opposition to the daily increasing lights of experience, showing how the character of every individual is formed *for* him, you will remain in your present medium condition, and the inhabitants of the world will receive the same inferior character that those errors have hitherto impressed upon them. But I must proceed to the twelfth and last revealed law of our nature; revealed by facts alike to all nations and people, namely: "That the individual is made the most superior of his species, when his original organization has been compounded of the best proportions of the best ingredients of which human nature is formed, and when the circumstances which surround him from his birth to death, are of a character to produce only superior impression, or, in other words, when the circumstances or laws, institutions and customs, in which he is placed, are all in unison with his nature."

My friends, if in any past times as much had been done for human nature, as you have witnessed this day, in the free and open discussion in which we have been engaged, we should not now have to lament the ignorance in which we have all been kept by the accumulation of vicious circumstances, by which we and all mankind have been surrounded from birth; but upon this part of the subject it is now too late to enter into detail. Take, however, into your consideration, for a moment, the importance of the three last laws, and more particularly of this twelfth law. In this you will discover the certain, the infallible process by which the most is to be made of human nature that can be made of it, by men of one generation acting upon the children of the rising generation.

We cannot, as I have explained to you, make an immediate change upon the existing organization of the infants of our race; though I have no doubt that the time will come, when very great improvements will be made in the organization at birth. In the present state of ignorance, and consequent prejudice, in which we are upon this subject, we must turn our attention only to those circumstances upon which the knowledge of the influence of circumstances will enable us to act. It has been well observed by one of our learned moderators, upon another occasion, in writing upon my views, that he did not well understand how human nature could be the creature of circumstances, and yet have the power to direct them. It was an intelligent view of the subject. The difficulty is to be explained, and overcome, like all other difficulties when they occur, by proceeding in our investigations until the whole truth is discovered. By this process it becomes evident, that until we ascertain the fact that we are the creatures of circumstances, we are without the knowledge requisite to give us power to remove, replace, re-arrange, and control

them. And as soon as the knowledge of this fact is fully developed, it becomes itself a new circumstance, by which the existing adults may do more for the rising generations, than has been yet done for man through all past ages. This, my friends, is therefore the first, pre-eminently the first, of sciences; it is one of the very highest order that the human mind can conceive. It is that science by which, in due time, the men of one generation shall be enabled so far to improve the original organization at birth; the disposition, habits, manners, thoughts, feelings, and conduct, after birth, of the succeeding generation, that the former shall become to the latter as *creators*. For they will be, through this new knowledge, enabled to give to the *new* man such superior faculties, thoughts, feelings, and dispositions, that will appear to be a re-creation; a regeneration; a new birth; a new life; a resurrection from the corruptions and abominations of the present irrational existence, into a state of peace, knowledge, and joy unspeakable! It is, therefore, a science so deeply interesting to all, that all, without delay, should be carefully taught it from the first dawning of their reason. And it is, moreover, a science so congenial to all the principles of nature, and the facts which exist around us, and through all nature, that little children may very easily and very early be instructed in it.

I perceive my hour is about to expire, and it is come when I have just entered upon the most interesting part of the discussion; but I submit to the wishes and convenience of others, and therefore, after I sit down, I will not trespass on your time, unless it be for the sake of some explanation.

But I cannot take leave of you without expressing a strong sense of obligation to those gentlemen who compose the committee, for making the preliminary arrangements for this discussion; also to those gentlemen who have taken the trouble to attend to all the subsequent arrangements, and especially to the trustees of this building, who, with great urbanity, after one church was refused to the committee who applied for it, conceded to them the use of this for our purpose. And I am much indebted to all who have attended here during the discussion, for the extreme good order which has prevailed, and the remarkable good temper with which you have received those strong, and, in many cases, highly exciting truths to christians, which I deem it my duty, with reference to future consequences, to place before you. I do not believe that on this account, I can ever forget Cincinnati. It is true, I once prophesied her depopulation; not because I considered her any worse than other populous places, or a second Sodom and Gomorrah, for your conduct on this occasion proves the reverse. I was, it seems, mistaken as to the precise time; having been misled at that period by the enthusiasm expressed by so many of its inhabitants in favour of principles which, to my pecuniary loss, I afterwards discovered they so little understood. I was not so well aware then, as I am now, that the inhabitants of a new and uneducated country, as this was at that time, were of necessity far more powerfully influenced by immediate impressions, than by extended and deep reflections. As surely, however, as

these twelve fundamental laws are derived from facts which change not, so surely will the dispersion of the inhabitants of all large cities take place. You will, through this new knowledge, discover, ere long, that a large city is a collection of many injurious and vicious circumstances; too unfavourable to the highest happiness that human nature is capable of attaining, to be much longer allowed to remain. You cannot, under any arrangement, in populous cities, enjoy, in any perfection, the many important advantages, which are inseparable from the country, properly cultivated and well laid out for convenience, beauty, and pleasure, and to have at the same time, a full share of the best society. These essential requisitions to the enjoyment of life cannot be obtained by a single human being within a large city, or in a single family, or among a few families in the country, while it is practicable to form an association of such numbers and character, as when properly arranged and constituted, will possess and enjoy all the advantages of city and country, without any of the numerous inconveniencies, disadvantages, or evils of either. It was a mistake of my friend, Mr. Campbell, for whom, after all our hard and sharp wordy battles, I am obliged to have the kindest feelings on account of his honesty and liberality, to suppose that my ideas of a social system were derived from the Shaking Quakers, Moravians, or any other existing prototype. My ideas upon this subject proceeded from a different source. At the time the embryo of these ideas first presented itself to my mind, I was unconscious that there was a single community living wholly upon public property, in existence. The first mature thoughts upon this subject were suggested to me by a profound consideration of the laws of our nature, and the effects which they were calculated to produce in practice, with the actual condition of mankind. I perceived that man existed in all conditions, from a state of single and detrimental solitude, through all stages of increasing numbers, up to a congregated mass, as in the capital of China, of two millions of human beings of all ages; but I did not then know that there was a number between these extremes, which, under proper management, would give the greatest amount of happiness that man could enjoy. The discovery of this happy number and arrangement, is the first problem to be demonstrated in the science of political economy; and until these points shall be established upon rational principles, and derived from facts and experience, little of the science of political economy, as a science, can be known. These points are the data on which alone the science can take its rise, and without a knowledge of which, no such science can be formed. The difficulty which presented itself to me, at the outset of studying political economy, was to discover these data. Books written by speculative men, in their closets, I soon ascertained could give me no information upon the subject. I had afterwards an opportunity of observing the effects of a gradual increasing population, from a few families, until they amounted to about twenty-five hundred souls, and then I discovered that the true minimum and maximum had been passed. It was thus I was enabled, by experience, to ascertain what was the extent of numbers, between which a population could be arranged and congre-

gated together, to give to each individual the greatest amount of advantages with the fewest inconveniencies. I am now convinced, from this experience, and from a very extensive and careful investigation of the business and concerns of human life; taking also into consideration the ascertained fixed laws of human nature, that the best medium number ranges between eight hundred and twelve hundred; and that all associations of men, when they become rational, will be composed of congregations never descending below five hundred, nor ascending above two thousand.

These were the facts, principles, and considerations whence my ideas of the social communities originated: and these are the causes which have impelled me so strongly to advocate them upon former, as well as upon the present occasion; they were not, therefore, derived from any of the prototypes, or contracted views and sources whence Mr. Campbell apprehends them to have originated. And it is from these sources, such as I have now explained them, that I predicted the depopulation of Cincinnati,—that I still confidently anticipate a change in society from large and populous cities, and single families, to such associations as will give to each individual the greatest advantages, with the fewest inconveniencies.

I shall merely say, in conclusion, that the social system, as it exists in my mind, is an arrangement of society, founded on the most opposite principles, except in unity of labour and property, to the Shakers, Moravians, and old Harmonites, that can well be imagined. These are all founded on the ignorance and subjugation of the mass, under a few intelligent privileged leaders; but which, nevertheless, produce much comfort, peace, and quiet happiness among that mass. They still, however, retain several of the practical errors, emanating from free-will doctrines, and frequently suffer changes and evils in consequence; and while those errors are retained, evils will continually occur, and there will be no stability among them. The social system which I contemplate is founded upon other principles, so different in character, that each child will receive, from infancy to maturity, the best training, education, and instruction, that can be given to it. There will be no inequality of rank or condition, except what age and experience necessarily produce; and these, of course, in due time, all will equally enjoy. And the code of laws, founded on the laws of our nature, will, under the administration, explained in the second part of this work, equally direct and govern all, from the youngest to the most advanced in age, and privileges attendant thereon.

Time does not permit me to add more; I therefore take my leave, with the best feelings towards you all, wishing you health, continued prosperity, and the benefit of these anticipated improvements for your children.*

* Mr. Owen's speeches, delivered on Monday and Tuesday, are not printed from the *Stenographer's report*, but from Mr. Owen's own publication of them. As they are somewhat improved in his publication, I preferred giving them in the best possible form. This will explain the words enclosed in brackets.

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

Mr. Owen, in his last address, has given, in his own experience, a refutation of his whole system. He has affirmed that the circumstances which surrounded him did not at first originate the idea of the social system. If so, then circumstances have not an absolute control over men. If Mr. Owen, in defiance of the power of circumstances, did, out of the rubbish of six thousand years, dig up the *twelve gems*, and originate the social system, why may not millions of as bright geniuses arise, superior to the circumstances that surround them, and originate new ideas, and discover new laws, subversive of all former lights, knowledge, and experience? But how Mr. Owen may reconcile what he has now said concerning the origination of the social system, and that spoken on a former occasion, I pause not now to inquire.

This assembly is now witness that I sat down, that Mr. Owen might defend his sixth law, if he could; and that he did not make a single effort. 'Tis true, indeed, he called upon me to produce some case, as an example, where belief depended upon volition. He said I *could* not give any. He might, with a regard to truth, have said, I *did not* give any; but unless he knew my thoughts, I cannot see on what grounds he could say, I *could* not give any. We will, however, try.

There was one Colonel Sharp, of Frankfort, Kentucky, that was some time since assassinated by one Jeremiah O. Beauchamp. For some time no person knew who the perpetrator of this foulest of deeds was. No person as yet *believed* that Jeremiah O. Beauchamp was the assassin; but indignation, duty, interest, and curiosity put all upon the inquiry. Every one is resolved, determines, or, if you please, puts forth a volition, or wills to search for evidences to produce faith. Every trace, every whisper, and every circumstance, is explored, until a chain of evidence so powerful, and so minute, is accumulated, as authorizes a jury, under the most solemn sanctions of law and religion, to bring in a verdict of guilty. Every person here believed that Jeremiah O. Beauchamp was the assassin. Now, the question is, *had not the volition or determination of many individuals*, in this case, *some influence* upon their beliefs; or, in other words, did not the obtaining of the evidences necessary to conviction, *depend upon the volitions* of those concerned in tracing up the matter? I hope Mr. Owen will no more assert, "that our faith, *in no case*, depends upon our volitions."

But am I not warranted in saying, that Mr. Owen has closed this discussion without even an attempt to prove *four* of his positions? He had *five* independent positions. Now to prove these *five*, required a special induction of reasons, arguments, and proofs, with a direct bearing upon each of them; but this has not been attempted. He relied upon the repetition of his twelve laws, and upon his comments upon the same twelve, to prove the whole five; as if *identical* propositions. This may pass for logic among sceptics, but cannot among christians.

But as night, with its sable wings, is fast embracing us, I must

hasten. I had intended to have presented you with a correct and concentrated view of the whole of my arguments; but this would occupy too much time. I can only, therefore, with any regard to your patience and circumstances, just state the principal topics from which we argued the divine authority of our holy religion.

Finding, as I soon did, after our commencement, that Mr. Owen had no idea of adducing any logical proof of his propositions, but that he was about to indulge in a latitude of declamation on his social system, and other matters and things having no logical connexion with the points at issue, and after various fruitless efforts, on my part, and on that of the board of moderators, to draw his attention to the real merits of the discussion, I proceeded to examine the ancient and modern systems of scepticism, for the purpose of proving this important point; that, so soon as men, called philosophers, sages, or what you please, rejected Revelation, and embarked on board of their own reason, they were, to a man, shipwrecked. Not one of them ever reached a safe haven, and such of them as were not wrecked upon some latent rock, foundered at sea. Nothing but contradiction among themselves, new mysteries and *universal doubt* attended their progress. And, in fact, the most irrational and absurd opinions uniformly forced themselves into their minds, so soon as they had emptied themselves of all biblical ideas.

Mr. Owen told us that we must have a separate religion for each individual, because of the difference in human organization, not seeing that upon the same principles, he must have a different social system for each individual, and that no two sceptics who had ever written, agreed upon any one *system of doubting*. Even Mr. Owen himself has made a new system, or at least, has new modified several old ones, to please himself. Thus we have seen the intellectual aberrations, and the moral tendencies of all the systems of doubting. As I presume the new sects in christendom will, by their rapid increase and geometrical progression, soon fritter themselves down to nothing; in other terms, the multiplication of *isms* will make them of none effect, and teach all christians the necessity of making *facts*, and not *opinions*, the basis of all church union; so the impossibility of any two sceptics projecting any thing like a system in which they can agree, has made it a forlorn hope for sceptics ever to rise higher than to a system of doubting.

After carrying the war into the enemy's country and exploring the weakness of his fortresses, and the poverty of his resources, our next object was to erect an impassable wall between his dominions and ours, by showing, *philosophically*, that man could never have invented any religion, not even the most rude; that all these were mere *corruptions*, not *inventions* of the ancient nations. That, in truth, the most barbarous superstitions upon the earth have in them *supernatural ideas*, which no mere man ever could have originated. In one sentence, I think, we may say it was proved that it is as far beyond our intellectual powers to originate a religion of any sort, as it is beyond our physical powers to create out of nothing a stone, or a tree. Our *third*

item, or distinct chapter of arguments, was the establishment of the divine legation of Moses, and the certain divine origin of the Jews' religion, proved by all *the criteria* of Leslie which establish the truth of ancient facts, from the symbols of that religion, and the archives of all the ancient nations of the world. Our *fourth* chapter contained the *historic evidences* of the Christian religion; our *fifth*, the prophetic annunciations of both testaments; the *sixth*, the genius and tendency of the Christian religion; and the *seventh*, the social system. These were the great chapters of this discussion; though much incommoded, disturbed, and broken in upon, by the obliquity of Mr. Owen's course. Still, I flatter myself, when the whole is comprised together in one volume, it will prove, at least, that no christian has any reason to blush, or be ashamed of the foundation of his hope, or of his religion. Nay, more: that the Christian religion is, most certainly, the institution of Him who built the universe, and gave to man his dominion over the animal, the vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. That it is as clearly the work of an infinite understanding, as the sun is the work of an Almighty Hand.

Before closing this my last address to you, my respected auditors, I beg leave to read you two extracts from my Christian Baptist, vol. 5, p. 257. These remarks, though written a year ago, seem to me every way suited to the present occasion. The first is entitled the *Triumphs of Scepticism*. The second, the *Triumphs of Christianity*.

THE TRIUMPHS OF SCEPTICISM.

When scepticism triumphs in any heart, the hope of immortality is banished. It crowns the tyrant death for ever on his throne, and seals the conquests of the grave over the whole human race. It wraps the tomb in eternal darkness, and suffers not one particle of the remains of the great, the wise, and the good of all ages, to see the light of eternity; but consigns, by an irreversible doom, all that was admired, loved, and revered in man, to perpetual annihilation. It identifies human existence with the vilest reptile, and levels man to the grade of the meanest weed, whose utility is yet undiscovered. Man's origin and his destiny are, to his ken, alike fortuitous, unimportant, and uninteresting. Having robbed him of every thing which could make him dear to himself and proud of his existence, it murders all his hopes of future being and future bliss. It cuts the cable, and casts away the golden anchor; it sets man adrift on the mighty, unfathomable, and unexplored ocean of uncertainty, to become the sport of the wind and waves of animal passion and appetite; until, at last, in some tremendous gust, "he sinks to everlasting ruin." Say, then, proud reasoner, of what utility is your philosophy? What your boast?

You boast that you have made man ignorant of his origin and a stranger to himself. You boast that you have deprived him of any real superiority over the bee, the bat, or the beaver; that you have divested him of the highest inducements to a virtuous life, by taking away the knowledge of God and the hope of heaven. You boast that you have made death triumphant, not only over the body, but the intellectual dignity of man; and that you have buried his soul and body in the

grave of an eternal sleep, never to see the light of life again! O, scepticism! is this thy philosophy—is this thy boasted victory over the Bible! And for this extinguishment of light and life eternal, what dost thou teach, and what bestow! Thou teachest us to live according to our appetites, and dost promise us, that in thy millennium, man shall live in a paradise of colonies, almost as industrious, as independent, and as social as the bees. Well then dost thou preach with zeal, and exert thy energies; for thy heaven is worthy of thy efforts, and the purity of thy life is just adapted to the high hopes of eternal annihilation!

THE TRIUMPHS OF CHRISTIANITY.

A true believer and practitioner of the Christian religion, is completely and perfectly divested of a guilty conscience, and the consequent fear of death. The very end and intention of God's being manifest in the flesh, in the person of Jesus our Saviour, was to deliver them, "who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to slavery." Jesus has done this. He has abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light. He has given strength to his disciples to vanquish death, and make them triumph over the grave; so that a living or a dying christian can with truth say, "O death, where now thy sting! O grave, where now thy victory!" He conquered both, and by faith in him we conquer both. This is the greatest victory that ever was obtained. To see a christian conquer him who had for ages conquered all, is the sublimest scene ever witnessed by human eyes. And this may be seen, as often as we see a true christian die. I know that a perverted system of Christianity inspires its votaries with the fear of death, because it makes doubts and fears christian virtues. But this religion is not of God. His Son died that we might not fear to die; and he went down to the grave to show us the path up to life again, and thus to make us victorious over the king of tyrants, and the tyrant over kings. They understand not his religion, who are not triumphant over those guilty fears. The guilty only can fear, and the guilty are not acquainted with the character, mission, and achievements of Jesus our life. No one taught of God can fear these horrors of the wicked. Jesus Christ made no covenant with death; he signed no articles of capitulation with the horrible destroyer. He took his armour away; He bound him in an invincible chain, and taught him only to open the door of immortality to all His friends.

A christian, then, must triumph and always rejoice. Our gloomy systems say, Rejoice not always, but afflict your souls: whereas the apostles say, Rejoice in the Lord always, and again we say, rejoice. The gospel, as defined by the angels of God, is GLAD TIDINGS OF GREAT JOY; and who can believe glad tidings of great joy, and not rejoice? Deists, atheists, and the whole host of sceptics may doubt, for this is their whole system; the wicked, the guilty, and the vile may fear, for this is the natural issue of their lives; but how a christian, knowing the Lord, believing the promises, and confiding in the achievements of the Saviour, can doubt or fear as respects death or the grave, is inconceivable. Thanks be to God who gives us the victory!

Some persons may doubt whether they are christians; and some may fear the pain of dying as they would the toothache, or a dislocated joint; but that a christian should fear either death or the grave, is out of character altogether. For this is the very drift, scope, and end of his religion. They who are under the influence of such fears and doubts, have much reason to fear and doubt whether ever they have known or believed the truth,—the gospel of salvation. But a christian in fact, or one who deserves the name, is made to rejoice and triumph in the prospects of death and the grave. And why? Because his Lord has gone before him—because his rest, his home, his eternal friends and associates, his heaven, his God, all his joys are beyond the grave. Not to know this, is to be ignorant of the favour of God; not to believe this, is to doubt the philanthropy of God; not to rejoice in this, is to reject the gospel, and to judge ourselves unworthy of eternal life. But the Christian religion is not to be reproached because of the ignorance or unbelief of those who profess it. All rivers do not more naturally run down the declivities, and wind their courses to the ocean, than the Christian religion leads its followers to the sure, and certain, and triumphant hopes of immortality.

Before we dismiss this assembly, I beg leave to express my sensibility, my admiration of the marked and courteous attention which has been paid by this community to this discussion. I must again repeat that I have never seen any assembly convened upon any occasion which has all through exhibited the same good order, the same complaisant behaviour, and the same unremitted attention. I feel indebted to, and for ever will feel a high respect for, the citizens of this city, for the favourable circumstances which they have created for this debate, and especially to the gentlemen who have so politely and so patiently presided over this meeting.

But I should be wanting to you, my friends, and the cause which I plead, if I should dismiss you without making to you a very important proposition. You know that this discussion is matter for the press. You know that every encomium which has been pronounced upon your exemplary behaviour will go with the report of this discussion. You will remember, too, that many indignities have been offered to your faith—to your religion, and that these reproaches and indignities have been only heard with pity, and not marked with the least resentment on your part. Now, I must tell you, that a problem will arise in the minds of those living five hundred or a thousand miles distant, who may read this discussion, *whether it was owing to a perfect apathy or indifference on your part, as to any interest you felt in the Christian religion, that you bore all these insults without seeming to hear them.* In fine, the question will be, *whether it was owing to the stoical indifference of fatalism, to the prevalence of infidelity; or to the meekness and forbearance which Christianity teaches, that you bore all these indignities without a single expression of disgust.* Now I desire no more than that this good and christian-like deportment may be credited to the proper account. If it be owing

to your concurrence in sentiment with Mr. Owen, let scepticism have the honour of it. But, if owing to your belief in, or regard for, the Christian religion, let the Christian religion have the honour of it. These things premised, my proposition is, *that all the persons in this assembly who believe in the Christian religion, or who feel so much interest in it, as to wish to see it pervade the world, will please to signify it by standing up.* [An almost universal rising up.]

Here Mr. Campbell says, you will have the goodness to be seated.

Now, I would further propose, *that all persons doubtful of the truth of the Christian religion, or who do not believe it, and who are not friendly to its spread and prevalence over the world, will please signify it by rising up.* [THREE RISE.]

MR. OWEN rises.

Gentlemen Moderators—It has just occurred to me, that I had forgotten to tender my thanks to you for your presence and superintendence on this occasion, which I now beg leave to do. And I may add, I am much pleased with Mr. Campbell's little manœuvre of the test, because I discover it pleases him and his friends. Truth requires no such support.

MR. CAMPBELL rises.

While we are waiting for light, I will move that the thanks of this whole assembly be presented to the board of moderators, and put upon record. *Nemine contradicente.*

Adjournment *sine die.*

CHARLES HOWARD SIMS, ESQ.
Reporter.

REVIEW OF MR. OWEN'S BOOK.

BEFORE publishing the appendix stipulated in our conditions, I am, from the circumstances which Mr. Owen has thrown around me, obliged to notice a work vaguely denominated on the outside, "*Owen's View of Public Discussion;*" but, in the inside, "*Robert Owen's Opening Speech, and his Reply to the Rev. Alexander Campbell, in the recent public discussion in Cincinnati, to prove that all religions in the world are erroneous,*" together with matters and things pertaining to Mr. Owen's Tour to Mexico. Sold by every bookseller in Europe and America.

Never was there depicted in the face of any sinner the ruling passion of his soul with more incontestible plainness, than is the ruling spirit of this little book in its titlepage. It shows that the author is not unacquainted with the existing *deceptions* practised in old society, nor with those ingenious *arts of circumvention* which are the crying sins of the commercial and trading world. "'Tis *only one* I have stolen," says the little culprit at school, when detected in the first buddings of his roguish passion, "'tis *only one*, sir." Yes: but two or three more are found in his pocket. So, the title says, "Robert Owen's *opening speech;*" but, before we have got half through the book, we come to "the author's *concluding speech*," and before we have read to the end of this *concluding speech*, we find four speeches, one spoken on Monday evening, one occupying the forenoon of Tuesday, and one or two in the afternoon: then we come to one called the "*concluding address.*" So, while Mr. Owen's book only promises to give the opening speech, he gives that, and all the speeches he made on the last two days of the debate. It also promises in the title, a "Reply to the Rev. Alexander Campbell," in addition to the opening speech. But never a reply is found in it, unless we call his concluding speeches his reply. Instead of a reply to my arguments, the author gives, after his "opening speech," what he had written upon his "twelve divine laws" before he arrived at Cincinnati; so that this book of the opening speech contains Mr. Owen's social system, and the cream of all the speeches made during the discussion. A modest, blushing titlepage truly! But why this faltering and timidity apparent in the title? The secret is here: Mr. Owen *sold* all his speeches in selling the right to publish the debate; but, under the influence

of the new circumstances which surrounded him after the discussion closed, he was, by that unalterable necessity which destroys all free agency, all religion, morality and good faith, compelled a second time to sell those very speeches which he had sold. Therefore, the title-page, exhibiting still more of the compunctions growing out of the old system of society, says, "'tis only one"—the opening speech. But, perhaps Mr. Owen thinks that, in a commercial world, it is all just and right to sell an article first in the wholesale way, and then to sell it in retail. He first sells the web, and then cuts off a few coat patterns and sells them in retail. I should not have grudged Mr. Owen one coat pattern for himself if he had asked me for it. I know he felt his nakedness, and did not like to appear out of Cincinnati, until he had got a new suit to obtain him respect among his disciples abroad. But, really, I demur at his selling so many pieces off the same web for which I paid so dear.

One of two conclusions we are compelled to adopt on reviewing this "opening speech" book. Either Mr. Owen intended to make it a lucrative business, or he determined to save himself from what he then knew, felt, and anticipated would be the inevitable consequence of the appearance of the debate. That he was alarmed at the prospect of the publication of our discussion, there cannot remain a doubt, from the contents of the book itself, as well as from many other circumstances. A desire to discredit, or disparage the report furnished by Mr. Sims, is very apparent. It is true, indeed, he pretends not to give any of my speeches or arguments; but he tells his readers that he is about to give "full history of the discussion." Now, as I observed to Mr. Owen after he presented me with a copy of his book on his return from Cincinnati, the history of a battle, and the battle itself, are two very different things; so the history of our debate, and the debate itself, are just as different things. Why, then, said I, did you call the report of Mr. Sims only a "history of the discussion," when it is the discussion itself? In justice to Mr. Owen, I must publish his reply: "By the word *history*," said he, "I mean the *full account*. I used the word history, as it is used in England. I find many words are not used in this country in the same acceptation which they have in England." So, then, the full history of a discussion, and the discussion itself, are of the same import in England!

But again: "independent," says he, "of every other reason for the omission in this book of the mere wordy part of the discussion, between the parties, it is believed that the facts herein stated, and the deductions from them, and their application to practice, will render all the speculations on the subject of religion, nugatory." In good old English, this means, that Mr. Owen's opening speech book gives all his arguments except the wordy part of them; or he means the wordy part is all mine. Even all his own speeches, except "the opening one, are doomed to the character of "*vox et prætera nihil*," sound and nothing else, by Mr. Owen himself. Surely, then, this is a high encomium on Mr. Owen's book. Nothing but the clean wheat in it. In mine, the chaff and wheat combined! Now, I cannot, in

reason, condemn Mr. Owen for calling the majority of his speeches, the "mere wordy part;" or pronouncing any opinion of them which he pleases; but I say it is not compatible with the Christian idea of justice to condemn without a hearing, or to prejudge for others, and to talk thus of my speeches to disparage them before they appear.

But without being further tedious, we must make great allowances for Mr. Owen. He is almost the only rational man in the midst of an insane world. Hence says he, "The utmost ingenuity of the human mind, (of an insane world!) has been exerted, without success, for several thousand years, to convince the reasonable part of mankind of the truth and value of religion." No reasonable man can discover any truth or value in religion!!

Such simpletons only as Ferguson, Euler, Pascal, Whiston, Adams, Boyle, Bacon, Locke, Sir Isaac Newton, and Sir Humphrey Davy,* among the philosophers; such simpletons only as Beattie, Robertson, Hawksworth, Dr. Johnson, Steel, and Addison, among the moralists; such simpletons only as Spencer, Waller, Cowley, Prior, Grey, Thomson, Dr. Young, Milton, and Cowper, among the poets; such simpletons only as Arbuthnot, Cheyne, Brown, Boerhaave, Pringle, Hartley, Hervey, Haller, Mead, Fothergill, and Rush, among the physicians; such simpletons only as Bently, Henry, Pool, Owen of Cambridge, Butler, Michaelis, Clarke, Bonner, Campbell of Aberdeen, Berkley, Sherlock, Scott, Cudworth, Doddridge, Lardner, Pearson, Taylor, Usher, Watts, Macknight, Moore, Mead, Vitringa, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Erasmus, Beza, Claude, Warburton, Leslie, and Wesley, among the teachers of Christianity; such simpletons only as Sir John Barnum, Lord Harrington, Lord Cassel, Hyde, Somers, Littleton, Barrington, King, Culler, Poltney, Soame Jenyns, Charles Thompson, Sir John Mason, Gustavus Adolphus, George Washington, among statesmen; such simpletons only as Judge Hale, Melmoth, Pratt, Hailes, Forbes, Jones, Blackstone, Lord Russell, Erskine, Seldon, and Grotius, among the councillors and judges; I say, only such simpletons as these, and myriads of equal renown, of all ages, are so *unreasonable* as to see any truth or excellence in religion. But, such rational and moral men as Hobbs, Servin, Voltaire, Francis Newport, Volney, Thomas Paine, Gibbon, Hume, Rousseau, Mirabeau, Chesterfield, Altamont, Emmerson, and my friend Robert Owen; such distinguished *rationalists* as these have seen, and can see, no truth nor value in religion.

* Sir Humphrey Davy, late deceased, gave the following testimony. He was the greatest natural philosopher of this age:

"I envy no quality of the mind or intellect in others; no genius, power, wit, or fancy; but if I could choose what would be most delightful to me, I should prefer a firm religious belief to every other blessing; for it makes life a discipline of goodness; breathes new hopes when all earthly hopes vanish; and throws over the decay, the destruction of existence, the most gorgeous of all light; awakens life in death, and from corruption and decay calls up beauty and divinity; makes an instrument of torture and of shame, the ladder of ascent to paradise; and far above all combinations of earthly hopes, calls up the most delightful visions of palms and amaranths, the gardens of the blest, the security of everlasting joys, where the sensualist and the sceptic only view gloom, decay, annihilation, and despair!"

