

A
DISCUSSION
OF THE DOCTRINES OF
ENDLESS MISERY
AND
UNIVERSAL SALVATION,
IN
AN EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, OF BETHANY, VA.
AND
DOLPHUS SKINNER, OF UTICA, N. Y.

UTICA:
C. C. P. GROSH, PRINTER,
No. 41 Genesee-street.
1840.

**ENTERED, according to act of Congress, in the year 1840, by Dolphus
Skinner, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States,
for the Northern District of New-York.**

QUESTIONS, OR PROPOSITIONS DISCUSSED.*

I. Are *sheol*, *hades* and *gehenna*,† (or either of them) ever used in the Scriptures to express a place or state of endless misery?

II. Do the words *olen*, *aiou*, *aiouos*,‡ etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked, mean duration without end?

III. Is there any word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked, or which can certify us that God, angels, or saints shall have duration without end?

IV. Shall eternal life (meaning thereby endless holiness and happiness) be, according to the Scriptures, the ultimate destiny of all mankind?

EVIDENCE TO BE RELIED ON.

I. A future state being wholly a matter of revelation, whatever illustrations or corroboration, may be drawn from nature, society, or our own reasonings, no other witnesses than the Apostles and Prophets, or the spirit of God speaking in them, can be admitted as of any authority.

II. That as their testimony on the subject is complete in the Old and New Testaments, especially the latter—to these books, especially the latter, every appeal shall be made.

III. In this discussion the words of the Bible are to be subjected to canons of criticism or laws of language current in the commonwealth of letters; and that no new or by-laws, other than those to which all writings of the same antiquity are subjected, can be admitted in the interpretation of any disputed word or sentence.

IV. That King James' version shall be ultimate in every appeal to translation; or, if the parties choose, the new version on the basis of Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge.

RULES OF DISCUSSION.

I. The Universalists having opened the discussion, D. Skinner shall continue to lead the way, and A. Campbell, to respond to the close of the discussion.

II. The disputants shall occupy equal space in their respective periodicals.

III. No letter shall extend beyond six pages (*bourgeois*) of the *Millennial Harbinger*.

IV. The discussion shall not transcend twenty letters each, from the

* The Questions for discussion, drawn up by Mr. Skinner, and the Rules of Discussion and Evidence to be relied on, drawn up by Mr. Campbell, were not finally agreed upon, signed by the parties and published, till July, 1837, at the publication of letters 6 and 7; but they are inserted here at the commencement of the book for the information and convenience of the reader.

PUBLISHER.

† Commonly rendered *Hell*.

‡ Commonly rendered *Everlasting*.

first of Mr. Skinner's, of February 10, 1837, to the close. The last letter, on each side, to be a recapitulation of the arguments of each, and to be simultaneously printed in their respective periodicals.

V. The parties shall, as early as possible, in every month, forward to each other a proof-sheet of their letters.

VI. The parties shall always confine themselves to the proposition under discussion so long as it is agreed to prosecute it; or should they disagree on this point, not more than five letters shall be devoted to any one proposition.

[Signed]

A. CAMPBELL.

D. SKINNER.

1st. If there must be *four issues* formed in this discussion, to prevent all ambiguity be it remembered that A. Campbell affirms, that while *sheol*, *hadcs* and *gehenna*, in their original import, only sometimes signify the punishment of the wicked; *gehenna*, by its adjuncts, or as used by Jesus Christ, does denote the *future interminable punishment of the wicked*.

2d. A. Campbell affirms that the whole force of the Hebrew word *olem* is found in the Greek *aion*, and that same force is carried into the adjective *aionios*; which word, when applied to the *future state of both righteous and wicked*, does denote *duration without end*.

3d. A. Campbell denies that there is in the Greek language any word which, in its unfigurative and original force, denotes a *simple state of duration without end*, save *aion*; and that there is not any word that can certify us that God, angels, or men, will live forever, if *aionios* does not.

4th. A. Campbell denies that eternal life will be the destiny of all men.

5th. To prevent all ambiguity, be it remembered that D. Skinner denies the affirmative of the first and second propositions, or questions, and maintains the affirmative of the third and fourth.

6. D. Skinner deems King James' version as correct a standard as any version on which the parties would be likely to agree; but would prefer that neither party should be denied the advantage derivable from the translations and comments of men of acknowledged eminence and standing in the republic of letters.

7th. D. Skinner maintains that as the discussion was first commenced in the Millennial Harbinger, not by himself but by others, and Mr. C. has the affirmative of the first and second propositions, it properly belongs to Mr. C. to lead the way in whatever further prosecution of these propositions he may deem advisable, and that D. Skinner will lead the way and Mr. C. be respondent on the third and fourth propositions.

A. C.

D. S.

A. Campbell hereby submits to Mr. Skinner (who accedes to) the following proposition:—

After the discussion shall have been published in our respective periodicals and in the periodical press, a copy right for its future publication in the form of a volume shall be tendered to the American and Foreign Bible Society, that the profits accruing from the sale of the work may be consecrated to the distribution of the Word of life at home and abroad. And should they refuse, it shall be tendered to the American Bible society; and they refusing, to any benevolent society to which the parties may agree.

P R E F A C E .

In presenting the following theological discussion to a reading and inquiring public, we do not deem it necessary to burden the reader with a long and unmeaning preface. We would simply say that the discussion was commenced in the "Millennial Harbinger," in 1835, by a writer over the signature of "Spencer," probably without any anticipations of the extent to which it has ultimately been carried. Mr. Campbell's Reply accompanied the publication of Spencer's letter. Some months having elapsed without any further notice of the matter, Mr. Montgomery, of Auburn, N. Y., took up the subject, and addressed a letter, partly in reply, and partly of inquiry, to Mr. C., who published the letter, together with his own rejoinder, in February, 1836.

Here the matter rested till the June following, when Mr. C., on his way to Boston, Mass., visited Auburn, and Mr. M. held an interview with him. Mr. M. proposed to continue the discussion in a friendly manner with Mr. C., which had already been begun in the Harbinger. Mr. C. objected to it on the alleged grounds of Mr. M.'s youth and want of notoriety, saying that, should he triumphantly refute all that Mr. M. might advance, it would, for these reasons, be little regarded by the public.

Mr. M. then proposed choosing a substitute to whom such objections would not apply, and mentioned the name of Mr. Skinner, into whose hands he would like to resign the Discussion. Mr. C. remarked that he would accede to this proposal, provided he did not engage in a discussion of the subject in Boston or its vicinity, where Universalism so extensively prevailed—that he thought Messrs. Ely and Thomas, of Philadelphia, had not done justice to the subject—that the subject was an important

one, and he meant to canvass it thoroughly, and wished to do it with some prominent advocate of Universalism, either in an oral or a written debate, and thought he should find some such opportunity at Boston. But provided he did not, he would, on his return home, resume the Discussion with Mr. Skinner, in place of Mr. Montgomery, both sides of the Discussion from the beginning being published both in the "Harbinger" and in some Universalist periodical—the "Magazine and Advocate" we think was mentioned as the one. Mr. M. then gave Mr. C. the names of several prominent preachers of Universalism in and about Boston, any of whom he presumed would be willing to discuss the subject with Mr. C. The visit to Boston was made, but no discussion ensued.

After Mr. C.'s return home, Mr. M. sent the letters already published to Mr. S., who thus assumed the defence of Universalism, and the Discussion between him and Mr. C. was continued from February, 1837, until July, 1839, and published in the Harbinger and in the Magazine and Advocate.

The desire having been frequently expressed by the readers that it might appear in book form, the whole Discussion from beginning to end is here presented in an unbroken series to an enlightened and discriminating public. Of its merits on either side, if any it has, the reader alone must be the judge. Craving his indulgence and charity in view of man's frail nature, erring judgment, and excitability under opposition, praying that each may examine candidly and prayerfully the arguments on both sides, comparing them with the testimony of Scripture and the dictates of enlightened reason, and that God would, of his infinite mercy, lead and guide us all, together with a benighted world, into all truth, we submit the following pages without further remark.

PUBLISHER.

Utica, March, 1840.

PRELIMINARY LETTERS.

SPENCER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

RESPECTED SIR—You will not suspect me of insincerity or flattery when I assure you, that I know of no person in whose literary and biblical attainments I have a higher opinion than in yours. Hence the propriety of my selecting you as one at whose hand to solicit help in some matters of importance, about which I have some difficulties. As I have some leisure from secular engagements, I have concluded that I could not do better than to employ those moments in disclosing to you those difficulties, a solution of which would be of importance to many of the community as well as to myself.

I begin with the Greek word *gehenna*. Dr. Adam Clarke says that *gehenna* is a compound of two Greek words, *ghe* and *hinnom*, and means the Valley of Hinnom, south-east of Jerusalem. Mr. Willam tells us about the same words, and further observes that in this valley was kept a continual fire, from the days of Josiah king of Israel, to consume dead bodies and unclean things. From the name of this valley originated the word *gehenna*, which is translated *hell*.

No. 21st of the Appendix to the new translation of the Living Oracles, says *gehenna* is compounded of *Ge* and *Hinnom*, the name of a person.

It does not appear from all the data before me, that the term *gehenna* was ever used by the Jews to express future punishment, even down to the days of Josephus. Hence it would seem, that as the Scriptures were all written prior to the days of Josephus, the word *gehenna* was never used by our Saviour nor his apostles to express future punishment; but was used by them in reference to the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem. So the phrase *hell fire* means the fire of Hinnom, in which the filth of the city was consumed, and where criminals were sometimes burned to death.

Thus it seems that *hell fire* and *damnation of hell* simply mean temporal judgment, executed in the Valley of Hinnom; and so we get a clue to the phrase *unquenchable fire*. This figure of expression would be very readily drawn from the circumstance of that *fire of gehenna*, being continually burning in the Valley of Hinnom, to consume the filth, and keep offenders in awe. The fire of *gehenna* was a place of capital punishment among the Jews, and calculated to terrify the mind; it was, therefore, a natural figurative usage, to express any severe judgment inflicted in this life. Thus Jeremiah calls it a *fire that shall not be quenched*, chap. vii : 20. See also chap. xvii : 27. Isaiah, chap. i : 31, and xxxiv : 8, 9, 10, 11. Temporal judgments are alluded to in the foregoing quotations; are they not?

Now, my dear Sir, if these things be so, how can we prove or rationally imbibe and sustain the doctrine that there is an eternal punishment for sinners beyond this life? Shall we say the Saviour, in speaking of *gehenna*, used it as an emblem of *hell*? Doctors Clarke and Campbell tell us that the Jews made the Valley of Hinnom an emblem of a place of punishment after death. But when did the Jews make this emblematic use of *gehenna*? Long after the days of our Saviour, and then they made it an emblem of the Pagan hell, the notion of which they borrowed from the Chaldeans.

Hell, says Dr. Adam Clarke, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *helan*, which, in the Saxon language, signifies to *cover or conceal*. Hence the slating or tiling of a house in Cornwall, and the covering of a book in Lancashire, are called *helling*. "The term *hell*," says the Doctor, "is now used to signify *the place of the damned*; but the word in the original has no such ideas attached to it." And although the Doctor opines that our Lord used the term *gehenna* as an emblem of the place of future punishment, yet he does not venture to use it himself in that way, but simply calls it "*the place of the damned spirits*." [Notes on Matt. xxv : 26.]

Now does it not appear that mankind have been shamefully hood-winked by the priesthood in these matters? Have we not repeatedly had our ears stunned with the declamations of *hell fire and brimstone*, and when the truth comes out they all admit that the Valley of Hinnom, a place near Jerusalem, is alluded to by our Lord in those expressions. Some of the Jews imbibed the Pagan idea of future

punishment of the wicked; and after the destruction of their city and temple, having seen so many dead carcasses consumed in the Valley of Hinnom, they held the place in such utter abhorrence they made it an emblem of the infernal regions of Pluto. And after the heathen became too enlightened to give further credence to such notions, they were engrafted with the mild and merciful Gospel of the compassionate Son of God.

