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ART. I.—MR. MILL AND HIS CRITICS.

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SECOND PAPER.

“MATTER, then,” says Mr. Mill, according to his “Psychological Theory,” “may be defined a Permanent Possibility of Sensation. If I am asked whether I believe in matter, I ask whether the questioner accepts this definition of it. If he does, I believe in matter; *and so do all Berkeleians*. In any other sense than this, I do not. But I affirm with confidence, that this conception of Matter *includes the whole meaning attached to it by the common world*, apart from philosophical, and sometimes from theological, theories.”

Here is an implied assertion, that his definition of Matter coincides with Berkeley’s doctrine of Idealism, and a direct assertion, that it includes the whole meaning attached to the conception of Matter by ordinary people, who are neither philosophers nor theologians. We dispute both positions. Bishop Berkeley affirms the necessity of a Cause, an Efficient Cause, to account for the ideas or sensations in our minds; and as he says “there is nothing of power or agency” in the ideas themselves, as “it is impossible for an idea to do anything, or, strictly speaking, to be the cause of anything,” he has a right to conclude, as he does, “there is therefore some cause of these ideas, whereon they depend, and which pro-

ART. V.—PRESIDENT WHEELOCK AND THE GREAT REVIVAL.

By Rev. E. H. GILLETT, D. D., New York.

THE progress of the "Great Revival" in different parts of New England created a demand for that kind of preaching which few were better qualified to supply than Bellamy, Pomeroy and Wheelock. In some respects Edwards and Tennent were perhaps their superiors, but Edwards found enough to employ him at Northampton and its vicinity, and Tennent was too distant to repeat his New England tour without great inconvenience. It is not strange, therefore, that the labors of Wheelock should have been in request from different quarters. His correspondence shows that the applications made to him, from places near and far, to visit and preach to them were numerous.

In May or June (1741) he had gone North to Windsor, Northampton, and, among other places, to Stafford, where the people were "left as sheep without a shepherd," and besought his aid. In September, the pastor of Windsor, Jonathan Marsh, "at the motion made by the deacons of the church, who speak the minds of the better part of the society," entreats of him a "farther visit," "in hope of the revival of the work among us anew by your means." "The eyes and hearts of the better part of our people," he adds, "are much set on you (with your brother Pomeroy). They won't be content without another visit from you."

But still more urgent invitations called Wheelock in yet another direction. In the latter part of October he set out on a preaching tour with the purpose of visiting Boston. His journal, for the next three weeks,* indicates the energy and zeal with which he prosecuted his work. He visited—preaching at each place—Plainfield, Voluntown, Scituate, Providence, Rehoboth, Norton, Raynham, Taunton, Braintree, etc., and at Boston received an enthusiastic welcome. He preached for Messrs. Webb and Prince, and Dr. Coleman, to crowded

* Printed in full for the first time in the *Historical Magazine*, 1869.

assemblies, and was urged to preach at Cambridge. His farewell sermon attracted throngs who were unable to get into the large church edifice, and some of his most intelligent hearers told him afterward, "they believed that Mather Byles was never so lashed in his life." A copy of his sermon for Dr. Coleman was requested for the press.

With the invitation from Cambridge he was unable to comply. His time was limited, and he was forced to refuse applications which followed him from places that he had previously visited. One of the most urgent of these was from Providence, whence the pastor, Rev. Mr. Cotton, hastened to Boston to persuade him to return thither. He bore with him a letter from Benjamin Cary, dated Nov. 8, 1741, enforcing the application, and saying, "This night we had above twenty young people, and six or seven a crying out in great distress. Likewise last Sabbath night four, Mr. Cotton will inform you of. These are therefore to beg you to return with our dear pastor to help us once more."

But a Council was to meet at Windham on the 16th of the month, and Wheelock, who had been absent nearly four weeks, was in haste to return. Perhaps the state of ecclesiastical affairs in Connecticut had not a little to do with it. On the 30th of October, while he was on his way to Boston, Solomon Williams, of Lebanon, wrote to him that Rector Clap, "at the desire of the Governor and Council," had transmitted to him, as last Moderator of the Convention of the Association, a copy of an Act of Assembly importing, that in view of the unhappy divisions subsisting in the colony, and in the hope "that a general Consociation of the churches, consisting of three ministers and three messengers from each particular Consociation, might issue in the accommodation of divisions, and promoting the true interests of vital piety," the expense of the entertainment of such Convention (to meet at Guilford, Nov. 24, 1741) should be borne by the government, and that the consociated churches of Windham County would meet at Windham on the 16th to elect delegates.