Mr. Owen, if we could suppose him sincere, and without guile, is one of the most pliant and yielding of mankind, and all out of respect for the feelings of an insane world. I owe him much for preferring, in every instance, to gratify my feelings to his own. He yielded all the preliminary arrangements to my wishes. Yes, indeed, because I would insist that all public discussions required the disputants to speak alternately in some reasonable periods, and not that one should speak all, and the other listen, or that one should read a written treatise for two days, and the other reply to it in a speech of two days more, or not at all, as he pleased; I say, because I would have it a *debate*, after he had challenged the world for a debate, and would not consent to Mr. Owen's reading, without reply, a written treatise of nearly two hundred pages *foolscap folio*, until he should have worn out the patience of the audience, I acted without reason; and he, out of condescension to my weakness, "*yielded to my wishes*," just as a philosopher would to a child. My wishes, and Mr. Owen's reason, were, in this case, only antipodes. But the insane world will have to decide who acted most rationally in this case. But this complaisant yielding to my wishes is told for the sake of finding a pretext for the "opening speech" book; and for a new treatise upon his Utopian projects in Mexico; to call the attention of the public from the Cincinnati catastrophe; to feed the hitherto deluded hopes of his rational free-inquiring followers. This *yielding to my wishes* laid the foundation of Mr. Owen's *violating the obligation of a solemn engagement.* I did not before know that true politeness required a gentleman to violate the obligations of justice and good faith.

But we shall here exhibit Mr. Owen's reasons for this "opening speech" book, page 5.

"When Mr. Alexander Campbell and the author met, after their arrival at Cincinnati, it became necessary to arrange the mode of conducting the debate.

"The author proposed that he should state the facts and arguments in proof of the truth of the principles which he had undertaken to establish; that, after due time for consideration, Mr. Campbell should answer this statement by agreeing or dissenting, according to his conviction; and that the author should reply to Mr. Campbell's objections, if any were made.

"This was the regular and natural mode of proceeding; but Mr. Campbell was not prepared for it, and said it was contrary to the plan adopted in his former debates. He had been accustomed to speak alternately, every thirty minutes, with his opponent, and he very much wished to be allowed to pursue the same course in the present case.

"The author, influenced by the same principles which he advocated in the debate, preferred the gratification of Mr. Campbell's feelings to his own, and acceded to his wishes.

"He did so the more readily, because he felt confident of the truth of the facts and deductions which he intended to make from them, and equally so that Mr. Campbell had to defend popular notions, founded solely in the errors of his education.

"But by yielding to Mr. Campbell's wishes, the necessity was

created for this publication, that the public might have a connected view of the author's reasons for rejecting all religions, as they are now taught and practised by the world.

"This work contains no part of Mr. Alexander Campbell's arguments in opposition to the author's statements, or in favour of the Christian religion.

"These will be given at large in the work which Mr. Campbell is editing, which will contain a full history of the discussion. After the utmost ingenuity of the human mind has been exerted, without success, for several thousand years, to convince the reasonable part of mankind of the truth and value of religion, nothing new upon the subject can be expected now, or at any subsequent period. It is said, *without success*, for if it had been otherwise, the late public discussion could not have taken place.

"But, independent of every other reason for the omission in this work of the mere wordy part of the discussion between the parties, it is believed that the facts herein stated, with the deductions from them, and their application to practice, will render all the speculations on the subject of religion nugatory.

"The facts stated by the author relative to human nature, and any religious speculations, cannot both be true. One *must* be in error, for they are in direct opposition to each other. The facts relative to human nature are derived *from the strongest of all evidences—the immediate evidences of our senses.* All the religions of the world are derived from *the weakest of all evidences: the testimony of ignorant and interested men, through the darkest and most bigotted ages of the world.* The former will, in due time, force their invaluable truths upon the human race, while the latter cannot be received by any mind not previously made irrational upon the subject of religion."

This consitutes all I shall review of the "opening speech" book, as every thing, until we come to Mr. Owen's Appendix to the debate, is already attended to in the regular course of the debate.

We have already expressed our views of Mr. Owen's "regular and natural order of proceeding;" only, that we have not remarked how judicious it was in Mr. Owen, to allow me "due time," perhaps a week, for considering what he should have read in two days; and to think that the community had nothing else to do than to come and depart as we might have studied and written out answers for one another! Insane world that we are, to think for ourselves at all! How much better to let a few rational folks like Mr. Owen do all the thinking, and we, the insane, mind our work. After deciding "the regular and natural mode of proceeding," my friend asserts, that "I was not prepared for it." This is Mr. Owen's conclusion; but where are his premises? Or, is this an intuitive proposition? I was prepared to speak alternately thirty minutes, but I was not prepared to sit and hear Mr. Owen read for two days, and then go and study out, *after due consideration*, an answer for it! I was prepared for extemporaneous half hour replies, but not for sitting and hearing, then writing. Wonderful logic! Yet Mr. Owen, under the advan-

tage of his old-fashioned materialism, may explain this by representing me as a peculiar kind of *machine*, which gives out so many words half hourly; and, to an instant, at the expiration of thirty minutes, down falls the gate. So that I am not prepared for any other kind of speaking but half hourly. Yet, if Mr. Owen had trusted more to his memory, and a little less to his fallacious reason, he would have had his philosophy of me corrected by one fact, viz. that I spoke twelve hours without any reply from Mr. Owen. Just after the time that his gate fell and his machinery got out of order.

But Mr. Owen acceded to this peculiarity in my organization, because he "felt confident of the truth of the facts and deductions which he intended to make from them; and equally confident that I had to defend popular notions, founded solely in the errors of my education." Profound logic! unanswerable argument! Mr. Owen's conscious confidence of his system, and his consciousness that I had to defend popular notions, founded solely in the errors of my education, influenced him to accede to any thing. I did not before know that Mr. Owen viewed all the popular notions as founded on the errors of my education. But his consciousness of truth and error is about as good an argument as he can offer for the one, or against the other.

Mr. Owen was undoubtedly shaken in the late debate, notwithstanding he may neither be conscious of it, nor would his vanity permit him to acknowledge it. He never presumed to oppose the Christianity of the New Testament, as I exhibited it in the discussion. His objections and his system were built upon the presumption that sectarian dogmas and practices constituted Christianity. At one time Mr. Owen would not admit that there was any difficulty upon his side of the question, but that all difficulty was on our side. After the debate, he was willing to admit there were difficulties on both sides. Before the debate he was opposed to all religions, however taught. But now he only pretends to oppose them "as they are now taught and practised in the world." In this code of laws for the government of his new societies he had no provision for religion, but now he is willing to let them have any religion they please, and only stipulates for toleration. These to me are good omens. And when Mr. Owen reads deliberately the preceding discussion, I am not without hopes that it may make deeper inroads upon his scepticism; for, I discovered, in the recent discussion, that Mr. Owen is a gentleman of such peculiar organization that his second thought is better than his first, and his third is better than his second; that he needs that reflection which I suppose his kindness prompted him to extend so liberally to me, as to allow me two whole days to listen and reflect.

But now I come to the words, "without success," which he has italicised in the above reasons. All the efforts of all minds, ingenious and learned, for several thousand years directed to convince the reasonable part of mankind of the truth and value of religion, have been without success. Yes, without success; else the late discussion could not have taken place. This is the most sapient logic; a perfect sample, or standard measure, of the height and depth of Mr. Owen's

mind. Yes: all the clothiers, cordwainers, house-builders, bakers, with all the mechanics that have ever lived, have laboured in their respective callings *without success*, else there would have been no need now for new coats, new shoes, new houses, and fresh loaves. This would not pass for good logic in this insane world. Yet it is a fair sample of the good logic in the rational world of these wise philosophers. Mr. Owen does not take into view that every age has produced a few rational men like himself, who supposed that all mankind had, for thousands of years, been fast asleep in the embraces of ignorant and impotent priests, who, like him, have claimed a patent right for reason, logic, and good sense. These few rationals have looked upon the race of mankind as mere enthusiastic blockheads. Accordingly, these wise and benevolent sages have set about reforming mankind from the errors of religion, and aimed at giving them a discharge from its fears and its hopes, as alike unworthy such high and exalted worms of the dust. But so completely have they laboured *without success*, that their opinions have never spread over a *whole farm*, much less over a province, island, or city, upon the face of the earth. They cannot point to a single speck upon the surface of land or sea, and say, there have we *succeeded* in establishing our irreligion, or our scepticism. Nay, indeed, so *irrational* is their scheme, that no people on earth, the most rude or the most accomplished, can be found prepared to adopt it. It shocks the common sense of men, and it requires a degree of hardness and insensibility of heart, to which few attain, to fit a man for denying the existence of God, and his moral government over mankind. A few such characters, like excrescences upon a tree, or tumours upon a human body, may exist in Christian communities, and be as necessary as shamble-flies in a market-house; but they could never exist in a community by themselves. Hence, with all the efforts of Mr. Owen, and all the remains of the morals of the old society to help him, he was unable to keep together the sceptics of New Harmony. The sceptics themselves, who made it their asylum, and were master builders in that city, have fled, and sought refuge in the midst of the old cities of the world.

To say that Christianity has been pleaded *without success*, is just as far from fact, as to say that these United States have, *without success*, attempted to form a government of their own. Christianity vanquished the superstitions of the Roman empire, and has most unquestionably subdued under its authority the most enlightened nations of the earth; and, although they who have bowed to its authority, and acknowledged its divine origin, have corrupted it, and have not yielded themselves wholly up to its guidance, yet still, their subjection to it is full proof of its paramount authority and rationality. Like captured cities, they have been compelled to submit to an authority which they could not resist; and whether or not they like the government of the conqueror, they must pay tribute, and bow to his supremacy. This is true of Christianity, and of no other religion in the world; because, in defiance of constant persecution and proscription, by its own evidences alone, it took possession of the throne of

the Cæsars; and, without a sword or a lance, it first conquered the world. And now, in our own country, where there is nothing to support it but its own paramount evidences and claims, how does it swell the number of its subjects; and that, too, in defiance of the treachery and misdeeds of many of its professed friends. Neither internal feuds, neither the attacks of open enemies, nor the treason and unfaithfulness of false friends, can impair its conquering power. But were the intestine broils, and animosities, and bickerings to cease, what would its progress be? Like an overflowing river, it would sweep from the earth every vestige of scepticism, and in a few years revolutionize the whole human race. The sun rising to-morrow is not more certain to my mind than such an event.

But again—because a few individuals, who, without the knowledge or consent of their contemporaries, call themselves "rational and ingenious," wish to attract the attention of mankind by creating doubts; because, I say, they oppose the Lord of christians, and boast, because they have shut their eyes, and closed their ears, that they are not conquered, that they have not bowed to the Governor of the universe, does it follow that Christianity has, therefore, been pleaded *without success?* As rationally may we say, that, because there are some republicans in England, and some monarchists in the United States, the cause of republicanism has been pleaded without success on this continent, and that of monarchy without success in the island of Great Britain.

Every age has produced some *black sheep,* and some *ring-streaked, speckled,* and *spotted goats.* So there have been some *idealists,* like the Bishop of Cloyne; some *materialists,* like Epicurus and Mr. Owen; some *deists,* like Thomas Paine; and some *profane wags,* like Voltaire, who laughed while they lived, and trembled when they died. But as well might the black sheep disown the white, or the speckled goat the whole species, as these idealists, materialists, visionaries, sceptics, and wits, claim reason as theirs, or arrogate the name of *philosophers* to themselves.

Mr. Owen's "*reasonable part of mankind,*" and his "*without success,*" are expressions of equal truth, and of the same latitude of application. If reason consists in making men mere worms, and in living conformably to that rank, I grant, then are they the most reasonable part of mankind who never think of their origin nor of their end, but make themselves as much like the brutal creation as possible, the slaves of appetite, of lust, of passion, or of instinct. All such, if they can debase themselves thus, and eradicate from their bosom every trace of a Divinity, every impression of a Creator, Ruler, or Judge, may fancy themselves reasonable; but I must be so insane as to think them mere deluded dreamers, talk as haughtily as they may.

But I come next to notice the concentrated light, logic, and reason, of my friend Mr. Owen. His most puissant argument is, "His facts relative to human nature cannot but be true;" and, as they are opposed to Revelation, that cannot be true. This has been repeatedly exploded, as we think, already; but Mr. Owen lays it down anew in

his reasonings for this new book. Now, admitting, for the sake of argument, that his twelve positions were all facts, (which every philosopher, grammarian, and logician upon earth knows they are not,) and that they were all true; (but that they are not all true has been repeatedly shown,) now, I say, admit them all to be true facts, it yet remains to show that they are, one and all, contrary to the Christian religion as taught in the New Testament. This, Mr. Owen never has yet attempted, save that he *supposes* the New Testament proceeds upon the free-will principle, which, by the way, he never did show. Now, as the free-will question is the only one at issue in the twelve, and as that is not a question which can be decided by our five senses, how comes Mr. Owen to say that these twelve facts are derived from the strongest of all evidence—the immediate evidence of our senses? If he now fails to prove this, he fails at the very foundation. Now, I appeal to the thinking world, sceptics and all, and ask, Who of you, gentlemen, will say, and attempt to prove, that, by our five senses, we know that our will has no power over our belief? And again, direct me to any assertion or declaration in the New Testament which asserts whether we are free or necessary agents. Unless both these are exhibited, we must continue to admire the daring reason of the philosopher who declaims without argument, and reasons without premises.

His "facts" concerning human nature are not the half of the facts concerning human nature. They have only to do with man without a spirit. Now, as Mr. Owen repeatedly acknowledged, he does not know whether man has a spirit or has not, how can he presume to lay down any number of facts, and predicate upon them a theory of man, and frame a code of laws for him! This always did, and yet does appear, a most extravagant aberration both from reason and philosophy.

But as Mr. Owen will have his views of human nature built entirely upon "*the strongest of all evidence—the evidence of our senses;*" so he will have all the religions of the world, and, of course, Christianity, derived from the *weakest of all evidence—the testimony of men!* To degrade this testimony, he qualifies it the testimony of ignorant and interested men, through the darkest and most bigotted ages of the world. A more base and unfounded calumny never was printed! There are three distinct assertions in this last sentence which never can be proved:—1. It is not true that *testimony* is the weakest of all evidences. It admits of many degrees; but is in its most perfect character always capable of producing the highest certainty. Millions who never saw France, are just as certain that there is such a country, as that they see or hear. I am as certain that there is a city called Paris, as that there is a city called New York; though the former I never visited, but have been in the latter. "The evidence of testimony," says one, "may arise to such a height as to be perfectly equivalent to sense or demonstration." Testimony, I affirm, is, in ten thousand instances, capable of producing a greater degree of certainty than our reason. The testimony of one credible witness will frequently discomfit a chain of syllogisms many yards long. This may

appear a vague way of talking, but it is a truth that testimony is incomparably a much better or safer guide than reason, even in the most ordinary employments of this life. Take the husbandman, for example, and ask him whether he is certain, with all his reason, that such is a good plough, a good mode of agriculture, a good plan of building, and after reasoning upon all the premises to his utmost capacity, one credible witness attesting that he has proved his conclusions to be fallacious, will upset all his logic, and produce more certainty than all his reasonings. All men are so created that they can be assured of many truths upon good testimony; but very few can have the same degree of assurance in their best reasonings. Mankind, in general, are very imperfect reasoners—but all can believe on good testimony. Faith is infinitely a safer guide than reason, to the great mass of mankind. Nothing is more common than to see all theorists in agriculture, mechanical arts, and in the common business of life, disappointed. So soon as men depart from tradition, they stand upon unsafe ground. Hence the theorist in agriculture, or in any business, nine times in every ten, miscarries. And what is the theorist, but the man guided by reason? And what is the great mass of copyists, but believers? And so it comes to pass, that, to the great aggregate of the human family, faith is a much more certain guide than reason, even in matters of daily labour. Few of the great reasoners have made useful discoveries. What we call accidental, has thrown the most useful inventions in the way of those who have not been reasoning in pursuit of them. So distrusted are the best reasoners, even in the common mechanical arts, that they confide doubtingly in all their conclusions until proved by experiment. Hence experiment is appealed to by common consent as the only infallible arbiter. Now, if, in the common affairs of this life, faith is a better and surer guide than reason, incomparably more to be relied on, where is the boast of the sceptic and the triumphs of the philosopher? Often have I seen the mechanic use his plummet, his square, his straight edge, and conclude that all was just correct. But when he attempted to put his work together, his tenants would not suit his mortices, nor did his uprights stand perpendicular. Experience alone corrected, tested, and confirmed his reasonings. If, I say, in things pertaining to this life, reason is so imperfect a guide, how can we claim so much for it in reference to the next! Those men who magnify reason, are, in general, the least to be trusted; and their decisions prove that reason is very far from producing the same degree of certainty which commonly attends our faith in human testimony. I only conclude from these general remarks, that, as testimony bestows upon us the largest portion of our information, so, in general, it affords us the greatest degree of certainty, and stands to us always in the place of experience, when experience is wanting.

How deplorably ignorant the human family would have been, if left to their reason as the only source of information in things natural and supernatural. God has not left us without witness both among philosophers and savages. Mr. Owen, with all his philosophy, cannot

explain one of the laws of nature, nor tell us whether there is any spirit or spiritual system in the universe. He cannot, in truth, tell us what man is, whence he came, nor whither he is destined. So completely blind is philosophy! The sight of such a man as Mr. Owen, the knowledge of his theory, is sufficient to bring every christian to his knees, and to cause him to summon all his faculties to praise Him who has commanded light to arise and shine upon us. When I see a man of his character and standing, rise up to advocate reason, and to degrade testimony, my fancy presents before me an obstinate, blind man, who throws away his staff, and refuses the hand of a benevolent friend. He says he can see, and appeals to those as blind as himself in proof of it!

Reason can judge of testimony, and this is its province; and in the absence of testimony and experience, it is our sole guide. As such, we do not disparage it, but when it proudly invades the dominions of testimony, and rejects its aids, we must strip it of its fancied supremacy, and abase it by a recital of its miscarriages. Man is often imposed on by false testimony, but more frequently, and more fatally, by false reasonings. For one lie that is credited, there are ten sophisms received or adopted; and the proportion between false logic and false testimony is, at least, as ten to one—at least, so I judge; and let any person keep an account of this sort per week, and if, in the business and bustle of life, he is not ten times mocked by false reasoning in himself, and by others, for once he is imposed on by false testimony, I will agree to change the proportions. But I think that I am under, rather than above, the ratio.

But some might ask, Is not the testimony of others as little to be relied upon as the reasonings of the great mass of society; because their testimony is often the result of their own reasonings? This objection, in the form of a query, is based upon a mistake of the nature of testimony, or of its legitimate jurisdiction. Testimony is not the report of the conclusions and deductions of human reason, but the recital of experience, *a narration of things heard, seen, or felt.* It has, then, always the evidence of sense, or of consciousness, or of feeling, as the grounds and basis of its assurance. The original witness says, I *saw*, I *heard*, I *think*, I *feel*—not I *reason*, I *conclude*, I *suppose*, I *conjecture*. Testimony, therefore, has to do with matters subject to the evidences of sense and consciousness, which afford the greatest of all certainty. I therefore, I think, legitimately conclude, that next to the evidence of sense, to the aggregate of the human race, that of testimony produces the greatest certainty. Mathematical evidence produces a certainty of another kind. It does not respect the subject before us. Facts can be ascertained only three ways:—First, by the evidence of sense; secondly, by testimony; and thirdly, by reason. They stand in the order of the certainty which they produce; and, indeed, it must always be remembered that testimony of the first order, or of the highest character, always produces certainty equal to the evidence of sense, or even mathematical demonstration. I feel all the certainty that there is a country called China, or a quarter of the

globe called Asia, which I do that I now write these remarks. So much with regard to Mr. Owen's first assertion.

His second, we call a downright calumny: viz. that the testimony on which christians rely, is the testimony of "*ignorant and interested men.*" Now, I might destroy the reputation of the fairest character living, or blast the fame of the greatest man that ever died, if my assertion that he was a knave, an idiot, or a debauchee, would be admitted as proof. The reputation of Mr. Owen himself would stand upon a very slender foundation indeed, if any daring spirit might, by a single assertion, establish him to be any thing or every thing his envious or malicious heart might insinuate. There is nothing more easy than to assert, and nothing more unmanly than to calumniate the dead. If some of the original witnesses were standing before Mr. Owen, they would make him tremble, as they did men more illustrious than he. Greece and Rome will attest "*the ignorance*" of the heralds of the cross. Shame on Epicurus and Zeno, if an *ignorant* babbler so defeated them! Shame on the philosophy and eloquence of Greece and Rome, if *ignorant* and hireling witnesses put them to confusion! Shame on the oracles, religion, and priests of the pagan magistrates, if a few ignoramuses put them all to silence! Shame on all the literary splendours of the Augustan age, if a set of such contemptible clowns, interested as they were, in telling lies, robbed it of its glory, eclipsed it of its splendour, and turned its light into darkness! Illiterate as they were, most of them, in the learning of the world, they were far from ignorant men; and as to being *interested* witnesses, in the usual acceptation of that term, a grosser libel never was penned; a more unfounded accusation never saw the light of day.

This is the logic of our sage sceptical philosophers. It is thus they impose on the credulity of mankind. It is thus they attract attention, and on these grounds they claim the honour of being our instructers. The preceding discussion shows what sort of witnesses they were who attested the gospel facts; and now, to reiterate this calumny, when Mr. Owen dared not to impugn the character of one of them on the stage, shows the reason why Christianity has been pleaded "*without success,*" in the presence of such judges, of such hearers, of such reasoners, who fear not to assert contrary to all evidence, and who evince so perfect a destitution of that moral sense which alone can restrain the tongue of calumny, and close the lips of slander. To call the apostles and martyrs of Jesus Christ, *interested* witnesses, in the common acceptation of this term, is to make them the basest of all men, who, in the name of God, assert the most injurious lies, and spend their lives in imposing on the credulity of mankind. To assert this, without a single shadow of proof, without even the forms of demonstration, is, I hope, peculiar to only one class of the sceptics of the present day.

To consummate this climax of slander, we are, in the third place, told that "this ignorant and interested testimony" originated in, and came down through, "the *darkest* and most *bigoted ages* of the world. That Mr. Owen has primary, if not exclusive, respect to the times

when the testimony was published, is to be presumed; because it would give a latitude to the censure, which would equally annul the claims of every scrap of literature of ancient times. Every fragment of Grecian and Roman history, eloquence, poetry, or miscellaneous literature, has come down to us through these "darkest and most bigoted ages" of which Mr. Owen speaks. But, as reasonably and as credibly might Mr. Owen assert that men, who could neither read nor write, were the authors of the Iliad of Homer, the Æneid of Virgil, or the Orations of Cicero, as that either "ignorant and interested men" were the authors of the Christian scriptures, or that Christianity was the offspring of the "darkest and most bigoted ages." Some thousand years hence it may be said, that the age in which we live was a rude and barbarous age, and that we who now live were incompetent judges of testimony, had no literature, were ignorant and bigoted witnesses of the events, political and religious, of these times; and that no credit is due to the records of which we have been the authors, or the deposits. Any thing may be said by those who have the use of their tongues; and any thing may be written, even as incredible as that Mr. Owen's book is "*sold by every bookseller in Europe and America,*" although he has not more than one for every score of them. Persons who thus value the liberty of the press, are those who incur the censures of posterity, and destroy the credibility of testimony among those reasoners, who deduce general conclusions from particular premises. Thus some traducer of testimony may hereafter say, that all the writers of the year 1829 are *incredible;* for one Robert Owen, Esq., the greatest lover of truth then living, published one thousand books at a time when there were more than twenty thousand booksellers in Europe and America, and yet he published on the titlepage of his book, that it was "sold by all the booksellers in Europe and America!" Now, argues he, what credit can be reposed in writers or speakers of an age in which the greatest lover of truth, and advocate of it, thus writes.

So much for *the reasons* which induced Mr. Owen to write the *opening speech book.* I now proceed to lay before my readers the Appendix which Mr. Owen furnished for this work, as he gave it in the aforesaid work.

Mr. OWEN'S APPENDIX.

The discussion between Mr. Campbell and myself having terminated, and the time for reflection having elapsed, it may be useful to state to the public my impressions respecting its utility and consequences.

It is the first public discussion the world has ever permitted, with any degree of fairness, to take place between the orthodox faith of any country, and a well-known, open, and decided opponent. The credit of this first submission to truth and common sense is due to the United States generally, and to the population of the city of Cincinnati in particular. No audience could conduct themselves with more order, decorum, and fairness, than was exhibited on this occasion. It is true, they were all taken by surprise at its termination, and, in fact, deceived by Mr. Campbell's manœuvre, to express that they were christians, or not unfavourable to Christianity. It was to be supposed, that no one present would like to express a contrary opinion before such an audience, and particularly when it was well known that the prosperity of the business or profession of most of them depended upon not expressing a contrary opinion. With the intelligent part of the audience, this movement, therefore, went for nothing. It was irregular to call for it; and I am sure, after a little reflection, Mr. Campbell became conscious of its inutility, as to any opinion relative to the subject discussed, and regretted that it was resorted to for the purpose of creating a temporary effect on the public mind. It was not even to think of any personal victory, but to discover valuable truths, that I came to Cincinnati to hold a public discussion. And, I trust, by that discussion, truth may be elicited, and mankind benefitted. But what impression has the discussion made upon the audience, upon Mr. Campbell, and myself? It has, I believe, induced many of the first to think upon religious subjects, who, until then, had never been in a condition to think upon them for themselves. Many were confirmed in their previous belief, and many in their unbelief. Mr. A. Campbell will himself state, in the publication he is editing, what impressions have been made upon his mind, as I shall now express those which have been made upon mine. It is evident, however, that one happy effect has been produced. All discovered, that by the constitution of human nature, each individual is com-

pelled to believe, and to feel in unison with that belief, according to the strongest impressions that are made upon his mind. Many, therefore, now feel much more charity for the opinions of others, when honestly expressed, who are conscientiously obliged to differ from them, than they could do before this debate commenced. It was this feeling that induced Mr. Campbell and myself to express our sentiments so openly, without reserve of each other's defects and errors, during the discussion; and yet that left us, at its termination, better friends, because more known to each other, than at its commencement. I trust this feeling, from this knowledge, will spread wider and wider, from individual to individual, from sect to sect, from Christian to Mohammedan, from these to Jews and Hindoos, and to all tribes and people, until all uncharitableness and unkind feelings among men, seeing that they are necessarily compelled to feel and to think as they do, shall be known no more: and that these evil circumstances shall be gradually replaced by that universal charity, and kindness, and union, and desire to promote each other's happiness, which are sure to be produced in practice, as soon as the fundamental laws of human nature shall be sufficiently developed to be understood in their full extent by the population of the world. If the discussion shall be found to hasten the period of this happy change in men's minds, and in their outward circumstances, it will accomplish an essential part of the object which I had previously anticipated.

But to its effect upon my mind. After listening to Mr. Campbell with a sincere desire to be convinced of error in my views of human nature, if there were error in them, I felt, at the termination of the discussion, more confirmed in all my former sentiments—if it were possible further conviction could be added to what before appeared to me self-evident truths—than when the debate commenced. Mr. Campbell's learned defence of the Christian scheme, after nearly a year's application to prepare himself for it, had the effect upon my mind, to convince me that it had only the common foundation of all other religions to rest upon; and that its mysteries and miracles were of a more inferior invention than many others which christians, from their infancy, were taught to contemn and hold in derision. Possibly a similar result, relative to my opinions, was produced on Mr. Campbell's mind.

A natural and most important question thence arises. How is it, that these conflicting impressions have been made upon two minds, both conscientiously desirous of discovering the truth?

Being deeply impressed with the belief that an investigation of this question, to its source, is one, at this peculiar crisis, in the progress of knowledge, of more practical utility and importance to mankind, than perhaps any other that is now before the public, I will endeavour to pursue it to some satisfactory conclusion.

By comparing Mr. Campbell's ideas with mine, as they rapidly flowed from him, I perceived there was no connecting point between our minds. We were proceeding, as it were, in parallel lines which could never meet. His associations of ideas were altogether different

from those in my mind. His associations had been formed upon one base; mine upon another. There was, therefore, no chance of one convincing the other, until one of these associations could be broken up, by its foundation being proved to be a fallacy. Until this could be done, we saw religion, and every thing connected with it, through mediums in our mind so essentially different, that it might be said, that what appeared to one white, produced a conviction on the other, that it was any other colour, sometimes even black. Discovering early in the debate, that this was the true state of our minds, and the real cause of the different convictions with which we were both impressed, I perceived it would be a loss of time, and entirely useless, to discuss any minor points, while the very foundation of the association of our ideas remained unexamined and untouched. I therefore uniformly declined all Mr. Campbell's metaphysical questions, which I saw had no real bearing on the important subjects before us; and wished to bring him to discuss first, or fundamental principles, that we might from these proceed, step by step, to some certain and beneficial conclusions.

Mr. Campbell, however, avoided this last-mentioned proceeding, as tenaciously as I did the former; and, therefore, much less satisfaction was given to many who attended the meeting, than they had anticipated. Mr. Campbell and I must now endeavour, by our cool and deliberate reflections, to remove these difficulties, which also exist in the minds of millions, for the benefit of those who may read the reports of this discussion, and the public, who may hear these principles canvassed in conversation, or read them in other publications. To me, it early appeared by Mr. Campbell's feelings, language, and manner, that his character had been formed for him under all the influences derived from the notions of man's entire free-agency, which had been made upon his original organization from infancy; while I knew mine had been formed for me by a conviction arising from facts, and deductions from them, that those notions could not be true, and that the feelings, thoughts, and conduct were formed to be as they are, by circumstances not under my control. And that it would be in vain for me to discuss with Mr. Campbell the subjects before us, under the expectation of producing a conviction on one side or the other, until it shall be first decided whether the character of man is formed by himself according to the notions taught by the doctrines of free-will, or that it is formed for him by the cause or causes, whatever they may be, which, without his knowledge, produces his organization at birth, by the persons who surround him from birth, and by the other circumstances in which he is placed. And this view of the subject brings us at once to the most important consideration that can engage the human mind.