Will it be admitted that the Jews borrowed their notion of a future punishment from the Chaldeans, while in captivity at Babylon? and is it not well known that they also borrowed the term by which those Pagans spoke of their place of punishment in their world of ghosts? Every Jewish writer, from the time they imbibed their notion of future punishment, spoke of the place by the term *hades*, until long after the days of our Saviour. Josephus speaks of it by this term, and I know of no Jewish writer, from the Babylonish captivity to Josephus, that speaks of these ghostly regions by any other name than that of *hades*. *Hades* is a compound of *a*, negative, and *idien*, to see; and literally means *hidden*, *invisible*, or *obscure*. *Hades* expresses the state of dislodgement of the soul from the body, but does not express the nature of that state only as regards its obscurity. It may be a state of happiness or misery.

Orthodox critics say the outward and primary meaning of *gehenna* is the Valley of Hinnom, and was used by the Jews as an emblem of a future state of punishment. Before the name of one place can be used as an emblem of another, the place for which the emblem is used must be known to exist. Now I simply ask, By what name was this place of punishment (if there was one) known before *gehenna* was used to express an idea of it? Our critics will not admit that either the Hebrew *sheol* or the Greek *hades* is a proper name by which this nameless place can be rightly expressed. It appears this "*place of damned spirits*" never had a name until long after the days of our Saviour, when some pious Jews thought proper to act as godfather to this *place of damned spirits*, and consecrate it to the valley in which his forefathers executed criminals—and thus furnish Christians with a *hell* for sinners. If the doctrine of a place of future punishment be a truth of revelation, is it not reasonable to suppose that some term of definite import, by which this place of damned spirits

might be expressed, without borrowing the name of a valley in Judea, through the aid of Jewish chimera and superstition, would have been employed?

Now, Sir, if the Scriptures, both Jewish and Christian, can furnish evidence to prove a punishment for sinners after death, do let me have it; and if such punishment is established, then I want to know the nature of such punishment in point of duration.

Aion and *aionios* are the Greek terms which are in the New Testament translated *everlasting* and *eternal*. *Aion* occurs 117 times in the Greek version of the Scriptures, and is variously rendered. It occurs in the adjective form 69 times; also, differently translated. See 2d Balfour, page 251.

The corresponding word in Hebrew to these two Greek terms is *olem*; and in Latin it is *avum*. "The Hebrew *olem* and the Greek *aion* are both used to express a limited time; but, in general, a time, the limit of which is unknown." So says Dr. Clarke. "The Greek *aion* denotes time finite or infinite."—*Ewing*.

"*Aion* is a compound of two words, *ai* and *on*, *always being*. It denotes duration or continuation of time, but with great variety." This definition is given by Parkhurst. And on the Hebrew *olem* he says, "It seems to be much more frequently used for an indefinite than for an infinite time." In his Greek Lexicon, on the words *aion* and *aionios*, he says, "The Hebrew *olem* answers as the corresponding word for these two words in the Greek of the Seventy; which words," says he, "denote time hidden from man, whether definite or indefinite." "The words *kedesh* and *oa*, rendered by Turretine *eternity*, are like the Greek *aion*, that also signifies any thing ancient, which has endured, or is to endure for a long period."—*Professor Stewart*.

This is the substance of what all learned critics say with respect to the use of the Hebrew and Greek words which are translated *eternal*, etc. *Olem* is the original word from which the two Greek words in question are rendered. Hence it is, as seems to me, by the use of that word that we are to determine the sense—the true Scriptural sense of *everlasting*, *eternal*, etc.

Olem, in Hebrew, signifies any thing old or ancient. Hence we read of the old (*olem*) way, the *olem* landmarks, the *olem* times, etc. Circumcision is called the *olem* cove-

nant—that is, the *everlasting*; the priesthood of Aaron is called an *olem* priesthood. All these, and many other *everlastings*, are translated from the Hebrew *olem*, and have had their beginnings and endings, and in this mode of existence, and in no one case are they to be understood as relating to *eternity*.

Macknight and Wakefield both agree that *aion* and *avum* are used to express a limited time. For instance, the age of a man, or that of a child, if it should die at one day old. The word is used among the Greeks in a relative sense—it means a longer or a shorter period, according to the nature of the thing to which it is applied—as we use the phrase *a long time*. When we speak of a man who lives to be very old, we say he lived *a long time*; if we speak of one who died at 20, we say he lived *a short time*. If a person should lie sick eight weeks, we would say he was sick *a long time*; but if one were to go to Jerusalem and return in *six months*, we would say he was gone but *a short time*. If one had to hold his finger in the fire but for one minute, he would say it was *a long time*. In this sense it seems the Hebrew *olem*, the Greek *aion*, the Latin *avum*, and the English *everlasting*, are used.—When the Hebrews or Greeks spoke of a man's life time, they called it *olem* or *aion*—forever, everlasting, always being.

Now, Sir, I can not avoid three conclusions as the result of all research which I am able to make in these matters; which I will name. The first is this: If *gehenna* means the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, then the Scriptures do not teach a punishment beyond the Jordan of death. 2d. If a future punishment should be proved, we have no knowledge in reference to the time of its duration; for there is no certainty whether *olem* or *aionios* punishment is one minute or a thousand years, or just a person's life time. 3d. If *olem* or *aionios* punishment belongs exclusively and is confined to this life, how can we get *aionios zoe* (eternal life) to extend its boundaries over or beyond the narrow limits of the present existence? A hint to the wise is sufficient. In carefully examining this communication, you will, I think, readily apprehend my difficulties—a solution of which will confer a favor on several of the Lord's disciples, as well as your servant.

Your affectionate friend—and, forsooth, your brother in
the Lord,
SPENCER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO SPENCER.

MY DEAR SIR—In all that appertains to religion, the first thing with me is, *What say the Scriptures?* The previous question undoubtedly is, Is the Book of the Law, and is the Book of the Gospel, of divine authority? This question being decided, (and with me it has been long since most certainly decided in the affirmative,) what remains is to regard all its developments of the vast, unseen and unbounded future as fixed and certain principles, no more to be doubted than the axiomata of the most exact and demonstrative sciences. Faith, then, and not reason alone, is the rule of thought, of feeling, and of action.

Every thing in religion is supernatural. Its hopes and its fears are drawn from oracles superhuman and divine. No natural man, by all his senses and perceptions, by all his reflections and reasonings, unaided by the lamp of eternity, could arrive at the knowledge of immortality.—Eternal life and eternal punishment, “everlasting salvation” and “everlasting destruction” are not deductions of reason, are not inferences drawn from the data of material nature, but revelations from the sempiternal Author of human existence.

That the words of this message are to be fairly interpreted not by by-laws and private canons, but by the universal and long since established laws in the dominions of language and mind, is also a principle as well ascertained as that God has spoken in human speech to mortal man.—Through the imagery of nature, and the costume of society, ideas of things divine, spiritual and eternal, are conveyed by the spirit of wisdom and revelation into the mind of man: therefore, that imagery and those variant costumes of society must be understood as the stipulated signs of thought antecedent to a clear and full apprehension of the things revealed.

We have long since unanimously agreed that things figuratively represented are to be understood in accordance

with such representations ; and that the unfigurative delineations of things are ever to be the landmarks of thought and inquiry by which the interpretations of metaphor, parable, and allegory are to be authoritatively decided. I say, unanimously ; for all the educated of all parties and of all creeds have been compelled to this conclusion. Hence, when without figure, and with all the clearness and authority of supreme law, it is promulged by the Christian Lawgiver, "He that shall believe and shall have been immersed shall be saved ; and he that will not believe shall be damned, or condemned"—no allusion to ancient customs—no figurative representations through the imagery of nature, or costume of society, can have authority to make it read or mean, "He that shall believe, and shall have been immersed, shall be saved ; and he that will not believe shall also be saved." *Saved* and *condemned* are opposites, and no reasoning upon any figure, custom, or form of speech, can make them identical. If *saved* is temporal, so is *condemned* ; if *saved* is spiritual, so is *condemned* ; if *saved* is corporeal, so is *condemned* : but *saved* and *condemned* are two states, fates, or fortunes, that are perfect contrasts. Life and death, good and evil, happiness and misery, yes and no, will as readily and as rationally mean one and the same thing, as *saved* and *damned*. These are by the Judge of all, by the Judge of the Supreme-Court of Heaven, declared to be the fate inexorable of two classes of mankind. Belief and unbelief are not the same ; neither is salvation and condemnation the same thing—they form not the same character, and can not issue in the same state—it is impossible. Therefore, reasonings upon *gehenna*, and theory based on figure, or on the supposed nature and perfections of the Deity, must stand avault when they issue in results that falsify the promulgations of Heaven's own Lawgiver and man's Redeemer.

All that you, my dear Sir, say about *gehenna*, and more than you have said, may be admitted, (and indeed I have said more on the abuse of this term and its correlates than you have said, in the way of definition and illustration ; and sometimes in the way of censure on those "hell-fire preachers," who seem to be guided more by apocalyptic vision and figurative representations, known only in Judea, but no where found in the teachings of the Apostle to the Gentiles, than by the style of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles,) and yet eternal life and eternal death remain

the immutable and invincible sanctions of God's last message to mankind ; and yet your inferences and conclusions must be cordially and unequivocally repudiated by all the believers of Christ's Gospel. I say, in one short sentence, your remarks on *gehenna* and its correlates may be admitted as indisputable ; and yet your inferences, or your seeming inferences, are essentially illogical and unscriptural—and, as such, must be repudiated.

The same concessions I would extend to your quotations and remarks on *hadēs*, on *olem*, and *aion*, and with all these criticisms and reasonings before me, I must reject your inferences as wholly at fault in the presence of all the oracles of reason, the decisions of logic, and the plain and unfigurative declarations of the Apostles. I might, perhaps, make some exceptions to the extent and applications of your criticisms, and to the style of your reasonings upon these words ; but to save time and labor (with me always a desideratum) I will concede the whole, and show that your inferences are necessarily and unavoidably to be rejected by every man who believes the Apostles' doctrine :—

1st. Because your reasonings, by one fatal sweep, destroy the eternity of God and the immortality of man ; for if the words *olem*, *aionion*, *ævum*, [your *avum* is not Latin,] everlasting, eternal, applied to the destruction of the wicked, mean not duration without end—then have we no words in human speech that certify us that God, angels, or saints shall have duration without end. One of the oracles of reason and one of the decisions of logic say, that what proves too much proves nothing. Your reasonings, then, prove too much for you as well as for me. Therefore, you must reconsider the matter, if you please. There is no word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked. Because these words are sometimes taken only in part of their signification, is it good logic to say that they are never used in their full meaning ! Or can you, with any reason or consistency, affirm that they are taken in their full signification when applied to future bliss, and only in a part of their signification when applied to future misery !

2d. You say, " If *gehenna* means the Valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, then the Scriptures do not teach punishment beyond the Jordan of death." Your conclusion is not in your premises. To make it logical it must read thus : " If *gehenna* means the Valley of Hinnom, near Je-

rusalem, and if this word *gehenna* include all that the Scriptures say of future punishment, then the Scriptures do not teach any other punishment for sin than the Valley of Hinnom."

3d. You add, that there is no certainty whether *olem* or *aiomios* punishment mean one minute or a thousand years ; and so of eternal life and the eternal God. But, my good Sir, there are not minutes, hours, nor years after death, and all such reasonings are without definite terms, and therefore wholly fallacious. But if God be eternal, then are life and death, happiness and misery eternal realities.

