

Attica, Wyoming Co. N.Y.
March 3, '62.

My Dear Marvin:

I am reminded of you, by an interesting pair of articles in my Amer. Theol. Review: One by Dr. Pond, giving a general account of Emmons' life & character; the other, by whom I don't know, giving an examination of his theology, & showing clearly that he did hold the odious doctrines which Pond had said he did not hold. This last is a writer of much learning & ability. Emmonsism, Burtonism, Smalleyism, &c. appear to me like the stuffed skins of those huge beasts I saw in the British Museum — useful for occasional inspection & study, but not to be a part of one's household furniture. The relation of Dr. Taylor to Emmonsism is also given. After reading all this, I can not help thinking: How blinding is logic, when it has taken possession of a man's mind as his main habit or mode of thought! — I love such reading as well as you do; we differ only in the place we give it in our regard after reading. By the way, this Review, if you can possibly

afford it, I wd advise you to take. N. York city was
once all dollars & cents; now it is an important
literary centre. I take five Reviews; this one I
c'd spare least of all; I think it very important.
Prof. Hitchcock's chh history articles are very in-
structive. — The other day in Buffalo I bought
3 vols. Robertson's Sermons; one defect, as usual in
Eng. bks. is, finding meanings in the text the sacred
writer never tho't of, & which do not belong to it,
either, in the mind of the Spirit; still, it is charm-
ing reading, for the most part. — Lately sent
for, & received, the tract Two Ways in Religion, 10c.
by Dr. Hydon. It is tolerable, but not equal to
many other things of his. I am glad he is getting
some Unitarians over to him, & sorry he is be-
coming more high chh. That mean, hateful U-
nitarianism — I hope a dart will strike thro' its
liver.

Felt's Eccl. Hist. of N. Eng. I have seen noticed
somewhere. If some time when you are in Boston
you can send me a list of the Congr. Bd of Pub-
lication's bks, it wd be acceptable; I know not
how to get hold of it.

Have in my congregation a man who once ran for Governor of Massachusetts; was a Democrat; his defeat made an Abolitionist of him, & drove him away. He is a strong friend of mine, & by far the most intelligent hearer I have; is at the head of a Literary Association; & lately lectured before them on Primitive Civilization. It wd delight me to live in the literary atmosphere of some places in glorious old N. England; Western N. York is far, very far behind, & the purgatory of ministers.

Have a son in College, in his Junior year; hope yet to have him study Church history & theology with me a couple of years. Also, a son, now 19, sergeant in Rosencrans' army; writes a nice letter; has a vigorous mind. How proud the heart of a parent, of such boys!

Feel a little alarmed lest the war be ended too easily, & slavery after all be not destroyed. The hard rub, which all great peoples must have in their early history, is not yet come; our execrable Democrats, in this State, are tugging hard to bring back slavery again into power; if it dies, they also will die of grief, & I hope they will.

Commodore A. H. Foote, making so much noise in the West, was intimate in my family at Singapore three months. He was then Lieut. Foote, in sloop of war Boston, squadron of Com. Read. He is son of Gov. Foote of Connecticut. When he got home, he took a journey to Herkimer Co. in central N. York, to see Mrs. N.'s mother & sister. That Eastern life of mine seems like a gorgeous dream. There lately called on me Rev. Dr. Deane, a Baptist missionary 20 years in China; was much with me at Singapore; we had some hours of talk with which no stranger intermeddled. Many characters passed in review before us: Lordly English officials; native students; European explorers; fierce Scotch bigots; magnificent tropical scenery; Oxonians; Puseyites; American bushwhackers, among whom was myself, tho' not quite so green as some of his Baptists out of the West & the backwoods of Virginia & Kentucky.

I can not but think some vast emigration enterprise will grow out of this war, ^{Say} in ^{or South} Central ^{A-}merica, ^{Africa} or Texas; $\frac{1}{2}$ a mil. of energetic unemployed Yankees will not go straight home & stay. A vast free labor cotton enterprise ought to come about, in some way or other. Great things are in the future. — Wish somebody wd start ideas in the papers. If you had ever seen the Tropics, you wd feel an inexpressible hankering after them.

Yours very affectionately,
A. N.

The School Report forwarded.
Mr. Whittington's article of last week. He is a good writer.