Is man, as first impressions lead all to conclude, a free agent, and accountable to some superior intelligence for his thoughts, feelings, and conduct? or are these inevitably formed for him by circumstances over which he has no control? This is the real question of difference between Mr. Campbell, and all other religionists, and myself. It is

the question, which the condition of mankind and the well-being of society require, at this juncture, to be set at rest for ever, that man may adopt a fixed and unchanging course. For in practice, ignorance, or knowledge; poverty or abundance; the malignant passions, with disunion and all manner of strife and contention as heretofore, or charity, union, and peace; or perpetual hopeless, but changing misery, or permanent happiness, everlastingly increasing and improving; depend upon its right decision. It is no metaphysical question. It is the most important practical question, that can be presented, now or at any future period, for human consideration.

And, my friends, if new circumstances can now be created or combined, to induce the leading minds in the different countries of the world to investigate this question, its intricacies, great as they are, may be unravelled; its difficulties, formidable as they appear, may be overcome; and the human mind may be unchained, freed from its thraldom, and set at liberty, to acquire, without one fear for futurity, all knowledge, and enjoy all happiness attainable upon this globe.

To the threshold of this subject we have approached through the late public discussion in this city. Let us now try to enter into the sanctuary, and wrest victory from the ignorance, superstition, and bigotry of all the ages which are past.

It is victory the most worthy, to contest to the utmost stretch of the human faculties, that man has ever yet contended for.

Before we commence this encounter, it will be well to remove one obstacle, without the removal of which, the parties cannot enter fairly upon this subject. It is the almost universal impression, that the doctrine of free-will is favourable; nay, absolutely necessary to virtue and happiness; while those who teach that the character is formed for each individual, as necessarily leads to vice and misery.

These impressions show to what extent man is formed by the influence of external circumstances, producing early impressions before they can be examined by reason, and corrected by experience.

For, as we shall proceed in our investigations upon this subject, it will be discovered, that ignorance, vice, and misery, and free-will notions, are inseparably connected; ignorance, the absence of knowledge, always produces the notions of free-agency in man. The necessary consequence of the irrationalizing doctrine of free-agency is to generate malignant passions, disunion, contention, strife, and all kinds of vice and misery; in fact, to produce what may justly be termed, "hell upon earth."

While the knowledge derived through a close and clear train of reasoning, that the character of man is formed for him, will so enlighten the understanding, that the malignant feelings will not germinate; the inferior passions will have no pabulum to feed them; anger and irritation will be insane movements; contention and strife will appear as they are, to be folly; and war, too inhuman to be thought of without horror. And in consequence of acquiring this knowledge of ourselves, all motives to vice will cease; while in their place will spring up, of necessity, all the opposite virtues. It is true, faith and

belief in any notions contrary to nature, will have no place in the human mind; for they will be detected to be vices, and vices, too, of the most lamentable description. These are conclusions which follow from an impartial investigation into the necessary practical results of these two opposite systems for the foundation of the human mind.

It becomes, therefore, unspeakably more to be desired, that it should be proved that the character of man is formed for him, by other powers than his own, than that it should appear that his character is formed by himself. It is still more important, when we reflect how inferior the character of all men has yet been formed under the latter notion. There is not, at this moment, a more grievous or degrading error in the human mind, than that which leads it to suppose that the notions of free-agency in man are necessary to virtue and happiness. For, while this impression continues, no effort will be made to detect its fallacy. So far from this error being favourable to virtue, it is itself a most powerful chain to keep humanity in bondage to evil of every description, and to induce it to cling to that chain as its greatest good. It prevents man from seeing any thing in human nature, or in human actions, except through a medium which falsifies whatever he attempts to examine. It renders him, from birth to death, a moral coward, so weak in intellect, that he dares not examine himself, or investigate what manner of being he has been formed to be. It makes him much more base and irrational than the brutes, by compelling him to become ashamed of his nature, which, but for this very error, would be discovered to possess the germ of every conceivable excellence. It makes him, through life, the most inconsistent of all the animal creation. He follows not the wise impulses of his nature, which would lead to excellence in conduct, and to high enjoyment; but he is perpetually occupied with whims and fancies, which, having no foundation in nature, keep him a wild, fantastic, visionary enthusiast, or a continued self-tormentor. It contradicts the notion that he is now, or that he ever has been, a reasonable creature. He knows not what reason is. He looks around him, out of his own circle of errors, and discovers, that from one extremity of the earth to the other, all nations, and tribes, and people are acting the part of fools or madmen; but he knows not, that the cause of this conduct is the error within himself and all of his race. Man is thus deceived to his degradation and misery, and he dares not probe the evil to its source.

He is now precisely under the same kind of moral delusion that he was of physical, previous to the discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. His senses, from the beginning of his knowledge, impressed him with the belief that the sun moved round the earth. Religion taught the same error. When facts were investigated, and accurate deductions were made from those facts, they proved that the sun was stationary. There was, therefore, an inconsistency between the uninvestigated impressions from the senses, and the conclusions to which those facts and deductions led the inquiring mind. Where was the error? In the uninvestigated belief that the sun moved

round the earth, or in facts which wait for examination, and remain the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever? But religion had taught the physical error through many previous ages; and religion is infallible: therefore, facts, and nature, and reason, however consistent these may be, and however beneficial the practical results which they disclose may be, must all yield to the control of this engine for destroying the superior faculties of human nature; and the discoverers must retract their newly-acquired knowledge, or be sacrificed at the shrine of religion.

So in this our day. The uninvestigated notions induce men, through early impressions, to believe that they possess the power to think, to feel, and to act according to their will; and, therefore, that these powers originate with their will, and they are, in consequence, responsible for their degree of inferiority and superiority;—have merit or demerit, deserve praise or blame, and reward or punishment here and hereafter, as these qualities of their nature may be estimated by themselves and others. The religion of this day, and of past ages, has taught this doctrine. It forms the foundation of the whole superstructure of all the religions that have ever existed, and of all the divisions and subdivisions of it which are at this day spread over the earth. And although facts innumerable, and all the deductions which the most accurate reasoning can draw from these facts, and the whole process of human life, when traced step by step to its source, prove that those first impressions respecting thought, feeling, and conduct, which give the appearance of free-will to man, are as fallacious as his first impressions, relative to the motion of the sun; yet, as religion is believed to be as infallible to-day as it has always been in the estimation of its devotees, the door of the most valuable knowledge is to be closed for ever against man's investigation. He must, solely to retain all the irrational mysteries, miracles, and dogmas generated by the most ignorant and distorted imaginations, be kept the ignorant, base, irrational, weak, vicious, inconsistent, and miserable animal which these deceptive impressions have ever formed him to be, and which, until the acquisition of real knowledge derived from facts and experience, shall prevail over these fallacies of the mind, he must ever continue to be, to the utter destitution of reason and common sense.

But, say the supporters of these mental delusions, do we not *feel* that we have a will, free to think, to feel, and to act as we like? not attending to the facts which, independent of their will, compel them to think and feel, and consequently to act, by certain laws which create the will itself, and force it to the decision it makes, and to the actions which are consequent upon its determination.

So the supporters of the physical delusions of old said, "Do we not in the morning see the sun rising in the East, at mid-day in the zenith, and in the evening set in the West? Will you cunning men and philosophers persuade us out of our senses? Cannot we see and understand these things as well as you? We see and feel, and therefore know, that the earth moves not, and that the sun ever performs its regular task, to give us by its daily motions the change from day

to night, and to give us light and heat. Do not, then, attempt to deceive us by your pretensions to superior knowledge, and endeavour to make us think, contrary to the palpable evidence of our senses, that all our forefathers were mistaken, and that our religion has taught us errors instead of truths. No: you vile atheists! you want to rob us of all our earthly consolations, and to lessen our belief in the infallibility of our holy religion and its sacred ministers. Tempt us no more by specious reasons about the great, practical benefits of real knowledge derived from fixed laws of nature: we know nothing about them. And if you continue to attempt to enlighten us upon these subjects, directly opposed to our senses, our holy religion, and its divine ministers, we will punish you by imprisonment and death. Retract all you have said, or suffer all the consequences of your scepticism and blasphemous doctrines." And Galileo, to save his life, was obliged to retract those truths upon which alone the glorious science of astronomy is known to men.

But what is this science, grand, magnificent, noble, and useful as it is, compared to the practical results to be obtained from an accurate knowledge of the science of the formation of the future character of the human race? The former has given man an insight into the movements of the planets within the sphere of the sun's attraction; it has enabled him to calculate times and seasons, and thereby to obtain much useful, practical knowledge; and it has given a certain portion of eternal happiness to his race, which can be experienced only when, by an accurate knowledge of some new facts, the human capacity has been expanded to encompass another combination, complete in itself, of extended causes and effects, which show forth the unchanging consistency in all the works of nature, and demonstrate her laws to be everlasting.

Great, however, as this discovery has proved to man, it has not been competent to disturb his general impressions relative to his long established notions of his own free will and conduct, and all the demoralizing consequences attendant upon that belief. It has not enabled him to perceive this hourly increasing scourge of his race. It has not given him sufficient vigour of understanding, and strength of moral courage, to probe the true cause of human evil to its source. But a knowledge of that science which shall direct most unerringly to form the character of his progeny to attain all excellence, physical, mental, and moral, will effect all these things, and much more. It will secure an unchanging and untiring progress in the most valuable knowledge, and fix the happiness of the human race upon a rock, from whence the passions and vices resulting from the notions of man's independent free-agency will assail it in vain; their strength will diminish, until it shall be entirely exhausted.

Now this science—the overwhelming practical influence of which cannot be estimated by a generation trained from infancy in the reason-destroying doctrine of free-will—is of such immense consequence to the human race, that there is no other subject within the present range of man's knowledge, that can be compared with it.

For this science has a direct reference to the formation of man, before the germ commences its process to produce a living, organized being. It accompanies him from that moment to his birth. It continues with the infant, child, adult, and old man, to death, without a moment's intermission. It is every thing to each individual, and to all generations of mankind, for their good or evil; or it is of no moment to man, and utterly unworthy the consideration of a being formed with powers to become rational. Which is it? Who is to answer this question? Those who have not yet been taught to begin to think about it? or those who, from discovering the importance of right knowledge on the subject, have devoted their lives to ascertain the facts which man develops from his birth, and who have quietly examined and re-examined those facts by extensive and long-continued experiments upon infants and children, until their characters were formed? It is after the latter mode of proceeding, to an extent of which, in reality, few are aware, that I give a matured opinion upon the subject of my fellow-beings.

There is no other mode of acquiring knowledge deserving the attention of enlightened minds, than by an accurate observation of all the facts known connected with the subject, and by a careful comparison of all these facts, one with another, until the subject under consideration can be exhibited in all its parts in unison with each other; forming, by their combination, one complete whole, from the first principles on which it is founded, to its unvarying practical result.

It is thus, and thus only, that the true nature of man is to be demonstrated, and that it can be ascertained whether he is a being of independent thoughts, feelings, and actions; or whether he is like the other works of nature, a necessary *effect produced by all the preceding causes*, which have called him into existence, and formed him to be what he is without his knowledge, will, or control.

It is by this course of proceeding, that I have prepared myself for this investigation. It is through innumerable facts, calmly and patiently examined, and compared continually through an active life of extended experience of nearly the duration of half a century.

Then the question is, What is man, and how is he formed to be as we find him physically, mentally, and morally, as he is in this and every other country at this day?

The twelve fundamental laws of human nature, given twice to save reference in the first parts of this work, are the results of the facts examined and compared as I have mentioned above. To those who have investigated the subject in the same manner, who have derived their knowledge more from observation than from books, and who have followed up their observations by extensive practice; these laws of nature will be understood, and their direct applicability to explain the formation of the human character, and the whole existence of man from birth to death, and with the general business of society, and the government of nations, will be duly appreciated.

As the germ or seed of man's existence, like the germ or seed of all other animals and plants, is not of man's contrivance, and as the

germ possesses the essential qualities of the plant or animal, and as the culture of this germ does not depend in any degree upon the will of the individual, no mistake can be more gross, than to attribute the qualities of a free and independent action to any thing thus created and framed. When a child comes into existence, it is entirely at the mercy of the persons around to give it language, ideas, and any direction to its feelings which the knowledge and habits they possess may influence them to exert over it. And it must receive the impression, which all external objects, natural and artificial, make upon its senses.

The individual knows not when he comes into existence, his own natural qualities in number, kind, or combination. He knows nothing of the persons who surround him, and acquire the guidance of his mind and affections. He is equally ignorant of the nature, kind, and qualities of all the natural and artificial circumstances within the localities of his birth, or place in which he receives his early training and instruction, and from which all his first impressions are received. And the thoughts, feelings, dispositions, mind, will, and conduct of all men, are a compound of all these natural and artificial circumstances united. As an individual existence, man, in his own person, has no more to do in the formation or compounding of any of these ingredients which make him what he is, than the bee, the dove, the tiger, or the elephant have in determining what qualities shall belong to their respective natures; what propensities, dispositions, or habits they shall possess and retain through life. Man can be no more responsible for his nature, or the strength or weakness of his propensities, or intellectual or moral faculties, than these or any other animal. And to hold man responsible for his nature, for his general or individual propensities, faculties, and qualities, or for the direction which his predecessors and the local circumstances in which he is involved may give to them, is a direct act of insanity, and proves that man has not yet been formed, by his nature and circumstances, to become a rational creature. The idea of merit or demerit, of praise or blame, or of reward and punishment, to a being thus constituted by nature, and thus compelled to be what he is, proves that man has every thing to learn respecting himself and his race, and that he is yet ignorant of all that is essential to his improvement and happiness. He must know himself, before he can enjoy the faculties which nature has given him.

By attending solely to facts, by an extensive comparison of these, each with the other, by the imagination, not entering into any of our deductions from these comparisons, it seems possible and practicable, that man may in this age of his existence acquire sufficient knowledge of himself, and of his fellow-beings, to enable him to train and educate his immediate descendants in such a manner, that they may possess the dispositions, manners, and intelligence, and be surrounded by those new circumstances which shall give them the means and inclination to form their children to become somewhat consistent animals in their thoughts, feelings, and conduct, and in another ge-

neration or two, to become reasonable beings, who will know what is necessary for their chief good through their existence, and who will act always in conformity to that knowledge, and thereby secure their own perpetual well-being, and the happiness of their race.

It is the individual's persuasion of his independence in originating his thoughts or ideas, feelings or actions, that has made man, up to this present time, the most inconsistent and fantastic earthly animal, and consequently the least reasonable in his conduct of any of them. It is this notion that makes him proud, vain, jealous, malicious, covetous, selfish, ambitious, irritable, angry, uncharitable, and religious. It is this notion that renders necessary the demoralizing system of commerce, for a money profit, of law, of medicine, of war, and of preaching. It is this notion which necessarily pervades the whole character of man from infancy to death, with insincerity, deception, and falsehood, and which thus engenders among the whole race of mankind every conceivable vice and crime, and subjects them in consequence to perpetual disease of body and mind, and to every kind of physical and mental suffering. Not any one of these numerous evils will be experienced as soon as measures can be devised and carried into practice, to enable man to know himself, and to become a rational, in place of an irrational, creature.

What nation, or tribe, or people, are acting like sane or reasonable beings in the estimation of any nation, tribe, or people, who are without their localities? None: because all have been formed to be what they now are by their localities, and these localities, to the extent that man could influence them, have been combined and arranged under the notion of man's free-agency: hence the inconsistency, confusion, and disorder, in all the artificial arrangements of the human race; while system, order, and beauty pervade all the other operations of nature. It is a question of deep interest to all, to ascertain to what extent man can be made to become conscious, in the present generation, of the removable evils which now sorely afflict him on every side; to what extent he can be excited to annihilate their cause of existence; and in their place substitute enjoyment which shall contribute to promote health—increase good spirits, and in their retrospect, always satisfy the mind, and therefore extend its gratification, and thus multiply the pleasures of each moment by the recollections of our past existence.

All this is now in progress to be known, and one day enjoyed, by the whole human race. But what portion of it shall fall to the lot of the present generation, will depend upon the extent of moral courage that can be elicited to plead boldly against the errors of free-will, and upon the well-directed, active exertions of those who directly perceive the *cause* of existing evils, the *only* mode by which they can be removed, and also upon the amount of resistance, which they may experience from the unavoidable prejudices which have been forced upon the present generation.

For some thousands of years past, the most learned and acute minds have been more or less occupied in attempts to unravel the mysteries of human notions, on the subject of free-will and necessity;

and they have at length discovered, after deluging the world with countless volumes, which involve, rather than elucidate, the mystery, that man had the power to act in obedience to his will when his will was formed; but as the will was formed by the union of his thoughts and feelings, and as his thoughts and feelings proceeded from previous circumstances, over which he had no control, that man appeared to be a free-agent, but that he was not so in reality; that instead of forming his own character and determining his own conduct, the germ of his existence, his entire organization, and all the circumstances which formed him to be what he is, are created for him without his knowledge or will, until he has been so far formed that when he appears to have some powers of independent volition, they always proceed from the combined organic and external circumstances, by which he has been previously and unavoidably influenced. These are the fair deductions to be made from this mass of writings; but the authors of them, who were all literary or learned men, shut up in their cloisters or closets, never conjectured the difference that would arise in the thoughts, feelings, dispositions, and general conduct of mankind, between being trained from infancy under the loose, uncertain, and inconsistent notions of free-will and independent conduct; and a clear understanding of the laws of human nature, and of the circumstances which form the character of every individual. They were not practical men acting extensively in the varied business of life, and therefore as literary men, they knew little more than literary ideas, and few things more unfit men for acquiring a knowledge of mankind than literary habits, which generally give the individuals possessing them, incorrect notions of men, and of the practical affairs of life. These habits have been the chief cause why the extreme difference that the doctrines of free-will and necessity are calculated to effect upon the dispositions, thoughts, feelings, and conduct of every individual of the human race, has been overlooked; why human nature has been, for so many ages, afflicted with every kind of evil which the erroneous notions of man's free-agency are certain to create; and why it has not enjoyed the happiness which the doctrines of necessity, or of the true cause which form the character of every individual is calculated to create.

Were these results known—were they never imagined by mankind, to a very small extent of their real importance, no one could rest satisfied as he is, whatever may be his occupation, calling, or profession. The magnitude of the prize would appear to be such, that one and all would exert the utmost of their faculties to comprehend the subject, and bring about the change. Nothing that the combined powers of men could accomplish, would be left undone, to remove their misery and secure their happiness.

How little do men of all ranks and conditions, of all nations and climes, suspect, that the power is within their reach, if they had knowledge, to relieve themselves of all the artificial evils known,—ignorance, poverty, vice, passions, strife, and every kind of disunion, with all its necessary sufferings attendant upon the infringement of

the laws of our nature,—and to live perpetually in a society in which more knowledge would be acquired in one year, than has ever yet been attained in a century, and in which improvements would be made in the condition of *all classes*, in proportion to their advance in knowledge.

No man has, I believe, ever yet investigated the subject of free-will and necessity so early in life as myself, or so clearly ascertained, from an observation of facts, and from practice, the science of the formation of character, at an age sufficiently early to prevent the influence of the doctrines of free-will from forming his youthful habits and associations of ideas. This singular result was effected in my character at an age when the first combinations of ideas could be, and were, unassociated to their foundation. And, in consequence, an entire new character was formed for me, and my conduct and progress through the world has proceeded entirely on that foundation. I therefore know from experience the dispositions that a knowledge of the formation of character will implant, the habits it will form, the knowledge it will give, the perseverance in the attainment of an object to secure a great public benefit it will fix, the moral courage it will create, the disinterestedness it will produce, the personal sacrifices it will render delightful to make, to remove the existing evils, and insure the future happiness of mankind; to remove the veils, by destroying the errors and opposing principles and practice derived from the doctrines of free-will, and introducing, in their place, truths to be obtained from real knowledge. The most beautiful moral harmony will then exist between the principles and practices of the human race—between the looks, words, and actions of every individual.

If this knowledge can produce these results, and if no other knowledge can effect a similar moral change, or any other general and permanent beneficial alteration in the condition of mankind,—who would not make any personal sacrifice, to hasten its introduction and universal adoption?

I have the fullest conviction, from the coincidence of all facts connected with the subject, that this knowledge can effect this change. I know, from experience, that this knowledge itself becomes a circumstance so irresistibly powerful in the formation of the thoughts, feelings, mind, and conduct, that the character of each individual will be made by it superior to any character that has yet been formed, under the demoralizing influences of the fallacious notion of the doctrines of free-will and free-agency.

And here is the mystery developed; here is the true cause, why Mr. Campbell's learning and ingenuity seemed to me mere wordy wanderings, without the foundation of a probable or possible single fact, upon which to rest his incongruous, imaginary superstructure. On the contrary, through a knowledge of the facts which I had examined, re-examined, compared, and fully canvassed, times innumerable, with the most eminent men of the last thirty years, I could not, however much I wished to think otherwise, prevent myself feel-

ing the baseless fabric of the whole of his fanciful vision. It also seemed to me evident, in almost every sentence he uttered, that his superior natural talents had been overwhelmed and nearly destroyed by the errors of his early instruction, which he had been compelled to imbibe. And it was to me no less evident, that when he spoke during the discussion, he was, from the same cause, riveting chains of ignorance and folly upon those who by their previous instruction had been prepared for such doctrines. Before Mr. Campbell, senior, left the city, several new converts to baptism, chiefly, I believe, elderly ladies, were plunged over head by him in the waters of the canal and of the Ohio. The parties seriously believed that such a washing was to open the way to heaven for them. These operations were on two occasions—one in the canal basin, and the other in the Ohio river—quite public exhibitions. Is it not melancholy to see some of the finest faculties of human nature thus deranged?

I had, during the period of the public debate with his son, and for nearly a fortnight afterwards, frequent friendly, open, and frank private discussions, at the houses of our friends in and near the city, with this reverend gentleman. There is something so kind and evidently sincere in his manners, that I had great pleasure in all my communications with him. And I believe we each expected to make some impression upon the mind of the other; or, if not, to discover the real cause which united us in feeling, and divided us in the foundation of our sentiments on the subject of religion. When the time of separation arrived, however, the impression left on my mind from the whole of the intercourse between us was, that our feelings of good-will and friendship for each other had increased; but that not the slightest progress had been made in the conversion of either party to the religious or irreligious opinions of the other

These were the impressions that the public and private discussions with Mr. Alexander Campbell and his father left upon my mind. I could not but lament the errors of their early instructions. I have no doubt, this feeling is experienced with equal sincerity on their parts, relative to what they are obliged to believe my obstinacy in a course which they have not the means to fathom. While their association of ideas resting upon, and proceeding from, the notions of free-agency in man, and developed through all the mazes and extravagancies of the Christian scheme, remain unbroken, they must conclude that I am either insane, or influenced by some superior agency to promote, in some indirect manner, the decrees of Almighty Power; or that, unknown to myself, I am an instrument to hasten the period of the promised millennium. They are in a state of hourly perplexity; their minds are full of confused associations of ideas, owing to the direct opposition between the facts around them and the notions they have imbibed from infancy. They can only conjecture these matters vaguely, with many incongruities continually presenting themselves in every step they progress. It is utterly impossible there can be any consistency in the thoughts, feelings, or conduct of any individual, who has been conscientiously trained in the doctrines of free-

agency, and any of the numerous religions founded upon them. While this must be the state of their minds, there can be no hope of a change to a consistent or same state of association of ideas; of a new birth, regeneration, and resurrection from sin and misery. They must be convinced of the original or fundamental errors which they imbibed unconsciously, when they were infants and children, and which are the germ of all the associations of ideas they possess, before their "minds can be born again."

To admit of this great change in their minds, they must become as little children, and submit their instructions, not to a gospel in direct opposition to nature, but to facts and reason, which are always consistent with, and never in opposition to it.

But this change does not depend upon any thing that shall proceed from Mr. Alexander Campbell or his father, as free agents. Motives must be first placed before them by others, sufficiently powerful to create in their minds a probability of doubt that they may have been instructed, like the thousands of millions of their fellows who have gone before them, in popular local errors from infancy; and that, like them, they were unable to detect their fallacies. This is the most difficult task to perform on minds deeply read in, and tenaciously adhering to, popular notions. But, being once accomplished, and a right direction given to their inquiries and investigations, the change in sentiment, although perhaps slow at first, would soon become rapid and extensive. Whether these results may ever be produced on these gentlemen, will depend on circumstances over which they have no control.

I have thus developed the cause why, during the late discussion, Mr. Alexander Campbell and I made no impression on each other's mind. We pursued each his own chain or association of ideas, as it were, in parallel lines, without the slightest approximation. As was to be expected, I never felt the weight or influence of one of those arguments which Mr. Campbell called philosophical; by which, I understand, an argument derived from, and consonant with, the known laws of nature, devoid of hypothesis or imagination. There was, there could be, nothing of the kind delivered by him. He, at first, and after a slight verbal alteration in the sixth, ultimately admitted the truth of the twelve fundamental laws of human nature, on which I rely to disprove the possibility of any religion in the world being true. And, admitting these, if his mind had not been formed on the irrational notion of free-will, and its endless contradictions to itself and all nature, he must have perceived the inutility of any farther discussion on this subject. For any one of the first seven fundamental laws being admitted and understood, all notions of any free-agency of man must for ever cease.

That in his own person he has any free-agency in forming his own character, or of thinking, feeling, and acting according to any independent powers which he possesses to create a thought, a feeling, or a will, becomes too absurd to dwell upon. What human being ever

originated one thought, one feeling, or a single volition that did not proceed immediately from his organization, united with the influences which external circumstances made upon that organization? And what intelligent mind does not know that all the powers and qualities of that organization, and all external circumstances, were brought into existence without his consent? Seeing the discussion take this course, and knowing that it was to be put upon record, to await the deliberate ordeal of public scrutiny and investigation, I could have no fear for its final result, and therefore I yielded all minor matters to Mr. Campbell and the moderators, who were unconscious, as it seemed to me, of the real state to which the discussion had arrived early in the debate.

It was well they did not, or their conscientious fears for the popular belief, in which all of them had been instructed, might have induced a desire that some other course should be taken. As it was, the public, prejudiced as it must be, will, in due time, when the first feelings or irritation shall subside, become the best judge between the two systems, and truth will ultimately prevail.

It may be inquired, why I have used such exertions, and made such personal sacrifices to destroy the influences of religion over the world, seeing that the population is ignorant, and requires some supernatural fears and hopes to keep it under government?

I reply: because I discover that the population of the world is ignorant, and that these superstitious fears keep it so, and therefore it cannot be governed but through supernatural hopes and fears. History informs us, that the governments and people, in former times, were too inexperienced, the one to govern, and the other to be governed, except through the hopes and fears of imaginary supernatural powers. And it is these powers which now alone prevent the governed and governors acquiring that knowledge which would place both under circumstances greatly more to be desired than those which now every where exist. The population of the world is capable of being taught knowledge derived from facts upon and around the earth, all cognizable by their senses, sufficient to induce feelings within them, that will render it one of the most easy and delightful tasks to govern them —equally easy and delightful to those who govern and those who are governed. The religions of the world are now the only obstacle in the way of this universal improvement in the condition of the human race. It is a clear and distinct perception of this knowledge, derived from the unchanging laws of human nature, that impels me onward, regardless of popular notions and feelings, to prepare the way to enable those to govern the world, to effect this glorious change in the physical, intellectual, and moral character and condition of the population of all countries. To effect it without opposition from any quarter; in peace, in good order, and with kind feelings which shall thenceforth continually increase.

It may be further asked, what information have I, unknown to others, to enable me to form a decisive judgment in those matters involving the well-being of all people and nations? I answer: that

which has been derived from a mind in which the first combinations of ideas, founded on the notions of man's free-agency, were very easily unassociated to their base or original germ, from the observation of facts; of new data by which new associations of ideas were formed, and which enable me to perceive, that the character or qualities of all that have material life, was given to it by the laws of its organization. That the whole character of all men was formed for them, and as all their physical, intellectual, and moral qualities were formed for them, they were not and could not be rationally supposed to be accountable beings for what they were made. That with this knowledge, if it were desirable to form the character of the population of the world, individually and generally, to be superior in all respects, and greatly more virtuous and happy than the present generation, there was a fixed and certain mode of proceeding; a science, by the adoption of which, this change may be accomplished. And so beneficially may the change be made to all, that no individual, whatever may be his present condition, would have any interest whatever in opposing it.

Should I be further questioned, and asked what application I have made of these new notions or principles, I answer, that I have fully proved their benefits in all the affairs of life.

That I applied them to education, to production, to distribution, to exercise, amusement, and recreation, and to government, upon a model sufficiently large to demonstrate their great superiority for all the practical purposes of life, over the wretched, inconsistent, and opposing nations, generated by the belief, engendered without thought or reflection in man's individual free-agency and responsibility. And the beneficial effects of these general practices, were for years before the public. They succeeded so far beyond all anticipations, that several attempts, under the old nations of the world, were made to imitate them. But these attempts were instituted by individuals who knew not the source from whence they originated, or by what principle they were, for a long period, successfully conducted. Many were at a loss to divine by what secret springs so much happiness and prosperity were produced, and, without apparent effort, continued without change.

There was no other secret in my practical proceeding at New Lanark, than this: rational infant schools were instituted for the education of all the children of the population, as one family, from the age of eighteen months. Stores were established to supply the population with the best food and clothes at the lowest rates. The management of the manufactories was devised for the comfort of the people, and the prosperity of the proprietors and conductors. Exercises, amusements, and recreation were conveniently arranged for the health and pleasure of the children and adult population; and the government of the whole, uniting all as one community of friends, having the paramount happiness of all for its common object. The whole of the practices emanated from, and were under the sole influence of, the

principles derived from the knowledge that the character of man is formed for him; formed through the constant action of external circumstances upon the peculiar organization of each individual.