Let me now say in conclusion of my present reply to all your inferences, that they are subversive of the most plain and express sayings of Jesus and the Apostles ; for all their teachings tend to the conclusion that it shall not be hereafter with the wicked as with the righteous ; whereas you have no fears for the wicked, nor hope for the righteous—you have no eternal life and no everlasting destruction in your system ; for the one makes the other necessary. And instead of everlasting life and an "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power" at his appearing and his kingdom, you have not one minute of bliss to propose to the good, nor a second of wo for the greatest transgressor of the laws of Heaven. Now can it require more than a bird's eye glance at your philosophy, to assure the candid reader of the New Testament that it is clearly subversive of all the hopes and fears which the Lord and his Apostles promulgated to the world, and makes the Gospel a dead letter ? Be assured, my dear Sir, that he is no friend of Jesus who preaches that he who believeth not shall be saved ; or who infers that the righteous and the wicked shall after death be equally pure, holy and happy for one moment or for duration without end.

Your friend, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. MONTGOMERY TO MR. CAMPBELL.

DEAR SIR—My attention was forcibly attracted by a letter from Mr. Spencer, on the Scriptural meaning of the words *gehenna*, *hades*, *olem*, and *aion*, and your reply thereunto, contained in number 10, volume 6, of the Millennial Harbinger. With the major portion of Mr. Spencer's letter I am much pleased, for his remarks bring many facts to light. It gave me much satisfaction to perceive that you also was much pleased with it, because you admit the truth of his quotations and remarks, simply excepting his inferences. You indeed observe, "I might, perhaps, make some exceptions to the extent and applications of your criticisms, and to the style of your reasonings upon these words; but to save *time* and *labor* (with me always a desideratum) I will concede the whole, and show that your inferences are necessarily and unavoidably to be rejected by every man who believes the Apostles' doctrine;" but, dear Sir, your time and labor are professedly devoted to the elucidation of Scripture, and consequently, if you could prove that the extent and application of his criticisms and reasonings were incorrect, it appears to me it should have been done, maugre time and labor.

My object in addressing you at the present time, is, to consider some portions of your answer to Mr. Spencer, which, in my judgment, contains positions directly calculated to mislead the minds of your readers. It appears to me that the passage by you brought to prove endless misery, and your remarks on some of Mr. Spencer's inferences, do not sustain your conclusions. I therefore write to present my views on this subject, praying you to point out wherein you deem me to be in error on the momentous question of Scriptural knowledge.

After having remarked that unfigurative delineations of things form a key by which to unlock the true interpretation of metaphor, parable, and allegory, you say—"Hence,

when without figure, and with all the clearness and authority of supreme law, it is promulgated by the Christian Lawgiver, 'He that shall believe and shall have been immersed shall be saved; and he that will not believe shall be damned, or condemned'—no allusion to ancient customs—no figurative representations through the imagery of nature, or costume of society, can have authority to make it read or mean, 'He that shall believe, and shall have been immersed, shall be saved; and he that will not believe, shall also be saved.' *Saved* and *condemned* are opposites, and no reasoning upon any figure, custom, or form of speech can make them identical. If *saved* is temporal, so is *condemned*; if *saved* is spiritual, so is *condemned*; if *saved* is corporeal, so is *condemned*; but *saved* and *condemned* are two states, fates, or fortunes, that are perfect contrasts."

I have here quoted a sufficiency from your reply, to present your precise meaning, at the same time urging the reader to again peruse the whole paragraph from which it is selected. That *saved* and *condemned* are direct opposites, no person can deny, for one is exemption from any evil or evils, while the other is to endure them—but does it therefore follow that the opposite state of the unbeliever will always continue?—does it present any obstacle to the final return of the condemned, to stand in the condition of the saved? Saul of Tarsus was a noted unbeliever, and of course *condemned*; but he afterwards, as Paul of the Gospel, became *saved*. You seem to base your whole reasoning on the assumed position that the passage entirely alludes to a future state, and hence the inconsistency of affirming that *saved* and *damned* mean the same thing. But, Sir, would it not be well to establish premises before proceeding to reason from them? If the passage does not refer to a future state, you will at once discover, that a person through life may experience the miseries of unbelief, and still, by the chastising hand of God, become like the reformed prodigal.

Let the inquiry then be made, What part of the passage by you quoted, proves that it refers to a future state? Is it the word "saved"? If this is affirmed, is it true that the word "saved" has such a distinct meaning, that when used, it means salvation from endless misery? We certainly read, that Noah and those with him in the ark, were *saved* by water, 2 Peter iii: 20; but it was salvation, not

from endless misery, but from destruction by the deluge. The term "saved" in Mark xvi: 16, may also have a temporal signification. It is well known to you that the Apostles, even to the very last moment previous to the ascension of Jesus, were inclined to unbelief—so much so, that when, after the resurrection of Jesus, they met him by appointment at a mountain in Galilee, some doubted. Matt. xxvii: 17. Had the Apostles continued in unbelief, would they not have experienced condemnation in the signal overthrow and terrible calamities which fell upon their nation like a storm? But their unbelief was removed, and as a consequence, they were *saved* from the horrid evils which Titus flung upon the Israelites. In this sense, at least, it means temporal salvation.

Again; is it clear that the word *damned* fixes the reference of the passage to a future world? If this is asserted, I inquire of you if the term *damned* means endless misery in its original signification? Dr. George Campbell affirms that *damned* is not a just version of the Greek word. "The term *damned*, with us, relates solely to the doom that shall be pronounced upon the wicked at the last day. This can not be affirmed with truth, of the Greek *katakrino*, which corresponds exactly to the English verb *condemn*. It may relate to that future sentence and it may not."—Note on Mark xvi: 16. In imitation of this learned author, in your translation, you give us the word *condemned* instead of *damned*. Will it not be well, instead of assuming, to prove that this condemnation is in a future world, especially as Jesus expressly declares, "He that believeth not, is *condemned* already"? John iii: 18. It will be remembered that the Jews rejected the Messiah, not from want of evidence, but from perverse prejudice. They were obliged to admit that he performed miracles, but they denied that those miracles established his pretensions. For this practical unbelief they were condemned, and the sentence was executed when the King "sent forth his armies, and destroyed those murderers and burnt up their city;" Matt. xxi: 7; in which destructive operation their temple and nation was rooted up. Here is palpable evidence of their condemnation, but it by no means proves that all Israel will not be saved, when the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come in.

It appears to me, that the passage has no reference beyond the apostolic age—for proof of which the context

is confidently cited—"And these signs shall follow them that believe : in my name shall they cast out devils ; they shall speak with new tongues ; they shall take up serpents *with safety* ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them : they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Verses 17, 18. These signs were expressly to follow the believers, as condemnation was the unbelievers. Admit that the application of the passage by you quoted, is correct, where can you find a true believer now ? Is there a person in the present age who can cast out demons, speak with new tongues, or drink poison without injury ? Certainly not ! How is the conclusion to be avoided then, that of all who profess to believe in Christ, not one will be saved ? Your penetration will readily perceive the power of this difficulty. Limit the passage, however, to the apostolic age, and all difficulty vanishes. These signs were performed during that time, and I may add, that the Jewish unbelievers experienced certain condemnation also at that time.

I now leave this point, to consider a few of your remarks on Mr. Spencer's inferences. After stating that every believer in the apostolic doctrine must reject those inferences, you give as a reason—"Because your reasonings, by one fatal sweep, destroy the eternity of God and the immortality of man ; for if the words *olem*, *aionion*, *ævum*, everlasting, eternal, applied to the destruction of the wicked, mean not duration without end—then have we no words in human speech that certify us that God, angels, or saints, shall have duration without end—There is no word in human language that expresses duration without end which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked." Dear Sir, I am much surprised at this statement, for certainly there are expressions, independent of those you mention, which prove unceasing duration. Do we not read of the "*incorruptible God*" ? Romans i : 23. Are we not assured that Christ was made a Priest "after the power of an *endless life*" ? Heb. vii : 16. Are we not certified that "this corruptible must put on *incorruption*, and this mortal put on *immortality*" ? 1 Cor. xv : 53. Most certainly we are—and yet are these expressions applied to the punishment of the wicked ? Besides this ; even if we admit that the term *everlasting* means duration without end, in its primitive significations, have you shown, that when it is applied to the punishment of the wicked, it is not among

those instances where it is taken in part of its signification ? for you admit that it is sometimes so taken in the Scriptures.

Again; you quote from Mr. Spencer this expression, "There is no certainty whether *olem* or *aiionios* punishment mean one minute or a thousand years," and from it you draw the inference, "and so of eternal life and the eternal God." And you presently add, "But if God be eternal, then are life and death, happiness and misery eternal realities." If a Jew could read this statement, he might finish your argument, by affirming, that, "if God be eternal," the "everlasting priesthood" is an eternal reality, and consequently Christ is an impostor and his system a fable, because he endeavored to remove that covenant which God had permanently established. Your conclusion, that if everlasting and forever are indefinite in their meaning, the existence of God is also indefinite, is unwarrantable. It appears evident to me, that the meaning of these terms is determined by the various subjects to which they are applied. There are many words in the English language, which are used in this very manner. We say, a tall man, tall tree, tall tower—wise boy, wise man, wise God—great man, great mountain, great God. In these instances, the adjectives tall, wise, and great, take their peculiar meaning from the subjects to which they are applied. It is the same with the words everlasting and forever, as used in the Scriptures. In Exodus xxi : 6, we read of a servant, that he should serve his master *forever*—in 2 Kings v : 27, we read that the leprosy of Naaman should cleave to Gehazi *forever*, meaning his life-time—in Jeremiah xxiii : 40, we read of an "everlasting reproach," which was applied to the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, which lasted seventy years—in Genesis xvii : 7, we read that the land of Canaan was given to the Jews for an "everlasting possession," which they retained a number of centuries—in Matt. xxv : 46, we read of "everlasting punishment," which the Jews have already endured longer than they retained their "everlasting possession"—in Genesis xlix : 26, we read of "everlasting hills," which mean as long as the hills shall last—in Hab. iii : 6, we read of the "everlasting ways of God," which means the infinitude of the Almighty, because we know that he must be "without beginning of days or ending of years." In all these cases, the meaning of these terms *everlasting* and *forever*, is determined by their application. Consequently,

it does not follow, that if these words possess an indefinite meaning, the existence of God himself is doubtful.

Besides, as has been remarked, if we admit that these terms mean duration without end, your conclusions are not even then established. For, you must concede the fact, that they are sometimes used in a limited sense, and hence, when they are applied to the punishment of the wicked, it can be shown that they belong to that class of instances, for the nature of punishment in connexion with express passages of Scripture, shows that chastisement will end in obedience, and consequently can not be endless. Even "eternal life" is enjoyed on the earth, as any person may perceive who will consult John xvii : 3. And if a person should ask me for evidence of life hereafter, I should not direct him solely to these terms, but to the account of the resurrection, to the fact that we shall become equal unto the angels of God, and to the truth that we must put on immortality.

In the light of these remarks, it is unnecessary for me to consider your concluding paragraph, for it is obviously fallacious as well as null in its reasoning. And though I know of no person who preaches that any man will be saved in unbelief, or that the wicked as such will be as happy as the righteous, yet if to preach, that in the fulness of time, mankind shall be saved from sin and adopted into the liberty of the truth, constitutes a person an enemy to Jesus, you may look upon me as one—for it is my hope, my joy, and my faith, to believe that Christ is the Saviour of the world. These remarks are offered in the expectation that they will receive a portion of your attention, for the purpose of casting more light upon the page of Scripture. Yours, in love and good will,

GEO. W. MONTGOMERY,

Auburn, N. Y., December 16, 1835.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. MONTGOMERY.

DEAR SIR—As I am wont, in all matters of much concern, to let my readers hear, if they choose, both sides, I have laid your ingenious epistle of the 16th ult. before them. Having in my former volumes, as I conceive, fully established all my premises and conclusions on the subject of *Universalism*, I shall, with great brevity, notice the chief points of difficulty in your letter now before me.