The party opposed to Whitefield, and jealous of the course pursued by the itinerating preachers generally, had so far

succeeded in their plans as to secure the calling of this meeting of the General Consociation, by which some remedy for the ecclesiastical confusion was to be provided. Men like Rector Clap, Stiles of North Haven, and Whittlesey of Wallingford, were ready to invoke the aid of the civil authority for their own protection from itinerating fervor; and it was doubtless quite generally understood that their conclusions would be embodied—as they afterward were—into a law of the colony. On the very day that the Council met at Windham, Bellamy wrote to Wheelock, “ You know, doubtless, that the Consociation is to be held at Guilford next week. Dear Sir, fail not of being there, together with Mr. Mecham and Pomeroy, and all that are true friends of the suffering interests of our dear Lord. I trust you will meet there all your brethren from this way.”

The results of the doings of the Consociation are well known. They prepared the way for the Act of 1742, which was designed to put a stop to the itineracy of such men as Bellamy, Pomeroy and Wheelock, as well as of Tennent and Finley, from without the bounds of the colony. Upon the character of that Act, denounced by Trumbull in his history, as well as by Prince and Edwards in this country, and leading dissenters in England, it is not necessary to dwell. Under heavy penalties it forbade the preaching of any minister within the bounds of another parish than his own, except by the invitation of the pastor, or the vote of the major part of the Society. Whoever transgressed the law was debarred from legal maintenance, and was left dependent for his salary on the voluntary contributions of his people.

The suggestion of such an enactment by the Consociation indicates the strong feeling of opposition which was arrayed against the friends of the Revival. In some cases it rose to extreme bitterness. Among several others, Wheelock must have been regarded as not the least obnoxious. We can not doubt that his views of the measures of the Consociation were in full accord with those of Bellamy. He does not appear, however, to have been present at the meeting at Guilford. He had been so long absent from home, perhaps, that he

chose not to devote more time to an object from which he could anticipate no good result, or possibly others in preference to himself were elected by the Windham Association as delegates.

But Wheelock did not relax his efforts or lay aside his itineracy. His heart was cheered by reports of revivals in different places, and his zeal was kindled by new applications for preaching. Jonathan Barber wrote him from Whitefield's Orphan House: "I trust the Lord has made Bethesda a house of mercy indeed to save poor souls since I have been here. We have had one or two seasons when our children were awakened, and made earnestly to cry after the Lord Jesus to have mercy upon them." Josiah Cotton writes from Plainfield, Dec. 17, 1741:

"Having one minute before lecture to write, can but just say that I have been to York, where I rejoiced in a great and glorious work going on; upon my return find my dear people in most teachable frames; have not been able to set in my house scarce a day, having my hands so full among them. My wife and 5 more have been propounded to communion. Good sir, hasten to our Macedonia, to our help. We impatiently long to see your desirable face. I could not see Mr. D. Rogers, either at Boston or Ipswich, but sent express to him by his brother, N. Rogers, so that I desire you would not retard your journey to us, whether you hear from him or not. P. S. The Rev. Dorrance being present, presents regards, and desires you would stop a day or two at his town, as you come to us."

Timothy Allen, just ready to part with his own people at West Haven, and already under reproach for his enthusiastic utterances, in which he approached to Davenport's standard, writes to Wheelock (Dec. 28, 1741) in behalf of the Fourth Society of Guilford, where some were "under strong convictions that they have rested all their days on a false hope," and where, he trusted, Wheelock's labors might be crowned "with saving good to a great many souls." He adds: "Opposition grows. O for another shower of Almighty grace! But praise to the dear Lord that metes refreshings to his dear children in divers places."

Early in January (1742) Wheelock designed and probably accomplished his promised visit to Providence, involving an absence from his people of three or four weeks. It is evident from his correspondence that the earnest friends of the Revi-

val designed a meeting to counteract the mischief of the conclusions of the Consociation at Guilford. Wheelock's necessary absence from home led him to propose that it should be deferred till April or May.

It is very possible that the excesses of the more zealous revivalists, and their lack of prudence, as well as the incipient uprising of the Separatists, contributed not a little to weaken the hands of the class represented by Wheelock. Davenport and Allen, not to mention others of less note, were the best allies of Clap, Whittlesey, and the party they represented, in creating a conservative reaction.