Little does the world know that all that is truly permanently good in practice in the present day, has emanated from the same knowledge.

Did any of the thousands of millions of the individuals who have been trained in the selfish, demoralizing, and ever-changing notions of man's free-agency ever think of or institute a rational infant school?

A rational infant school is the first step requisite to the formation of a virtuous and enlightened population, and without which, a population superior in dispositions, habits, and knowledge will never be created.

I perceive, with such feelings of compassion as such knowledge will always produce, the attempts to attribute the discovery and introduction of rational infant schools, to the free-agency system, or to religion; to Pestalozzi, to Mr. Wilson of London, or to any one belonging to the free-agency system, connected with Christianity: to any person or to any cause in preference to its true origin. To the science of the formation of the human character, the world is alone indebted for the discovery, introduction, and successful practice of rational infant schools. I mean successful, considering they had to make their way in opposition to all the popular habits and notions universally prevalent, derived from the notions of free-agency and the Christian religion. So far is it from being true that the rational infant schools originated with the Christian religion, or any professing christian, it was founded upon principles in direct opposition to the fundamental doctrines of all religions. It proceeded from observation of facts, from calm reason, and from a real knowledge of human nature thus derived. It was established to demonstrate to the world the childish folly of Christianity, and of all other religions founded on the misconceived notions of man's free-agency. The public were invited to see its practical effects in the village of New Lanark. The invitation was accepted, and increasing crowds came annually, for many years, until my private fortune ceased to be equal to the expense of the daily growing curiosity of Europeans and Americans—of the intelligent travellers from these two continents, who naturally wished to learn something of the principles and practices by which little children were formed to be intelligent; to enjoy themselves without acquiring vicious habits; and to gratify and delight their teachers, their parents, and strangers by their union, kind dispositions, and comparatively superior manners and conduct. Having, therefore, satisfied myself of the great practical value of this science, and having given abundant proof to the world of its immense superiority over all similar proceedings founded on the notions of man's free-agency, and having the attainment of much higher objects than the partial improvement and happiness of a population of two or three thousand persons, I resigned the establishment to the management of others, who, I thought, would do the population the least injury that the

notions of man's free-agency would admit. And ultimately, not liking the condition to which large manufacturing establishments were reduced, by competition arising from the general ignorance and folly of society, I disposed of all my pecuniary interests in that beautiful arrangement for progressive human improvement. I shall never, I believe, cease to feel a deep interest in its success, and in the happiness of a population, the juniors of which, in particular, seemed to me as members of my own family.

The *second* attempt to form a rational infant school originated with my friends, Mr. Brougham, John Smith, M. P., Henry Hase, cashier of the bank of England, John Walker of Arnos Grove, Southgate, one of my partners in the New Lanark establishment, whose unassuming, but efficient good actions, his immediate friends only knew how to appreciate fully and justly. These gentlemen united with the marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Zechariah M'Cauley, Mr. James Mills, of the India house, Mr. Benjamin Smith, and a few others, who from their repeated personal observations upon visits at the infant school at New Lanark, or the testimony of those who had minutely examined the effects which were produced there, were induced to desire an extension of these benefits. These gentlemen proposed to raise a subscription among themselves to establish a similar school in London, if I would supply them with a master from New Lanark; to which I very readily agreed. The subscription was raised, and the first infant school in England, was erected in Westminster; and I sent James Buchanan from the infant school at New Lanark, to superintend it. Buchanan instructed Mr. Wilderspin to superintend the third infant school, which was established, if I mistake not, in Quaker-street, Spitalfields, London. And of this third school, some years after its establishment, Mr. Thomas Wilson became the liberal supporter, and active and zealous patron. His brother, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, afterwards erected one at Welthamstrow, a few miles from London; and in a year or two subsequent to this period, or nearly ten years after the original school was opened in New Lanark, they began to spread far and wide, until they now bid fair to become as they ought to be, universal.

I have been thus particular in giving the history of those schools, because they are the first practical measure the world has witnessed, flowing purely from a knowledge of the science of the formation of character; and because the ministers and members of various religious sects have seized upon the plan, and are converting that which its author designed as a first step to train man to become a reasonable being, into an engine, and a most powerful one too, by which they may utterly destroy all semblances to rationality in the human mind. For, in the infant schools which they establish and superintend, they teach the infant to speak of Deity, its attributes, and its will, as though their instructers had an accurate knowledge, and as if nothing was more easy than for these children to acquire an accurate knowledge of these hidden mysteries, which it has not yet been given to man to

unveil or to comprehend. They teach these little innocents to bend their faculties, when in the most pliable state, to their yoke, under which all the natural vigour of thought, and the first exertions of reason, are destroyed in the bud. The minds of these poor children are thus prepared to receive any illusion, however opposed it may be to all existing facts, and to the best permanent interests of themselves and of mankind. And they are thus admirably prepared to become the mental slaves and tools of the priesthood of any wild fancy, to which they may give the present popular name of religion.

But such was not the intention of the founder of these schools. He had no such immoral object in view; and he now enters his most solemn protest against these schools being applied in future for any such unhallowed, demoralizing, and enslaving purposes.

The author of them witnessed the innumerable vicious and unfavourable circumstances with which the infants of the working classes were hourly surrounded from their birth. He had daily before him the demoralizing circumstances in which the children of the population of New Lanark were involved. He saw that these circumstances were continually making the most unfavourable impressions upon the dispositions and habits of the children and parents, between whom there was an unceasing action and re-action, having a most injurious tendency. He had acquired a knowledge of the science of the formation of the human character, and he became conscious of the evil under which the whole population suffered. Being thus informed, he was influenced to apply the principles of the science to practice, for the benefit of the population. He commenced by devising a new set of circumstances for the children under his government, calculated to effect as great a beneficial change for them, as the circumstances in which he was placed himself, and the popular prejudices of the district would permit.

He began to create these circumstances, and, in consequence, he lost two sets of rich partners, who, having free-will minds, could not divine what he was about; and from the last set, he experienced all the opposition they knew how to unite against his measures. He persevered; and with a new set of partners, whose notions were half way between the doctrines of free-agency in man, and the knowledge of the science of the formation of the human character, completed the buildings and arrangements, at a considerable expense, to place these children under circumstances congenial to their nature, and calculated to create a new and superior character directly in the infant and elder children, and indirectly in their parents.

The new institution devised and erected for this purpose, was opened by a public address delivered in it by the author, on the first of January, 1816. This address was delivered to about twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and of the adult male and female population of New Lanark. At this meeting, he first proposed to receive infants into his new arrangements, for the purpose of forming their characters upon new principles; to which,

afterwards, the name of "new system" was given. In this address, he stated, previous to any practice upon the subject, what would be the effect of the new circumstances in which he was going to place the children and their parents; and in less then eight years from that period, experience fully proved that statement to be correct; for the results far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the founder. By this experiment, the truth of the science of the formation of character was again confirmed by the operations of a single individual, as it had been, ages ago, by Lycurgus, when he desired to form, for the Spartans, a new, and the highest military character the world had known. The experiment, thus tried upon a great variety of children, within the altered circumstances in which they were placed in this new institution, removed all doubt from the mind of the founder, as to the power which one generation might acquire over the formation of the character of its successors, provided that generation possessed an accurate knowledge of the laws of human nature; a power, indeed, many millions of times more important, for the great object of human existence, than all the power previously acquired by man. It is in consideration of its overwhelming magnitude, in the whole business of life—applicable, with equal overwhelming consequences, to each individual, and to the aggregate of society—that the author has entered into so much detail of this experiment, to prove the ease with which any government might now introduce this practice, to form the character of its population upon an entire new and greatly improved model.

Calm reflection upon these facts, and upon those innumerable instances which may be adduced from the whole history of man, will convince all, before long, that there is no truth more certain than that man is not a free agent, except in appearance to the superficial observer and reasoner. That his character, without any exception, *is* always formed *for* him, by circumstances previous and subsequent to his birth, over which it is impossible for him to have any control. That in those instances in advanced life, in which a sudden and great change of character appears, it is, without one exception, the result of the peculiar faculties of the original organization of the individual, as it is acted upon by all the previous external circumstances which, by those circumstances, had produced the past character, until with the new impression made by the circumstances which immediately preceded the sudden and extensive change for better or worse; and for which change, the individual is as harmless and irresponsible, as for every previous alteration in his character.

And this invaluable knowledge will now open to the governments and people of all nations, the means of relieving themselves from all the artificial evils of life, and from all those which, heretofore, man, through ignorance, has inflicted upon man.

They will distinctly perceive that the great business of the human race will be, to educate their successors aright. That having acquired the power, through this new science, to arrange and combine superior

circumstances, they will create them in conformity with these dispositions, habits, and acquirements in theoretic and practical knowledge, that shall insure, at all times, a full supply of the best the earth, with present experience, can be made to produce for all; and thereby insure perpetual progressive improvements and happiness to all the generations to come.

These are the matured reflections and practical suggestions which the public discussion, held in this city with Mr. Alexander Campbell, have produced in my mind; and I await, with feelings of interest, a similar genuine development of the calm reflections of my conscientious opponent. For, above all things, I now, as upon all former occasions, desire that truth may be elicited, and immediately applied to practice for the benefit of mankind.

MR. CAMPBELL'S APPENDIX.

FROM the whole scope of Mr. Owen's discussion, and most unequivocally from his Appendix, it appears that his whole scheme of things is predicated upon one fundamental position. This position is: *that man is not a free agent.* That no man forms his own character, but that every man's character is formed for him, is one of his consequences from this position. Another is: *that merit and demerit, praise and blame, reward and punishment, belong not to man, nor, in truth, to any being in the universe.* Such is the soul or life of his whole system.

He declaimed much against metaphysics in his speeches, and in his writings; but I now make my appeal to the learned world, and ask: Is there, in the whole science of metaphysics, more abstruse speculations or questions than those constituting and proceeding from the above positions? If there be such a thing as the *quintessence* of metaphysics, I say, it is the question about *free-agency* in all its sublimated ramifications:—but this only by the way.

Men of the most gigantic talents have fatigued themselves in writing octavos, quartos, and folios, upon the doctrines of liberty and necessity. From the learned folio of Peter Sterry, down to the unanswerable octavo of President Edwards, there has been written a waggon load of learned lumber on this very question. Before a popular assembly, and to the great majority of readers, the plan of *reductio ad absurdum* appears to us the shortest way of settling these wordy disputes; and, therefore, we generally preferred this argument while on the stage of discussion, whenever Mr. Owen presented these metaphysical dogmas. That there is no moral difference on Mr. Owen's hypothesis between the actions of a machine and those of King Solomon, Sir Isaac Newton, and the apostle Paul; that a man, a fish, an oyster, a tree, a watch, are equally voluntary agents, alike praiseworthy, blameworthy, virtuous, vicious, good, or evil, was repeatedly shown during the discussion. The tree that cools us with its shade, that refreshes us with its fruit, and that kills us by its fall, is neither praiseworthy nor blameworthy. So the patricide, the matricide, the homicide, and the philanthropic; the affectionate, kind, and benevolent son, daughter, brother, neighbour, are alike praiseworthy, alike blameworthy: in truth, neither to be praised nor blamed at all. All the feeling which Mr. Owen professes to have for such evil-doers, is *pity*: he may pity the child that kills his father, as he

pities the widow, which the wickedness of a son has made. He pities, too, the religious man as a deluded being: and, indeed, I cannot see why he may not equally pity every thing that exists, and be as much grieved for the virtues, as the vices of men. I think his metaphysics which place the idiot, the madman, the philosopher, and the sage, upon the same footing with each other, and with all things animal, vegetable, and mineral, excludes pity altogether, and divests man of all feelings, as well as of all free-agency.

Whenever the idea of merit and demerit is exiled from earth, the idea of pity must follow it. Nobody pities a tree because the wind has torn a branch from it. Nobody pities the lion who kills himself in pursuit of a lamb, nor the hawk that breaks its head in the pursuit of a chicken. We pity suffering innocence: but take away the idea of innocence, and we destroy all pity. Destroy merit and demerit, and we have no use for the word *innocence;* and then we can have no suffering innocence, and so no pity.

But the idea of a philanthropist is just as inadmissable upon Mr. Owen's principles, as that of praise or blame. Now, Mr. Owen professes to be a philanthropist; that is, a lover of men. But is love a reasonable or an unreasonable thing? If reasonable, Mr. Owen cannot, upon his own principles, be truly a philanthropist. For what reason can induce him to spend his days in benefitting men more than crows or squirrels; more than in cultivating hellebore or hemlock? A lump of animated matter, of vegetable matter, whether in the form of a biped, a quadruped, or a tulip, is matter still, and as necessary in its figure, properties, and powers, as it is in being material. There is nothing in man, upon his principles, amiable, more than in a goose. The goose which furnishes this quill, and on whose coat I slept last night, and on whose carcase I feasted last Christmas, was a benefactor of man, and a philanthropist, upon Mr. Owen's theory, as worthy of praise as himself, because as reasonable and as unreasonable. If the size, figure, and animal qualities of man prompt Mr. Owen to be a philanthropist, he ought, for as good reasons, to devote his life to the care of horses and elephants. If longevity, an erect position, and a peculiar organization make man worthy of so much love from him, the goose which lives longer, the tree which grows taller, and the crocodile which is as curiously organized as man, equally merit his labours of love. To say that he is a philanthropist because he belongs to the race of men, is to place philanthropy upon the same foundation with those animal affections which pervade most species of the quadrupeds and bipeds for their own. This is an unreasonable philanthropy, and unworthy of the name. There cannot be a *philosophic philanthropist* upon any principle which divests man of merit and demerit, of praise and blame, of reward and punishment, upon any principle which excludes from the human mind the idea of a God and a future state. Men who deny these, may call themselves philanthropists, they may labour for the good of men, but they are no more philanthropists than the bee which makes honey, nor the sheep which yields its fleece. They do not bestow their labours nor their coats on man, through a love of him. Other motives prompt their

actions. So Mr. Owen may spend time, money, and personal toils, on what appear to be philanthropic objects; but these may be demonstrated to proceed from vanity, by a much more convincing logic than can be employed to show that they proceed from the love of man, properly so called.

For my part, if I were compelled to give up the doctrine of immortality, or could be induced to think that man differs from other animals, merely so far as he differs from them in the organization of one hundred and fifty pounds of matter, I should think it just as reasonable and philosophic that I should spend my life in raising and teaching dogs and horses, and improving their condition, as in training men, and improving their circumstances.

The materialist, or philosophic necessarian, who says that the earth is an immense prison, and the laws of nature so many jailors, and all mankind prisoners bound in chains which cannot be dissolved; or, to speak without a figure, who says that the actions of all men are as unavoidable as the ebbing and flowing of the sea, or the waxing and waning of the moon, can never rationally be a *reformer*. For what could he reform! He could not pretend to reform nature, nor any of its laws. On Mr. Owen's principles, the present state of the world is perfectly natural and unavoidable. Nature, in the regular operation of cause and effect, has issued in his trinity of evils, 'religion, matrimony, and private property.' Now, if nature has gone wrong, and man without *free-agency* has landed in religion, matrimony, and private property, how unphilosophic is the philosopher of *circumstances*, who would preach up the necessity of a change in society, when he cannot change necessity!!

It is a climax in the eloquence of absurdity which Mr. Owen is aspiring after. He preaches that all things are just as they must be. The uncontrollable laws of nature have issued in the present system of things; and yet he would have us to make things what they ought not to be; that is, he would have us abolish religion, matrimony, and private property, which his own eternal and unchanging laws of nature, in their necessary and uncontrollable operations have originated and established. On Mr. Owen's theory, all things are natural and unavoidable. It is mother Nature working by her own laws, and yet he would make us all matricides!!! If Mr. Owen is not stranded here, there is not a shoal in the universe.

From all eternity, according to Mr. Owen's scheme, the particles of matter have been in incessant agitation, working themselves up into ten thousand times ten thousand forms. A few of them at one time produced a Nimrod, a Pharaoh, a Moses, a Cyrus, a Nebuchadnezzar, an Alexander, a Julius Cæsar, a Buonaparte, a Paul, a Robert Owen, and a few such manufacturers of human character. Not one of them could help being born, nor being such characters, nor producing such effects on society. Blind and omnipotent Nature cast them forth as she does so much lava from the crater of a volcano. She tied them fast in adamantine chains of inexorable fate, and gave them no more liberty to act, than the Peak of Teneriffe has to emi-

grate to New Harmony. Yet strange, surpassing strange, as it is, this singular piece of animated matter called Robert Owen, which required old Nature in her laboratory six thousand years to produce, would now teach us to rebel, and become seditious against the queen of fate; and would have us claim and take the liberty from Nature, of forming human beings to our own mind, and of changing the powers of Nature; in fact, of binding her fast in our own cords, so that we shall abolish religion, matrimony, and private property; put the old queen Nature into jail at New Harmony, and never let her out upon a patrole of honour, as long as grass grows and water runs.

Mr. Owen is, without knowing it, or intending it, the greatest advocate of *free-agency* I have ever known; for he would have the present generation to adopt such arrangements, and so to new-modify the circumstances that surround them, as to prevent the goddess Nature from having it in her power ever to make another religious animal, another wedding, or to use the words *mine* or *thine*. And yet the chorus of his new music is, that we have no more liberty to act, than Gibraltar has to perch itself upon the cupola of the State House of Ohio. Such a philosopher is my good-natured friend Robert Owen.

Questions in arithmetic may be differently stated, and give the same result. Error may be exposed from every point in the compass, but from some points more clearly than from others. We shall now make the mechanics understand the sophistry of Mr. Owen. Suppose a carpenter's square, or rule, is not what it purports to be, will not every measurement which he makes with it be erroneous, and all his conclusions be false? But how shall we test the pretensions of a square? We may compare it with many others; but they may all be incorrect. We may prove it by geometry; this is an infallible test: but there are only a few geometricians; and none but they can understand the proof. If the square is still disputed, how will its pretensions be settled to the apprehensions of all the community who are interested in this matter? We want some plain, palpable, common-sense way of deciding this matter. What shall it be? This way, perhaps: all will agree that all the substances, all the superficies of things in the world are not perfect squares, or straight-sided figures. All will agree that there are some uneven, crooked, or irregular figures, surfaces, or substances in the world. Now, if any instrument purporting to be a square, or straight edge, should always give the same result, represent all things alike, make every superficies a perfect square, every surface a smooth surface, and every figure a straight-sided figure, all would agree that such a rule, or square, was a false test, too flexible, pliant, or otherwise defective. Such results would condemn the instrument in the estimation of every human being who could think at all.

Now for the application. Mr. Owen has invented a measure, rule, or instrument, for deciding the qualities of human actions. This rule, *he says*, is an infallible one. We compare it with all others; but he says they are all incorrect. We, then, are compelled to test

it by the abstract science of mind; but few understand this science. What, then, shall we do? The community must have some common-sense palpable way of deciding this controversy. We shall give it to them in the similitude before us. All will agree that all actions are not alike moral, useful, worthy of admiration, of gratitude, and of imitation; in a word, that all actions are not alike good and commendable. All will also agree that, whatever rule makes all actions alike good, commendable, worthy of admiration, gratitude, and imitation, is a false rule. So far, the analogy is perfect and unexceptionable. Mr. Owen's rule makes every figure a perfect square, or every action alike commendable, and, indeed, alike useful. His proof is very short, and very simple too. It is this: Nature is always right. She never errs. The laws, or acts of Nature, oblige all men to act as they do. The laws of nature are all *necessary laws*. The laws of nature brought Mr. Owen half round the globe to meet me on the stage of debate at Cincinnati. They carried me down the Ohio. Necessity compelled Mr. Owen to plead the cause of infidelity, and me to plead the cause of Christianity. We both obeyed Nature, and both our actions are perfect squares, are perfectly right, equally moral and commendable when measured by the same rule: that is, by Mr. Owen's rule. If Mr. Owen had made a hundred infidels, and I a hundred christians, by our debate, it would have been equally commendable, good, and useful. Every christian is necessarily so, and every infidel is necessarily an infidel. Nature cannot go wrong; therefore, Mr. Owen's rule is an infallible one. If she produce two effects diametrically opposite, at war with each other, it is all right, and moral, and useful, and good. He only is the sinner who counteracts Nature. But Mr. Owen's rule makes himself and me equally sinners. He wishes to prevent Nature from making christians, by throwing circumstances in her way. She laughs at him, however, and throws his circumstances back in his face; asking him, *Who made circumstances!!* But he has not discernment to feel her satire, or her irony. He laughs too, and thinks not that he has been the cause of all the mirth. He thinks that Nature laughs *with* him, not *at* him. But to this conclusion the rational must come: That what rule soever gives the same decision of two cases diametrically opposite, must be as fallacious as a square which makes a straight line and a curve equally straight lines.

If Mr. Owen has any *moral* law, it is the same as his *natural* law. He uses the word *moral*, as he does the word *duty;* and the word *conscience*, in a sense of his own. Or, rather, he makes use of them as a disguise, as we shall illustrate more fully immediately. Every action is natural that is necessary, and consequently every action is moral: or Nature is immoral; that is unnatural. Hence Mr. Owen's favourite maxim, "*no praise, no blame.*" You cannot praise smoke for ascending; nor blame water for descending. These are as natural as gratitude and ingratitude. His *artificial* law of *utility* will not help out his moral code; for one good reason, equal to a thousand—*evil actions are as useful as good ones.* As the sickness of the patient

is *useful* to the physician, so the drunkenness of the sot is useful to the vintner, and the injustice of the villain is useful to the lawyer and the court. Hence, as his predecessor, Father Hobbes, says, "there is no moral difference between virtue and vice." "No," says Mr. Owen, "for all actions are neither to be praised nor blamed. They are all natural or necessary."

Nature cannot err. This is the first axiom of the materialist. If she did err, what child of hers could reform or cure her? Can an effect ever reform its own cause? This would be equal to Mr. Owen's first law: *the child chooses its own parent.* "No," says Mr. Owen, "in theory; but, in practice, he will have effects to correct their causes. Men must change their circumstances. Apples must improve the trees on which they grow, or they must plant a better sort of fruit." This is the dilemma of dilemmas, of which Mr. Owen is the inventor. Men must change their own circumstances and nature, or they must make better circumstances and a better nature *for* others. If this philosopher will only follow up his own circumstances and philosophy, they will reform him. Whenever he attempts to show us on what rational principles he can persuade men to attempt to change their circumstances, he will be constrained to admit that they have power over circumstances; and this taught, he makes man a free agent in the fullest sense that christians contend for.

Some persons talk of free-agency as I have heard some declaimers talk of civil liberty. According to their logic, men have not civil liberty if they are restrained by law at all. Because William Redman had not the liberty of entering every man's house, of plundering his property, of taking his wife, daughter, goods, and chattels, he told his own nation when he returned home, that John White-man had no civil liberty at all. So, if a child cannot be born where and when he pleases; if he cannot control every thing according to his own will, the philosophic declaimer upon liberty and necessity says, *Men have no liberty of action whatsoever.* But, in direct contradiction of his own theory, he would have him to change and control his circumstances, and thus to assume a power tantamount, if not paramount, to nature!

May I be permitted here to define a *necessary*, and a *free* agent? "A necessary agent," as philosophers say, "is one, all of whose actions are so determined by the causes preceding each action, that not one past action could possibly not have come to pass, nor have been otherwise than it was; nor that any future action can possibly not come to pass, or be otherwise than it shall be." "A free agent," as they say, "is one who is able, at any time, under the causes and circumstances under which he lives, to do different things; or he is one who is not unavoidably determined in every point of time by the circumstances he is in, and the causes he is under, to do that one thing he does, and not possibly to do any other thing." Such are the wordy definitions of the philosophers. But, for my part, I am no admirer for such definitions. I choose rather to call man a *rational* agent. To act as a rational agent, is quite different from the running of water, the

blowing of the wind, or the revolutions of a mill wheel. It is to act sometimes above, and sometimes according to, circumstances. It is to draw motives from matter and mind, from heaven and earth, from the past and the future, as well as from the present. It is sometimes to go with our feelings, and sometimes against them. It is to act conformably with the last and best dictate of our understanding upon all the premises, and upon all their bearings. All rational beings feel conscious, and therefore act upon the presumption that the mind is a self-moving principle; that it has the power of originating its own volitions. To oppose this, is to argue against our own feelings, our own consciousness; and, as was before said, the mind's own *consciousness* is the best and the only infallible evidence of its own powers. To argue against our own consciousness, is the same as to argue against our own feelings. No treatise upon feelings, no arguments, however specious, will prove to a man that he has not the tooth-ache when he feels its exquisite twinges. Consciousness is to the mind, what feeling is to the body; it is as credible a witness of what passes within, as our feelings are of what passes in the outward frame.

When we summon witnesses to depose to the character of a man, we do not summon those who live a hundred miles from him. We summon those who are his nearest neighbours. Now, were we to try the character of Mr. *Human Will* in the court of our own understanding, what witness would be the most credible? Would we summon Mr. *External Sensation*, or Mr. *Internal Consciousness?* We may interrogate Mr. *External Sensation*, and he will declare that he lives so far off Mr. *Human Will*, that he does not know much about him. But when Mr *Internal Consciousness* is interrogated, he deposes that he has known Mr. *Human Will* from his earliest recollections, and that he has lived always under the same roof with him, been his most intimate companion, and that he knows positively that Mr. *Human Will* is not a chained prisoner, but has the liberty of going and coming according as suits his pleasure and convenience; that he is a very rational gentleman, and is governed by Mr. *Reason* only; that, although he has been severely attacked by the Messrs. *Passions* and *Appetites* in confederation, he never acts without calling up his privy counseller, Mr. *Reason*. Sometimes Mr. *Reason* decides too hastily; but always Mr. *Will* takes the course which he chooses, and holds himself responsible to no authority out of his own family. With regard to the testimony of Mr. *Internal Consciousness*, it is enough to say, that he has never been known to utter a falsehood, nor to be deceived.

We may learn a good lesson on this subject from our own creations. We make men in our image, as exactly, perhaps, as man was originally created in God's image. When we make a governor, or a magistrate, we create him in our own image. We give him a certain quantity of liberty, because we know it is necessary from our own experience, that he should have a certain degree of liberty. For the same reason we restrain him in other respects by law. Now, in this we act

rationally, because from our own experience; and thus we create official men in our own image after our own likeness. We never think of making a governor absolutely free and irresponsible; nor do we think of binding him unalterably by law, so that, in no instance, he may be left to act from his own judgment. We leave some things altogether in his own power. And thus create him a rational agent.

The foundation of this system is laid in the human constitution. Some of our organs are put under the control of our volitions; others are not. I can move my eye, my hand, my foot, by an act of the will; but I cannot move my heart, my liver, or my lungs, by a mere act of the will. One class of our animal actions flow from necessity; another class from our volition. Or, in other words, some of our animal actions are voluntary, and some are involuntary. The health, comfort, and happiness of the whole man, require such an economy in his organization. And so every thing within us, and every thing without us, confirm the idea that man is so organized, so constituted, as to be a rational agent, sometimes to act from the mere self-determining power of his own mind, and sometimes from the influences of circumstances; always, however, under the dominion of reason. Such are the decisions of our observation, experience, and consciousness. Hence proceed that approbation and disapprobation which we feel with regard to some of our actions on reviewing them. And also on this principle proceeds the divine government over the human race, as the scriptures abundantly testify.

But Mr. Owen talks of *duty*. It is a favourite word with him. He seems to *feel* a little like a man, though he reasons against almost every thing human, which accords with duty. *To discharge a duty, is certainly to pay a debt.* Does not this imply responsibility or obligation? And yet he preaches that all responsibility is a dream, a notion, an error. He teaches that man owes no obligation to Creator nor fellow-creature. Duty, then, belongs not to man. If Mr. Owen feels himself in duty bound to do any thing for man, he proves to himself that he is responsible, and to be blamed if he discharge not his duty. But on the principles Mr. Owen advocates, we might talk of the duties of insects, trees, and brutes; we might talk of the duties of the sun, moon, and stars; of the wind and rain; of time and space, as rationally as the duties of men.

The term *conscience*, with him, too, of frequent occurrence, means nothing superior to instinct in brutes. Conscience, without a moral principle, without a judge who takes cognizance of the heart, is something of which I am ignorant. To talk of the conscience of a dog, a horse, a fly, would seem an abuse of speech: but no greater than to talk of the conscience of a man who is all flesh and blood, and who feels himself irresponsible to any being in the universe.

I would advise the incorrigible materialist to get rid of all our terms expressive of moral or religious feeling; and to make a language adapted to beings who have nothing in common with us christians, more than we have in common with the brutal creation.

It will be admitted that it is sometimes as possible to discover that

the language of a speaker does not correspond with the feelings of his heart; as it is to discover that some assertions do not correspond with facts. Some of Mr. Owen's assertions in his Appendix are of this character. p. 461.—"Mr. Campbell's learned defence of the Christian scheme, after nearly a year's application to prepare himself for it, had the effect upon my mind to convince me that it had only the common foundation of all other religions to rest upon; and that its mysteries and miracles were of a more inferior invention than many others which christians, from their infancy, were taught to contemn and hold in derision. Possibly a similar result, relative to my opinions, was produced on Mr. Campbell's mind."

Now, it is reasonable and necessary that if we make any subtraction from one part of his declaration, we should subtract equally from the other part of it. It consists of two parts. The first respects my preparation for the debate; the second, the effects which the debate had upon Mr. Owen's mind. Certainly Mr. Owen is as credible a witness of what passes within his mind, as he is of things without it. The former does always depend upon one witness, but not so the latter. With regard to the "year's preparation" part of the declaration, it must be received with great caution. Instead of nearly a year, it was only about nine months from the time of Mr. Owen's call on me, and our engagement to meet in Cincinnati, till the time of our meeting there. And instead of nearly a year's preparation for the debate, during these nine months I superintended the printing, correcting, binding, and distribution of one edition of a new translation of the New Testament, also a hymn-book; besides the writing necessary for my periodical paper, and a heavy correspondence, equal at least to one duodecimo volume per annum. All this, besides my public labours as a teacher of the Christian religion, and all my domestic and agricultural attentions. This much subtracted out of nine months, did not afford me more than one day per week for preparations. Now make a similar subtraction from what Mr. Owen says about his convictions that Christianity has only the common foundation of all other religions to rest upon, and I think we shall come full nigh the truth.