1. All that you allege on Mark xvi: 16, concerning “he that believes and is baptised shall be *saved*, and he that believeth not shall be *condemned*, or *damed*,” will be disposed of in a remark or two. You accord with me in understanding *saved* and *damed* as perfect contrasts—as designating two states essentially opposite. Well—but I ought to have proved that a person once an unbeliever, once condemned, must always remain an unbeliever—always condemned! No need of this, my good Sir, because I neither believe, teach, nor affirm any such proposition. What then? In accordance with all the rules of interpretation I must regard the passage as meaning that he who hears the Gospel, and rejects or disbelieves it *when heard*, is not saved, but condemned; and so continuing, or, if you please, so dying, shall always be unsaved, or condemned; and he who, when hearing the Gospel, believes and obeys it, is saved from sin; and so continuing, and so dying, shall be saved from all its consequences.

But from this you dissent, and interpret as follows:—He that hears and believes the Gospel, and is baptised, is saved; and so continuing, will always be saved—living, dying, and forever. But he that on hearing it, disbelieves it, and rejects it, and so continues all his life, is now condemned, or damned; but shall hereafter be eternally saved. This is your interpretation, if you dissent from mine. It is not now material what meaning you annex to the words *saved* and *condemned*. They are opposites. You will, however, have the believer and the unbeliever during this

life in opposite states, but in the same state hereafter!—presuming, no doubt, that during death, or after death, unbelievers will all become believers and obedient good Christians!! This being out of the Record, is to me a new revelation, which, because of a defect in the evidence, I can not believe. I would not choose Pharaoh, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabulus, Judas, Voltaire, and such spirits for my companions forever; unless in some unknown purgatory in another world they should hear some Gospel and be saved from those hateful characters in which they passed over Jordan. It is judicious and kind on your part to promise us their future conversion.

But it appears to you that “this passage has no reference beyond the apostolic age; for proof of which the context is confidently cited.” No; nor has it reference even to the apostolic age, if your mode of reasoning be correct. What is your syllogism? “These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues,” etc. But after the apostolic age this promise failed; therefore, this promise was only for the apostolic age. But, from these premises, the following conclusion is more natural and more logical; *therefore, there were no believers after the apostolic age.*

But I have said you prove that this passage has no reference to the apostolic age; for your syllogism is, “These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall work miracles,” etc. But these signs did not in the apostolic age accompany *believers*; for multitudes believed that could work no miracles; therefore, this promise respected not the apostolic age.

Now, without either thinking or intending it, perhaps, you have in this mode of reasoning, hit upon the true meaning of the passage: for it was, in truth, uttered with reference to no age, but in reference to certain apostolic *persons*, who were then, as you say, *doubting*; for some of the commissioners doubted and “were slow to believe *all* that the prophets had spoken;” and, therefore, after giving them a commission to all the world, he very graciously added, “These signs shall follow them [of the persons addressed] who shall believe.” In demonstration that such is the meaning of the passage, I appeal to the next verses; for, says John Mark, “They went out and proclaimed the tidings every where, *the Lord co-operating with them and confirming their doctrine by miracles accompanying.*”

Thus we dispose of the second great difficulty in your way, and this leaves the promise of salvation and condemnation on the same conditions—as perpetual as time, and as extensive as all the nations and generations of men.

The third point is an exception taken to the correctness of my remark, viz., that “if the words rendered *everlasting*, *eternal*, applied to the destruction of the wicked, mean not destruction without end, then have we no words in human speech that certify us that God, angels, or saints shall have duration without end.”

You proceed to adduce other terms that “prove unceasing duration;” such as *incorruptible* applied to God, Rom. i: 23; *endless life*, Heb. vii: 16; this *corruptible* must put on *incorruption*, and this *mortal* must put on *immortality*; 1 Cor. xv: 53. You ask, “Are these words applied to the punishment of the wicked?” I answer, No, nor to the happiness of the righteous; nor to simple *duration* at all. Two of them are *substantives*, and therefore can not be used as epithets—namely, *immortality* and *incorruption*; and the other three apply to *beings* or to material substances, in reference to simple indissolubility; not one of them could properly be applied to a simple state of being, or to happiness or misery: for although the word “*endless*” might seem to be an exception, when the original word is considered, it is not. It only *figuratively* signifies *endless*, as any one may see who will examine either the etymological import or the common use of *akatalutos* in Greek writers. It literally signifies *indissoluble*, *incapable of dissolution*. Hence it figuratively may be rendered *endless*, as it is *once* only in the New Testament.

But you append to this exception a remark that deserves notice—viz., if everlasting means duration without end, in its primitive signification, you ask, “When it is applied to the punishment of the wicked, is it not in those instances where it is taken in a part of its signification: for you admit that it is sometimes so taken in the Scriptures?” For two reasons we must answer, No. 1st. Because it is taken in a part of its signification; or, rather, it is used figuratively only when applied to subjects in which there is a physical impossibility that it can be taken in its fair and literal import. But more especially as Montesquieu says somewhere, “In all laws, enactments, and statutes, words are taken and to be interpreted in their most common and literal acceptation.” I quote from memory; but,

at all events, this is an oracle of reason : for if words are used figuratively or taken only in a part of their meaning in charters, grants, statutes, and laws, there is an end to all certainty in human affairs. Orators and poets for figurative language ; but lawgivers and the founders of states and institutions for perspicuity, precision, and the literal and current acceptation of words.

But as I study brevity, I hasten to your fortification in the fastnesses of the alleged ambiguity of the words *everlasting, eternal*. To this you again and again recur as the Gibraltar of universal salvation, or rather of your scrupulosity touching the ultimate destiny of ungodly men.

You very pertinently, and rationally, and logically assert that "adjectives sometimes (and especially some adjectives sometimes) take their peculiar meaning from the subjects to which they are applied." This, I agree with you, is strictly true of the words under consideration. This single fact sufficiently explains all those applications of the word *everlasting* in a limited sense : because the subjects to which it is applied physically preclude the proper sense of the word. It is therefore used *figuratively* (for I do contend that this is what is grammatically and rhetorically called the figurative meaning of the word) when applied to all things that *necessarily* must have an end. It is never used figuratively when the subject to which it is applied does not necessarily require a limited sense ; or, to express the same idea in other terms, it is only used figuratively, or in a part of its signification, when the *substantive to which it belongs absolutely demands it*. Now all this only puts it upon you to show, that, in reference to things beyond this life, there is such a necessity existing as to preclude the possibility of its being used literally, or in its proper signification. And this, give me leave to say, with all emphasis, no living man can do. I feel myself logically, grammatically, as well as theologically and religiously, compelled to affirm this proposition—that in reference to things mundane, or to things of this life, the words *everlasting, eternal*, and their *representatives, in all languages*, are used figuratively—from the aforesaid law, or necessity of language, which you affirm—viz., that adjectives must sometimes take the extent of their meaning from the substantives to which they belong : also, that in reference to things not mundane or belonging to this life—(that necessity of yours and mine being removed—) that

is, *in things beyond time*, these words must be used literally, or in their full and proper meaning, if such meaning they have. From all of which facts and reasonings it would follow, that if the words *eternal*, *everlasting*, *ever* mean what they comprehend, it must be in reference to the future state of men and angels, good and bad, or to spirits that live beyond the landmarks of time: for as they can not be taken in their full and literal import in reference to earthly things; if they are ever so taken, it must be in their application to things beyond the confines of time and sense.

To this you may make (logically, *perhaps*) one, and only one exception, in your own relief; and that is, that these words have no literal and proper meaning. But then this will undeify our Creator, and annihilate the universe! I trust, then, that it is by a *happy* necessity you are constrained to admit, that, in reference to life and death, happiness and misery, as well as in reference to God and all spiritual existences, these words *necessarily must have their literal and proper signification*.

To this your own good sense had almost constrained you in the close of your epistle: for your last effort is to assume that there is a physical or moral impossibility in the way of its applying to future punishment; because, indeed! all punishment is mere chastisement, and that all chastisement will necessarily eventuate in reformation. So that when the Judge shall say, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting punishment prepared for the devil and his angels"—it means, Depart, ye blessed, into everlasting chastisement prepared to bring the devil and his angels and all wicked men to true repentance and to everlasting glory. Pardon me, my good Sir, if, while I have the canons of logic and philosophy in my eye, I must regard this as somewhat visionary and romantic—too romantic for grave consideration and logical reply.

I would not have alluded to this pleasing dream of everlasting chastisement, had it not been to show yourself, especially, and all my readers, that unless you could find some pavilion of this sort to shield you from the conclusion to which I am always constrained to come on this subject, you can not possibly escape from the logical and Scriptural conclusion of this whole matter—viz., that by a necessity as insuperable as death, the words *everlasting*, *eternal*, when applied to substantives, beyond the confines

of time and sense, must be taken in their full, proper, and unfigurative import; that it is only when applied to substantives within the coasts of time, they are, or ought to be, taken in a limited and figurative sense. Beyond these shores, they are to be interpreted in their unfigurative and unrestricted signification.—In reading the works of Thomas Paine, perhaps his “Age of Reason,” (it should have been his *Age of Folly*,) I was amused with a sort of left hand compliment he bestowed on the Society of Friends, sometimes called Quakers. “My father,” says he, (I quote from memory,) “was a Quaker; and it must be confessed that of all the sects of Christians, that which makes the highest approach to true deism, is that of the Quaker.” I would propose to amend the bill by substituting the word *Universalist* in place of the word *Quaker*.

Take away from the New Covenant, or Christian Institution, the views which it gives of sin, its nature, and consequences, and the punishment without mercy which awaits those who now despise and trample upon the blood of the *everlasting* institution; and make our views of God’s perfections derived from the works of nature, the interpreter of his word, and a religion so compounded and so manufactured is worth nothing more than the pure deism of the Jew or of the philosopher. It is not Christianity. Hence the easy and frequent, nay, almost general transition of Universalists into the ranks of infidelity. Be on your guard, my dear Sir, against this delusion; and pardon my freedom if I have mistaken the strong leanings in your letter to that side of the question. All of which is most respectfully submitted.

A. CAMPBELL.

January 26, 1836.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

DEAR SIR—I have recently received from Rev. G. W. Montgomery, of Auburn, N. Y., two numbers of the *Millennial Harbinger*, containing the commencement and continuance of a discussion, first between Mr. Spencer and yourself, and then between Mr. Montgomery and yourself, on the meaning of the words *gehenna*, *hades*, *aiom*, *aiomion*, *olem*, *akatalutos*, and other words in the original of the Scriptures, together with certain texts, supposed to have an important bearing in deciding the question whether the punishment of the wicked will be limited or endless in duration. Accompanying these numbers of the *Harbinger* is a letter from Mr. Montgomery, in which he says he transfers the controversy on the part of the Universalists into my hands for continuance, this being a mutual agreement between yourself and him, at an interview had in person in June last, for reasons which I need not here state, and perfectly understood by both of you, he having made choice of me as his substitute. He also informs me that whenever the discussion was resumed, what has already been published was to be copied by, and all the future discussion published in, some Universalist paper, as well as the *Harbinger*. I purpose, Sir, to republish what has already appeared in the *Harbinger*, in the *Evangelical Magazine and Gospel Advocate*, published in this city, of which I am one of the Editors, and of which there are circulated weekly about 7000 copies. And after the discussion is renewed to insert the whole of it on both sides; expecting you will do the same in the *Harbinger*.