It is true that "the work" still went forward in many quarters. Wheelock writes to Stephen Williams (Feb. 3, 1742), it "makes very great advances indeed in these parts. This part of the country seems just falling before it. Opposition grows much less, and opposers out of credit. It would be too long to give you a particular account of it. It is now spread in almost every place. Dear Messrs. Williams, of Lebanon, and Mosely, of Kanada (now Hampton) have much of God with them. I this day received a letter from Mr. Daniel Rogers, late of Cambridge, wrote from Ipswich, wherein he informs me of glorious things he has lately seen in those parts, especially at Cape Ann. A man with me this evening, last week from Newbury, says the work is of late gloriously begun in that town, especially in Mr. Tapping's parish, who, he says, is very bitter against it."

At a later date, the Daniel Rogers above referred to writes to Wheelock (April 21) from Boston, "I am now at dear Mr. Bromfield's with brother Buel, who has much of the presence of our Lord assisting and succeeding him. He is writing you what the Lord has done by him. . . . The work meets with great opposition at Boston."

The judicious friends of the revival were jealous of whatever served to prejudice its progress or involve it in reproach. Already the spirit of Davenport had proved contagious. Silas Brett, a student of Yale College, writes (March 28, 1742): "I found myself conscience bound to renounce college, under the present situation of affairs, tho' somewhat alien to the ad-

vice of some, knowing that I must stand or fall for myself." Henry Willis, of a society in Norwich, (now Franklin) writes (March 16): "My people are much divided. I know not how it is with yours. I should be glad to come and strengthen, but not to weaken, your hands in the work of the ministry, and I hope so of you concerning me. I believe you have heard some things of me, and I of you, which are not true, which I shall communicate to you when I have an opportunity, in hopes 'twill make way for your preaching for me, and I may with all freedom preach for you."

But the course of Andrew Crowell, of Groton, seemed to Wheelock to demand faithful reproof. His views of faith and assurance are reflected in his controversies with Solomon Williams and Jonathan Dickinson, and they harmonized with that imperious tone of censure in which he spoke of unconverted ministers. He was undoubtedly one of that class of ministers whom Edwards had in his eye, in his discourse on "Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God." This discourse had been published a few months previous, in the fall of 1741, and must be regarded, in the light of passing events, as a remarkably able and discriminating production. It vindicated the genuine features and proper effects of the revival, testing it by the rules of Scripture, while it reprovved the excesses that had been committed in connection with it. It condemned "impulses," "impressions" and "revelations." It declared against the restoration of "miraculous gifts." It asserted, "They who leave the sure word of Prophecy—which God has given us as a light shining in a dark place—to follow such impressions and impulses, leave the guidance of the polar star, to follow a *Jack with a lantern*." It rebuked the practice of censuring professed believers as hypocrites or unconverted. The great divine of Northampton said: "I am less uncharitable than once I was. I find more things in wicked men that may counterfeit, and make a fair show of piety; and more ways that the remaining corruption of the godly may make them appear like carnal men, formalists and dead hypocrites, than once I knew of."

The sermon had scarcely left the Boston press, with its

commendatory preface by William Cooper, before it came into the hands of Stephen Williams. He wrote to Wheelock, expressing his high esteem of it. Wheelock replied (Feb. 3, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$) "I heartily agree with you in your thoughts of dear Mr. Edwards' sermon. My study has been for *many months* past to *calm the boystrous spirits* of opposers, that they may be in a way to get good."

One of his efforts was expended on Andrew Crosswell. Something of its character may be inferred from the reply of the latter, dated Groton, May 3, 1742 :