Attica, Wyoming Co. N. York.
May 6, 1862.

My Dear Marvin:

Your letter of the 5th has come on the wings of carrier pigeons for swiftness. I was a-casting about for next Sabbath; but I will put that off till afternoon.

And first, English folks. Be assured you do not & can not understand them; why? Because no people can be understood except by an actual residence among them, & that for years. Take particular notice, no Englishman dislikes our govt. & hopes for its downfall simply because he fears our democratic example is likely to oust him from his high class privileges, or make aristocracy ^{to} become odious. No educated or high born Englishman fears this at all; because he well knows he is perfectly secure; the middle class even, wd spring to arms to defend the aristocracy in all legal rights, & to keep down the lower—well knowing that no such revolution wd better their condition; besides, the aristocracy is not to the middle & lower classes the odious thing Americans imagine; it is perpetually renewed by advised men taken into it; the

popular mind looks upon it as a learned, honorable-
minded, patriotic, ^{studious} hard-working class, not desiring or de-
siring to be immoral, oppressive, or mean; benevo-
lent, as a general thing, toward the working-men, &
prompt to reward merit. All this is true, for the
most part. Your error is two-fold: 1. You trans-
fer yr N. Eng. ideas of democracy to all parts of
our vast republic, hideous & vile as it is, in some
of its main features. New England is but a corner;
Englishmen, in a large view from a distance, cannot
be expected to make nice geographical distinctions;
they must judge by general & obtusive results;
if you boil down the jakes of the world, & distil the
essence, c'd you get any thing so filthy as our A-
merican judiciary? State of N. York, for example. 2.
You look too exclusively at yr own fond conception or
beau ideal of free govt, & unconsciously ignore the plain
facts before the eyes of the world. The Englishman sees
not yr fondly cherished theory; but he does see mob-
chosen courts; Fernando Wood-governed metropolis; Western
repudiation; Govt quibbling about the slave-trade; North-
ern pro-slavery party in power; Southern laws of exe-
crable cruelty; freedom bragged of under the fugitive
law, in ^{Northern} orations & sermons; our infamous ^{Northern} insurance

& bank frauds by the million, & the impunity enjoyed; the difficulty of investing property safely, because ideas of punishment & responsibility have died out together; the savage manners of our boys — what impression must be made upon upright Englishmen who never heard of your fond theory! I honor them for the contempt they feel. A few, like J. Stuart Mill, understand our politics, & look for improvement. Well read merchants in the East, & Oxonians, have confessed to me their surprise at the civilized nature of my sentiments, the purity of my English, & the delight they took in my society, as well as the "ingenious & plausible explanations" I gave of our Northern position with respect to these abominations, & the leaven a-working to expel them. A true Englishman abhors slavery, fraud, & humbug, three things. The greatest of all humbogs he regards ^{as} the idea of liberty coming from the popular will unchecked; this idea of check & balance is a part of himself; hence the upper classes are secure; their contempt of us is ^{not jealousy, but} only the ingenious sentiment of a common sense practical mind not yet fully informed of the local facts & the history. And you must wait a little & see how our Democrats act after the war; we aint out of the woods yet. — But I have repeated these things so much

& in so many forms, I am afraid you will be weary. Go back, now, & read the bottom of page 2d, & by a special reach of imagination get before you the picture of our character you wd have on yr mind, if, as a foreigner, you had read those particulars in honest extracts from Amer. papers for 20 years. Then add the ridiculous boast that our material prosperity has come "from our democratic institutions," while Australia is equally prosperous, & towns grow up as rapidly. Holland, too, is better governed by a limited monarchy, than it ever was as a republic.