The particular object I have in writing you this letter, is, to ascertain *when* it will best suit your convenience to resume the discussion. As I have heard that you either had engaged, or were about to do so, in a discussion with a Catholic Bishop at Cincinnati—and not knowing at what time that was to commence, or whether it would suit you

to have both discussions in progress at the same time, or whether you would prefer finishing ours first or letting it be till after the other was disposed of, I would therefore consult your convenience in regard to time. I suppose, however, that two or three controversies in progress at the same time, with different individuals of different denominations, is no uncommon, nor perhaps inconvenient thing for you to get along with. I do not care about commencing the publication in the columns of the Magazine and Advocate, till such time as that from which it can be regularly continued onward, without any very *long* interval till finished. If you will be ready to resume the discussion immediately, as I hope you may—though it will take several weeks to get the articles already published and my reply to your last, before our readers, in readiness for you to respond—I will without further delay commence. You will oblige us by an exchange of papers, as we shall both doubtless like to see what is said by the other side during the pending of the discussion.

Your early answer to this, either by letter or in the pages of the Harbinger (if you send it to us) will greatly oblige,
Dear Sir, your obedient servant,

D. SKINNER.

Utica, November 14, 1836.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of the 14th inst. was received per our last mail, and I hasten to reply. I am just now, as you have learned, engaged in a very important discussion of the Roman Catholic claims and pretensions, which will call me hence to Cincinnati the first week of January next, and will likely engross my whole attention to the first of February following.

Under these circumstances it would be injudicious to divert my attention to another subject, and therefore I must postpone the discussion which you have proposed till after that period.

Touching the propositions to which you allude on the part of Mr. Montgomery, I have to observe, that in addition to your name, he gave me those of Messrs. Balfour and Ballou in Boston, and some others. I did not stop in Utica, owing to fatigue of much speaking. But while in Boston I took occasion to intimate to Mr. Balfour (to whom I had an introduction while visiting the book stores for the purpose of purchasing his books) that I thought the question at issue between him and other Christians had not yet been fully or fairly discussed—that I had just read the discussion between Mr. Thomas of Philadelphia, and Dr. E. S. Ely, and was more fully convinced that neither of these gentlemen met the exact question fairly. Mr. Balfour observed that if I would write something on the subject, he would reply to it. I remarked that I would prefer to have a *viva voce* discussion of the whole matter, and then a publication, if necessary. He declined such a discussion, on the ground of his not being in favor of that species of controversy; and so the matter ended.

Now, Sir, permit me to suggest to your consideration whether it would not be better to have such a *viva voce*, *face to face* discussion of the real subject at issue between us, and let some *stenographer* give it to the world. This

would give more conviction, interest, and value to the matter; and it would, coming from a neutral party, or a mere stenographer, have more influence with the whole community.

One chief reason additional prompting me to this course, is, your paper is *weekly*—mine is *monthly*; and we could not meet on equal footing, unless you were to suspend hostilities for three weeks at a time. Again, I may add that I could not, with propriety and justice to my engagements, give more than 12 pages octavo to the controversy—that is, six pages, each, per month.

However, I will do this rather than fall short of a discussion; but if, upon reflection, you would agree to meet me in Philadelphia or some central city, next Spring, and have the whole matter canvassed to a point, I should think it more likely to be useful, and we should soon get through with the matter, and reach the end by a more certain, a more direct, and a more practical course.

I know that in these written, far-off, long-gun discussions, there is much sailing and generally a long voyage before we get to port. I have received so favorable an impression of your candor, ability, and erudition in all these matters, that I can the more freely communicate with you on the ways and means. I shall now, with all respect for your good sense and discretion, wait for an answer from you as soon as convenient. One reason of my naming Philadelphia, in addition to its being about equidistant and abounding in good accommodations, many Universalists living there, and having a large meeting-house, I have to attend in that city some time next Spring, in all probability (as you may learn from the accompanying number of the Harbinger I send you) in a trial pending between Dr. Sleigh and myself.

An early answer upon all these points will be thankfully received by, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant, A. CAMPBELL.

Bethany, Va., November 29, 1836.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

DEAR SIR—Your favor of the 29th ult., in answer to mine of the 14th, is just received, for which you have my thanks. Your reasons for delaying the contemplated discussion till February next, are sufficient and satisfactory to me.

I was aware that Mr. Montgomery had mentioned other names of Universalist preachers to you besides mine; but was informed that, provided you did not succeed in starting a discussion while at Boston, either oral or written, then the alternative was that the written discussion already commenced should be continued between you and myself, in yours and some Universalist paper.

You now suggest, as another alternative, the holding of a *viva voce* discussion at Philadelphia, and employing a stenographer to take it down for publication, etc. As one reason for this preference you mention that, as our paper is *weekly* and yours *monthly*, we could not meet on equal footing in a written discussion, unless I were to suspend hostilities for three weeks at a time. This, Sir, I should expect to do, provided I occupied as much space in one number of our paper as you did in one number of yours; but as one number of yours is equal to three or four of ours, you could in a particular emergency, occupy much more room in one number than it would be possible for me to do in one number of ours; so that I should be under the necessity, did I occupy equal space with you, of dividing my articles, and filling two or more numbers of ours, (i. e., what was not necessarily occupied with other matter,) in reply to one number of yours. However, I do not apprehend that *in general* one article and the rejoinder to it will occupy more than 12 pages of the Harbinger. In some few instances it may, and then it could be divided into two numbers, unless you could spare more room than that at a time; and I should in such case have to divide it into still smaller divisions.

I should agree with Mr. Balfour in preferring a written to an oral discussion, inasmuch as the former is in my view the fairest method of eliciting truth, and would probably be the freest from personalities, from passion, and from rash, hasty, and inconsiderate remarks; and would certainly be most likely to obtain the true import and meaning of words in any *critical verbal investigations*. It is true that each mode of discussion has its advantages and its disadvantages. But for the above reasons, I shall decide, as you have left the alternative with me, in favor of the *written discussion*; and shall accordingly commence the publication of the articles in the Harbinger in the columns of the Magazine and Advocate sometime in January, so that my reply to your last article will come out some where between the first and middle of February.

If, however, after we have carried on the written discussion to our hearts' content, or to our mutual satisfaction, you are still desirous of an oral discussion, I think I can safely guaranty that you shall be gratified. I have no doubt that Mr. Thomas of Philadelphia would gladly meet you in public debate. If he will not, I think I can find one who will, and who would at least be as acceptable to you and the public as myself. But if not, I will myself consent to meet you at any time and place where we can mutually make it convenient.

Yours with all due respect, D. SKINNER,

P. S. After the publication of the discussion is commenced, I will, in order to facilitate its progress and prevent any unnecessary delay, send you the copy of my articles in *proof* before the issuing of the paper, and wish you to send me yours in like manner. D. S.

Utica, December 23, 1836.

THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER I.

UTICA, FEBRUARY 10, 1837.

DEAR SIR—This controversy on the part of the Universalists, having by mutual agreement between you and Mr. Montgomery, and his choice of a substitute, devolved upon me, I am happy in finding the subject fairly open for discussion, and an opponent to contend with of acknowledged talents and high reputation as a controversialist, and I can not but hope that if our investigations are conducted with honesty and candor, good will result, and the truth be promoted thereby.

2.* You say that in former volumes you have fully established all your premises and conclusions on the subject of Universalism: but as you do not inform us what those "premises and conclusions" are, we are left in the dark concerning them. Nevertheless, as this doctrine continues to move on in its majesty, and is constantly accumulating strength in our land, I console myself with the conviction that those "premises and conclusions" were not such as to annihilate the doctrine.

3. You next say you shall dispose of what Mr. M. says on Mark xvi: 16, in a remark or two. After stating that he requires you to prove, in order to maintain your ground, "that a person once an unbeliever, once condemned, must always remain an unbeliever, always condemned," you deny that you are required to prove this; for you say, "I neither believe, teach nor affirm any such proposition." Now, Sir, this appears to me very singular: for it is certain that, if you "neither believe, teach nor affirm any such

* These figures are used, not as divisions of subjects, but simply to number and designate paragraphs for convenience of reference.

proposition," you can neither believe, teach nor affirm any thing from the text in opposition to Universalism : and you therefore introduced the text in your reply to "Spencer" for no other purpose but to throw dust in the eyes of your readers and make *them* believe, while *you did not believe it yourself*, that this text was a *formidable argument* against the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men.— No Universalist believes that any individual of the human family will be saved *while he remains* in unbelief and condemnation : and if you do not maintain that unbelief and condemnation will endlessly remain, you *can not* maintain that the text stands opposed to the doctrine of final universal salvation.

4. But what seems not a little remarkable is, that, after indignantly disavowing your faith in the proposition which Mr. M. required you to prove, you should proceed, as you do, in an indirect, round about and equivocal manner to try to *establish* that, or what you intend your readers shall understand as tantamount with that very proposition—i. e., you meant they should so understand you if you had any definite meaning in that curious construction which you give the text. After giving the text this equivocal construction, you add : "But from this you dissent and interpret as follows : He that hears and believes the Gospel, and is baptised, is saved ; and so continuing, will always be saved—living, dying and forever. But he that on hearing it disbelieves it, and rejects it, and so continues all his life, is now condemned or damned ; but shall hereafter be eternally saved. This is your interpretation if you dissent from mine." The above, Sir, is entirely unworthy the head that edited or the pen that wrote it : and I seriously regret to see a man of your talents and standing, attempt to fix upon your opponent a charge of which you certainly knew or ought to have known, he was not guilty. Neither Mr. Montgomery, nor any other Universalist, ever adduced this text as proof of the doctrine of universal salvation. All he contended for was that the text did *not* prove *endless misery*, and therefore was not at all to your purpose. Nor have you in the least invalidated his argument. But you were doubtless aware that unless you could force him into an interpretation that would make him appear ridiculous, your point was lost and your argument completely nullified. But in attempting to evade the strength of his argument and to father an interpretation upon him which he

never thought of, you appear to me to have stooped below the dignity of your station.

5. Further on, you say, "You will, however, have the believer and the unbeliever, during this life in opposite states, but in the same state hereafter;—prosuming, no doubt, that during death, or after death, unbelievers will all become believers, and obedient and good Christians. This being out of the Record, is to me a new revelation, which, because of a defect in the evidence, I can not believe." Now, my good friend, as I am fully satisfied that the defect is not in the evidence, but in the manner of your examining it, I will endeavor to correct your misapprehension by calling up a few witnesses from the Record, which you have evidently overlooked. The Record positively declares that God has promised with an oath, that all nations, families and kindreds of the earth shall be blessed in Christ, the promised seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. See Gen. xii: 3; xviii: 18; xxvi: 3, 4; xxviii: 14. Acts iii: 25. Gal. iii: 8, 16. Heb. vi: 13, 14. The Record declares that God's will, pleasure, and purpose, are, that all men should be saved, come to the knowledge of the truth, and be gathered together or reheaded in Christ; and that he worketh all things after the counsel of his own will. 1 Tim. ii: 4. Eph. i: 9, 10, 11. The Record declares that "God hath spoken of the restitution of all things, by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." Acts iii: 21. The Record declares that the Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into his hands—the Heathen for his inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession—and that all that the Father giveth him shall so come to him as not to be cast out. Psal. ii: 8. John iii: 35; vi: 37–39; xvii: 2. The Record declares that all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him—that all nations whom God has made shall come and worship before him and glorify his name. Psal. xxii: 27; lxxxvi: 9.—The Record also declares that Christ gave himself a ransom for all to be testified in due time—tasted death for every man—is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world—is the Saviour of the world, the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world—that he shall not fail nor be discouraged—the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand—he shall see of the travail of his soul and

be satisfied—shall reign till he hath subdued all things unto himself, and deliver up the kingdom to God the Father, that God may be all in all—that Christ hath the keys of death and hell—is Lord both of the dead and living—that neither death, nor life, nor any other creature can separate us from the love of God in him—that death shall be swallowed up in victory—tears wiped from off all faces, and every knee bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father. 1 Tim. ii: 6. Heb. ii: 9. 1 John ii: 2; iv: 14. John i: 29; iv: 42. Isa. xxv: 8; xlii: 4; liii: 10, 11. Rom. viii: 38, 39; xiv: 8, 9. 1 Cor. xv: 22–28. Philip. ii: 10, 11. Rev. i: 18; xxi: 4.