"Having perused the letter you sent me, I could not help saying within myself, *what meaneth the heat of all this anger?* You seem to *labor*, and that not without a *bitter zeal*, to prove that I have been very faulty in my conversation. Ever since I have been at Groton, till last Spring, I have given way too much to a spirit of *jesting* and *disputing*, though I can truly say it, that if ever I happened to find a man that could talk experimentally about Jesus Christ, my heart *always burned within me*, and my spirits were solemnized for some time after. . . . For this twelve months past, more especially some few months, my thoughts have (through mercy) been strongly turned another way. . . . Your saying that *Mr. Dorrance was formerly* more like a *converted man* than I; and that Mr. Owen reported of you the other day, (which I suppose is now gone abroad) that *you had seven times as much reason to think Mr. Dorrance converted, as you had to think me converted*, have done me much good, and I bless God heartily that I have had the opportunity to *hear* and *read* what thought you had of me. . . . As for Mr. Dorrance, for several reasons which you know nothing of, I can't look upon him as a converted man, (though I never declared him to be unconverted,) and if deacon Snow speaks true, and if Godly men in Voluntown speak true, you yourself are much at a *loss* about him, to say the least; now, how you could carry one with you to preach Christ, that you was so much at a loss about, whether he was Christ's friend or enemy, I can't comprehend. . . . Some other ministers also there are, whom you have approved of and called your brethren, that I can by no means acknowledge as such. . . . When God gives me a sense of the worth of souls, then I see the danger of unconverted ministers, and should sin against my own soul if I did not bear testimony against them; and if all men, even my dear brethren Pomeroy and Davenport, should forsake me, I dare not be dumb and muzzle my mouth in this glorious cause. As to what you say about my backwardness to speak comfort to private Christians, I endeavor to act conscience in this matter. 'Tis very probable that I should not think half of your *converts converted*. It may be that Mr. Davenport would reject more than I should. Who, then, must be the standard? . . . Mr. Edwards is a gentleman I have no personal knowledge of, but yet I love him dearly, and never can think of him (scarcely) without blessing God for him; however, I make no doubt at the same time but that he is too timorous, or *cowardly* in the cause of Christ, and that 'twas owing to this infirmity, and a culpable desire of pleasing both sides, that led him into a gross

and important self-contradiction in the latter end of his late treatise, which Mr. Cooper, of Boston, told me he observed, before I mentioned it to him. As to his spiritual life, 'twas natural to make some estimation of it by his writings; and, besides, Mr. Buel lately gave me such an account of it as perfectly agreed with the idea of it I had of it before. The Lord increase it to him, and make him to exceed Mr. Davenport himself. In the meantime I am fully persuaded that though he and such others as connive at unconverted ministers may have more spiritual life than some of us, who bear testimony against them, they have much less than they would have had if they would have come out more fairly in the cause of Christ.

“To draw to a close of my long letter, I am afraid, my dear brother, the Devil oftentimes makes fools of us both, by making our hearts swell, and putting us upon setting up for *great men*, for when we try to make ourselves *great men*, we always make ourselves *little Christians*. . . May each of us be a *worm and no man* in our own eyes. May we be perfectly joined together in one mind, and speak the same things; or, however, *lovingly* and tenderly differ from one another.”

Two days after the above letter was written, (May 5, 1742) the Separate church was gathered at New Haven. The pastor of the First church, Rev. Mr. Noyes, was pronounced by Mr. Davenport, and was so regarded by many, an enemy to the revival. But already the work was powerfully advancing in the town, as well as in the college, where it had prevailed since February. Brainerd's expulsion had provoked the indignation of men like Bellamy, Graham, Cooke and Mills, and doubtless hastened the resolve to organize the Separate church. On the Monday next following the organization, Brainerd passed through New Haven, on his way to Hartford, to spread his complaint of the treatment received from the college authorities before a council of ministers, who were there convened. This he did on the 14th, and, on the 16th of the month, we find him at Lebanon, whither he doubtless bore the urgent invitation to Wheelock—if he did not accompany him from Hartford—to visit, as a supply, the newly formed church at New Haven. Unwilling to act hastily, Wheelock consulted his friend, Solomon Williams, of the adjoining parish. The latter replied (June 2, 1742): “I know not what to say. . . As things appear to me at present, it is a step that I believe I could not have advised to, and as to what appears to you more than I am acquainted with, you know I can be no judge of . . . If you go, may the Lord go with you, to supply you with all wisdom and spiritual understanding, and give you

that great and excellent endowment which he bids his apostles have, when he sent them forth with that command and blessing, *Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves.*"

Wheelock, however, did not hesitate, although he must ere this have been aware of the recent enactment, by the Colonial Assembly, of a law against itinerants, sharpened, undoubtedly, by the provocation offered by the organization of the Separate church at New Haven, to which he was going to minister. On the 7th of June he left his home, in compliance with their invitation, and the record of his course for the next three weeks is found in his journal, hitherto unpublished.