Sermons. I labor under some difficulties here, not so much felt in staid N. England. A minister's popularity & influence depend there more exclusively on the sermon itself, as a purely intellectual production — its scripturalness, logic, unity, respectableness of tho't, &c. The helps from elocution, ornament, & the like, are not so important; this arises partly from their greater intelligence, partly from their fixed habits of conscientious & courteous hearing. But here, while you must have the first class of qualities to a good degree, at least in Conn. & Presb. Chhs, the second is more indispensable ^{than with you.} The weaker power of attention in the people, calls for greater urgency & obtusiveness in the style of presentation; your task is easier than mine. Hence I have to labor at my introductions & my projectile style for the less intelligent, & at my concealed logical connexion for the more intelligent; the ornament must be something for the ignorant, but well trimmed for the educated. How this wd strike a N. Eng. audience I can't say. I am never accused of dullness, either by educated or uneducated. One ambition of mine is, so to combine simplicity with freshness as to please both classes alike. A great fear is, lest I sh'd seem to

have a put-on or artificial earnestness; hence I must not rise to the impassioned parts of the discourse too soon, or without manifest reason from what has gone before. The best preparation is diligent study & devotion combined. (I hope, by the way, you won't allow yr wife to hear such talk as this; women can't judge of the agonies of successful sermon-writing; it seems to them a sort of conceit or egotism.)

It has come to my ears that a sermon a few weeks ago, which I gave from the words "perfect thro' sufferings", was exceedingly well liked; I was rather surprised; I was not myself well pleased with it. It was one of those agonized discourses which are conceived a fortnight before, & born on Saturday & Sat. night late. On looking at it, I fear a skeleton will give you no idea, because I am getting more out of the use of seen frame-works.

Text, Heb. 2:10 last clause. Introduc. Suppose a man who never had any sorrow or disappointment (carry out the conception into particulars) how unfit, even revolting the thot. [Introduc. must labor after the unusual, yet simple]

False ideas of men as to the nature of life: "Meant for happiness", &c. Few see the true principle.

Severe test of faith: Contemplation of a bloody war, or series of wars. God in this adheres to his general law of vicarious sacrifice; a part perish for the improvement of the remainder; so in nat. world, & every where.

One evil corrected by war is, the selfishness of men; peace looks happy; but all crawling reptiles breed by & by in that stagnant pool. In war, the generous affections acquire extraordinary force. Exemplified in French Revolution; enriched the annals of that nation with the splendid virtues.

Individual passions of soldiers or scouts &c. like unchain tigers; wars on large scale, sentiments different; the larger the war, more improving to all classes: Politicians sacrifice party; Philos. roused to invent; poet ideal world catches bright visions of.

Wars of Reformation extended men's sympathies ^{before 50 finished} beyond nation; Eng. French, Swiss Protestant felt for foreign Protestant more than for his own countrymen fighting for the Papacy.

Holland, by a late Amer. historian, remarkable case (describe woes) people few left, after 70 years struggle; those few highest specimens of a choice manhood. "Perfect thro' sufferings".

N. Eng. fathers tho' in Holland saw the good effects in teaching to open asylum for suffering to all nations; yet wd not learn; had to be cured of their own bigotry & party spirit, by several wars. Some lessons can be learned only by war, God's great teacher

We advise this principle on a grand scale, affecting nations; do we advise when being nigh, & apply to our own individual distresses? This qn. enters deeply into experimental relig. No greater curse than life-long unshaded prosperity. — Do you say, "ought not troubles salve with these gloomy views"? Yours in the gloomy view: If a calamity befalls you, only able to utter a howl of anguish, i.e. as you are, of the true view. This latterly idea of life!

Alfred the Great, to conquer his sensual propensities, prayed for some disease; God sent; he welcomed it; tho' mingled with error, far superior to us. He saw this world not the place for happiness; rather the struggle, the victory, the high spiritual discipline; that he laid hold of the principle somewhat rudely, of little account.

Arnold (Dr. Thos.) said: "I thank God for pain"; was he right?

We can see how others ought behave in afflict. & afterward how we ought; why not at the moment?

Why suffering so necessary? Ans. Affections of fallen men separated from their true centre; God must destroy those objects. Disappointed in the finite, ^{man} turns his weeping eye to the infinite.

Mother eagle, when teaching young to fly, destroys nest,

While tearing apart & scattering, a looper on night at first sight suppose her to be an enemy. But the greedy bird wishes her eagle to become like herself; it is not sufficient that they flutter timidly a short distance, & then come back to their repose; they must rise with her, & spread their wings, & soar aloft, & on, & on, till they take full possession of their privilege & glory as birds of the sun. The nest—what is it any longer to them?

Suffering furnishes satisfactory evidence of love to God. If no trial, how know whether love for himself or for the pleasant things He gives?