6. Now, Sir, as these promises and hundreds of other similar ones in *the Record* clearly and unequivocally assert the final subjection, obedience and happiness of all men, and the annihilation of death and misery of every kind, the clear and irresistible conclusion is, that, if the Record be true, and these promises are not fulfilled with regard to all men before death, they must be after death—if not during this life, they must be in a future. See Heb. ii: 8. 1 Pet. iii: 18, 19, 20; iv: 6. And if these promises are all fulfilled in reference to the character and moral condition of all men, I am inclined to the opinion that you will not then be possessed of the spirit of the elder son in the parable, (Luke xv: 28,) and refuse to associate with even Pharaoh, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabulus, Judas, Voltaire, and their companions, any more than Ananias refused to associate with Saul of Tarsus, when it was told to him, “Behold he prayeth.”

7. In the two or three succeeding paragraphs of your reply to Mr. M., you make some attempts at argument and some at witticism, which in two or three instances might with effect be retorted upon yourself; but as they do not in my opinion at all affect the great leading questions at issue between us, I let them pass without remark.

8. I am glad that in your reply to Mr. Spencer, you so frankly conceded all that he contended for in reference to the meaning of the words *Sheol*, *Hades* and *Gehenna*, and gave them up, as being in themselves insufficient to teach the doctrine of endless misery. You have finally fixed upon the word *aion* and its derivatives as the strong hold, the last resort, or citadel to defend that dreadful doctrine. And I now come to consider what you say about this word

and the other words adduced by Mr. Montgomery as being much stronger, clearer, and more unequivocal in defining endless duration, than the word *aion* and its derivatives.

9. But I must here, in common with Mr. M., and I think with every well informed biblical and literary critic, express my utter surprise at the declarations you made in your reply to "Spencer." (See Harbinger for October, 1835,) that "if the words *olem*, *aionion*," etc., "applied to the destruction of the wicked, mean not duration without end, then have we no words in human speech that certify us that God, angels or saints shall have duration without end:" and that "there is no word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked." Had these assertions, so entirely devoid of proof, proceeded from some rash, hair-brained youth, some theological tyro, I should not have been so much surprised. But they are from one who has the reputation of being a grave divine, a great biblical critic, and the theological champion of the West!

10. After quoting Mr. M.'s language concerning Rom. i: 23. Heb. vii: 16; and I Cor. xv: 53; where the phrases, *incorruptible*, *endless life*, *incorruption*, and *immortality* occur, and his question, "are these words applied to the punishment of the wicked?" you say, "I answer No, nor to the happiness of the righteous; nor to simple *duration* at all. Two of them are substantives and therefore can not be used as epithets, viz: *immortality* and *incorruption*; and the other three apply to *beings* or material substances in reference to simple indissolubility; not one of them could properly be applied to a simple state of being, or to happiness or misery: for although the word '*endless*' might seem to be an exception, when the original word is considered it is not. It only *figuratively* signifies *endless*, as any one may see who will examine either the etymological import or the common use of *akatalutos* in Greek writers."

11. The above, Sir, very clearly evinces the fact, that when one false position is taken it requires several more to sustain it; and after all, its foundation is but sand. I do marvel that you should have made such assertions, entirely unaccompanied by any attempt at proof. The word *akatalutos* is thus defined by Donnegan: "not loosened or destroyed, indissoluble, indestructible." Grove defines it thus; "fr. a neg. and *kataluo*, to dissolve, indissoluble, firm.

stable, binding." Now, Sir, will you have the goodness to inform us, if the word *akatalutos* signifies *firm, stable, indissoluble*, and *indestructible*, according to lexicographers, to what else it can allude *but to duration* when applied to *life*, as in Heb. vii : 16 ? Evidently it can allude to *nothing else*, or at all events, the idea of *permanent durability* is inseparable from it. This is the only text where the word occurs in the New Testament, and yet you say, "it is not applicable either to happiness, or to simple *duration at all*" !

12. *Apharsia*, which occurs 1 Cor. xv : 42, 50, 53, 54, and in several other passages in the New Testament, is defined by Donnegan thus :—*imperishableness, immortality*. Grove defines it thus :—*apharsia*, from *a*, negative, and *thairo* to *destroy, incorruptibility, incorruption, immortality*. Loveland, who for the most part follows Schreusner and Hedericus, thus defines it :—*incorruptibility, immortality, "corpus interritus expers."* The latter also defines *aphthartos*, which occurs Rom. i : 23. 1 Cor. ix : 25 ; xv : 52. 1 Tim. i : 17. 1 Pet. i : 4, 23 ; and iii : 4, thus, *incorruptible, undying, "corruptionis, et interritus expers."* Donnegan thus :—*aphthartos, incorruptible, immortal*. Grove thus :—*incorruptible, immortal, eternal*. Loveland defines *athanasia*, which occurs 1 Cor. xv : 53, 54 ; and 1 Tim. vi : 16, thus :—*exemption from death or dissolution, immortality*.

13. Here we have *eternal*, your favorite term for *endless*, obviously in its most full and unlimited extent of meaning, given as one of the definitions of *aphthartos* by a celebrated and standard lexicographer. *Akatalutos* in the only place where it occurs in the New Testament, is translated *endless*, and can obviously signify nothing *less than that* ; and yet you affirm of *all* the foregoing Greek words that neither of them is applied, or applicable, "to the happiness of the righteous or to simple *duration at all*" ! One of your reasons for that opinion is singular enough, indeed. Forsooth, "two of them are *substantives*, and therefore can not be used as *epithets* !" Suppose, Sir, the apostle had used the word *eternity*. By parity of reasoning, that could not be applicable to *duration at all*, because it is a "*substantive*, and therefore can not be used as an *epithet* !" — Suppose, (to illustrate the use of substantives without adjectives or epithets) I were to say to my friend, I am in a state of complete *felicity*. My friend states my declaration to you, and undertakes to show that I am very *happy* : but you laugh at him for entertaining such a thought ; for

you tell him that as *felicity* is a "*substantive*, it can not therefore be used as an epithet," and for this reason, is not at all applicable to *happiness*! Now, Sir, to me your reasoning in reply to Mr. M., appears precisely of this character. For the denial that *felicity* is applicable to express *happiness*, because it is a *substantive* and not an *epithet*, is no more illogical or ridiculous than is your denial that *aphtharsia* and *athanasia* are applicable to *duration*, because they are *substantives* and can not be used as *epithets*, when it is clearly proved that the idea of *perpetual duration* is necessarily included in the meaning of the words.

14. Can any enlightened person acquainted with the meaning of the terms employed, read in 1 Cor. xv, St. Paul's description of the resurrection of the dead, to a state of *glory, honor, power, incorruption, immortality, imperishableness, indissolubility, indestructibility, etc.*, and then honestly say he believes these terms have no applicability whatever, either to the *happiness* of the righteous, or to *duration*? The thing is impossible: What else could the apostle have had in view in the use of all these terms, but the complete *happiness* of the resurrection state and the *endless perpetuity* thereof? Evidently these were the two most *prominent points* at which he aimed. If the idea of happiness was not embraced in this description, why does Paul exult in the prospect that this event would swallow up death in victory? Is not the kingdom of God (which the apostle defines to be *righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy spirit*) a kingdom of *happiness*? He says, verse 50, "flesh and blood can not inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit (*aphtharsian*) incorruption," a perfect parallelism in which he uses *aphtharsian* as synonymous with the kingdom of God; and yet according to you, the term is inapplicable to *happiness*! What was Peter speaking of, 1st Epistle i: 4, but *happiness*, perfect in its nature and *endless* in duration, when he speaks of "an inheritance incorruptible, (*aphtharton*,) undefiled, (*amiantou*,) and unfading, (*amaranton*,) reserved in heaven for you?" Is not the inheritance of which Peter speaks, "a state of being?" a state of *happiness*? and of *permanent duration*? Most assuredly all three. And yet Mr. Campbell roundly asserts that "not one of them (the three terms including *aphthartos*) could properly be applied to a simple state of being, or to happiness

or misery!" The more I reflect on this declaration, the more I am astonished that it should ever have been made by you. It was evidently made when driven to a most distressing strait.

15. You evidently saw the impossibility of fairly maintaining your position, and therefore to invalidate the force of the word *akatalutos*, you state that "it only *figuratively* signifies *endless*," and attempt to make your readers believe that it does not legitimately and naturally have this meaning. And what is not a little curious, you immediately proceed to the consideration of *aionios*, everlasting, your strong hold, and undertake to maintain that this word can only be used in a *limited* sense when used *figuratively*, but that when "taken in its fair and *literal* import," it uniformly signifies *endless*!

16. This curious manœuvre of yours, touching the *literal* and *figurative* meaning of these words, is in my view calculated directly to mislead your readers, instead of enlightening them with the true meaning of the words. For I maintain that the word *akatalutos* and the other Greek words above defined, are never in the New Testament applied either *literally* or *figuratively*, to things and objects of a perishable nature or limited duration; but uniformly to things and subjects of permanent and *endless* duration. And I furthermore affirm that the Hebrew *olem*, and Greek *aion*, *aionios*, and their parallels, are literally and far more frequently used to signify a *limited*, or an *indefinite* period of time, than *endless* duration; and further, that they *never* literally and strictly signify *endless* duration in the Scriptures unless there is something in the *nature* of the subject to which they are applied, which *absolutely* requires and *necessarily* fixes this meaning upon them: and I call on you to disprove either of these assertions. Point me to a single passage in the Bible if you can, where *akatalutos*, *aphthartos*, *aphtharsia*, or *athanasia*, are applied either to mere things of earth, or to a state or condition of punishment, misery or unhappiness, or to *any* subject of *limited* duration. Point me if you can, to a single text where *aionios* signifies *endless*, unless the nature of the subject *absolutely* requires it. So much for your *figurative* and *literal* construction of those Greek words. And yet you affirm that "there is no word in human language that expresses duration without end which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked!" Nevertheless, you

can find no stronger term by which to express the endless duration of punishment than the Greek *aiônios*, confessedly one of the most ambiguous words in all the Bible! Nay, to add to your difficulties and embarrassment, you have not been able to adduce a single passage from the Bible, where even *this* word, ambiguous as it is in meaning, is clearly and obviously applied to punishment in a future state of being! But though as a matter of indulgence, I were to grant that you might find a passage or two that spoke of *aiônios punishment*, even in another state of being, it would devolve on you, before such passage could avail you any thing, to prove that there was something in the nature of punishment that necessarily required it to be endless in duration. But "this, give me leave to say with all emphasis, no living man can do. I feel myself logically, grammatically, as well as theologically and religiously compelled to affirm this proposition—that in reference to things mundane, or to things of this life," and in reference to *all punishment*, consequent of the aberrations and follies of men in this life, the words *aiônios*, *everlasting*, etc., are used in their strictly literal and legitimate, but yet in a limited sense, from the very nature of the subjects to which they are applied.

17. Your constant and overweening, yet fruitless efforts throughout your reply to Mr. M., to make it appear that *olém*, *aiônios*, *everlasting*, etc., when used in their unfigurative, common and literal sense, must necessarily signify *endless*, and whenever used in a limited sense must be used *figuratively*, clearly evinces how important you thought this point to the successful maintainance of your ground, and yet you are unable to adduce a particle of evidence in favor of this assertion. But you seem over anxious to press Mr. M. into an acknowledgment of the propriety of this construction. And why? Because as you pretend, if this is not conceded, the application of the terms to God, "will undeify our Creator and annihilate the universe!" Do not be alarmed my good Sir, the Creator shall not be undeified, (nor do I intend he shall be *demonised*,) nor the universe annihilated. I will freely grant you that God is self-existent, and necessarily endless in his being, and that, entirely independent of the application to him of the Greek *aiônios*, or the English *everlasting*.