At Weathersfield he found it inexpedient to preach, as the pastor, Rev. Mr. Lockwood, had not received the notice of his coming which Wheelock had sent him, and, moreover, was afraid that he could not preach with *the vote of the church*, rendered necessary by the late law of the colony. At Newington he preached after one of the deacons had taken a vote of the church in favor of it. With Rev. Mr. Hall, of Meriden, he rode to that parish, and, by the way, "told him his fears concerning his state." On the 9th of June he reached New Haven, and thus remarks in his journal :

"Understood that the authority had been consulting how to take me, and that Col. Whiting had given out great words, and had said that I should not preach but once in the town. Preached at 4 p. m., Mark viii, 34.

"(June) 10. Went morning to prayers at college. Afterwards was invited to breakfast by the rector (Clap). I went over. He seemed to be much set against the Separate meetings; charged them with great disorders; insisted upon it that we ought to proceed against those we think not converted, according to the rule, Matt. xviii, first go and tell him his fault, and take two or three more, &c. I told him I could not believe that that rule was ever intended to be improved so, for a man's being unconverted was no trespass against me, &c. Again, it is no scandal, and if it is, then all mankind are born scandalous. I asked him to tell me the steps of procedure with such. He said, Go tell him his fault; then take two or three more; then go to the Association. I supposed that they would be generally in the same case, and not suitable judges. He said, then I might deal with them altogether as with one, and take some one with me to help me. I asked him what I must do if this did not convert them. He said, then I must go to the General Association. I supposed them all to be in the same case. He said I must deal with them as before. I asked him what I should do (other) than hitherto; I have been condemned and they justified. He said he thought it would be very proper to print upon it. I asked him what I should do for the people of the country, who were going by thousands

to hell. He said I should deal with them after the same manner. He seemed to have a remarkable faculty to darken everything. Preached at 6, Ps. xxxiv, 8, with freedom. Understood that Col. Whiting had been over to the Governor to consult him about me, and that the authority met in the evening upon it.

"12. Sabbath day. Preached three sermons. . . . A young woman from North Haven said she would go to the New Light meeting, and see how they acted. She did not question but she should hear some of them cry out. This she spoke with scorn, deriding them. She came, and was the first that cried out in great distress. There were also many others in great distress. The children of God refreshed. The people in general so prejudiced that they wont come to hear me. If there can be no way found to break down this partition wall, it is to be feared the work will stop in this town for the present. Many very bitter against it."

On the next day Wheelock remained "at home," to receive such as wished to consult him. Many came, and he "heard some full accounts of Mr. N(oye)s' conduct with them when under their concern." On the 14th he preached again. On the 15th he set out on a preaching tour, visiting Ripton and Derby, where "the great power of God was seen, 3 or 4 converted, many wounded, many raging." On the 17th he returned to New Haven, and preached. On the 18th he visited Col. Whiting, and was courteously received, that dignitary promising to make him a visit. On the 19th he preached twice, "with freedom." On the 20th he stayed "at home," to receive those who wished to consult him. On the 21st, which was fast-day, he preached in the morning, and was followed in the afternoon by Humphrey and Robbins. On the 22nd he went to Branford and preached twice; on the 23d to Guilford,* and preached three times. On the next day he returned to Branford, and preached. On the 25th he returned to New Haven, where he accompanied the zealous Timothy Allen to the ship in which he embarked for New London, where he was to set up his *Shepherd's Tent*. On the 26th he preached at New Haven; on the following days he visited Stratfield, Amity, where he preached "in a private house against Mr. Miner's will," Stratford, where he preached "in an orchard without the people's consent," and Derby, where "the power of God was seen." Another Sabbath's services

* Timothy Allen had strongly urged him to visit Guilford, 4th Society.

at New Haven closed the labors of his tour, and he returned to Lebanon, after an absence of a little more than three weeks. Not a little boldness was required to face the threats, the odium, and the various difficulties which attended his enterprise.

The history of the Separate church at New Haven during the summer of 1742, was a history of troubles. It was supplied by revival ministers—when supplied at all—and these men, like Sproat, Finley, Brainerd, Bellamy and Wheelock, ran the risk of fine and imprisonment. Brainerd did not dare show his face at the college Commencement, for he was informed that the civil officers were constantly on the look out for him. In November (24th) the church committee, John Pierpoint, James Talmadge, and Joseph Mix, wrote to Wheelock, informing him that 400 subscribers had been procured for printing one of his sermons, preached to the Separate church. They add, "Mr. Sproat was with us the Sabbath before last, and Mr. Read last, and they both got away before the authority could seize them, tho' they were very quick in their attempts. We expect Mr. Bellamy will be with us the next Sabbath, and Mr. Read be at his place. The opposers are very much enraged that we have preaching and are not suppressed."