But when he says that the mysteries and miracles of Christianity are of a more inferior invention than those of other religions, he says what, I presume, the sceptics as a body do not believe; and I think more than Mr. Owen himself believes, if he knows his own mind. It is a very daring calumny, without a single support but the *dictum* of Mr. Owen. Why did he not, either in the debate or in his appendix, expose or contrast these pretended miracles or papistical legends, (for the Koran pretends to no miracles) with the Christian or Jewish? Mr. Owen writes as if men could believe, not only as they please, but without any evidence. Or else he supposes that, as he says, he tells nothing but the truth, mankind will from necessity believe him.

In the same page, Mr. Owen excuses his inability to disprove a single position I assumed in the whole discussion. He says: I "perceived it would be a loss of time, and entirely useless, to discuss any minor points, while the very foundation of all the associations of our

ideas remained unexamined and untouched. I therefore uniformly declined all Mr. Campbell's metaphysical questions, which I saw had no real bearing upon the important subjects before us; and wished to bring him to discuss first or fundamental principles, that we might from these proceed, step by step, to some certain and beneficial conclusion."

All my positions, then, Mr. Owen being judge, are minor points, and all my questions are metaphysical. This is as poor a "come off" as I have ever seen; it does not need a denial nor refutation from me. The preceding pages do it ample justice.

Mr. Owen affirms that "a Christian population is always from necessity a population full of deception." I suppose it is owing to the unhappy circumstances of Mr. Owen being educated in such a population that he became so conversant, so unavoidably conversant, with this art.

Mr. Owen will always have the better of me in nature, composition, organization, and circumstances. Hence, when my circumstances forced me to be a free-agent, his "convictions" formed his own character. Mr. Owen's *convictions* formed his character; but the character of every other man in the world was *formed for him*; so at least he avers—page 462. "To me, it early appeared by Mr. Campbell's feelings, language, and manner, that his character had been formed for him under all the influences derived from the notions of man's free-agency, which had been made upon his original organization from infancy; while I knew mine had been formed for me by a conviction arising from facts, and deductions from them, that those notions could not but be true, and that the feelings, thoughts, and conduct were formed to be as they are, by circumstances not under my control."

Mr. Owen was active in forming his character according to his convictions; but I am passive in receiving the impressions given me; or in putting on the character formed for me. I cannot but complain that Mr. Owen should thus form his own character, and then make himself the former of all the characters in the world, without permitting any other person to equal honour with himself!

But next comes the powerful struggle. Mr. Owen resolves on death or victory. To wrest victory from ignorance, superstition, and bigotry, he is resolved. The giant Free-agency is to be led captive in chains to the dark and dreary dungeon of Absolute Necessity, where Fate, the jailor, is to lock him down in everlasting chains. Mr. Owen only got to the threshold of the temple, or rather to the threshold of the fortress of this hero, in forty years' thinking, reading, writing, and debating. But now comes the tug of war. Hear him put on his armour. See him gird on his sword—page 463.

"To the threshold of this subject we have approached through the late public discussion in this city. Let us now try to enter into the sanctuary, and wrest victory from the ignorance, superstition, and bigotry of all the ages which are past. It is a victory the most worthy to contest, to the utmost stretch of the human faculties, that man has ever yet contended for."

After telling us the pedigree of free-agency and her offspring, he brandishes his sword. "Free-agency," says he, "thou art the child of ignorance, and thy offspring is hell upon earth." Whereas, he introduces Necessity as the daughter of Reason and Knowledge, and her offspring is earth upon heaven and hell. We shall minute down his blows at free-agency.

First. "The idea," says Mr. Owen, "that a man can voluntarily do good or evil, generates malignant passions, disunions, contention, strife, and all kinds of vice and misery." This is good logic. The strength of the argument is solely in the boldness of the assertion. Free-agency parries this blow by an assertion too. She asserts that apathy, or immorality, licentiousness, and every vice, are the natural offspring of material necessity; and that all virtue and goodness are the natural fruits of free-agency. Where assertion is the order of the day, it is lawful to assert always in whole numbers, without fractions.

Second. "The idea of necessity, or that every man's character is formed for him, is that which enlightens his understanding, and extirpates all bad feelings." But says the giant free-agency, your assertion is neutralized; for the believer in necessity can have no feelings at all, benevolent or the contrary. Free-agency cherishes all good feelings; and prepares a person to govern or repress all bad feelings, if such should manifest themselves. Have these two blows drawn one drop of blood of the giant? If a man is as passive as a tree, or as this sheet of paper which receives every letter my pen inscribes upon it, he can have no motive to excite benevolent feelings; nor, indeed, any feelings at all. All the sages in the world could not show, why any man is to be rationally loved, or why gratitude, or any sort of good feeling should exist in a society which has no more free-agency in it than trees or stones.

Third. "Free-agency," says the philosopher, "deludes a man in morals, as the eyes of the ignorant swains, before the age of Copernicus and Galileo, physically deluded them about the notions of the sun and the repose of the earth." This blow requires no parrying, it does not reach the point at which it was aimed.

Fourth. "As man is first an infant, and as such can have no mind of his own; as any language, religion, or science, may be given this infant without any act of its own, so it is absurd to hold it responsible for either language, science, or religion." The logic of this blow, if logic be in it, is dethroned by asserting that man does not always continue an infant; and what is true of the infant, is not true of the man. It is not conclusive to aver, that because the egg cannot bite, neither can the serpent. Because a child cannot choose the country in which it shall be born, it will not logically follow that the man can never expatriate itself. The correctness of Mr. Owen's conclusion as it is equivalent to, so it may be tested by, the following syllogism which I formed on Mr. Owen's model:—A child born in Wales can never migrate to the United States.

Fifth. "Men have confounded their power to act in obedience to

their will, when their will is formed, with the idea of liberty. But has man the *power to form his own will?* Aye: that is the question which is to discomfit free-agency. But what about this *forming of the will?* Some philosophers talk about forming man's will, as if it was formed and manufactured like a horse shoe; and as if it was a piece, or parcel, or a member of the soul, which a man can move as he can his hand or finger. I doubt not but nine-tenths of all the volumes written upon the human will, have been a mere logomachy, arising from using terms without ideas, or attaching discordant ideas to the same terms. To talk of a man's forming his will, or of "having his will formed for him," is rather too much in the style of materialism. I do not know but in the progress of human knowledge, in a few years, we may have some very learned dissertations about growing wills, as we grow grain and cattle. Patents may yet be granted for casting wills into particular moulds: of this, there may be some certain expectation, if the new science of bumpology should gain ground. The idea has been already suggested of having caps of steel with cells of taste, patriotism, and wisdom, to cause the heads of infants to put forth protuberances of proper degrees of latitude and longitude, so as to give to the full-grown man, these or any other prominent traits of character which the taste or exigencies of society may require.

Mr. Owen told us something about rational faces, and angelic countenances, which are to grow out of his new system of moulding men's wills. All this he promises us in the course of a few years. The time will soon come when men will have so much skill in surrounding the heads and faces of infants, with such propitious circumstances, as to give them strong, rational lineaments. If the materialists ever can form a community, attempts may be made on the science of bumpology, to give one and the same *will* to every child born in their precincts. Mr. Owen seems to think that he has some extraordinary sagacity in this matter; for, says he, page 471: "No man has, I believe, ever yet investigated the subject of free-will and necessity so early in life as myself; or so clearly ascertained, from an observation of facts, and from practice, the science of the formation of character, at an age sufficiently early to prevent the influence of the doctrines of free-will from forming his youthful habits and associations of ideas." This new doctrine of *forming wills and associations of ideas,* I am willing to give entirely to my friend Mr. Owen. In his own judgment he is eminently qualified for such an undertaking.

The science of forming wills may yet mean no more than the ancients meant by forming conclusions. I will, I determine, and I conclude, may, after all Mr. Owen's lucubrations, mean the same thing. The unsophisticated state of the case, the plain common-sense decision of the whole matter is this: when we begin to reason, it is for the sake of the conclusion. All our conclusions make new premises for other conclusions, and just as effects become causes, in long concatenation, so does one set of conclusions become premises

for other conclusions. But the mystery of the doctrines of liberty and necessity, is dissolved and dissipated when it is known that one set is called determinations. The difference is this, as was just now said, when we begin to reason, it is for the sake of the conclusion. If the conclusion is of one kind, we call it a determination: if of another kind, we call it a judgment. If it be a conclusion calling us to action, we call it the determination; but if it do not call us to action, we call it a judgment. For example, some circumstance, occasion, or person calls up to my reflections the battle of Waterloo. I reason upon all the incidents of this momentous engagement, and arrive at many conclusions concerning the various rencounters of the belligerents. These conclusions not having any bearing upon my actions, nor forming any inducement to action, we call judgments. But a proposition is made to me to go to Washington, or to stay at home. I reason upon this proposition, and finally arrive at a conclusion to go. This conclusion I call my will, or determination. All conclusions of the understanding upon abstract or remote subjects, not bearing upon our conduct, we call judgments. But all conclusions calling for our energies, we call determinations. So we speak, and so we feel. Hence we say, it is *my judgment* that he ought to go, but it is *my determination* to go. The same premises and arguments led to both these conclusions, but owing to the aspect of these conclusions as bearing upon myself, the former I call a *judgment;* the latter, a *determination.* The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is, that the controversy about liberty and necessity, is a mere war of words; that we might as reasonably talk about free-thought, free-reason, or free-inquiry, as about free-will. We might as reasonably say that thought is necessary, that liberty is necessary, that reason is necessary, that doing good is necessary and unavoidable, as to talk about the will, determination, or judgment being necessary. The whole is a jargon of both sense and nonsense: of meaning, and no meaning: of words without ideas, and ideas without words. Man is a rational being, and *as such must act,* and *may act,* according to the best comparisons he can make. And whenever he ceases to reason before he acts, or will not act according to the dictates of his understanding, he then ceases to act as a man. He is insane. Whether the insanity be constitutional, or superinduced, it matters not; whether it was occasioned by a blow, a fever, strong passions, it matters not; he is insane for the time being.

But the capital mistake of the whole scheme of Mr. Owen, even if he had killed the giant free-agency, as he attempted, (so much to his own discomfiture,) is this: He builds his own castle upon the ice. He makes all happiness, all good feeling, all intelligence and virtue, to depend upon the admission of the doctrine of *necessary agency;* and yet his brethren, the Mohammedans, have held, taught, and believed this doctrine for twelve centuries; and have made it the rallying word, or countersign, in all their bloody wars. Those necessarian Mohammedans are as far from social happiness as any people upon the face of the earth; and when the conduct, passions, and feelings

of our own acquaintances, who believe most certainly that every thing that comes to pass is as fixed and as unalterable as the throne of the universe, are examined, it will appear that no greater vagary or figment ever entered the human imagination than that there is any change for the better, to be effected in society, by a universal admission of the doctrine of necessity. The whole history of the *necessarians* in Turkey and christendom is appealed to in proof that these metaphysics are not more puissant than the doctrine of free-agency in improving the morals, or in augmenting the happiness of society. To say that they are not more efficacious, is saying as much as can be said in their favour. Many thousands are disposed to show that they are not so efficacious as the metaphysics of free-agency. But no person has ever yet found that either system, or any system of pure metaphysics, has contributed to the reformation of the world, or to the increase of human happiness; and as Mr. Owen has made all his system rest upon this one point as the corner-stone, he has shown himself to be as little of the philosopher as he is of the christian. For, whether true or false, it matters not; it is not adapted to human nature. Not one in one thousand can comprehend it; and, as Mirabeau said about atheism, a philosopher will say of Owenism, "that of whatever use it may be to the philosopher, it can be of none to the common mass of society."

Mr. Owen's whole science of forming human character is shown to be erroneous in principle, and inefficient in practice; and all his fine things said about it, are but mere phantoms of an over-heated imagination. Taking it as a whole, it is the most perfect visionary scheme which this or any other age has ever been called upon to examine. Its novelty is only in the combination, not in the materials. It has, in other forms, been often on the stage, and as often laughed out of countenance. It never has succeeded; it never can succeed. There must be some truth, like cement, in every system. But very little practical, and no new truth, can be found in this one. Ten thousand christian writers have dilated upon the faults and failings of the so called christian world, with as much plainness as Mr. Owen, and with much more force than he. We all see, and feel, and labour against these defects.

Because a person may or can find fault with any state of society, or any system of operations, it is neither to be presumed that the system is radically wrong, nor that he can reform it. A person may find fault with every thing in the universe. The sun has its specks, the moon changes too often, and the stars are too small. But who can make them better? Christianity is just as perfect as the sun in the natural system. Jesus Christ is the Sun of Mercy. He is to the moral world what the material sun is to the natural—the fountain of light and life. His religion is just adapted to man—to the whole race of men, whether Jew or Greek, barbarian, bond or free, male or female. None can find a flaw in it: none can find where it could be improved. It has progressed for two thousand years; is fast progressing still; and will, before long, cover the whole earth. It fears no

opposition: the more opposed, if well managed, the better. Gibbon and Hume insidiously attacked it. Voltaire and the French wits laughed at it;—ridiculed it. Thomas Paine and a few others pretended to reason against it:—the moderns now assert and declaim against it: but, like the sun, the centre of our system, it shines still, and diffuses its light and comfort over the earth; while its opponents, one by one, perish in their own deceivings, and leave behind them only short-lived memorials of their own folly.

I do not see a single idea, upon reviewing Mr. Owen's Appendix, which merits notice; and very few, whether they merit it or not, which have not been already examined, or otherwise attended to, in the preceding pages. But in conclusion of this article upon his system, I will add a few well-written remarks from the pen of the Rev. *Timothy Flint*, in his Monthly Review, for this month, (August.) These remarks are part of a review of the "Opening Speech" book, by Mr. Flint, one of the gentlemen who presided over the preceding discussion. They may cover some of our omissions, or express the same ideas in another dress:—

"This *mischievous* belief in free-will, is, according to him, the *pandemonium*—the source of all the evils and miseries which so abound in the earth. All this he charges to the account of Christianity; as though that system originated the dispute about free-will, when not a word, we believe, is said about the doctrine, from the commencement to the close of the Bible; except, perhaps, to speak of the dispute as the babbling of some philosophers, who know not what they speak, nor whereof they affirm. Nor does he remember that whole schools of christian believers, and, as they affirm, the great body of christians, in all ages, virtually deny the system of free-will still more strongly than Mr. Owen himself.

"Man being, according to him, a passive creature of circumstances, he is properly under no accountability, and cannot be justly subject to a law, as such. No praise or blame ought to be predicated of his conduct; and, of course, every thing in the present order of society turning upon praise and blame, reward and punishment, as their grand hinge, therefore, every thing is radically wrong. To alter all this, schools of infants must be established, and every human being must be surrounded from his birth by circumstances which will as necessarily make him good and happy, as they have heretofore made him wicked and miserable. That he is able to do this, is his own naked assertion. That he has done it, would go farther to produce conviction than a thousand volumes of arguments. He asserts that he has, and refers to his grand experiment at New Lanark in proof. We are, after all, obliged to take his word for it; and, unhappily for the system, there are many, who have seen the children there, who represent the fact diametrically opposite.

"It is most ridiculously absurd, to suppose that not only that part of the character that is generally held to be influenced by reason, can be changed, but even that part which is deemed matter of physical and animal endowment. We know that some are naturally vicious,

and others naturally amiable. He is sure that he can alter all this by the moulding power of his system. When we referred him to the unchangeable differences of the lower animals; the cunning and the love of poultry of the fox; the natural impulse to move into the water of the web-footed animals, &c. he replies by a sagacious look, and an intimation that animals have been badly reared, and may be in a great measure trained out of their instincts. But when cats change nature with rabbits, and foxes with sloths, when barn fowls instinctively swim, and ducks avoid the water, then we will believe that any system of education, however early and efficient, will new-mould human nature so as to form all beings that are born with all their differences of temperament so that they can live together in love and peace, without law or restraint.

"It is necessary to take but a small and bird's eye view of a section of this grand scheme, that is thus to new-mould the world, to see the folly and futility of it. Men are to be thrown together over the whole earth in small communities of not less than three hundred, and not more than two thousand. The most delightful and romantic picture is given of these parallelogram communities. They are to push their gardens, as they lengthen their cords, till community touches community in a space of the most perfect cultivation, and the most delightful scenic landscape gardening, and in the most ample abundance of "the best of every thing for human nature." These parallelograms are to be refrigated in summer and warmed in winter to the requisite temperature for the different habits of the occupants. An idea of Mr. Owen's, somewhat original, as far as we know, is this, that much of the strong liking and disliking, the loves and antipathies, that have been differently attempted to be explained by some, on the principle of animal magnetism, are really in a great measure caused by the parties being placed in a temperature conformable or not conformable to their requisite temperament and habit of body. All this is to be in this way mechanically remedied; and love and good feeling to receive infinite physical aid, by housing in similar temperatures, males and females that require to be so disposed, in order to like each other. It is absolutely wonderful, and refreshing to think how happy the whole world is thus to become, under the operation of these sagacious contrivances.

"There is to be no legal marriage, of course. Marriage being really the union of the opposite sexes from liking each other, it can, therefore, last no longer, than while that liking lasts. When it is gravely proposed to the philosopher, whether he does not think there will be a good number of divorces in the course of each month, he answers, No: that he deems that the parties being strongly cemented by similarity of temperament and temperature, and having been chosen by the principle of elective attraction in full operation, will cling together like pitch, and will require the operation of force, at least the concussion of a new and stronger impulse, to shake them apart.

"In the present order of society, it is deemed infinitely important

that the child should be wise enough to know its own parents. Whether this would be more difficult or not, or a better test of the child's discernment, under the social system, is a matter of no importance, since all children are part of the common stock of the community, and are to be taken from the actual parents, and put into the hands of these numerous godfathers soon after their birth. Travelling, in this order of things, is to be infinitely pleasant; as, in fact, it always has been. But it is in the new order of affairs to be wholly without expense: a most manifest and manifold improvement. In short—for it would be useless to prolong the detail—the universe is to be converted into one grand heaven: every body is to become rational, and at the same time keenly sensitive. Every contrivance that can be imagined, is to be got up in a style far surpassing the most luxurious dreams of Mohammed's paradise: and all this mighty preluding; all this machinery; all this scaffolding; all this wonderful movement; all this renovation of man; all this hope of an earthly heaven, is to be prepared with so much philosophy for two-legged tadpoles, who are to live together at farthest seventy or eighty years; to be then blasted with the frost of eternal annihilation, leaving no issue of their "thoughts that wander through eternity," but maggots, grubworms, cabbages, and weeds. These are thy gods, O Israel!

"Some affect to consider this atheism of Mr. Owen as harmless, and without probable result. We do not so consider it. Most of the former atheists have been men of violent passions, or bad character. Mr. Owen has that same invincible and imperturbable mildness which Christianity ought to inspire and foster, and so seldom does produce. He has nothing of the fierce reasoning and windy declamation of former atheists. He is so calm, cool, self-possessed, and apparently so deep in his convictions of the truth and utility of his doctrine, that his positive assertions upon the subject, have very different influences from the flippant and angry reasoning of the common herd of atheists. He talks, too, of a power of sufficient energy and wisdom to have produced this visible universe with its unchanging order. But, whether that power is wise and good in the abstract, whether it be intellectual and self-moving, or the brute nature and the blind chance of the ancients, he declares that there are no *data* or facts to determine. Hence this power, in the book before us, and in his conversations upon the subject, he uniformly denominates it, and when asked why he used that term, he replied that it was done of design. We think the imposing and philosophic calmness, the mischievous simplicity, and the undoubting positiveness of his system calculated to exercise a very dangerous influence upon the numerous minds, inclined by temperament to be wrought upon by such a combination.

"There can be no doubt that man is constituted by his Maker, a religious animal by the unchanging organization of his physical as well as moral nature, as much so as web-footed fowls are formed for swimming in the water. Atheists, therefore, are monsters in the rational universe. Instead of attributing the universal propensity of

man in every country, clime, and age to manifest this instinctive impulse of his organization in some form of homage to a first cause, they usually impute it to such a limited and partial cause as priest-craft. Man has been found without priest or altars; but we affirm, nowhere on our globe without some demonstration of the sentiment of a Divinity.

"We do not say that an atheist ought to be persecuted, or in any way molested. Neither do we say that a man may not be so defectively or monstrously constituted, as to be honest in his convictions of atheism. But we do say, that an atheist is to be pitied, deeply and sincerely pitied. What! rob the wide system of nature of its Maker? rob the infinite space of its vivifying, pervading, cheering, and if we may so say, socializing principle? rob the firmament of its cerulean, the stars of their lustre, the natural universe of its order and design? the intellectual universe of wisdom, goodness, and mercy? our beautiful world of its beauty? the imagination of its glorious forms? the heart of friendship and hope? Suppose God absent from His universe, and what have we left? If any thing in our opinion ought to inspire indignation, surely it ought to be to hear bipeds lecturing us to assume our true dignity, by attempting to dethrone God; forswear consanguinity with another existence, and a higher order of beings; proving our dignity, by proving that we are worms, and no more, and that they are really, and in truth, our brother and sister; exalting us to our rational nature, by proving to us, that all we can hope must be snatched between the cradle and the grave; that our consciousness shall there terminate, as though we had not been; that all thoughts, hopes, fears; all the ardent aspirations of minds cemented by the ties and friendships of this life must be then and there severed. Such is the dignity, and rationality, and better hopes, and higher thoughts, and more intellectual character, to which the social system would raise us. Such are the motives under which the future *Curtii* are to leap down the gulf; the future Washington's to become emancipators, and the future Milton's to sing. Shall we be told, that these are the poor attempts to flay the Marsyas that had been flayed already? Shall we be told that no one thinks of the system, except in ridicule, that the very self-same great men, whom Mr. Owen counts as his converts, shrug their shoulders, and ridicule him the moment he has passed the threshold? All this may be. But the man, so calm, so self-possessed, so mild, so capable of meeting every form of hatred, ridicule, contempt, and vilification, without the excitement of apparent ill-will or disposition to vilify and ridicule in retaliation, is not a man whose influence is to be slighted. Look at the extent to which the papers, that inculcate these sentiments, circulate. Look at the eagerness to read this very book before us, and see if the doctrines contained in it are harmless, carrying their own refutation with them. We say, again, let us be taught by an enemy. Let us be led by his bold and bitter exposition of the facts, as we have them in the book before us, to look into that miserable war of bigotry and denunciation, which the thousand christian sects

are waging in the blindness of their ignorance, and the positiveness, pride, and cruelty of their unsanctified nature against each other, reminding us of the horrible and murderous factions in the holy city, while the strength and power of the Roman legions were driving their battering rams against the tottering walls without.

"We remark a curious inconsistency in the book before us, and which we have more strongly remarked in the conversations of its author upon the subject. All the evils, and all the miseries of that depraved and vicious state of society, which we have too much reason to admit, exists in the present order of things, he attributes to Christianity and the free-will systems, and sometimes to religion in general; giving this principle an efficiency for evil, which, unhappily, it has not either for evil or good. Perhaps, in the very next paragraph, or conversation, he informs you that the present system of religion and society is worn out; that ministers are every where ceasing to be of any account; that polite and well-informed people never talk of religion; that it is a system falling of itself, and of its own age, weakness, and imbecility. One or the other of these views of things must be false. Religion cannot be the main spring of society, the omnipotent manichean principle of evil, and at the same time a weak, inefficient, worn-out and exploded error.

"There is, at least, originality and amusement in hearing a man discussing, with apparent and philosophic calmness and conviction, the possibility of so training children, that they shall have no iracibility, no selfishness, no sense of *meum* and *tuum;* no ambition, no rivalry; and, in fact, nothing about them, physically or morally, ugly or vicious. According to him, the children born under the social system, should have nothing of the internal or external structure of the existing race, but merely the same organs; being as unlike them as angels are to Yahoos. All this change is to be the result of new circumstances placed about them, which are to blot out all bad passions, erase all ambition and selfishness, and make them rational, handsome, and amiable universally. One would think that these dear, beautiful, and angelic worms, thus divested of all internal causes of whirlwind and volcanic explosion, would become quietists; singing an eternally lullaby on their beds of roses, and requiring flappers to arouse them to eat and drink "the best of every thing for human nature," and with scarcely enough of the dreggy influence of the old system in them, to bethink themselves of the necessity of perpetuating the future generations of these happy entities. No such a thing. While the dreamy influence of the social system is upon them, instead of reducing them to slothful quietists, they are to become the most vigorous, warm-hearted Epicureans imaginable. They are only to be passive and quietists to evil; but ardent, energetic, and ever-active to good, and love, and happiness. And is it for the advocates of this system to charge us, while we give these views of their doctrine, with drawing from our own imagination, and distorting or miscolouring facts? What age or country ever invented such a monstrous romance as the social system? Mr. Owen declaims against cultivating the imagination; and we hold the history of the

Seven Sleepers, Cinderella, or any tale in the Arabian Nights to be mathematics, and sobriety itself, compared with Mr. Owen's inhabitants of his parallelograms;—compared with the beautiful men and women, who will swear constancy, till death, without legal marriage or alimony, and who will have neither lust nor inconstancy when they woo and wed after the fashion of the vernal robins and sparrows. What shall we predicate of a system which proposes to govern the world by a code of laws which can be comprised in about a hundred lines?

"Sure enough, there is no imagination in burning the Alexandrian library, and the pandects, and rescripts, and the tomes of common law, and civil law, and crown quest law, and the five hundred folios of the abridgement of the abridged cases and reports of the codes of the Grecian legislators, and the Roman legislators, and the Lockes and Montesquieus even in our present congress; like them of the Grecian fable, sowing dragon's teeth, and seeing a generation forthwith springing up from the seed, at once quietists, and as active as flame, fed full with the "best of every thing for human nature," and having no labour, but what is made a pleasure; nothing, in fact, to do, but to sing, love, dance, and promenade, and who yet, without a God, without religion, restraint, praise or blame, reward or punishment, can be kept in the most harmonious and angelic order, by a code of laws comprised by Mr. Philosopher Owen, in a hundred lines! Surely there is no imagination, no poetry, no fiction, no loans from the fancy in all this. We have Mr. Owen's word for it; that all this can be done, is just on the eve of being done, and will assuredly be done. When it is done, and there is actually such a sight, "may I be there to see." But till that time, we throw back the charge of drawing from the imagination, upon the founder of this system."

Dismissing this branch of the metaphysics and of the speculations of Mr. Owen, I have something to say to the "materialists" upon other parts of their system. These gentlemen, so fond of matter, give to it what they refuse to mind. They say that every particle of matter has a self-determining power. It always existed, and will always exist. Every particle of matter is self-existent, and eternal. Their philosophy is a chain of causes and effects reaching back without beginning, and forward without end. No first cause and no last cause in their system. Yet it seems to come to this dilemma at last: *Nothing caused something, or something caused itself.* Something struck me, but something moved that something; and so back we go for ten thousand somethings; still we find need of something to move the last in the series, else it moved itself. If it did not move itself, then something or nothing moved it. The latter is absurd. Something, then, moved the first something—and that is what the christians call GOD. If the progression of cause and effect was finite, says the philosopher, then you have proved the point. "But we never can get back to the first something, because the progression is infinite." This will not help you, gentlemen; for, if you cannot travel back to the first something, you may rest assured the first something never could have travelled down to you. If the first link of

your chain is at an infinite distance back, so that you could never travel back to it, no part could have reached down to you.

To suppose that any thing made itself, is to suppose that it existed before it made itself, which is what we call absurd; for, if it existed before it made itself, it could not give itself existence, which is all that is implied in creating.

If the whole universe exists by a necessary self-existing power, then all the parts of it possess this self-existent power; but this is contrary to all our experience; for not one creature possesses it; all, we see, are dependant. Neither of these hypotheses will bear the test. We shall, then, try whether the universe could have existed from eternity upon other principles.

We have two ideas of eternity: the one is an eternity composed of successive periods; the other, an eternity without succession. The latter is the christian idea; the former, is the materialist idea. Now, as their eternity of successive periods is the only idea which the material universe suggests, then it follows, that when we contemplate the earth at any one period of its existence, it had then some relation to past periods; that is, it had finished so many periods at that time. Its past existence is now completed. If, then, at any past period of its existence it began to be related to past duration, that period was the commencement of its existence. But, if it did not, at any past period, stand related to any past duration, it does not now; but that it does now stand related to past duration, must be admitted; it must, therefore, always have stood in such a relation, which precludes the idea of its being eternal. Those who are fond of metaphysics, may try themselves upon the following demonstration. It will prove, at least, that time had a beginning. And what was prior, the materialists will have to tell. I give you a condensed view of the argument of the schools, from the pen of James Duncan of Indiana, published in 1826:—

"Unbounded space and eternity are ideas so analogous to each other, that any thing that tends to illustrate the one, equally tends to elucidate the other.

"Both are infinite. Unbounded space cannot be at all divided into parts; neither can eternity. If a body of any definite extension were to occupy a part of unbounded space, unbounded space would be no less; and if any definite period were taken out of eternity, eternity would be no shorter. If two bodies were placed at any supposed distance from each other, the distance could not be infinite, because they would admit of space beyond them, and also would admit of being brought together, both of which would be impossible, if they were infinitely distant from each other. The same may be said of two imaginary points in eternity, however distant from each other we might suppose them to be, they would admit of duration beyond them, and might be brought together; therefore, could not have been infinitely distant. Unbounded space has no circumference, nor no centre; neither has eternity. Unbounded space has no zenith, no nadir; that is, no extreme point above, no extreme point below; so

eternity, considered and abstracted from time, has no past duration nor future.