As to faith, root & ground of every other grace, not easy to see how much strengthened any other way.

If any before me smothering under suffering, how can know G's object? Perhaps some passion nourished for a life-time. Perhaps effects on others, as in case of primitive martyrs; result extremely remote; we now see, Tyndale burnt; nine months after, Govt legalized the very thing he died for; his joy in heaven any greater than theirs? Why not willing God draw his reasons from the whole boundless extent of our being?

We bear suffering poorly because immersed in sense, & slight sense of ill desert.

If already convinced by suffering, of our need of faith, end partly gained.

Illustration may take from this war: Worldly men see operation of this principle in national affairs; see God working out a change; willing He appoint remaining changes; submit themselves to that sublime teaching. This may be called natural faith. Christian faith is like it, only conceals itself with provid. from sin, &c. &c. Its beloved Lord is perfect thro' suff. It is willing to be his disciple.

This meagre outline I fear will not give you what you ask for, especially the links of connexion. The subject is a grand one; if well treated, it is, I think, very effective.

That's a baby—don't fail to make wife read Bushnell's Christian Nurture, new edition, that most noble book. She will call you blessed.

My people owe me \$500; doubt if I get it ever. When I do, perhaps I shall see you. Much love,

A.N.

Attica, Wyoming Co. N.Y.
Sep. 14, 1862.

My Dear Marvin:

I have staid away from Synod at Le Roy, 25 miles off, because their discussions are tedious to me. I make it a matter of conscience to attend Presbytery & Gen. Assembly; these are the two important features in our system; but Synod is a kind of bore. Some men are by nature ecclesiastical men; they superintend the whole universe & a few villages outside; but you will find such men not fond of their books.

I have been reading Huntington's, Bushnell's, & Robertson's Sermons, with increased pleasure; they improve upon acquaintance. But in some of Robertson's the text is treated rather with ingenuity than a natural & just exegesis. He finds ideas the author knew nothing of, & which the Holy Ghost manifestly did not suggest. But some of his ideas are appropriate, & very beautiful. E.g. Vol. I, p. 359.

Sometime, when you are in Boston, I wish

you wd do me a favor. Can you not ask a leading minister or two, whether they have any thing to answer to the charge of bigotry toward Huntington while feeling his way out of Unitarianism? It can not be a false report, else Budington wd not have spoken of it as he does, *New Englander*, Feb. 1860, page 207. It may be, that I am so much of a foreigner with respect to Boston affairs, as not to be qualified even to suggest a question; it may not be in good taste to put it at all; or you perhaps can answer it without inquiring in Boston. I once talked with Treat, in the depot at Rochester; his views appeared to me exceedingly small & discreditable, good man as he is.

But, Maria, I am particularly anxious that you get interested in what I call the higher experience. For a long time past, I have every morning made it a part of my private devotion to read in Upham's *Interior Life*, & *Life of Fichte*, a chapter — aloud, in order to compel myself to do it leisurely. A reading or

two is not enough; matter so very spiritual will not stay on the memory; it needs repetition again & again, till it works itself into the daily habits. By & by you begin to feel a transforming influence; the hope dawns in the heart, tremblingly, unutterably, that the great refining process is begun. — Theology is a cold thing, a means to an end; we must not rest in it; it is like some old schoolmasters we have known, remaining stationary all their lives in reading & spelling & arithmetic. Even such fine theology as Mansell on Miracles, in "Aids to Faith", nay, Bushnell's Supernatural, should be used only as distant outworks to keep skepticism far off as possible, while the main current of the attention is turned to higher matters within.

It appears to me that I have discovered one or two valuable secrets in this line: One is, that by such repeated readings of Upham, ^(i.e. sermons) Bushnell, & Hygdon, the mind gradually becomes adjusted to their higher views by certain ^{necessary} natural workings not only, but the Holy Spirit, according to a periodic law, comes occasionally with a breathing, to

lift forward the interested & diligent mind by a more rapid process. This brings in the Scripture idea of waiting for God, i.e. working diligently with reference to that periodic help. Language is a poor thing on such themes. When I say "secrets", I mean what had been secrets hidden from me, tho' familiar to those agonising to enter in.