The letter also states that the Society had held a meeting, at which it was unanimously determined to build a house of worship, and at once to begin and go as far as God should enable them. It craves the charitable assistance of Christians in other places which Wheelock had given them assurance that they might expect.

The following letter from an anonymous correspondent, ostensibly an intimate friend of Wheelock, gives us the view of the case taken by one who sympathized strongly with the Separatist church, and while a proper allowance may be made for the writer's strong prejudices, especially against the Rev. Mr. Noyes, it enables us to understand the motives of the seceders as well as some of the difficulties with which they had to contend. As a historical *authority* it is of course worth-

less, but it permits us to overhear such expressions of view and feeling as was characteristic of the times.

“NEW HAVEN, March 28, 1743.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR :

After due and humble regards to yourself and spouse, I beg leave just to give a hint or two about the state of affairs here respecting religion. There has been no remarkable change since I saw you last. The *Separate* meeting, remaining (in general) without preaching, and the other party endeavoring by all possible means to defeat 'em in their design. They have partly framed their meeting house, with a design to set it just by Mr. Cook's, on a point of ground Mr. Eliot give 'em on purpose. But *Wolcott*, that *Captain of Adulterers* of the present age, being still under the power of his ungoverned passions, has forewarned them of proceeding, under pretence of a right he has to the land on the estate of his wife, which he says he was not legally divorced from, and threatening to carry the case home for a trial. [I was privately told that] several gentlemen [their names not mentioned, belonging to New Haven, easy to conceive] urged *Wolcott* to the prosecution of his devilish design, with the promise of a secret subscription, one, twenty pounds, another, twenty pounds, &c., to bear the charges. Whether *Wolcott* ever designed this or no, or whether he intended only hereby to frighten the *Separate* church, is what I cannot determine, or whether he would obtain his end if he should go home, is what I don't know : but he did most surely so threaten, and was undoubtedly encouraged by a number of gentlemen, as above said, (though privately). Upon which the *Separate* party have agreed to set it at the corner of Mr. *Borough's* lot, just in Mr. *Noyes's* mouth : much more to Mr. *Noyes's* grief. Oh ! what would not poor carnal men do, who are idolizing their own honors and interest, even to the ruin not only of whole families and towns, and governments ; but even of the immortal souls of whole kingdoms and nations, if they were not restrained by the over-ruling providence of an all-wise and all-merciful and an almighty God. Oh ! what would become of religion, wounded, bleeding, dying religion, if the great God did not govern the world !

I was told a few days ago, by an aged saint of New Haven, (and so give more credit to the story) that Mr. *Noyes* made a visit to some of his parish, toward North Haven, and opened his heart very freely about the present state of things, part of which conversation I can't forbear relating. The discourse was with a woman, no friend to the work of God, it seems. He freely told her that this work was of the devil, and the doctrines preached by Mr. *Whitefield*, Mr. *Tennent*, Mr. *Mills*, Mr. *Burr*, Mr. *Bellamy*, &c., were of the devil also. At which the woman very shortly replied: Why, sir, you asked several of these ministers to preach for you, especially Mr. *Burr*; you were urgent that he should preach for you: why were you so urgent? Nay, why did you ask him to preach at all, if his doctrine was from the devil? Most surely, sir, you liked the doctrine then, or you would never have invited the men to preach. At which, Mr. *Noyes* replied, I never liked the doctrine in my life. Nay, sir, replied she, why did you invite these men to preach? Why, said he, to keep peace in my parish. Peace! said she; would you keep peace with the devil? Would you have a devilish peace? Which put Mr. *Noyes* very much to the *non plus*. She