18. Suppose, Sir, I hear a person speak of a *great man* and the *great God*; I say to him, Sir, I suppose you use the

word great only in a figurative sense when applied to the man, but in a strictly *literal* sense when applied to God. No, says he, "I use it *literally* in both cases—I do not use it *figuratively* in either of these or any similar case. The word when applied to God, signifies *infinitely great*, not from the original and natural import of the word, but from the necessity of the case, because we know God is infinitely great, and in no sense can he be considered finite or limited. But it is used literally, though in a comparative sense when applied to man, and the word *great* (which takes its peculiar meaning from the nature of the subject to which it is applied) is much more frequently applied to finite beings and things than to the infinite Creator." I start back in horror and exclaim, Alas! Sir, you have "undeified the Creator," reduced him to a level with a mere man, and thereby "annihilated the universe!" This, Sir, would place me in precisely the condition in which your argument places you.

19. What, Sir, have we no evidence of the endless perpetuity of God, angels, saints and happiness, but what is derived from the force of this very equivocal and ambiguous word *aiōnios*, which is applied to the priesthood of Aaron, to the covenant of circumcision, to the possession of the land of Canaan, to a man's life-time, to the three days during which Jonah was in the whale's belly, to hundreds of things which have had, or from their nature must have, an end, and which the best of lexicographers say is "used to express a *limited time*," and seems to be *much more frequently used for an indefinite than for an infinite time*?" (See Parkhurst.) Thanks be to God, my hope rests on a firmer and better foundation than this.

20. For not only have we the Greek words applied to God and the future condition of mankind, which I have before shown are never applied to earthly things or any thing of a perishable nature or limited duration, by which to prove the endless existence of God and happiness; but further, we know that as God is self-existent and independent of all other causes and beings, he must necessarily exist *ad infinitum*, *endlessly*—no cause can operate to destroy his existence. He is the I AM. In him *life* and *happiness* are without beginning and must be without end; therefore, they are strictly eternal and endless in their nature, being original and essential in God. Man is the *offspring*, the *child* of God. God is the Father of *all spirits*.

Christ is the Mediator: in him is *life*; and this life is the *light of men*. He is the head of every man. Ye are dead and your life is hid with Christ in God. Because he lives ye shall live also. Man's life and happiness will be strictly endless, because founded in and derived from God. Christ says of men in the resurrection and beatified state, "*neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.*" Luke xx: 36. St. Paul speaks of a "kingdom which can not be moved"—*asaleuton, immovable*. Heb. xii: 28. St. Peter speaks of "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that *fadeth not away, reserved in heaven;*" and of "a crown of glory that *fadeth not away.*" 1 Pct. i: 4; v: 4. We read Isa. xlv: 17—"Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation; ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded *world without end.*" But where, Sir, do we read that the punishment of the wicked shall continue *world without end*? Where do we find any thing tantamount in expressing duration, to those words and phrases that are applied to the happiness of heaven? No where in the Bible. But look, Sir, to the following words of Paul, 2 Cor. iv: 17; where he out-does and goes if possible beyond all which he had before said in regard to the happiness of the saints: "For our present light affliction worketh for us *kath hyperbolon eis hyperbolon, aionion baros dozēs katērgazetai emin: a glory exceeding aionion to an excess.*" Here is an hyperbole upon an hyperbole: *beyond eternal; a far more (or excessively) exceeding aionion, weight of glory*. How entirely prostrated, Sir, is your reasoning here shown to be. For if, as you say, *aionion*, when applied to things of another world, or "beyond the confines of time and sense," always and necessarily signifies *endless*; how could its duration be exceeded, and that by an *extraordinary excess*, as expressed in the text? It is evident that Paul did not consider it as signifying *endless*; for what is *endless* can have nothing *beyond* it: and furthermore, when he wants to express a greater duration than *aionion*, and still not express absolute eternity, he uses the *double plural, tous aionious ton aionon*, or ages of ages, which neither he, nor any other Scripture writer, would have done, had the word *aion* of itself, or any of its derivatives, signified strictly *endless*.

21. Thus, Sir, it is clearly demonstrated that the words

aion, *aionios*, etc., do not of themselves naturally express *endless duration*; and it devolves upon you to prove from the *nature of punishment itself*, that it is and *necessarily must be endless in duration*, before *aionios*, when applied to punishment, can be allowed to have the signification of endless. But this, I have said, neither you nor any living man can do. Nay more, I will volunteer, on the other hand, to prove that punishment, from its very nature, must be limited and *can not* be endless in duration.

22. What is punishment? Had it a beginning? If so, when, and where? Did it have its root, its fountain, its origin and being in God? Certainly not. It is not co-eternal with God. It has not its fountain and root in him, as have mankind, and as have life and happiness. It is the effect or consequence of the finite actions, of finite beings, in a finite space of time. It is the sad inheritance of the sins and frailties of frail mortals, for their departures from duty and their violation of the revealed will and laws of God. Has God any pleasure in it? No, not the least. See Isa. xlv: 7-10; lv: 1-7; lvii: 16-18. Lam. iii: 33. Ezek. xviii: 32. 2 Pet. iii: 9. 1 Tim. ii: 4. Then he will not perpetuate it to all eternity. He will finish sin, make an end of transgression, (which, since the creation of man and contrary to his law, have sprung up to mar the happiness of his children,) and reclaim all his alienated family, so that universal holiness and consequent happiness shall at length prevail, which alone accord with the divine will and nature. There is no possible ground on which you can raise even a plausible argument in favor of the endless perpetuity of punishment, unless with Zoroaster and other Heathen philosophers, you maintain that there are *two* Divinities, *coeval* and *co-eternal*, the one the author of all good, and the other the author of all evil; and therefore, that, as evil is of as long standing as good, it will be co-eternal with it. But this you will never attempt.

23. I may now vary and return your language thus:—Were we to force the meaning of *endless* upon the word *aionios* as applied to the punishment of the wicked, contrary to the obvious design of God and all the inspired writers, (and endless misery should prove *true*;) if it did not “undecify our Creator and annihilate the universe,” it would *transform our Creator into a fiend of infinite cruelty, clothe heaven in sackcloth and mourning, and fill the universs*

with sighs and tears—which would be a much more deplorable event. But this can never be : for God is *God*, and not man. Your system of endless sin, and misery, and evil, is therefore completely prostrated, nor can its shattered fragments ever be gathered up again ; no, not even by your own extraordinary powers. The kingdom of darkness and death shall terminate, and man universally be happy and free. And even you, yourself, will yet join with me in celebrating the happy and glorious event.—
Amen.

24. The remark I made about your unfairness and disingenuousness in ascribing to your opponent the ridiculous construction of Mark xvi : 16, which you did ascribe to him, and which neither he nor any other Universalist ever thought of putting on the text, will apply with equal propriety to what you say in your last paragraph but two, about Matt. xxv : 41. If you, Sir, are incapable of conceiving how the protracted *punishment* of the wicked can be *disciplinary* and *corrective*, and therefore ultimate in good, (though we never thought of attempting to reclaim the devil by it, but calculated on his destruction, See Heb. ii : 14,) you might possibly obtain some light on the subject by applying to some reformed convicts from the State penitentiaries.

25. I thank you for your “left hand compliment” to the Quakers and Universalists from the writings of Thomas Paine, and beg leave still further “to amend the bill by substituting” *Advocate of endless misery* in place of *Universalist*. For full well am I satisfied the doctrine of endless misery has made more deists and infidels than all the writings of Thomas Paine twice told. Robert Owen, your quondam opponent, his son Robert Dale, Paine, Carlisle, and Taylor, and Frances Wright, and nearly all their coadjutors in Europe and America, were brought up and nurtured in the faith of endless damnation. And what, Sir, but that horrid doctrine and the erroneous supposition that the Bible taught it, led them to reject the Bible and with it the whole of Christianity. Robert Dale Owen says he was “brought up a Presbyterian of the strictest sect,” and that “the doctrine of *endless punishment* was the first thing that staggered his young credulity!” It is related of Lord Shaftsbury, that on asking Bishop Burnet if the doctrine of endless torment was actually taught in the Bible, and being answered in the affirmative, he immediately replied, “I can not embrace a system which incul-

cates a doctrine so utterly opposed to all just ideas of the character of the merciful Ruler of the universe." And many a good and benevolent mind, permit me to say to you, Sir, has come to the same determination. Taking it for granted from the testimony of their religious teachers that the Bible teaches the horrid doctrine of endless sin and wo, they at once reject the whole as utterly unworthy of a God of benevolence and wisdom. And the transitions from the doctrine of endless misery to deism, are in my opinion as *ninety-nine* to *one*, when compared with the number of those who go from Universalism to deism; while it is a well known fact that Universalism has reclaimed many an infidel to the faith of the Gospel, when nothing else could have done it but God himself.

26. Let Christianity be stripped of all heathen dogmas, and all doctrines of human invention, and especially of the God-dishonoring and soul-withering system of endless sin and suffering, which I have shown is no part of revelation, and stands directly opposed to the Bible, and let the Gospel be presented to man in its purity and divinity, as a system of universal love and grace, worthy of a God of infinite wisdom, and power, and goodness, and it will, it must be received: yea, many an infidel will then be reclaimed, and with tears of grateful joy will exclaim:

"Should all the forms that men devise,
Assault my faith with treacherous art,
I'll call them vanity and lies,
And bind the Gospel to my heart."

Yours with all due respect, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER TWO.

BETHANY, APRIL, 1837.

DEAR SIR—After a silence of so many months, occasioned by circumstances well known to you, permit me to resume my pen :—

2. None of my readers will accuse me of any effort on my part to provoke this controversy with Universalists on their peculiar sectarianisms. The proposed discussion with Mr. Skinner, from his own showing, was transformed to him by Mr. Montgomery, of Auburn, New-York; and and Mr. Montgomery, on his own responsibility, assumed the place of Mr. Spencer; and Mr. Spencer simply addressed me one letter on a single query, without any proposition of a discussion, which query I answered without the slightest intimation of having undertaken, or about to undertake, a debate on such questions. So the matter terminated, as I supposed, to the satisfaction of Mr. Spencer, from whom I have never since heard.

3. From October, 1835, till February, 1836, there was a profound silence on the subject of my reply to friend Spencer. In February we published Mr. Montgomery's letter, and replied to his queries in the same number. Silence again ensued, and continued till in June last, when I had an introduction to Mr. M. in the house of brother Shepherd, of Auburn, when I received from him what I understood to be a *challenge* on the subject of my reply to him of February, 1836. It was, indeed, with much apparent modesty couched in this question :—“ *Will you,*” said Mr. Montgomery, “ *publish letters from me in reply to you on the subject of Universalism?*” or, “ *Will you continue to publish letters from me if I continue to write on the subject of my letter to you.*” In one of these forms of expression I was addressed on that occasion; and I am

pleased to see that in Mr. M.'s letter to Mr. Skinner, he has fully admitted it, in these words :—" Brother Skinner, — June 29, 1836.—Mr. Campbell is now here. It was to see him that I delayed writing to you. *I called upon him this morning to know whether he would publish my letters, if I continued them.* I did not at first allude to a substitute. He objected to me on account of my youth."

4. All men of sense, to say nothing of sensibility, will, I doubt not, interpret this as I then did, into a very plain challenge to discuss the merits of Universalism with Mr. Montgomery on the pages of the Harbinger. I looked upon the young gentleman, in the bloom of 25, or thereabout, as quite a promising Goliath, and upon the whole thought it safest to decline the combat : yet, as one does not like to be called a coward, I got off honorably, telling him that as I was going "down East" to the regions of light, I would, when nigher the sun-rising, in Boston, or somewhere thereabout, rather encounter some of the older giants, the Anakims or Zamzummins of Universalism ; for if I killed him, these sons of Hercules would say I only killed a mere stripling, which would be unmanly and dishonorable. I very gravely, indeed, inquired of my redoubtable friend the names of the mighty men in Boston, and he gave me a full statement of their respective merits. But, Sir, it may be gratifying to yourself, as well as the public, to know that he represented Mr. Skinner, of Utica, to be as competent as the best of them ; nay, perhaps, "*a more ready writer than any of them.*" Of this, however, I will not say much more, lest some might think that the fame which he gave me of yourself was the cause of my passing Utica without a call.