"It would imply a contradiction to say, that even God himself could place two globes in unbounded space at an infinite distance apart, because, if they were fixed in a space at all, they would have space beyond them, and would admit of being brought together, which could not be, if their distances were infinite. If it were possible for two globes to be placed at an infinite distance from each other, it would imply a contradiction in terms to say they could be brought together; it would be the same as to say they had passed through, and ended a course that was endless.

"It would be a contradiction in terms to say, a ball could be placed at an infinite distance from our earth, because, however distant it might be placed, it would admit of space beyond it, and could be made to pass over the whole intermediate space and reach our earth.

"But, suppose it possible for a ball to be placed at an infinite distance from our earth, and in motion towards the earth, when, at its greatest distance, it could never reach the earth, because the distance is supposed to be endless; that which is endless cannot be ended. If it were placed at the greatest possible distance from the earth, at the same time in motion towards the earth, its very motion towards the earth would leave space behind it, which suppose its distance could not be infinite. Its most early motion towards the earth would shorten the distance; but infinite distance cannot be shortened. If its motion were to be continued, it would actually reach the earth, so that the distance could not have been infinite. Suppose the ball to actually reach the earth, and made to travel back the whole route it had passed, in coming to the earth: the query is, Would it ever finish its retrograde journey? All will admit, that if the distance was finite, it might; but if infinite, it would be impossible. The conclusion, then, from these premises, is, that no created being could be made to occupy a place or station at an infinite distance from our earth, and to assert such a thing, would be a contradiction in terms.

"If we apply these principles relative to unbounded space to unbounded duration, they will go to show that our world could not have existed from eternity.

"If it had been possible for the world to have existed from eternity, it would not have passed down through infinite duration to the present time. That which is endless cannot be ended. But, whatever the past age of the world has been, it is now measured, and the entire round of its past existence is now ended; therefore, it could not have existed from eternity.

"Wherever we date the primitive existence of the world, its most early existence, and its successive progress in duration towards the present time, must have been coincident, and just as early as the world existed; duration was then changing from the present to the past tense, so that in its most early existence it was related to past time, therefore, could not have existed from eternity.

"The very first moment of time that elapsed, made the succeeding

time shorter. Duration that is capable of being shortened, cannot be infinite. This supposes the world has had a beginning, and has not stood from eternity; because, in its earliest existence, it was related to past time, and the period between that and the present time, was capable of being shortened—was actually shortened and at length came to an end.

"If, for the sake of illustration, we suppose the world to take a retrograde journey through all the past period of its duration, all will admit, that if its past duration had been from eternity, it could never finish its journey back, because the length is supposed to be infinite. But, if its past duration were finite, it might, without implying any inconsistency, travel the whole of it again.

"The above demonstration concludes with absolute certainty, that the world has not existed from eternity, but must have been created. The collective evidence from the whole, may be comprised in two arguments. Whatever the past age of the world has been, its past age has now completely transpired, so that nothing of it remains; therefore, it could not have been infinite. If the world was made to travel back the entire period of its past existence, it could never finish it, if it had existed from all eternity.

"OBJ. We can have some idea of a body travelling through space, and returning; but we can have none of a body passing through duration, and returning.

"ANS. The validity of this objection, as it may relate to the power of God, cannot be admitted, but should it be persisted in, the transition is easy in this case from the past time to the future; eternity past is no longer than eternity future. The world has travelled, and actually finished its past duration, whether finite or infinite. If the past duration of the world is said to be from eternity, the query now is, could the world ever travel entirely through an eternal future duration, so that it might in truth be affirmed, as in the former case, that its future existence is entirely finished? Every candid person will say that it would be impossible. As, then, it never can be true to affirm, that the world has existed to eternity, or that it has finished an eternal future existence, it cannot be true to say, it has existed from eternity, or finished an eternal past existence.

"If the above premises are fair, and the conclusion just, the only and last refuge of modern atheists is not only destroyed, but entirely annihilated; so that it never can with confidence be resumed. If, then, this last fortress is demolished, we are conscious of no other to which they can have recourse, but must be shut up to believe in a God, and also that he has created the universe of nature."

Before time, matter was then asleep, and *Who awaked it*, is the question. If there be an active principle in matter, this principle must be distinct from it; and then the next question, *What is the active principle—matter or spirit?* Here the materialist's candle goeth out again, and so ends his philosophy.

Dr. George Campbell of Aberdeen, obliged the sceptic Hume to believe in miracles in spite of him. And we call upon the sceptics,

one and all, to shew how they can avoid it. We shall, therefore, let them hear the doctor:—

"*Abstracting from the evidence for particular facts, we have irrefragable evidence, that there have been miracles in former times; or such events as, when compared with the present constitution of the world, would, by Mr. Hume, be denominated miraculous.*

"I readily concur with Mr. Hume in maintaining, that when, merely by the force of REASON, we attempt to investigate the *origin of worlds*, we get beyond our sphere, and must infallibly bewilder ourselves in hypothesis and conjecture. REASON, indeed, (which vainly boasts her all-sufficiency) has sometimes pretended to carry men to this amazing height. But there is ground to suspect that, in such instances, the ascent of reason, as the author elegantly expresses it, has been aided by the wings of imagination. If we will not be indebted to REVELATION for our knowledge of this article, we must, for aught I can perceive, be satisfied to live in ignorance. There is, however, one question distinct from the former, though akin to it, which, even from the principles of reason, we may with great probability determine. The question I mean, is, whether the world had an origin or not?

"That there have been an infinite, eternal, and independent series of finite, successive, and dependant beings, such as men; and consequently that the world had no beginning, appears from the bare consideration of the thing, extremely incredible, if not altogether absurd. The abstract argument used on this head, might appear too metaphysical and refined; I shall not therefore introduce it, but shall recur to topics which are more familiar, and which, though they do not demonstrate that it is absolutely impossible that *the world has existed from eternity*, clearly evince that it is highly improbable, or rather, certainly false. These topics I shall only mention, as they are pretty obvious, and have been urged with great energy by the learned, both ancient and modern. Such is the late invention of letters, and of all the sciences and arts by which human life is civilized; the known origin of most nations, states, and kingdoms; and the first peopling of many countries. It is in our power at present to trace the history of every people, backwards to times of the greatest barbarity and ignorance. Europe, though not the largest of the four parts into which the earth is divided, is, on many accounts, the most considerable. But what a different face does Europe wear at present, from what it wore three thousand years ago? How immense the odds in knowledge, in arts, in policy, in every thing! How easy is the intercourse, and how extensive the acquaintance, which men can now enjoy with all, even the remotest regions of the globe, compared with what was, or could have been, enjoyed, in that time of darkness and simplicity! A man differs not more from a child, than the human race now differs from the human race then. Three thousand years ago, appear, indeed, to mark a very distant epoch; and yet it is but as yesterday, compared with eternity. This, when duly weighed, every thinking person will acknowledge to be as strong moral evidence

as the subject can admit, (and that I imagine is very strong) that the world had a beginning.

"I shall make a supposition, which will perhaps appear whimsical, but which will tend to elucidate the argument I am enforcing. In antediluvian times, when the longevity of man was such as to include some centuries, I shall suppose, that a few boys had been imported to a desert island, and there left together, just old enough to make shift to sustain themselves, as those in the golden age are fabled to have done, on acorns and other spontaneous productions of the soil. I shall suppose, that they had lived there for some hundreds of years, had remembered nothing of their coming into the island, nor of any other person whatsoever; and that thus they had never had access to know, or hear, of either birth or death. I shall suppose them to enter into a serious disquisition concerning their own duration, the question having been stated, Whether they had existed from eternity, or had once begun to be? They recur to memory, but memory can furnish them nothing certain or decisive. If it must be allowed that it contains no trace of beginning of existence, it must be allowed that it reaches not beyond a few centuries at most. They observe besides, concerning this faculty, that the further back it goes, it becomes the more indistinct, terminating at last in confusion and darkness. Some things, however, they distinctly recollect, and are assured of. They remember that they were once of much lower stature, and of smaller size; they had less bodily strength; all their mental faculties were weaker. They know that, in the powers both of body and of mind, they have advanced, by imperceptible degrees, to the pitch they are now arrived at. These considerations, especially when fortified by some analagous observations they might have made on the growth of herbs and trees, would have shown the probability to be entirely on the side of those who asserted that their existence had a beginning; and though, on account of the narrow sphere of their knowledge and experience, the argument could not have appeared to them in all its strength, we, from our long acquaintance with nature, even abstracting from our knowledge of man in particular, must be satisfied, that it would have been strictly analogical and just. Exactly *similar*, the very *same* I should rather say, is the argument I have been urging for the origin of the species. Make but a few alterations in the phraseology; for *memory*, substitute *history and tradition*; for *hundreds* of years, say *thousands*; for *the powers of body and mind*, put *the arts and sciences*; and, with these, and perhaps one or two more such variations, you will find the argument as applicable in the one case as in the other. Now, if it be granted, that the human species must have had a beginning, it will hardly be questioned that every other animal species, or even that the universe, must have had a beginning.

"But in order to prove the proposition laid down in the title of this section, it is not necessary to suppose that the world had a beginning. Admit it had not, and observe the consequence. Thus much must be admitted also, that not barely for a *long continued*, but for an ETERNAL succession of generations, mankind were in a state little

superior to beasts; that, of a sudden, there came a most astonishing change upon the species; that they exerted talents and capacities, of which there appeared not the smallest vestige, during the eternity preceding; that they acquired such knowledge as procured them a kind of empire, not only over the vegetable and animal worlds, but even, in some respects, over the elements, and all the unwieldy powers of matter; that, in consequence of this, they were quickly raised much more above the state they had been formerly and eternally in, than such their former and eternal state was above that of the brute creation. If such a revolution in nature, such a thorough, general, and sudden change as this, would not be denominated miraculous, it is not in my power to conceive what would. I could not esteem it a greater miracle, hardly so great, that any species of beasts which have hitherto been doomed to tread the earth, should now get wings, and float about in the air.

"Nor will this plea be subverted by that trite objection, That mankind may have been as much enlightened, perhaps myriads of years ago, as they are at present; but that by some universal calamity, such as deluge or conflagration, to which, after the rotation of many centuries, the earth possibly becomes liable, all traces of erudition and of science, all traces both of the elegant and of the useful arts, may have been effaced, and the human race, springing from a few who had escaped the common ruin, may have emerged, anew, out of barbarity and ignorance. This hypothesis does but substitute one miracle in the place of another. Such general disorder is entirely unconformable to our experience of the course of nature. Accordingly, the destruction of the world by a deluge, the author has numbered among those prodigies, or miracles, which render the pentateuch perfectly incredible.

"If, on the contrary, we admit that the world had a beginning, (and will not every thinking person acknowledge that this position is much more probable than the contrary?) the production of the world must be ascribed either to chance or to intelligence.

"Shall we derive all things, spiritual and corporeal, from a principle so insignificant as blind *chance?* Shall we say, with Epicurus, that the fortuitous course of rambling atoms has reared this beautiful and stupendous fabric? In that case, perhaps, we should give an account of the origin of things, which, most people will think, could not properly be styled miraculous. But, is it because the formation of a grand and regular system in this way, is conformable to the experienced order of nature? Quite the reverse. Nothing can be more repugnant to universal experience, than that the least organic body, not to mention the glorious fame of nature, should be produced by such a casual jumble. It has, therefore, in the highest degree possible, that particular quality of miracles, from which, according to the author's theory, their incredibility results; and may, doubtless, in this loose acceptation of the word, be termed *miraculous*. But should we affirm that, to account thus for the origin of the universe, is to account for it by miracle; we should be thought, I am afraid,

to speak both weakly and improperly. There is something here, if I may so express myself, which is far beyond the miraculous; something, for which I know not whether any language can afford a proper appellation, unless it be the general appellations of *absurdity* and *nonsense*.

"Shall we then at last recur to the common doctrine, that the world was produced by an *intelligent cause*? On this supposition also, though incomparably the most rational, it is evident, that, in the creation, formation, or first production of things, call it by what name you please, a power must have been exerted, which, in respect of the present course of nature, may be styled *miraculous*. I intend not to dispute about a word, nor inquire, whether that term can, in strict propriety, be used of any exertions before the establishment of the laws of nature. I used the word in the same latitude in which the author commonly uses it in his reasoning, for every event that is not conformable to that course of nature with which we are acquainted by experience.

"Whether, therefore, the world had, or had not a beginning; whether, on the first supposition, the production of things be ascribed to chance or design; whether, on the second, in order to solve the numberless objections that rise, we do, or do not, recur to universal catastrophes, there is no possibility of accounting for the phenomena that presently come under our notice, without having at last recourse to miracles; that is, to events altogether unconformable, or, if you will, contrary to the present course of nature, known to us by experience. I cannot conceive an hypothesis which is not reducible to one or other of those above mentioned. Whoever imagines that another might be framed, which is not comprehended in any of those, and which has not as yet been devised by any system-builder; let him make the experiment, and I will venture to prognosticate, that he will still find himself clogged with the same difficulty. The conclusion, therefore, above deduced, may be justly deemed, till the contrary is shown, to be not only the result of one, but alike of every hypothesis of which the subject is susceptible.

"Thus has it been evinced, as was proposed, that abstracting from the evidence for particular facts, we have irrefragable evidence that there have been, that there must have been, miracles in former times; or such events, as when compared with the present constitution of the world, would by Mr. Hume be denominated miraculous."

And here we bid Mr. Owen farewell. He is, I believe, entitled to the honour of having originated the first infant school. He is as zealous as those who compassed sea and land to make a proselyte; and whether his proselytes are likely to be as useful in this world, and as happy in the next, as those of the old Sadducees, we shall all know long before his visionary and Utopian projects are realized.

ADDENDA.

FACTS AND DOCUMENTS, IN CORROBORATION OF THE ARGUMENTS EXHIBITED IN THE FOREGOING WORK, IN DEFENCE OF THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.

HAVING, a few evenings ago, the pleasure of holding a conversation, in writing, with George W. Steenrod, of Ohio county, a young man deaf and dumb, who has been a student in the Pennsylvania institution for the deaf and dumb, I proposed to him, among others, the following questions. These questions were proposed in writing, with a view of corroborating my argument deduced from the impossibility of originating the idea of God,—of any spiritual existence,—or a future state independent of revelation. He is a young man of an acute understanding, and a very retentive memory, and now in his seventeenth year. He gave me the following written answers:—

Query 1. Before you went to the Pennsylvania institution for the deaf and dumb, had you any idea of God, of the creation, or of the beginning of all things?

Answer. As I was not acquainted with religion before I went to that school, I had not any idea of God. I was there taught that there was a God. I knew nothing of the creation or beginning of things. I thought that the soil and the sun produced every thing. I thought the sun created all the heavenly bodies and the storms.

Query 2. Did you think any thing about the spirits of men, or had you any idea that men possessed spirits?

Answer. I do not recollect of ever having thought any thing about men's spirits. I saw that men were superior to other animals, and also that they were superior to one another; but how they became so, I had no thought. I saw that other creatures could not read nor write; and I could not read nor write more than they. From this, I saw that some men were superior to some animals and to some men; but even yet I know but little about men's spirits.

Query 3. What did you think became of men after death?

Answer. I had not any thought nor idea of what became of men after death. Some persons by signs taught me that there was a devil in hell, who lived with wicked people; but of that I was always doubtful.

Query 4. What did you think of the sun, moon, and stars?

Answer. I thought the sun was our most powerful king, who governed over all things; all the creatures and all mankind. I thought the moon was his wife, and the stars their children; that they ruled in alternate service; that the moon took care and governed by night, and the sun by day. I thought the sun looked tyrannical, and was sometimes oppressive, in the heat of summer and in the cold of winter. Sometimes he appeared unkind, and would not give us produce for our labour, or allow us to preserve for our comfort what we had gathered. He seemed to announce the coming of the storms, and to order us to take shelter from them. But if we did not take shelter, he would kindle into rage and threaten to kill us by strokes of lightning. I am thankful that ever I was taught to read and write, especially that I can read the Bible. It was naturally surprising for me to think about the things which it made me acquainted with; all of which were strange and wonderful to me.

These questions were proposed to me on the 30th of August, 1829, by the Rev. Alexander Campbell.

G. W. STEENROD.

COMPARISON BETWEEN CHRIST AND MOHAMMED.

By Bishop Porteus, p. 72—92.

"THERE is a religion in the world called the Mohammedan, which is professed in one part of Europe, and most parts of Asia and Africa. The founder of this religion, Mohammed, pretended to be a prophet sent from God; but it is universally allowed, by all who are not Mohammedans, and who have searched very carefully into the pretensions of this teacher, that he was an enthusiast and an impostor, and that his religion was a contrivance of his own. Even those who reject Christianity, do not think Mohammedanism to be true; nor do we ever hear of a deist embracing it from conviction.

"Here, then, we have two religions co-existing together in the world, and both pretending to be revelations from heaven: one of these we know to be a fraud; the other we affirm and believe to be true. If this be so, upon comparing them and their authors together, we may expect to find a most marked and essential difference between them, such difference as may naturally be supposed to exist between an impostor and a divine teacher, between truth and falsehood. And this, I apprehend, will appear to be actually the case with respect to Christ and Mohammed, and their respective religions.

"Mohammed was a man of considerable rank in his own country; he was the grandson of a man of the most powerful and honourable family in Mecca, and though not born to a great fortune, he soon acquired one by marriage. These circumstances would of themselves, without any supernatural assistance, greatly contribute to the success of his religion. A person considerable by his wealth, of high descent, and nearly allied to the chiefs of his country, taking upon himself the character of a religious teacher, in an age of ignorance and barbarism, could not fail of attracting attention, and followers.

"Christ did not possess these advantages of rank, and wealth, and powerful connexions. He was born of parents in a very mean condition of life. His relations and friends were all in the same humble situation; he was bred up in poverty, and continued in it all his life, having frequently no place where he could lay his head. A man so circumstanced was not likely, by his own personal influence, to force a new religion, much less a false one, upon the world.

"Mohammed indulged himself in the grossest pleasures. He perpetually transgressed even those licentious rules which he had prescribed to himself. He made use of the power which he had acquired, to gratify his passions without control, and laid claim to a special permission from heaven to riot in the most unlimited sensuality.

"Jesus, on the contrary, preserved through life the most unblemished purity and sanctity of manners. He did no sin, but was perfectly holy and undefiled. Not the least stain was ever thrown on his moral character by his bitterest enemies.

"Mohammed was violent, impetuous, and sanguinary.

"Christ was meek, gentle, benevolent, and merciful.

"Mohammed pretended to have secret communications with God, and with the angel Gabriel, which no other person ever saw or heard.

"Jesus was repeatedly declared to be the Son of God, by voices from heaven, which were plainly and distinctly heard and recorded by others.

"The appearance of Mohammed was not foretold by ancient prophecies, nor was there at the time any expectation of such a person in that part of the world.

"The appearance of Christ upon earth was clearly and repeatedly predicted by several ancient prophecies, which most evidently applied to him and to no other; and which were in the keeping of those who were professed enemies to him and his religion. And there was at the time of his birth, a general expectation over all the east, that some great and extraordinary personage would then manifest himself to the world.

"Mohammed never presumed to foretel any future events, for this plain reason, because he could not foresee them; and had he foretold any thing which did not come to pass, it must have entirely ruined his credit with his followers.

"Christ foretold many things which did actually come to pass, particularly his own death and resurrection, and the destruction of Jerusalem.

"Mohammed never pretended to work miracles; on the contrary, he expressly disclaimed any such power, and makes several laboured and awkward apologies for not possessing it.

"Jesus, we all know, worked a great number of most astonishing miracles in the open face of day, and in the sight of great multitudes of people. He made the deaf to hear, the dumb to speak, the lame to walk, the blind to see, and even the dead to rise from the grave.

"Mohammed, during the first twelve years of his mission, made use only of argument and persuasion, and in consequence of that,

gained very few converts. In three years he made only fourteen proselytes; and in seven, only eighty-three men and eighteen women.

"In the same space of time, our Saviour and his apostles converted thousands and tens of thousands, and spread the Christian religion over a great part of Asia.

"Mohammed told the Jews, the christians, and the Arabs, that he taught no other religion than that which was originally taught to their forefathers, by Abraham, Ishmael, Moses, and Jesus. This would naturally prejudice them in favour of his religion.

"Christ preached a religion which directly opposed the most favourite opinions and prejudices of the Jews, and subverted, from the foundation, the whole system of pagan superstition.

"Mohammed paid court to the peculiar weaknesses and propensities of his disciples. In that warm climate, where all the passions are ardent and violent, he allowed them a liberal indulgence in sensual gratifications; no less than four wives to each of his followers, with liberty of divorcing them thrice.

"In the same climate, and among men of the same strong passions, Jesus most peremptorily restrained all his followers from adultery, fornication,—every kind of impurity. He confined them to one wife, and forbade divorce, except for adultery only. But what was still more, he required them to govern their eyes and their thoughts, and to check the very first rising of criminal desire in the soul. He told them, that whoever looked upon a woman, to lust after her, had committed adultery with her already in his heart; and he assured them that none but the pure in heart should see God. He declared open war, in short, against all the criminal passions and evil inclinations of mankind, and expressly required all his followers to renounce those favourite sins that did most easily beset them; nay, even to leave father, mother, brethren, sisters, houses, lands, and every thing that was most dear to them, and take up their cross and follow him.

"With the same view above mentioned, of bribing men to embrace his religion, Mohammed promised to reward his followers with the delights of a most voluptuous paradise, where the objects of their affection were to be almost innumerable, and all of them gifted with transcendant beauty and eternal youth.

"Christ entirely precluded his disciples from all hopes of sensual indulgences hereafter, assuring them that in heaven they should neither marry nor be given in marriage, and promising them nothing but pure, celestial, spiritual joys, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.

"Besides the powerful attractions of sensual delights, Mohammed had another still more efficacious mode of producing conviction, and gaining proselytes; and that was force, violence, and arms. He propagated his religion by the sword; and, until he made use of that instrument of conversion, the number of his proselytes was a mere nothing. He was at once a prophet, a warrior, a general, and a conqueror. It was at the head of his armies that he preached the Koran. His religion and his conquests went on together; and the former

never advanced one step without the latter. He commanded in person in eight general engagements, and undertook, by himself and his lieutenants, fifty military enterprises. Death or conversion was the only choice offered to idolaters, and tribute or conversion to Jews and christians.

"Jesus employed no other means of converting men to his religion but persuasion, argument, exhortation, miracles, and prophecies. He made use of no other force but the force of truth: no other sword but the sword of the Spirit; that is, the word of God. He had no arms, no legions to fight his cause. He was the Prince of Peace, and preached peace to all the world. Without power, without support, without any followers but twelve poor humble men, without one circumstance of attraction, influence, or compulsion, he triumphed over the prejudices, the learning, the religion of his country; over the ancient rites, idolatry, and superstition; over the philosophy, wisdom, and authority of the whole Roman empire.

"The great object of Mohammed was to make his followers soldiers, and to inspire them with a passion for violence, bloodshed, vengeance, and persecution. He was continually exhorting them to fight for the religion of God; and to encourage them to do so, he promised them the highest honours and the richest rewards in paradise: 'They who have suffered for my sake, and have been slain in battle, verily, I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into a garden, watered by rivers, a reward from God, and with God is a most excellent reward.'* This duty of warring against infidels is frequently inculcated in the Koran, and highly magnified by the Mohammedan divines, who call the sword *the key of heaven and hell*, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt in the way of God, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him; and that the defending the territories of the Moslems for one night, is of more avail than a fast of two months. It is easy to see to what degree of fierceness this must raise all the furious, vindictive passions of the soul, and what a horde of savages and barbarians it must let loose upon mankind.

"The directions of Christ to his disciples were of a different temper. He positively forbade them the use of any violence whatever. The sword that was drawn by one of them in his defence, he ordered to be sheathed: 'Put up thy sword within the sheath; they that use the sword shall perish by the sword.'—Mat. xxvi. 52. He would not consent to bring down fire from heaven on the Samaritans, who had refused to receive him: 'The Son of Man,' he told them, 'came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' 'Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you.' 'Do violence to no man; resist not evil.' 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father in heaven is merciful.' 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' Luke ix. 55; John xiv. 27; Luke iii. 14; Mat. v. 39; Luke vi. 36; Mat. v. 7.

"The consequence was, that the first followers of Mohammed were men of cruelty and violence, living by rapine, murder, and plunder.

* Koran, chap. 3. p. 91, and chap. 9, p. 242.

"The first followers of Jesus were men of meek, quiet, inoffensive, peaceable manners, and in their morals irreproachable and exemplary.

"If, now, after comparing together the authors of the two religions we have been considering, we take a short view of the sacred books of those religions, the Koran and the gospel, we shall find a difference no less striking between them; no less strongly marking the truth of one, and the falsehood of the other.

"The Koran is highly applauded, both by Mohammed himself and his followers, for the exquisite beauty, purity, and elegance of the language which they represent as a standing miracle, greater than even that of raising the dead. But admitting its excellence, (which yet has been questioned by several learned men,) if beauty of style and composition is to be considered as a proof of divine inspiration, the writings of Plato and Xenophon, of Cicero and Cæsar, and a multitude of other inimitable writers in various languages, will have as just a claim to a miraculous origin as the Koran. But, in truth, these graces of diction, so far from being a circumstance favourable to the Koran, create a strong suspicion of its being a human fabrication, calculated to charm and captivate men by the arts of rhetoric and the fascination of words, and thus draw off their attention from the futility of its matter, and the weakness of its pretensions. These are the artifices of fraud and falsehood. The gospel wants it not. It disdains the aid of human eloquence, and depends solely on the force of truth and the power of God for its success. 'I came not,' as St. Paul sublimely expresses himself, 'with excellency of speech, nor with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and power, that your faith might not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.—1 Cor. ii. 1, 4, 5.

"But, whatever may be the purity of the language, the matter and substance of the Koran cannot bear a moment's comparison with that of the gospel. The narrative is dull, heavy, monotonous, uninteresting; loaded with endless repetitions, with senseless and preposterous fables, with trivial, disgusting, and even immoral precepts. Add to this, that it has very little novelty or originality to recommend it, the most material parts of it being borrowed from the Old Testament or the New; and even these are so disguised, or deformed by passing through the hands of the impostor, (who vitiates and debases every thing he touches) that you can hardly know them to be the same incidents or transactions that you read with so much delight in the Bible.

"The gospel, on the contrary, is every where concise, simple, original, animated, interesting, dignified; its precepts important, its morality perfect, its sentiments sublime, its views noble and comprehensive, its sanctions awful.

"In the Koran, Mohammed is perpetually boasting of his own merits and achievements, and the supreme excellence of his book. In the gospel, no encomiums are bestowed by the evangelists, either on themselves or their writings. Even the virtues of their divine Master are not distinctly specified, or brought forward into a conspi-

cuous point of view. It is from his actions only, and his discourses, not from the observations of his historians, that we can collect the various transcendant excellencies of his character. Here we plainly see the sober modesty of truth opposed to the ostentatious vanity of imposture.

"In the description of future rewards and punishments, the Koran is minute, circumstantial, and extravagant, both in painting the horrors of the one, and the delights of the other. It describes things which cannot and ought not to be described, and enters into details too horrible, or too licentious to be presented to the human mind.

"In the gospel, the pains and the pleasures of a future life are represented concisely, in strong, but general and definite terms, sufficient to give them a powerful but not an overwhelming influence on the mind.

"There is still another, and a very material mark of discrimination between the Koran and the gospel. Mohammed shows throughout, the utmost anxiety to guard against objections; to account for his working no miracles; and to defend his conduct, in several instances, against the charges which he suspects may be brought against him. This is always the case with imposture. It is always suspicious; afraid of being detected; alive to every appearance of hostility; solicitous to anticipate, and eager to repel the accusations of enemies.

"Truth has no occasion for such precautions, and therefore never uses them. We see nothing of this sort in the gospel. The sacred historians show not the smallest solicitude, nor take the least pains to obviate cavils, or remove difficulties. They relate plainly and simply what they know to be true. They entertain no doubt of it themselves, and seem to have no suspicion that any one else can doubt it; they, therefore, leave the facts to speak for themselves, and send them unprotected into the world, to make their way (as they have done) by their own native force and incontrovertible truth.

"Such are the leading features of Mohammed and his religion on the one hand, and of Christ and his religion on the other; and never was there a stronger or more striking contrast seen than in this instance. They are, in short, in every essential article, the direct opposites of each other. And as it is on all hands acknowledged that he was an impostor, it is fair to conclude that Christ, who was the very reverse of Mohammed, was the reverse of an impostor; that is, a real messenger from heaven. In Mohammed, we see every distinctive mark of fraud; in Jesus, not one of these is to be found; but, on the contrary, every possible indication and character of truth."

ON THE SUN'S STANDING STILL.

"You make yourself merry with what you call the tale of the sun standing still upon mount Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon; and you say that "the story detects itself, because there is not a nation in the world that knows any thing about it." How can you expect that there should, when there is not a nation in the world whose annals reach this era by many hundred years? It happens, however, that you are probably mistaken as to the fact: a confused tradition

concerning this miracle, and a similar one in the time of Ahaz, when the sun went back ten degrees, has been preserved among one of the most ancient nations, as we are informed by one of the most ancient historians. Herodotus, in his Uterpe, speaking of the Egyptian priests, says: "They told me that the sun had four times deviated from his course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This, however, had produced no alteration in the climate of Egypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phenomena of the Nile, had always been the same. (Beloe's Translation.) The last part of this observation confirms the conjecture, that this account of the Egyptian priests had a reference to the two miracles respecting the sun mentioned in scripture; for they were not of that kind which could introduce any change in climate or seasons. You would have been contented to admit the account of this miracle as a fine piece of poetical imagery; you may have seen some Jewish doctors, and some christian commentators, who consider it as such; but improperly, in my opinion. I think it idle, at least, if not impious, to undertake to explain how the miracle was performed; but one who is not able to explain the mode of doing a thing, argues ill if he thence infers that the thing was not done. We are perfectly ignorant how the sun was formed, how the planets were projected at the creation, how they are still retained in their orbits by the power of gravity; but we admit, notwithstanding, that the sun was formed, that the planets were then projected, and that they are still retained in their orbits. The machine of the universe is in the hand of God; he can stop the motion of any part, or of the whole of it, with less trouble and less danger of injuring it, than you can stop your watch. In testimony of the reality of the miracle, the author of this book says: 'Is not this written in the book of Jasher?' No author in his senses would have appealed, in proof of his veracity, to a book which did not exist, or in attestation of a fact which, though it did exist, was not recorded in it; we may safely, therefore, conclude, that, at the time the book of Joshua was written, there was such a book as the book of Jasher, and that the miracle of the sun's standing still was recorded in the book. But this observation, you will say, does not prove the fact of the sun's having stood still; I have not produced it as a proof of the fact; but it proves that the author of the book of Joshua believed the fact, that the people of Israel admitted the authority of the book of Jasher. An appeal to a fabulous book would have been as senseless an insult upon their understanding, as it would have been to our's, had Rapin appealed to the Arabian Night's Entertainments, as a proof of the battle of Hastings."—*Watson's Apology.*

THE TESTIMONY OF GIBBON,

In favour of the Independents on the subject of Toleration, and thereby in favour of the Christian religion.