added, 'Sir, I thought you had a great desire for Mr. Burr to settle with you in the ministry here; how could you desire a man to settle with you, who preaches a doctrine from the devil? Mr. Noyes, being thus handled by a woman, contrary to his expectations—though no friend to the work of God, nor to the Separate meetings—scarce knew what to reply; at length he told her, he had never had any desire for Mr. Burr's settlement, but only was willing to act under disguise, if possible to gain the Separate meeting again; and dropt the discourse. How much of this is true, I am not able positively to say, but I am not in doubt about the chief part of it, nor do I doubt much of any. I firmly believe, if Mr. Noyes did not expose himself so much as to say so, he undoubtedly thought so. Pa. xii. 'Help, Lord, for men of virtue fail.' [*Three verses quoted.*] There is no alterations in college, except for the worse. There was a few Christian scholars had a meeting last night, and seem something engaged to hold up meetings for the future, and there was a very serious appearance, and I have had opportunity since to speak with several. They tell me they felt more than ordinary sensible of ingratitude in their past negligence; would to God this might be a beginning of a revival of religion here again! Dear sir, I want to write a great deal more, but I can't. I have nothing special to say respecting myself, only I see more and more of that cursed fountain of sin in my soul. I never thought I could possibly have so much of the devil in me. But what is worse, is, I am not suitably humbled under it, and burdened with a feeling sense thereof. Oh! that I had a spirit of prayer! Oh! that it was with me [as] in months past. Dear sir, I fear I have quite tired your patience. Farewell,

A.

Dear sir, pardon me if I add one word more, respecting some discourse of Mr. Noyes to a poor dying woman. She was an ancient woman, last week dying, and Mr. Noyes made her a visit. When he came, she was, to appearances, past recovery; whereupon, as it becomes ministers at such times especially, he must be talking about dying, and concerning another world. I fear, says he, you are very much discouraged; too much. Don't be discouraged. 'Tis not becoming a woman of your age, that has done so many good things, to be too much cast down at death; you have done a great many good things; you have been the mother of many likely children; and you have been a good neighbor, very helpful among the sick; and many other very good things you have done; and now you are dying, you have no reason to be discouraged. You may comfortably hope it will be well with you, &c. I can't relate all, nor is it fit I should. The woman,* according to the best of my information, never was any other than worldly, nothing religious, nor were her good works (as he called 'em) much multiplied. Oh! What a miserable soul guide is here! Oh? how dangerous for poor immortal souls to give heed to such.—Dear sir, pray, and excite Christians to pray earnestly for poor New Haven. I am, sir, in the greatest sincerity, your faithful and affectionate tho' most unworthy brother, and obliged humble servant,

A.

Mr. Mather and madam are well—as well as common. I visited them last week.

*It was John Bradley's wife, who once lived in a brick house just as we go out of town to Wallingford. Now he lives up at a mill, just by the west side. She is dead."

A little more than a month later, Sarah Pierpont, the wife of John Pierpoint,* one of the committee of the Separate Church, writes to Wheelock. The letter is dated, New Haven, May 30, 1743.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR :

I received a letter from you in the absence of my husband, who set out the beginning of last week for New York, and is not yet returned, and therefore he can make no reply at present; nor can I, respecting that affair between you, only that he has been very much disappointed in his expectations. I shall be heartily grieved to have you hurt by our means, and know it is what Mr. Pierpont never intended; and, indeed, hope it will be otherwise, but can say no more till he returns.

As to the state of religion among us, things look very dark. Christians are very sleepy; many of them carnal and trifling in their conversation; few if any sinners under conviction. The enemies of religion seem much hardened by the many sad things which a holy and sovereign God has (allowed) to be in one place and another. As you observe, the cloud that hangs over Zion grows more and more dark, but Zion's God still reigns, and blessed be his name, he will reign until he has put all under his feet.

I hear by Dr. Smith and others who have lately seen dear Mr. Davenport (at Stamford) that he lies in the dust before God for his conduct at N. London. Your aunt Howel, who has been the most bitter against him, is lately come from Stamford, and is now so turned in favor of him that she can't bear to hear a reflecting word against him. I perceive by the doctor that Mr. Davenport is very much alone in the world; his friends forsake him; he rides from town to town without any attendance. But by what I can learn, he enjoys a good deal of soul satisfaction, from that God who is an unchanging and never failing friend, and feels the truth of that promise which is more worth than a mountain of gold, viz.: I will never leave you nor forsake you. Oh that I could hear him speaking this to my soul, methinks I should heartily say, farewell all, I have enough in God. But alas! I am often in the dark, often under pressing fears that I never knew the Lord, and am trembling for fear that I shall be forever banished the blissful presence of a glorious Christ, which will be hell indeed. At other times I think, I dare appeal to the Lord and say, Lord, thou hast been my very early and abiding choice, and trust thou wilt be the never falling portion of my soul. And if my heart were not such a mountain of deceit, I should say I want no other portion but God. But alas! the treachery and deceit of my heart is such that I am afraid of it, though this is my comfort, sometimes at least, that even this very heart, vile as it is, is in the hands of a God of infinite power and grace, and that he can make it just such a heart as he would have it to be. But dear sir, though I feel some little freedom to unbosom my soul, I would not be too tedious. From what has been hinted you may guess at my inward [illegible] and as your pity will no doubt be excited, so may the Lord enable you to pray for me, that above all I may be conformed to and even swallowed up in God, that all I have and all I enjoy may be for-