You wd find a valuable hint for a sermon in this fact, that God answers prayer by war, e.g. of our Turkish Mission 30 years, by that awful war that enlarged their field; so the wars in China & India, & now in this country overthrowing slavery; so in prophecy, enlargements to the "everlasting dominion" come in slaughter. The Amer. Bd have found their prayer answered by three bloody wars. God delays, but finally comes in great majesty.

Your remarks on perorations are doubtless true on some subjects, & in some modes of structure.

My eldest son, with class-mates, at the end of Junior year, ^{late} went from Marietta to Harper's Ferry. Tommy, the younger, is under Burnside near Washington.

Be thankful that yr lot as a minister is cast in New England; I have several hindrances & troubles that you have not, for this reason.

Difficulty of getting my pay will prevent my visiting you this year.

Love to wife & daughters & baby.

Your very affectionately
A. North.

Attica, Wyoming Co. N.Y.

Dec. 15, 1862.

My Dear Marvin:

Went yesterday to exchange with the minister at Geneseo. That is the chh which was violently rent asunder by Ward a few years ago, making a great noise in Western N. York. He was once a member of the Madura, afterward of the Madras Mission, vexing both by his quarrelsomeness. He is a man of no piety; went out from sheer love of notoriety; came home with a lie in his mouth, viz. that he was out of health; published his "Ten Years in India," a poor book; then split the chh in Geneseo, under favorable Old School pretences. Even his O. Sch. party that followed him got sick of him; one Neal now preaches to them. Preached yesterday, morning & evening; went to hear Neal in the P.M. He won't pray for the President; says so, openly. His chh is made

up of pro-slavery Democrats; they can not bear the idea of slavery coming down. The battle now raging at Fredericksburg they look at much as Southerners do. I don't believe you have many such creatures in good old Foxitan Massachusetts.

Your friend Tyler has ceased to be the pastor of the Episc. Chh in Batavia. Presbytery met there lately; inquired of my host the ^{of his leaving} reason; he c'd not tell. His second wife has property; he seems to be inclined to lie still a while at Batavia.

Please tell me, when you have leisure to write, what you think of Hildreth's history, especially the 3 vols. about the parties, after the Revolution. I think of buying it, i.e. the 3 vols. not the first three. He was my play-mate when a boy, in old Exeter.

I have been reading again, Atgdon's Two Ways in Religion, a 10c. pamphlet. It is beautifully written. The paragraph on p. 40, describing the Episcopal Chh, is very fine. Tyler's high chh-ism c'd not comprehend the bk.

The Philadelphia Presbyterian Quarterly (N.S.) which I have taken several years, is united with the N.Y. Theol. Review, an excellent arrangement. It will be conducted with much learning & talent; sh'd think you might squeeze out \$3, sent to J. M. Sherwood, Box 1383, New York. Ought you not to know the New School writers? — so intimately connected with, & growing out of, N. England? I am pretty sure, if you don't, you will by & by regret it, when the vols. become so numerous you can not well buy them; begin now, with 1st vol. & you will not only find it easy to pay, but will keep track of the movements of that (now) important literary centre. The great theol. controversies of the day will produce articles you ought not to lose.

My precious N. Englander I wd not discontinue on any account.

Allow me to suggest, as a text, 2 Pet. 1:5, "Add to your faith, virtue". Proposition: Faith, to be kept alive, requires conflict. Illustrate from hist. & Chr. experience. Yielding to love of ease, in every little inconvenience, destroys ~~it~~ faith.

A lady visiting here, from Manchester, Mass. gives me a curious acct of dismissing a minister from that chh, the Council, &c. &c.

If I had time, sh'd like to say much about writing sermons so as to avoid common-places, like the above. It is now-a-days indispensable, if a man wd have influence, & grow.

As my people are making an extra effort to pay me up, I have indulged the tho't that I might visit you; but the tho't of my poor boy struggling thro' College forbids for the present. My daughter too, in Le Roy Seminary, forbids. How Yankee-like, the conduct of Dr Cox, in getting it erected into a "University"! a girls' boarding-school! The biggest word must be used for the smallest thing.

And how absurd the trick of offering D.D's all over the country here, to get pupils! The further West you go, the worse this tendency is.

With blessings on that 'ere baby, them girls, & dear wife, I remain

Yours very affectionately,

A. North.