"In the history of England, in narrating the events of 1644, and speaking of the Independents of that country, Mr. Hume says: 'Of all the christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity

as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. And it is remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.' Here, notwithstanding all he has said in his Essays on the tolerating principle of Polytheists, exalting, in this respect, paganism at the expense of the Christian religion, he now informs us that more than a thousand years after paganism had ceased to exist, the doctrine of toleration owed its origin, not to the reasoning of philosophers or to Polytheists, but a sect of christians. Fanaticism and the Christian religion are, with this writer, synonymous terms.

It is worthy of remark, that those christians to whom Mr. Hume ascribes the origin of toleration, had a clear understanding of the meaning of *regeneration*,—that fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion. Of their practical regard and adherence to that doctrine, as well as of their sentiments on toleration."—*Haldane's Evidences.*

TESTIMONY OF PRINCIPAL BAILEY,

In favour of the Independents. He was bitterly opposed to them.

Mr. Bailey, who was Principal of the college of Glasgow, and who attended the Assembly of Westminster in 1643, writes, in one of his letters to Scotland, as follows: "They will admit of none to be members of their congregation, of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidence. By this means they would keep out of all the Christian churches forty for one of the members of the best reformed churches. Many of them preach, and some print a liberty of conscience, at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions; that every man should be permitted without any fear, so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the public peace by any seditious or wicked practice."—*Haldane's Evidences.*

TESTIMONY OF GIBBON,

Concerning the early spread of Christianity.

"Let us take the account of the extent of the triumph of Christianity in the world from the pen of an opponent, who will not be suspected of exaggeration upon this point. While (says Mr. Gibbon) that great body (the Roman empire) was involved by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men; grew up in silence and obscurity; derived new vigour from opposition; and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning, as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, it has

been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies, has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.''—*Haldane's Evidences.*

GIBBON'S CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL.

"In assigning the causes of the success of the gospel, Mr. Gibbon presents us with what follows: 'Our curiosity is naturally prompted to inquire by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth? To this inquiry, an obvious but satisfactory answer may be returned, that it was owing to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and to the ruling providence of its great Author. But, as truth and reason seldom find so favourable a reception in the world, and as the wisdom of providence frequently condescends to use the passions of the human heart, and the general circumstances of mankind, as instruments to execute its purposes, we may still be permitted, though with becoming submission, to ask, not indeed what were the first, but what were the secondary causes of the rapid growth of the Christian church? It will perhaps appear, that it was most effectually forwarded and assisted by the five following causes: 1. The inflexible, and if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the christians derived, it is true from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit, which, instead of inviting, had deterred the gentiles from embracing the law of Moses. 2. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth. 3. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church. 4. The pure and austere morals of the christians. 5. The union and discipline of the christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire.—*Haldane's Evidences.*

GENERAL EXPECTATION OF THE MESSIAH.

I had collected many more documents than were adduced during the discussion. During the discussion, Dr. William Smith, of Cincinnati, handed me a work of which I had never before heard, on the Evidences of Christianity, written by Robert Haldane, Esq. of Scotland. I found in glancing over its contents, on the third or fourth day of the discussion, many of the documents I had gleaned, and some I had not been able to collect were well arranged and interspersed with excellent remarks. Instead of reading my own extracts from various authors, I read them, with Mr. Haldane's remarks, interspersed. Of all the works I have read on this subject, I think this work, taking it all in all, is the best adapted to the great mass of readers to afford information and to produce conviction. The following article, in addition to what has been before adduced in the debate, will show how general the expectation of the Messiah, with some of the reasons why it was so.

"About a century before the Christian era, the first Sibylline books

were destroyed by a fire which broke out in the capitol, and consumed the temple where these writings were deposited. The Roman senate thought it of so much importance to repair the loss, that they sent some of their number to make a new collection of them in different parts of Asia, in the islands of the Archipelago, in Africa, and in Sicily. The deputies after some time returned, with about one thousand verses in the Greek language, which they had collected from different individuals. These verses, when brought to Rome, could not be entirely concealed as the ancient Sibylline books had been, but were in the hands of many private individuals. The use which the senate proposed to make of them as a state engine, as of the former books, being thus in a good measure defeated, a law was enacted that whoever had copies of these prophecies, should deliver them to the Prætor of the city; and all were prohibited, under pain of death, to retain them. Transcripts, however, continued to be privately kept, owing to which, their contents were well known. At length, Augustus on taking upon himself the high-priesthood of Rome, revived the law, when many volumes were brought in. That this new collection of Sibylline verses contained a prediction of the appearance of a great King, we have sufficient evidence from the following circumstances.

"When Julius Cæsar had attained the height of his power, he was very ambitious of having the title of King. In order to gain the consent of the senate, one of his adherents produced a prophecy from the Sibylline books, of a king who was to arise at this time, whose monarchy was to be universal, and whose government would be necessary and essential to the happiness of the world. Cicero, and the party to which he belonged, did all in their power in opposition to this plea. But in opposing it, Cicero brought no charge of falsification against those who produced this prophecy. *He granted that it was fairly alleged from the Sibylline books*, to which, from his office, he had free access. But he affirmed that these oracles were no prophecies; for that no marks were to be found in them of frenzy and disorder, (which heathens conceived to be the necessary state of every prophet's mind while he prophesied.) "Let us then," says Cicero, "adhere to the prudent practice of our ancestors; let us keep the Sibyl in religious privacy; these writings are indeed *rather calculated to extinguish than to propagate superstition.*"*

"Besides those predictions, which had been brought to Rome from the east by the deputies from the senate, the contents of the Jewish scriptures were no secret at Rome. An intimate alliance had long subsisted between the Romans and the Jews, and the numbers of the latter resident at Rome were very considerable. From the accounts preserved so long after by Tacitus and Florus, of what Pompey saw in the temple of Jerusalem, the particulars of the Jewish religion, which is referred to by Cicero, in writing to Lælius, must have been well known at Rome. Under the patronage of Julius Cæsar, the free exercise of their religious rites, with all the privileges of their

* See Horsley's Dissertation, Henley's Observations, and Prideaux's Connexion.

priesthood, was not only confirmed to them by the decrees of the senate, but they were exempted also from taxes on their sabbatical year. Hence, and from the public recital in their synagogues, every sabbath day, of the law and the prophets, and the translation of them into a language universally read, their sacred books must have been known both in the provinces and capitol of the empire. The singularities in their ritual, customs, and history, with which their prophecies were inseparably blended, could not fail to attract some attention; while their origin, and even existence as a distinct people, all looked forward to one great object of communication,—the coming of their predicted sovereign, under whom, notwithstanding their present misfortunes, they expected a restoration, and the acquisition of unbounded and eternal dominion.

"All this fully explains the cause of that general expectation which now existed at Rome of the appearance of a great King who should establish universal empire, and which, according to Tacitus, was believed to have its origin in the Jewish scriptures. By pretended prodigies, and in various ways, much use was made of this expectation, and different applications of it appeared, according to the interest or wishes of those who made them."—*Haldane's Evidences.*

HISTORY OF SOME OF THE PRIMITIVE MARTYRS TO THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

"The following accounts of the death of Polycarp at Smyrna, and of the persecution of the churches at Lyons and Vienna in France, will afford a specimen of what christians, in the next age, had to encounter in adhering to their religion. Polycarp, it will be recollected, was one of the christian writers who were contemporaries with the apostles, who was himself acquainted with the apostle John, and had conversed with many who had seen Christ. He suffered death for the Christian religion in the year 167 or 168, in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher, in what is called the fourth persecution.

"Some time after the death of Polycarp, the christians at Smyrna sent an account of it in a letter, from which the following is an extract, to the christians at Philadelphia, Philomelium, and other places, who had expressed a desire to have it from eye-witnesses. "The church of God which is at Smyrna, to the church of Philomelium, and to all the congregations of the holy universal church in every place, the mercy, and peace, and love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied. We have written to you, brethren, concerning those who have suffered martyrdom, and particularly concerning the blessed Polycarp, who, by his martyrdom, as it were, sealed up, and put an end to the prosecution." After which, says Eusebius, "before they speak of Polycarp, they relate the sufferings of the other martyrs, describing their constancy under the torments which they endured; and how all who stood round them were astonished, seeing them scourged till their veins and arteries were laid bare, and even their entrails became visible; after which they were

laid upon the shells of sea fish, and upon sharp spikes fixed in the ground, with many other kinds of tortures: in the end, they were cast to wild beasts, to be devoured by them. They are particular in the account of the generous Germanicus, who, being corroborated by the divine grace, overcame the fear of death implanted in the nature of men. For when the proconsul advised him to think of his youth, and to spare himself, and not throw away his life in his flourishing age; he was not at all moved thereby, but, as they say, he enticed and stimulated the wild beasts to approach him, that he might be the sooner dismissed from this evil world. Presently after that glorious exit, the whole multitude cried out, "Away with the impious, let Polycarp be sought for." There followed then a great noise and tumult, and having in view the wild beasts, and other tortures, Quintus, a Phrygian, was intimidated and gave way, as did also some others with him, who, without a truly religious fear, had rashly presented themselves before the tribunal.

When the admirable Polycarp heard of the demand made for him, he was not at all disturbed, but continued to be in a firm and composed temper of mind; and he resolved to stay in the city. Nevertheless, at length, he so far complied with the request of his friends, as to retire to a country-house not far off, where he abode, with a small company, spending the time, night and day, in continual prayer to God, offering up supplications for the peace of the churches throughout the world, which, indeed, was his constant usage. In a short time, his pursuers, by information given them, were led to the place where Polycarp was. Coming thither in the evening, they found him resting in an upper room, whence it was not difficult for him to remove to another house; but he would not, saying, "the will of the Lord be done." He then went down to the men, and talked to them in a free and cheerful manner, and ordered meat to be set before them, begging that they would allow him the space of one hour, in which he might pray without disturbance. Prayer being ended, they set him upon an ass, to carry him into the city. As they were going, he was met by Herod the Irenarch, and his father Nicetas, who took him up into their chariot. As they sat together, they endeavoured to persuade him, saying, "What harm is it to say, Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and so to be safe?" At first, he made no answer, but when they were importunate, he said, "I will never do what you advise." They then began to reproach him, and they thrust him out of the chariot so hastily, that, in getting down, his leg was bruised; but he got up, and went on cheerfully, as if he had suffered no harm, till he came to the stadium.

When he was brought before the tribunal, there was a great shout of the multitude. As he came near, the proconsul asked him if he was Polycarp. Upon his confessing that he was, he endeavoured to persuade him to deny Christ; and saying, "Reverence thy age," and other like things customary with them; "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar—repent—say, Away with the impious." The governor still urging him, and saying, "Swear, and I will dismiss thee: reproach

Christ." Polycarp then answered: "Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he has never done me any injury. How can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" The governor was still urgent, saying, "Swear by the fortunes of Cæsar." Whereupon, Polycarp answered, "How can you desire this of me, as if you did not know who I am. Hear me then openly professing I am a christian. And if you have a mind to know the doctrine of Christianity, appoint me a day, and I will inform you." The proconsul said, I have wild beasts and I will cast you to them, unless you change your mind." But he answered, "Call for them, there can be no alteration from good to bad, but it is good to change from vice to virtue." He said again to him, "Since you do not mind the beasts, I will order you to be consumed by fire unless you repent." Polycarp said, "You threaten me with fire which burns for an hour, and then is extinguished; but you are ignorant of the fire of the future judgment and everlasting punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you delay? Appoint which you please."

The proconsul then sent the crier to make proclamation thrice in the midst of the stadium, "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a christian." That proclamation having been made by the crier, the whole multitude of the gentiles and Jews inhabiting Smyrna, with furious rage, and in a loud voice, cried out, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the christians, the destroyer of our gods, who teacheth all men not to sacrifice nor to worship them." Having uttered these words, they cried out and requested Philip the Asiarch to let the lion upon Polycarp. He said he could not do that, because the amphitheatrical shows of wild beasts were over. They then cried out, with one consent, that Polycarp should be burnt alive; which was no sooner said than done; all immediately joining together in bringing wood and dried branches of trees from the shops and the baths. The Jews also, according to their custom, assisting with the greatest forwardness.

Now all things being prepared and put in order for the pile, when they were about to nail him to the stake, he said, "Let me be as I am. He that enables me to bear the fire, will enable me also to remain unmoved within the pile, without your fastening me with nails." They, therefore, did not nail him, but only bound him. He then offered up a prayer to God, which he concluded, saying aloud, Amen. Then the officers who had the charge of it kindled the fire. But Polycarp's body not being so soon consumed as expected, the people desired that the emfector should be called for, and run him through with a sword. The faithful were now very desirous to have his body delivered to them; but some there were who moved Nicetas, father to Herod, to go to the governor to prevent his giving the body to the believers, lest, as they said, they should leave Him that was crucified to worship this man. This they said at the suggestion of the Jews, who also diligently watched us that we might not carry off the body; little considering that we can never forsake Christ, who has suffered for the sake of all men. Him we worship as the Son of God. The

martyrs we love as the disciples and imitators of the Lord. The centurion, therefore, perceiving the perverseness of the Jews, caused the body to be brought forth, and burnt it. We then gathered up his bones, and deposited them in a proper place.

The persecution of the churches at Lyons and Vienna took place also under Marcus Antoninus in the year 177. "It was the seventeenth year," says Eusebius, "of the Emperor Antoninus, in which time the persecution against us raged with great violence in several parts of the world, through the enmity of the people in the cities. What vast multitudes of martyrs there were throughout the whole empire, may be concluded from what happened in one nation, which also have been committed to writing, that they may be delivered to others, and may be always remembered. The whole history of these things has been inserted in our work of the collection of martyrs, of which I here select a part.

The country in which these things happened of which I am now speaking, is Gaul, in which are two great and famous cities, Lyons and Vienna, both washed by the river Rhine, which traverseth that country with a rapid stream. These famous churches sent in writing an account of their martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia. I shall insert their own words: "The servants of Jesus Christ dwelling in Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption with us, peace, and grace, and glory from God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord.' After a few things said in the way of preface, they begin the narrative in these words: 'The greatness of the affliction in these places, and the excessive rage of the people against the saints, and what the blessed martyrs have endured, we are not able to describe in words, nor put down in writing; for the enemy at the very first invaded us with the greatest violence, showing from the beginning what sore evils we were to expect. Every thing was done to exercise his ministers, and to train them to the practice of the utmost cruelty against the servants of God. We were not only excluded from houses, (of friends, as it seems,) and from the baths and markets, but we were forbidden to appear in any place whatever. However, the grace of God fought for us against the enemy; delivering such as were weak, and setting up the pillars, which were firm and stable, and able, by their patience and fortitude to withstand all the force of the enemy. They therefore came to a near combat with him, undergoing all manner of reproach and suffering. Accounting the greatest afflictions to be small, they hastened to Christ; thus showing, in fact, that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us, Rom. viii. 18. First, then, they courageously endured the insults of the multitude gathered together about them in crowds, their shouts and blows, and draggings about, pillaging their goods, throwing of stones, confinement to their dwellings, and all such things as an enraged multitude is wont to practice against adversaries and enemies. Then, being brought into the market by the tribune and the chief magistrates of the city, they were

examined before all the people; and having made their confession, they were shut up in prison till the arrival of the president.

Afterwards, when they were brought before the president, who exercised all manner of cruelty against us, Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren, full of love towards God and his neighbour, whose course of life also was so perfect, that, though a young man, he might deserve the character of old Zacharias, (Luke i. 6,) that he walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, and was unwearied in the performances of all good offices to his neighbour, being full of zeal for God, and fervent in spirit, (Rom. xii. 11.) he being such a one, was not able to bear these so unjust proceedings against us; but being moved with indignation, requested that he might be allowed to make a defence in behalf of the brethren, and show that nothing impious and irreligious was done by us. But they who were near the tribunal cried out against him, (for he was a person well known,) and the president refused to grant his request, though so reasonable, and asked him whether he was a christian. He, answering with a loud voice that he was a christian, was put into the number of the martyrs, and was called the advocate of the christians. And, indeed, he had within him the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, in a greater measure than Zacharias, (Luke i. 67,) which he also showed by the abundance of his love, being willing to lay down his own life in defence of the brethren, (1 John iii. 16.) For he was and is a genuine disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, (Rev. xiv. 4.)

After this, others were chosen out, and they proved to be illustrious and well-prepared proto martyrs, who, with all alacrity of mind, accomplished the solemn confession of martyrdom. They also were manifest who were unprepared, and unexercised, and still weak, and not able to bear the shock of so great a combat, of whom about ten in number fell away, causing in us great grief and unreasonable concern, and damping the alacrity of those who were not yet apprehended; of whom, however, it must be acknowledged, that they kept company with the martyrs, and did not forsake them, though they suffered considerably in so doing. At that time we were all in great consternation, being uncertain about the event of this confession; not dreading the torments that might be inflicted upon us, but apprehensive of the issue, and that some might fall in the trial. However, from day to day, such were taken up as were worthy to supply the number of such as had gone off, so that the most eminent men of the two churches, and by whom good order had been settled among us, were picked up and brought together. Moreover, some gentile servants of our people were apprehended. For the governor had given public orders for making strict inquiries after us. They, at the instigation of Satan, and dreading the torments which they saw the saints suffer, the soldiers also exciting them to it, falsely charged us with having the suppers of Thyestes, and the incestuous mixtures of Oedipus, and other such like things which it is not lawful for us to mention nor to think of, nor to believe that they were ever done among men. These stories

being spread abroad, all men were incensed against us; insomuch, that if any there were who before had been civil to us upon account of affinity or friendship, they were then much offended, and exclaimed against us. And then was fulfilled what the Lord had said, John xvi. 2. "That the time would come when every one who killeth you, will think that he doeth God service."

After that, the holy martyrs underwent such torments as are above all description, Satan doing his utmost to make them also to say such impious things, or to confess what had been declared by the heathen servants, but the utmost excess of rage of the multitude, and of the president, and of the soldiers, fell upon Sanctus, deacon at Vienna; and upon Maturus, newly baptized indeed, yet a most valiant champion; and upon Attalus, a native of Pergamos, who always was a pillar and supporter of the churches here; and upon Blandina, by whom Christ showed that those things which among men seemed mean, base, and contemptible, are by God accounted worthy of great honour for their love toward him, which is evidently manifested in great power, and not in appearance only boasted of. It was a refreshment and ease to her, and an abatement of the torments inflicted upon her, to say, "I am a christian, nor is there any wickedness practised among us."

Pothinus, who was entrusted with the administration of the episcopal office at Lyons, being more than ninety years of age, and very weak in body, and scarcely breathing by reason of his bodily infirmity, but strengthened in mind with a desire of the martyrdom now in view, even he also was dragged to the tribunal. His body was worn out by age and distemper, but his soul yet remained in him, that by it Christ might triumph. He being brought before the tribunal by the soldiers, the city magistrate also attending, and the multitude hooting him along with loud shouts, as if he had been Christ himself, exhibiting a good testimony. Being asked by the president, "Who was the God of the christians?" he answered, "If you are worthy, you shall know." After that he was dragged about in an inhuman manner, and received many blows, they who were near striking him with their hands and their feet, without any respect to his age; they who stood farther off threw at him whatever came to hand, every one thinking himself guilty of an offence against religion if they did not offer him some abuse, for hereby they thought they should avenge their gods. And when there was scarcely any breath left in him, he was cast into prison, where, after two days, he expired.

Maturus, then, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus, were brought to the wild beasts in the amphitheatre, to be a public spectacle to the inhumanity of the gentiles; a day for combat of wild beasts having been purposely granted upon our account. And Maturus and Sanctus did again undergo all sorts of torments in the amphitheatre, as if they had before suffered nothing at all. Or, rather, having already overcome the adversary in many encounters, and being now to contend for the crown itself, they again endured

in the way to it, the accustomed blows of the place, and the tearings of the wild beasts, and whatever else the mad multitude from all sides called for and demanded; and, after all these things, the iron chair, upon which, when their bodies were broiled, they yielded the offensive smell of burnt flesh. Nor were they yet satisfied, but were still more enraged, being earnestly desirous to overcome the patience of the sufferers. However, they could get nothing from Sanctus more than the confession which he had made at the first. These two, therefore, (Manturus and Sanctus) having undergone a severe combat, their life having continued a long while, they were at last slain, having been made throughout that day a spectacle to the world, instead of all that variety which is usually exhibited in the combats of gladiators, (1 Cor. iv. 9.) But Blandina, after she had been scourged, after she had been exposed to wild beasts, and after the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull; having been tossed by the beast, she also was run through with a sword.

Now Attalus was earnestly called for by the multitude, for, indeed, he was an eminent person, and, by reason of the clearness of his conscience, came forth as a champion prepared for the combat; for he was well exercised in the Christian discipline, and was always a witness of the truth among us. He was led round this amphitheatre, with a board carried before him, upon which was inscribed in the Roman tongue, "This is Attalus the Christian," the people all the while expressing great indignation against him. The president, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him to be taken away, and to be carried to the rest who were in prison, concerning whom he had sent to Cæsar, and was in expectation of an answer. The rescript of Cæsar was, that they who confessed Christ should be put to death; but that, if any denied themselves to be christians, they might be set at liberty.

The public assembly of this place being now begun, at which there is a vast concourse of people from all parts, the president ordered the blessed martyrs to be brought before the tribunal, exposing them as a public show to the multitude. Having again interrogated them, as many as he found to be Roman citizens, he ordered to be beheaded; the rest to be sent to the wild beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified in those who before had denied the faith, but now, contrary to the expectation of the gentiles, confessed themselves to be christians. They were interrogated apart, as being now to be dismissed and set at liberty; but making confession, they were added to the number of the martyrs. Attalus, when he was set in the iron chair, and was scorched all over, and an offensive smell of burnt flesh proceeded from his body, spoke to the multitude in the Roman tongue. "This," says he, "is to devour men, which is your practice. As for us, we neither devour men, nor do we commit any other wickedness whatever." Being asked what is the name of God? he answered, "God has not a name as men have."

Those who had been suffocated in prison, they cast to the dogs, carefully watching them day and night, lest any of us should inter

them. Then they laid out the remainder of the bodies left unconsumed by the fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, and the heads of the rest, with the trunks of their bodies; all these they kept unburied, with a guard of soldiers for many days. Some were filled with indignation, and gnashed with their teeth at the dead, as if desirous to be farther revenged upon them. Some insulted over them, and derided them, at the same time extolling their idols, and attributing to them the punishment that had been inflicted on the martyrs. Some who were more mild, and seemed in some measure to sympathize with us, nevertheless upbraided us, saying, "Where is their God, and of what benefit has their religion been to them, which they have preferred above their lives?" In the mean time, we were greatly concerned that we could not bury the bodies in the earth, for neither did the darkness of the night afford us any assistance, nor would money persuade, nor entreaties prevail; but they continued to watch the bodies very carefully, as if some great matter were to be gained by their not being buried. The bodies, therefore, of the martyrs having undergone all manner of ignominy, and having lain exposed to the air six days, were burnt, and having been reduced to ashes by these impious men, were by them thrown into the river Rhone, which runs hard by, that no remains of them might be any longer visible on this earth. Thus they acted as if they could be too hard for God, and prevent their revivescence, or, as themselves said, that they might have no hope of a resurrection, trusting to which they have brought in among us a strange and new religion, and despising the heaviest sufferings, are ready to meet death with cheerfulness. Let us now see whether they will rise again, and whether their God is able to help them, and to deliver them out of our hands.

The above persecutions, it will be observed, happened under Marcus Antoninus the philosopher, one of the most celebrated of the Roman emperors. His rescript was, *that they who confessed Christ should be put to death*, but that if any denied themselves to be christians, they might be set at liberty. By the edict of Trajan, such christians as were brought before a governor's tribunal, and were convicted, were to be put to death; but they were not to be sought for. But the president at Lyons issued public orders that strict searches should be made for them. Attalus was a Roman citizen, and should have been beheaded; but, being a christian, this privilege was not allowed. The multitude demanded that he should be tortured, and thrown to wild beasts; and the president granted their request, relying, undoubtedly, upon impunity, though he acted contrary to law. Such was the condition of christians at that time.

We have here a melancholy exhibition of the persecuting spirit of pagans, and are reminded of Mr. Gibbon's declaration, that, "during the whole course of his reign, Marcus despised the christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign." And we are again brought to recollect Mr. Hume's assertions respecting persecution, which, in connexion with the above facts, may prove a useful warning to those who read his Essays, and convince them that no

dependence is to be placed on his most confident assertions when the Christian religion is concerned. "The intolerance," he says, "of almost all religions which have maintained the unity of God, is as remarkable as the *contrary* PRINCIPLE *of Polytheists.*" And again, "The tolerating spirit of idolators, both in ancient and modern times, is very obvious to any one who is the least conversant in the writings of historians or travellers."

The testimony to the truth of the gospel by these sufferers, in that early age, is very valuable. Ireneus, now an elder in the church at Lyons, was, in his younger days, acquainted with Polycarp, the disciple of John the apostle; and Pothinus, Bishop at Lyons, was older than Ireneus. We have here, too, a proof of the great progress of the Christian religion in a short time. The number of christians at Lyons and Vienna must have been very considerable. There were among them, men of distinction for knowledge and understanding. Attalus, and several others, were Roman citizens.

The testimony of the first christians is the more valuable, as it is given by men of all ranks in society, and of all the different countries through which they were settled. It is the testimony of men who were not guided by any civil authority or worldly consideration in the religion they embraced, but by the force of truth and conviction alone; and of men who had the deepest concern not to be deceived. It is the testimony of competent judges of the evidence by which they were convinced, presented to them in facts of which they were eyewitnesses, and in which they could not be mistaken. It is testimony transmitted to us from the most enlightened period of the Roman empire,—from a multitude of men whose integrity is acknowledged by their enemies, and from among whom, individuals may be selected, equally enlightened with any of their contemporaries.—*Haldane's Evidences.*

ANTIQUITY OF THE WORLD CONFORMABLE TO THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT.

To prove that the world was formed at a much earlier period than Moses assigns for its creation, the bowels of the earth have been ransacked, and all the aids that can be derived from modern discoveries resorted to, but in vain. One absurd theory has been exploded after another, and no progress whatever has been made towards the detection of any mistake on this point in the sacred writers.

In the preface to an "Essay on the theory of the earth," dated 1815, by M. Cuvier of Paris, who is styled one of the first philosophers of the age, the publisher says, "Although the Mosaic account of the creation of the world is an inspired writing, and consequently rests on evidence totally independent of human observation and experience, still it is interesting, and in many respects important, to know that it coincides with the various phenomena observable in the mineral kingdom. The structure of the earth, and the mode of distribution of extraneous fossils or petrifactions, are so many direct evidences of the truth of the scripture account of the formation of the earth;

and they might be used as proofs of its author having been inspired; because the mineralogical facts discovered by modern naturalists were unknown to the sacred historian. Even the periods of time, the six days of the Mosaic description, are not inconsistent with our theories of the earth." The deluge, one of the grandest natural events described in the Bible, is equally confirmed, with regard to its extent and the period of its occurrence, by a careful study of the various phenomena observed on and near the earth's surface. The age of the human race, also, a most important inquiry is satisfactorily determined by an appeal to natural appearances; and the pretended great antiquity of some nations, so much insisted on by certain philosophers, is thereby shown to be entirely unfounded.

On the other hand, how little progress has yet been made towards bringing any proof against the authenticity of the writings of Moses from the various theories of the earth that have been produced, may be learned from the following declaration of M. Cuvier himself. "The present period, with respect to the theory of the earth, bears some resemblance," he observes, "to that in which some philosophers thought that the heavens were formed of polished stone, and that the moon was no larger than the Peloponnesus." From this representation, we may learn how to estimate the opinions of those who, from their partial observations and fanciful theories, have concluded that as the world has no appearance of having had a beginning, so there is no probability that it will have an end.

The following is an extract respecting the age of the world, from Watson's Letters to Gibbon, addressed, he says, 'to a set of men who have picked up in their travels, or the writings of the deists, a few flimsy objections against Christianity.' "I cannot help," he proceeds, "taking notice of an argument by which some philosophers have of late endeavoured to overturn the whole system of revelation; and it is the more necessary to give an answer to their objection, as it is become a common subject of philosophical conversation, especially among those who have visited the continent. The objection tends to invalidate, as is supposed, the authority of Moses, by showing that the earth is much older than it can be proved to be from his account of the creation, and the scripture chronology. We contend that six thousand years have not elapsed since the creation. And these philosophers contend that they have indubitable proof of the earth's being at the least fourteen thousand years old; and they complain that Moses hangs as a dead weight upon them, and blunts all their zeal for inquiry."