* Whose sister was the wife of President Edwards.

ever devoted to God. This seems to be an astonishing thing for a creature to ask, but it is not too great for a God to give.

Good Mr. White preached yesterday at the meeting house, much to the strengthening of God's children, though greatly to the offence of many poor creatures.

Mr. Johnson preached with us, had considerable of the presence of God with him, and I hope some Christians refreshed and strengthened. I add not but my best regards to your dear spouse and yourself, and love to your children.

I subscribe myself your affectionate friend and unworthy servant,

SARAH PIERPOINT."

It was not only at New Haven that the lines of division were thus sharply drawn. The publications of the day indicate the state of popular feeling. Jonathan Dickinson, at the meeting of the Synod in Philadelphia, was not invited to preach by the more zealous spirits, on the ground that he had become but a lukewarm friend to the cause. In 1742, appeared his Dialogue, entitled "A Display of God's Special Grace, etc., vigorously written, soundly evangelical, vindicating the genuine marks of the work of God in the revival, but exposing antinomian and fanatical errors. Andrew Crosswell, who, as we have seen, considered Edwards too *cowardly*, came forward in opposition to Dickinson, and he in turn was answered by "Theophilus" (T. Foxcroft?), in "A Defense of a Dialogue, etc., against the Exceptions of Andrew Crosswell." William Hooper, of the West Church of Boston, who subsequently went over to Episcopacy, published (Sept. 1742) his Sermon, entitled "The Apostles neither Imposters nor Enthusiasts." David McGregoire of Londonderry, a Presbyterian, appeared in opposition to his co-presbyter of Boston, James Caldwell, in his Sermon "On the Trial of Spirits." Charles Chauncy, of Boston, foreshadowed the spirit of his subsequent volume, exposing the excesses and disorders of the revival, by his Sermon on "Enthusiasm," appended to which was his letter to Davenport.

All these publications, with the single exception of the reply to Crosswell, appeared in 1742. Contemporany with them was issued "The More Excellent Way against Enthusiam," by Wheelock's neighbor and intimate friend, Solomon Williams, of Lebanon. No two men in New England, perhaps, had seen more of the good and evil that had attended the re-

vival, or, at least, had been providentially called more carefully and deliberately to consider both, than these two pastors of adjoining parishes. Wheelock was undoubtedly the more zealous and active, but theologically the two were as far as possible identified. In their common action with respect to Davenport, we shall see the position they occupied distinctly defined.

ART. VI.—PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS.*

By Rev. F. A. ADAMS, Orange, N. J.

Our attention is here called to a volume of nearly nine hundred pages, professing to describe from their origin in the senses, the phenomena of the Feelings, the Intellect, and the will. The subject is treated with much fullness and detail, and in the main with fairness; or, if not with perfect fairness, yet with what may easily be accepted as such, for the author is at no pains to conceal his foregone conclusions. He frequently denotes his position on some minor point by assuming its necessary agreement with "the doctrines maintained in this work;" and thus, by keeping the reader warned, he stimulates his critical habit, when his own sometimes seems to sleep. A more distinct exception to the commendation of fairness may be taken on the historic part of the work, in which the authors who have treated the various topics pass in review. This historical part is marred by partisan devices in the treatment. Sometimes in a quotation a word which tells in favor of the present author's position is printed in capitals to arrest the eye; or, again, a statement favoring the other side is qualified by a query or counter statement, which, in the absence of quotation marks, the reader may at first ac-

* *Mental and Moral Science*. A Compendium of Psychology and Ethics. By Alexander, M. A., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. London, 1868.