The Canonico Recupero, who, it seems, is engaged in writing the history of Mount Etna, has discovered a stratum of lava which flowed from that mountain, according to his opinion, in the time of the second Punic war, or about two thousand years ago; this stratum is not yet covered with soil sufficient for the production of either corn or vines; it requires, then, says the Canon, two thousand years at least, to convert a stratum of lava into a fertile field. In sinking a pit near Jaci, in the neighbourhood of Etna, they have discovered evident marks of seven distinct lavas, one under the other; the

surfaces of which are parallel, and most of them covered with a thick bed of rich earth; now, the eruption which formed the lowest of these lavas, (if we may be allowed to reason, says the Canon, from analogy) flowed from the mountain at least fourteen thousand years ago. To this it is replied: In the first place, the Canon has not satisfactorily established his main fact, that the lava in question is the identical lava which Diodorus Siculus mentions to have flowed from Etna in the second Carthagenian war; and, in the second place, it may be observed, that the time necessary for converting lavas into fertile fields, must be very different, according to the different consistencies of the lavas, and their different situations, with respect to elevation or depression, to their being exposed to winds, rains, and to other circumstances just as the time in which the heaps of iron slag, (which resembles lava) are covered with verdure, is different at different furnaces, according to the nature of the slag, and situation of the furnace; and something of this kind is deducible from the account of the Canon himself; since the crevices of this famous stratum are really full of rich, good soil, and have pretty large trees growing in them.

But, if all this should be thought not sufficient to remove the objection, I will produce the Canon an analogy in opposition to his analogy, and which is grounded on more certain facts. Etna and Vesuvius resemble each other in the causes which produce their eruptions, and in the nature of their lavas, and in the time necessary to mellow them into soil fit for vegetation; or if there be any slight difference in this respect, it is probably not greater than what subsists between different lavas of the same mountain. This being admitted, which no philosopher will deny, the Canon's analogy will prove nothing at all, if we can produce an instance of seven different lavas, (with interjacent strata of vegetable earth) which flowed from Mount Vesuvius within the space, not of fourteen thousand, but of somewhat less than seventeen hundred years: for, then, according to our analogy, a stratum of lava may be covered with vegetable soil in about two hundred and fifty years, instead of requiring two thousand for the purpose. The eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, is rendered still more famous by the death of Pliny, recorded by his nephew, in his letter to Tacitus; this event happened in the year 70. It is not yet then quite seventeen hundred years since Herculaneum was swallowed up. But we are informed, by unquestionable authority, that "the matter which covers the ancient town of Herculaneum is not the produce of one eruption only; for there are evident marks that the matter of six eruptions has taken its course over that which lies immediately above the town, and was the cause of its destruction. These strata are either lava or burnt matter, with veins of good soil between them. I will not add another word on this subject, except that the Bishop of the diocese was not much out in his advice to Canonico Recupero, to take care not to make his mountain older than Moses; though it would have been full as well to have shut his mouth with a reason, as to have stopped it with the dread of an ecclesiastical censure.

In order to invalidate the truth of revelation, it has been earnestly contended that the human race is not descended from one pair. This, if it could be proved, would contradict the Mosaic account of the creation of man, and of the peopling of the earth, and the declaration of the apostle, that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men.' It also strikes at the root of the whole account of the entrance of sin and death through the first progenitor of mankind, and would equally invalidate the universality of the commission of the apostles to proclaim the way of recovery of all nations through the righteousness of the second Adam. This attempt, however, like the other respecting the age of the world, has proved abortive. Nothing that has been observed or advanced on the subject, goes at all to establish such an opinion.

The arguments used against the unity of the human race have all been shown to be unfounded, and many of them ridiculous. The first and chief cause of its variety is proved by an appeal to facts in every part of the world, to be *climate;* by which is meant, not so much the latitude of a country from the equator, as the degree of heat or cold, that depends on many connected circumstances. The next is the state of society, which greatly augments or corrects the influence of climate, and is itself the independent cause of many conspicuous distinctions among mankind. These causes, it has been shown, may be infinitely varied in their degree, and in their combinations with other principles; and, in the innumerable migrations of mankind, they are modified by their own previous effects in a prior climate, and a prior state of society.*

There is a colony of Jews at Cochin, upon the coast of Malabar, who are now as black as the other Malabarians, who are hardly a shade lighter than the people of Guinea, Benin, or Angola.

In opposition to the Mosaic account of the creation, and of the manner in which the earth was peopled, both at the beginning, and after the flood, it is often argued, and, by writers of a certain class generally taken for granted, that 'in the earliest periods of time, mankind, in every part of the globe, were in a state of absolute savageism."

This opinion forms the basis of a well-known work, called "Sketches of the History of Man." To what is there advanced on the above subject, an answer, soon after its publication, appeared in 'Two Letters on the Savage State,' to which no reply was made. In the course of these letters, the following propositions are illustrated by a great number of particulars collected from ancient and modern history:—

The more populous and extensive kingdoms and societies were civilized at a period prior to the records of history; the presumption, therefore, is, that these were civilized from the beginning.

No people who were once in a cultivated state, and, in process of time, degenerated into a savage or barbarous state, have ever recovered their pristine condition, without foreign aid. This furnishes

* See Dr. Smith's Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species.

a presumptive argument that man, once a savage, would never have raised himself from that hopeless state.

None of the nations which were savages, or barbarians, at the period of their first appearance in history, have ever been known to move one step forward towards a civilized state, till impelled by some external circumstance; a phenomenon which does not seem to favour the progressive motion of the human species towards a state of civilization.

There appears in savages a natural and rooted aversion to a civilized state. This furnishes a strong presumption, that, by the efforts of their natural genius alone, they never would have raised themselves above their original character.

The most judicious and the most enlightened sages of antiquity entertain the most exalted notions of the piety, virtue, wisdom, and justice of the primitive men. If we can depend upon their opinion, there must always have existed, in some region of the globe, a society of civilized people.

The idea of a state of universal savageism seems to have sprung from the chimerical cosmogonies of Mochus, Democritus, Epicurus, &c. These cosmogonies, nor the consequences of them, were ever admitted by the wise and sober sects of philosophers.

The notion of a golden age, which at one time universally prevailed, is inconsistent with the universal extent of the empire of savageism.

There seems to be in human nature an innate propensity towards degeneracy, even in a state of the highest improvement. The consequence is obvious.

Civilization and improvements of every kind have always been carried to the highest pitch of perfection in large and populous societies. In savages, the social appetite never reaches beyond their own sept or horde, and, consequently, is too weak and too confined to dispose them to unite into large communities; and, of course, had all mankind been once in the savage state, they never could have arrived at any considerable degree of civilization.

In the earliest ages, all over the globe, we meet with names of persons, places, offices, dignities, alluding to, or formed from, names, epithets, attributes of the Deity, or at least, from the objects of religious worship. This appearance indicates a devout turn of mind, and consequently a state of things greatly superior to that which is contended for by the gentlemen of your Lordship's party.

At the end of the first letter, the following challenge is given on the subject: "Upon the whole, I am persuaded your Lordship would oblige not a few of your unlearned readers, as well as myself, would you be condescending enough *to point out some* ONE *state, nation, or society*, which was once confessedly composed of savages, and did actually, without foreign assistance of any kind, by the gradual exertion of its internal powers, after passing successively through all the steps and stages specified in your sketches, at length arrive at a state of complete humanity and civilization."—*Haldane's Evidences.*

In addition to the argument from prophecy, we present the three following prophecies, yet fulfilling :—

NOAH'S PROPHECY.

We have already considered the prophecy of Noah, as it refers to the Messiah; we shall now observe that part of it which relates to the sentence pronounced on Canaan. On account of the sin of which Ham, his second son, had been guilty, Noah, not in order to gratify any feeling of resentment, but under a divine impulse, delivered the following prediction, which denounced a curse upon Canaan, one of the sons of Ham, and a blessing on Shem and Japheth.

And he said,
"Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem;
And Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth;
And shall dwell in the tents of Shem;
And Canaan shall be their servant."

Although the above curse was not pronounced on Ham, who had been personally the transgressor, yet it was a heavy punishment on him to hear of the evil that was to fall on his posterity. In this part of the punishment, Noah also, perhaps on account of his own improper conduct, was in a measure involved in being employed to pronounce this malediction on a large portion of his own descendants.

The curse was directed particularly against the line of Canaan, which must have tended greatly to encourage the Israelites, the descendants of Shem, when sent to take possession of that land which the posterity of Canaan inhabited: of whom those that were not destroyed, were brought into bondage, as the Gibeonites, who became hewers of wood and drawers of water. At the same time, this punishment was to be inflicted in perfect conformity with justice The descendants of Canaan were to suffer for their own sins, by which they recognized the guilt of their progenitor. The Israelites were not permitted to go against them till their "iniquity was full," and till, on acount of their wickedness, the land, in the emphatic language of scripture, "spewed them out;" after which, they were overcome by the descendants of Shem. The posterity of Canaan in Tyro and Carthage, were subdued by the descendants of Japheth.

The accomplishment of this prophecy does not appear to have been confined to the line of Canaan, but to have extended to the other children of Ham. The whole continent of Africa was peopled principally by the children of Ham, and for many ages the better part of that country lay under the dominion of the Romans, then of the Saracens, and then of the Turks. Egypt is often called in scripture the land of Ham, and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom. But it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Japheth, and from that time to this it has constantly been in subjec-

tion to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The inhabitants of Africa have been bought and sold for slaves from the earliest periods of history, even to the present time. Thus, in the above words of Noah, we have a remarkable prediction, uttered at the distance of above four thousand years, which has been literally fulfilling from that time to the present hour.—*Haldane's Evidences.*

ISHMAEL.

Another remarkable prophecy is that concerning Ishmael and his descendants. When Hagar, the servant of Abraham, fled from the face of her mistress, "the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, return unto thy mistress, and submit thyself unto her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord has heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren." "Behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation." All these prophecies respecting the posterity of Ishmael have been remarkably verified. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian Phylarchs, or rulers of tribes; and Melo, quoted by Eusebius, from Alexander Polyhistor, a heathen historian, relates that twelve sons of Abraham departed into Arabia, divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; "whence," says he, "even to our days, the Arabians have twelve kings of the same names as the first. Ever since, the people have been governed by Phylarchs, and have lived in tribes.

And "I will make him a great nation." This is again and again repeated. The Saracens, his descendants, made rapid and extensive conquests, and erected one of the largest empires that ever was in the world. "And he will be a wild man." It is said of Ishmael, Genesis xxi. 20. that "he dwelt in the wilderness;" and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant. "And he became an archer." Such the Arabs have been, and continue to this day. "His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." Ishmael lived by prey and rapine in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land and pirates by sea. They have been enemies to mankind, and the rest of mankind have been enemies to them, and several unsuccessful attempts have been made to extirpate them. Even now, as well as formerly, travellers are forced to go with arms, and in caravans, or large companies, and to keep watch, and to defend themselves from their assaults, as they go about in troops, and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means subdue.

These robberies they also justify, "by alleging the hard usage of their father Ishmael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. And, on this account, they think they may indemnify themselves as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on all besides."

And he shall dwell (tabernacle, or dwell in tents) in the presence of all his brethren." It appears that they dwelt in tents in the wilderness so long ago as in Isaiah's and Jeremiah's time; and they do the same at this day. Their hand is against every man, and every man's hand against them; and yet they are able to dwell in the presence of all their brethren. This has been fulfilled both in the person of Ishmael, and in his posterity. As for Ishmael himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates, (Gen. xxv. 47, 48.) that "the years of the life of Ishmael were a hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of all his brethren. His posterity dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren; Abraham's sons by Keturah; the Moabites and Ammonites, descendants of Lot; the Israelites, descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Esau. And they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind. They have from first to last maintained their independence; and, notwithstanding the most powerful efforts for their destruction, they still dwell in the presence of all their brethren.

They were never subjected by their powerful neighbours the Egyptians or Assyrians, nor by Cyrus and the Persians, the next great conquerors of the East. Neither he nor his successors ever reduced the whole body of Arabs to subjection. They conquered some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country. Herodotus, who lived nearest to these times, says expressly, that the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which, without the assistance and permission of the Arabs, would have been utterly impracticable. In another place, he says, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute.

Alexander the Great then overturned the Persian empire, and conquered Asia. He was preparing an expedition against the Arabs, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Alexander's successors attempted to subdue them, but failed. Diodorus says, that "neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the Kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet of the Macedonians, were able to subdue them; nay, though they led many and great forces against them, yet they could not accomplish their attempts.

The Romans then invaded the East, and subdued the countries adjoining; but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. Pompey, though he triumphed over three parts of the world, could not conquer Arabia. Elius Gállus, in the reign of

Augustus, penetrated far into the country; but at last escaped with a small remainder of his forces. Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but could never reduce it entirely. When he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, he was constantly repulsed, and at length was forced to raise the siege, and retire with disgrace into his own dominions. About eighty years afterwards, the Emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army, and a train of military engines; but he had no better success than Trajan; neither did any of the following emperors prevail against them. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations in Syria, and other Roman provinces, with equal license and impunity.

Such was the state and condition of the Arabs to the time of Mohammed, who laid the foundation of a mighty empire; and then, for several centuries, they were better known among the European nations by the name of Saracens; the Araceni of Pliny, and the Hagarenes of scripture. Their conquests were amazingly rapid. In a few years the Saracens overran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in several centuries. They were then not only independent themselves, but masters of the most considerable parts of the world. After their empire was dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars, Mamalukes, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever conquered Asia, they were still unconquered, and still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all. The Turks have now, for several centuries, been masters of the adjacent countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of the Arabs, that they have been obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute.

Thus has this single nation stood out against the enmity of the whole world for near four thousand years together. The great empires around them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning. This, in the common course of human affairs, was in the highest degree improbable. These are the only people, besides the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning. They, as well as the Jews, boast of their descent from Abraham, from whom also they profess to have derived circumcision.

THE JEWS.

The kingdom of Israel was separated from all other nations, in order that, through it, the kingdom of heaven, which was to be universal, might be introduced. In consequence of this separation, the Jews enjoyed uncommon privileges; but, as they abused those privileges, their punishment has been as signal as their exaltation. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament scriptures, from the time when they were separated as a nation, there is a remarkable series of prophecies concerning them, to which an important addition was afterwards made by the Lord Jesus himself. To some of these prophecies we shall now advert, especially such as were delivered by Moses.

In the 30th chapter of Deuteronomy, Moses says to Israel, "If thine heart turn away, so that thou wilt not hear, but shalt be drawn away, and worship other gods and serve them, I denounce unto you this day that you shall surely perish, and that you shall not prolong your days upon the land whither thou passest over Jordan to possess it." In the 28th chapter of the same book, a full detail is given of the calamities that would overtake them, if they should be disobedient. These predictions were all fulfilled, though not at once. Different enemies were brought against them, and they sustained several sieges, all pointed out in various predictions, which were ultimately and fully accomplished in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, when "wrath came upon them to the uttermost," and in their final and grand dispersion.

We find it foretold that an enemy was to be brought against them for their punishment. Deut. xxxviii. 49. "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the EAGLE flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand." Again, "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord. It is a mighty nation; it is an ancient nation; a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favour to the young. And he shall besiege thee in thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst, throughout all the land." Thus the Romans, whose significant standard was an EAGLE, were brought against them.

In the siege, they were to suffer much, especially from famine. The man's "eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward his children; because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates; and in like manner, the woman's "eye shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter."

It was expressly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women, should eat their own children. "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your own daughters shall ye eat." "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, and the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters." And more particularly, "The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not venture to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness; she shall eat her children, for want of all things, secretly in the siege and straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates." This was fulfilled about six hundred years after the time of Moses among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the King of Syria, and two women agreed together, the one to give up her son to be boiled and eaten to-day, and the other to deliver up her son to be dressed and eaten to-morrow: and one of them was eaten accordingly. It was fulfilled again, about nine hundred years after the time of Moses among the Jews, in the siege of Jerusalem, before the Babylonish captivity. Jeremiah bewails this in his Lamentations: "The hands of the pitiful

women have sodden their own children; they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people." And, again, it was fulfilled about fifteen hundred years after the time of Moses, in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus. And we read in Josephus, particularly of a noblewoman, illustrious for her family and riches, killing and eating her own sucking child. Thus exactly were fulfilled the words of Moses, concerning "the tender and delicate woman, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness."

Great numbers of the Jews were to be destroyed. "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude." Josephus computes, that, during the whole siege, the number of those who were destroyed by it and by the war, amounted to eleven hundred thousand, the people being assembled from all parts to celebrate the passover.

They were to be carried into Egypt, and sold for a very low price. "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." This was literally fulfilled. The markets were quite overstocked with them; and Josephus says, they were sold with their wives and children at the lowest price.

They were to be rooted out of their own land. "And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it."

They were also to be dispersed into all nations. "And thou shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth." And again, "The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other." "I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you, and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." All this has been literally fulfilled.

They shall suffer much in their dispersion. "And among those nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy feet have rest." They have been banished from city to city, from country to country. In many places they have been banished, and recalled, and banished again. In the latter end of the 13th century, they were banished from England: in the latter end of the 14th century, they were banished from France for the seventh time: in the latter end of the 15th century, they were banished from Spain. Most of them paid dearly for a refuge in Portugal; but, within a few years, they were expelled from thence also.

They should be "oppressed and spoiled evermore; and their houses and vineyards, their oxen and asses should be taken from them, and they should be only oppressed and crushed always." Frequent seizures have been made of their effects, and they have been fined and plundered in almost all countries; and in innumerable instances they have been forced to redeem their lives with their treasure.

"Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people." In several countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government, to be educated in the Popish religion. When they were banished from Portugal,

the King ordered all their children under fourteen, to be taken from them, and baptized.

"Thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see." By cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions which they have undergone, they have often been driven to madness and desperation; as, for instance, in the reign of Richard the First, when the people were in arms to make a general massacre of them, fifteen hundred of them seized on the city of York, to defend themselves; but, being besieged, they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the christians. Every one immediately stabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the King's palace, which they set on fire, in which they consumed themselves, with the palace and furniture.

"And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee." This prophecy we see and hear fulfilled almost every day. The word *Jew*, is continually used as a proverb. They are generally hated. Mohammedans, heathens, and nominal christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews.

"And the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of *long continuance*." Such are the awful denunciations of prophecy against the Jews, which have overtaken them on account of their many and aggravated transgressions; but above all, on account of the rejection of the Messiah. It was then that the measure of their iniquity was filled up. 1 Thess. ii. 15, "They both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, and they please not God, and are contrary to all men. Forbidding us to speak to the gentiles, that they might be saved, to fill up their sins always, for the wrath has come upon them to the uttermost." Thus their own imprecation has been remarkably and awfully fulfilled, "His blood be upon us and our children."

The foregoing prophecies were all delivered by Moses, *more than three thousand years ago*, and many others, to the like effect, are scattered through the writings of all the subsequent prophets.

The Lord Jesus himself has added a most minute and remarkable prediction concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, uttered nearly forty years before that event. A full and most striking illustration of this prophecy, in a detail of all the circumstances which took place, is given by Josephus, who was an eyewitness on the spot. The temple was burnt on the 10th day of the month of August, of the year 70, the same day on which it had been burnt by the king of Babylon. Tacitus, the Roman historian, confirms, by his account of the siege, the testimony of Josephus.

The destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, is an event of great importance. It accomplished a great number of prophecies.

And by putting a visible and necessary end to the Jewish economy, it made way for the dispensation of the Messiah.

Titus, who commanded the Roman army, was exceedingly desirous of saving the temple. But, contrary to his most earnest wish, circumstances led to its being set on fire. A dreadful massacre ensued, in which thousands perished, and the whole city, with its fortifications, palaces, towers, and walls were levelled to the ground. Before the temple was consumed, Titus entered into the sanctuary and most holy place, and was struck with its remaining grandeur. Out of the former, he saved the golden candlesticks, the table of the shew bread, the altar of incense, all of pure gold, and the book of the law wrapped up in a rich golden tissue. After Vespasian's triumph at Rome, he built a Temple of Peace, in which he laid up those golden vessels and instruments; and the law, and the purple veils of the holy place, he ordered to be deposited in this place. These spoils were carried off by Genseric, four hundred years afterwards, when he pillaged Rome. On the triumphal arch of Titus erected at Rome, which remains a noble monument of antiquity, and which the writer of this has seen, the representation of the table and candlesticks is still visible. There is a small passage at one side for the Jews, as they cannot be prevailed on to go under the arch.

To his prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, Jesus added another, strikingly descriptive of its condition since that event to the present hour, which also contains an intimation that the Jews shall at last be restored. "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the gentiles, till the times of the gentiles shall be fulfilled;*" or, as Paul expressed it, "till the fulness of the gentiles be come in."

The present internal condition of the Jews, is remarkably declared, in connexion with their future restoration, in the words of the prophet Hosea. "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, (or altar,) and without an ephod, (or priest to wear an ephod,) and without taraphim, (or divine manifestations.) Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." According to the law of Moses, their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that has been now for many ages in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will not suffer them to go thither. Thus, in the most complete manner, has the prediction of Daniel, when speaking of the coming of the Messiah, been fulfilled. He shall "make an end of sin-offering;" and again, "*he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease.*" The Emperor Julian, in order to falsify these predictions, and because the Lord had said, Jerusalem "shall be trodden down of the gentiles," attempted to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, and promised to restore the Jews to their habitations. His purpose, however, was frustrated,

and his death, on his Persian expedition, put an end to their hopes from that quarter.

The preservation of the Jews as a separate people, and their restoration at last, are as distinctly announced as their various calamities and dispersions.

Moses says, "The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths while she lieth desolate without them; and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity, because, even because they despise my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes, And yet, for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them: for I am the Lord their God. But I will, for their sakes, remember the covenant of their ancestors, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt, in the sight of the heathen, that I might be their God; I am the Lord." Jeremiah says: "Fear thou not, O Jacob, my servant, saith the Lord, for I am with thee; for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee; but I will not make a full end of thee.' And again, the prophet Amos, "For, lo! I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth." Accordingly, although the Jews are dispersed among all nations, they still continue a distinct people, and yet they nowhere live according to their own laws, nowhere elect their own magistrates, and nowhere can enjoy the full exercise of their religion.

No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have remained in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France, who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various people who from time to time have settled there? In Spain, who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors, the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England, who can pretend to say, with certainty, which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans?

The most ancient and honourable pedigrees, can be traced up only to a certain period; and, beyond that, there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance. But the Jews can go up higher than any nation; they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended; but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet, the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships they have undergone, in almost all countries, should, it might be supposed, have

made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it—they glory in it; and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist,—they still are very numerous. We see them excluded from the only country to which they had any attachment, vagabonds on the earth, and dispersed indifferently through every quarter of it, the scorn and outcasts of all other nations. On the other hand, although every where spurned, reviled, and oppressed, we see them yet continuing to hold fast their offensive profession, and not worn out by this usage, nor induced by it to renounce that profession, and take refuge in the mass of the people among whom they live. But still subsist, a numerous, a distinct, and wretched people. All this has something in it which the common principles of human nature will not explain.

The predictions concerning the restoration of the Jews, are also express. "Behold I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: and they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever; and my servant David shall be their prince for ever. Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them into their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God." These promises have already had a subordinate and typical fulfilment; but their ultimate accomplishment, after which the Lord will not hide his face any more from them, is still future.

In the Epistle to the Romans, the apostle Paul ascribes the future restoration of Israel to the favour of God. After informing his brethren that the Jewish nation was broken off because of unbelief, and warning them to be on their guard lest they too, as branches grafted in, should be broken off on the same account, he says: "For I would not, brethren, that you should be ignorant of this mystery, (lest you should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part has happened to Israel, until the fulness of the gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved."

The present situation of the Jews, and what it has been, especially for the last seventeen hundred years, is such, that when compared with the foregoing prophecies, it is sufficient to strike infidelity dumb. Many object to the miracles of the first ages of Christianity; and, in order to discredit them, bring forward all the counterfeit miracles that can be raked together. They insist, in like manner, that the prophecies of scripture are either so obscure that they cannot be understood, and that they may mean any thing; or, that they were written after the events which they are said to predict. Here, then, is a series of prophecies concerning facts obvious to their senses, of which it cannot be even alleged that it is either forged or obscure. Nor, although they were to collect all the conjectures that ever came

to pass, which have been dignified with the name of the prophecies, can they pretend to show any thing like these combined pre-intimations of a great, extensive, and complex historical fact.

If, admitting that there is something remarkable in these predictions, they should assert that the event itself may be accounted for from natural causes, let them, in all the history of the world, point out any thing similar to it. It is sometimes said that the Jews believed themselves the favourites of heaven; and it is natural to cling to such a flattering idea. If they believe themselves to be so, what was it which, notwithstanding all the calamities they had suffered, has indelibly impressed on them this belief? When men, in opposing evident truth, attempt to get rid of one difficulty, they only fall into another. Let all be upon their guard, lest the declaration applied to the Jews by Paul, be in them also verified. "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish, for I work a work in YOUR days, a work which ye shall in nowise believe, though a man declare it unto you."

SECOND PSALM.

Why did nations rage? and tribes meditate vain things? The kings of the earth combined; and the chiefs assembled together, against the Lord and against his Christ, saying—

Let us break their bands asunder, and throw off from us their yoke.

He who dwells in heaven will laugh them to scorn; the Lord will treat them with derision. Then will he speak to them in his wrath, and trouble them with his sore displeasure. But, as for me, by him I am appointed king on Sion, his holy mountain. I proclaim the decree of the Lord; to me the Lord said—

Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee, ask of me, and I will give thee nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron. Thou shalt break them to pieces like a potter's vessel.

Now, therefore, O kings, be wise: be instructed, all you who judge the earth.

Serve the Lord with fear; and rejoice for him with trembling. keep fast hold of instruction; the Lord may be angry, and you may perish out of the right way. When his anger suddenly blazes forth, happy are all they who have trusted in him.—*Thomson's version.*

CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages, there is not to be found that argument which is, to millions, the most convincing of all. I purposely omitted it till now. I am aware that it is only in one way addressed to all mankind. All may test it, but all do not. It is an argument which produces assurance. Nay, it is itself assurance. It is no more to be resisted than consciousness or animal feeling. It is, indeed, the same with experience. Every christian knows, from his own experience, Christianity is divine. A well-taught and a well-practised christian—an intelligent and obedient disciple of Jesus

Christ, can no more doubt the truth of Christianity, or the pretensions of Jesus Christ and the holy apostles, than he can doubt his own consciousness, or his own feelings. The christian first believes, and then knows Christianity to be divine. But this can be no proof to a sceptic, nor to an opponent. Why, then, urge it? True, I cannot prove that I have the tooth-ache; nor that I fear or love any person, by a mere declaration. To those only who believe my testimony, this will be proof. But I cannot prove my assertion, if it can only be done by giving them my consciousness or my feelings. They may say, after believing my testimony concerning the tooth-ache, that I am deceived and mistaken, though they will compliment my veracity. So they may say, when I tell them I know Christianity to be divine, that, no doubt, I think so, but they think that I am mistaken. There is one advantage, however, which the christian can have, and does possess, above the sceptic in this matter: the sceptic never can disprove, even to his own satisfaction, much less to any other person's, that my experience, or any other person's, is not what it purports to be. He can never say, with any regard to the meaning of words, that he has experienced Christianity to be false. The christian is in this, as well as in every other respect, greatly exalted above him. He has proved that Christianity is true by his own experience; and the sceptic can never, by his experience, prove it to be false.

But, still it will be asked, Why urge this argument, when it cannot be a proof to sceptics? this is only in part true; for Christianity submits itself to the test; it challenges every man to prove it true from his own experience. This can be better illustrated by a reference to a single passage in the New Testament than by any other means. For example: Jesus once spoke, saying—"Come to me all you that are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and condescending, and you shall find rest to your souls; for my yoke is easy and my burden is light."

Now, if a physician should say to his patient, after he had failed to convince him by argument, Take this medicine, sir, and you will assuredly find ease to your pain, and relief to your disease. Does he not submit all his pretensions to the test of experiment, or his veracity to the experience of his patient? He puts it in the power of his patient to prove, from his own experience, that all his pretensions are well or ill founded. Thus the Saviour of the world submits his pretensions to all. Some take his medicine and are cured; others ridicule his pretensions, reject his medicine, and die. But the experience of one cured person, who has submitted himself to his guidance, cannot be set aside by all the objections, reasons, and arguments of all the sceptics and sophists on earth.

Thus the true christian can say, *I know and am assured* that Christianity is true and divine. Hence it comes to pass that millions who can barely read the Holy Scriptures, who cannot debate or argue with the sceptic, are, nevertheless, unshaken in their confidence, when the sceptic has shot the last arrow in his quiver at them. I

believe, I know, and am sure, says the genuine christian, that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of the Living God, the Saviour of men. Let the sceptics know, then, that Jesus the Lord, has put it in their power to prove by experience the truth of all that he taught, and all that he promised.

We, then, who submit to the government and guidance of Jesus Christ, have all these advantages over the sceptics. We have reason, true philosophy, and experience on our side. We enjoy this present life much better than they can enjoy it; for, as Paul says, "Godliness is profitable for all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of the life which is to come." Rich or poor, noble or ignoble, in the world's reckoning, we can always eat our food with gladness, sleep sweetly, and contemplate nature with adoration. The consciousness that we have the eye of God always upon us, and his arms encircling us, is worth infinitely more than all the promises of all the atheists, deists, sceptics, and free-thinkers upon earth. On their philosophy, too, we have nothing to fear. We are happier while we live: if christians, incomparably happier; and on their principles, cannot fail to be as happy as they, after death. But, on our principles, they can promise themselves only the happiness of a stall-fed ox here, and everlasting destruction hereafter. This is a fair contrast of the systems. We have the present and the future. They have the present only in part, and nothing in future but utter darkness and everlasting night. If immortality be worth any thing, it is worth every thing which imagination can grasp. This is the difference between the two systems: Animal gratifications and death; Jesus Christ and immortality. The materialist will choose the former: but the rational philosopher and the man of common sense will choose the latter.

THE END.

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