5. But it has come to pass, that notwithstanding his writing to the constellation of Boston, apprizing them of his communication with me, and my intimating to Mr. Balfour, whom he represented as the most *learned*, if not the most gifted of them all, my willingness to discuss this subject, especially from the attitude in which Universalism stood since Dr. Ely and Mr. Thomas had given a new volume on the subject ; I received no invitation to discuss the question, though, as I learned, most of these gentlemen heard me speak while in Boston, and perhaps allude to their dogmas. Having received no invitation, I gave none : for to offer challenges is not my custom. *Every public discussion which I have had on any religious question, has*

been on an accepted challenge. On this occasion, then, I appear in my usual attitude.

6. But now that I am before the public in defence of *the sanctions of the Gospel*, of the basis of God's moral government and of all political government, against a system of religious and moral belief which makes *satan* a metaphor, *hell* a fable, and *punishment after death* a mere bug-bear, I trust I have found an honorable, talented, and learned disputant; a gentleman indeed who will sustain that character to the end. As such, I will respect and address him.

7. He has, however, been too eager for the combat: for he has rushed into the arena without a single proposition, stipulation, or preliminary arrangement.

8. Were he asked, What are the propositions which we have agreed to discuss? What are the rules of this discussion? How long is it to continue? Who is to open and close it? What are the rules of evidence to be relied on? What the authorities to be admitted? etc., etc. I can not imagine what answers he would give. For my part I would respond, in general terms, that I never had a stipulation with Mr. Spencer, or Mr. Montgomery, or Mr. Skinner, on any one of these matters.

9. Certainly Mr. Skinner will admit that there ought to be some such previous understanding, and that I ought to have at least half the contract or stipulations on these very important points, if we intend that the public shall be benefited by our labors. He might spread the controversy over the whole face of the Atlantic, as in his letter published in our last number, and the discussion might continue for years without any beneficial result.

10. If, indeed, a written discussion had been duly proposed by "Spencer" in 1835, or by Mr. Montgomery in 1836, and if all the propositions and rules of discussion had been agreed upon and published to the world, Mr. Skinner, in accepting the place of such parties to a discussion in 1837, might have commenced, *sans ceremonie*, as he has done, and gone ahead, as he seems disposed to do, as though he were hasting out of cannon shot of the enemy. But neither of these gentlemen were ever parties to a discussion with me, and consequently Mr. Skinner, in taking their place, as he seems to wish to do, is without law, or rule, or stipulation in the case; and had he not been rich in resources, he ought to have saved his nine columns, or

nine feet of argument, till we had got some point or proposition logically before us at which to have aimed his artillery. At present he has lost much ammunition by not waiting the arrival of his opponent. However, it has gone to our readers without comment, and it is to them so much clear gain.

11. I will not, indeed, incur the censure of all literary men by beginning a debate without a clear and definite understanding of the points at issue, and the rules of discussion. It will serve no purpose for Mr. Skimmer to waste time in telling me that he prosecutes a controversy begun; for there was no controversy begun: nor that he continues to sustain a proposition agreed upon; for there was no proposition agreed upon: and hence Mr. Spencer and Mr. Montgomery write on different subjects; and Mr. Skinner has got a little of every thing in his first letter. He may say, indeed, that I have agreed to have a discussion on the peculiarities of Universalism, and have accepted him as a disputant on the recommendation of Mr. M. as a substitute *letter-writer* on something connected with the party; and he may say that I proposed an *oral*, but that he preferred, and seized, *instantly*, on a *written* discussion of something; and that I proposed certain considerations in my letter to him of the 29th November, and that he answered them on the 23d December, as now published in both our Magazines; and that, without again hearing from me, he commenced and published a very long article while I was attending to a discussion which kept me from home for ten weeks; and that he practically claims the right of beginning when, and where, and how he pleases; and of continuing *ad infinitum*, or otherwise, as he pleases. All this, and perhaps more, he may say: but I say, and will stand to it, that we have not agreed upon the questions to be discussed, nor upon the rules of the discussion, nor upon the evidences to be relied on, nor upon the extent to which we shall prolong the investigation, and that these are essential matters with all logicians and with all persons who aim at perspicuity, conviction, and public utility. I shall, therefore, take upon me to show what questions I think may be embraced in the contemplated discussion, and leave it with the gentleman to say whether any or all of them shall be debated:—

1. Is there any *punishment* for sin?
2. If any, is that punishment *present* or *future*?

3. If future, is that future *before* or *after death*?

4. If after death, is it *temporary* or *eternal*?

Or, to embrace your views of the Gospel in a single question on which to concentrate all the force of argument on both sides, perhaps you would prefer to affirm your Gospel in one proposition, viz.—

5. *Is eternal life the ultimate destiny of all mankind?*

An issue can be formed on your answer to any one of these questions.

12. You may have a dispute about *words* or *things*. You may affirm, if you please, that—

1. There is no word in Hebrew, Greek, Latin or English, which, in its literal and primary sense, denotes duration without end; or that—

2. The nature of the substantive only can qualify the attribute, and not the attribute the nature of the substantive! Thus whether God be eternal, or the saints forever happy, can not be proved from the words *eternal* or *forever*; but from the nature of the substantive *God*, the substantive *saints*, or the substantive *happiness*. This would seem to embrace one of those points on which you feel most strong. Hence, that—

3. Unless there be something in the nature of misery which makes *eternal* mean *duration without end*, no living person can prove that *eternal*, prefixed to misery, means misery without end; and that unless there be something in happiness which is of necessity endless, as there is in God, no epithet can be found which would certainly indicate it. Or,

4. You may affirm that *gehenna*, *tartarus*, *sheol*, *oulcm*, *hades*, *aion*, *aionos*, *ævum*, etc., etc., separate or together, afford no certainty whatever on the future destiny of man; and thus we may have a *logomachy* most preposterous and uninteresting to ninety-nine of every hundred of our readers. For debates of this sort afford to the weak party a great facility of throwing dust in the eyes of the great mass, while they escape exposure in the panoply of bold and confident assertion, which with many is more convincing than all the syllogisms of logic or the whole syntax of reason.

13. If, then, you prefer a dispute about *words* rather than *things*, you will select one or more of these four propositions, or some of similar categories and predicaments; but if you go for *things*, or for approaching the main point

at once, meet me on such of the first four questions as you may suppose will afford an issue, which you will ascertain by answering those questions with a Yes or No ; or meet me on the *fifth*, which is, after all, the marrow and fatness of Universalism.

14. Now for the evidence which may be introduced in the discussion : on which I beg leave to suggest—

1. That a future state being wholly a matter of revelation, no other witnesses than the Apostles and Prophets, or the Spirit of God speaking in them, can be admitted as of any authority.

2. That their testimony on the subject is complete in the Old and New Testaments, especially in the latter.

3. That the words of the Bible are to be subjected to the canons of criticism or laws of language current in the commonwealth of letters ; and that no new, or by-laws, other than those to which all writings of the same antiquity are subjected, can be admitted in the interpretation of any disputed word or sentence.

4. That King James' version shall be ultimate in every appeal to translations ; or if the gentleman choose, I will not object to the new and improved version on the basis of Campbell, Macknight, and Doddridge.

15. And finally for the Rules of Discussion :—

1. As the challenge came from the Universalists, and as they have opened the discussion, the propositions discussed shall be so framed as that Mr. Skinner take the affirmative, and A. Campbell the negative. As for example, Mr. Skinner affirms that *eternal life, according to the Scriptures, shall be the ultimate destiny of all mankind* ; and A. Campbell denies it.

2. The respondent shall of course close the discussion.

3. The disputants shall occupy equal space in their respective periodicals.

4. No letter shall occupy more than six pages, *bourgeois*, of the Millennial Harbinger.

5. The discussion shall not transcend *twelve* letters on each side.

6. The parties shall, as early as possible, in every month, forward to each other a proof-sheet of their letters.

7. The parties shall always confine themselves to the proposition under discussion, if there be more than one, (which there ought not if possible,) so long as it is agreed to prosecute it.

16. Such, in our judgment, would be a fair arrangement with reference to public edification; and if our friend Mr. Skinner will assent to it, or propose any reasonable amendment, I shall proceed forthwith to respond to him on any issue which he may form on the aforesaid premises.

17. For the edification of our readers, and in evidence of the correctness of the views above presented, I shall offer a remark or two on the communications of these three Universalists.

18. Mr. Spencer appears not as a *disputant*, but in the attitude of a *querist*. His plan was to state his views of *gehenna*, *aion*, *aionos*, *oleu*, and *ævum*, as he had gleaned them from various sources; and not finding in them as he reasoned "any punishment for sinners *after death*," he calls upon me in the following words:—"Now, Sir, if the Scriptures, both Jewish and Christian, can furnish evidence to prove a punishment for sinners after death, do let me have it; and if such punishment is established, then I want to know the nature of such punishment in point of duration."

19. In my reply to this query, discovering that Mr. Spencer was no very profound adept in verbal criticism, and especially because I wished to state a few plain facts and reasons, I did not dispute with him on the biblical import of those terms; but observed that "all he had said about *gehenna* and its correlates, and even more than he had said, *may* be admitted, and yet eternal life and eternal death remain the immutable and invincible sanctions of God's last message to mankind, and all his inferences and conclusions be repudiated by every believer of the Gospel as *illogical* and *unscriptural*."

20. Mr. Skinner was then *mistaken*, when, in his letter of February 10th, as published in our March number, page 130, he represents me as "giving up *sheol*, *hades*, *gehenna*, as being in themselves insufficient to teach the doctrine of endless misery." I did not say so. Certainly the gentleman can discriminate between admitting or *conceding* for the sake of argument, or for saving of time or labor, the plea or hypothesis of a querist or an opponent, and *admitting* that plea as incontrovertibly just and true. I trust, then, he will be more observant and acute in future. I never did admit it; but I was pleased, for the sake of brevity and despatch, to concede his hypothesis; and because a debate about Greek and Hebrew words to the multitude

of readers is a most uninteresting matter—especially when every thing can be established without such a *logomachy*.

21. Mr. Montgomery appears to have been more attentive than Mr. Skinner to the qualification of my concessions to Mr. Spencer; for he quotes a part of my reasons for the concession, in the words following, to wit: "To the extent and application of Spencer's criticisms, and to the style of his reasonings I *might*, perhaps, make some exceptions; but to *save time and labor, always with me a desideratum*, I will concede the whole!" Does this look like giving up the import of the terms of this controversy!"

22. Mr. Montgomery also first appears not as a disputant, but as one praying for more light on the subject. His words are: "I therefore write to present my views on this subject, praying you to point out wherein you deem me to be in error on the momentous question of Scriptural knowledge."

23. Mr. Spencer appears not in defence of Universalism, but as a querist. Mr. Montgomery defends Universalism against my remarks on Spencer's inferences; but with him I had no controversy about terms or inferences. If, however, I must go into an examination of the terms, I shall show that the common translation is a very fair representation of the original, and that by an English concordance it is quite possible for a mere English scholar to arrive at as much certainty concerning the future destiny of all mankind, as from all the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles and lexicons on earth.

24. As it would be incompatible to reply to your February letter to me, while as yet the preliminaries are open and unsealed, and no proposition logically before us, I beg to enter my *caveat* against one species of debating growing into esteem in some places.

25. The *ad captandum* style of controversy, a species of rhetoric for effect, is much in fashion now-a-days in Rome—and Cincinnati. I had concluded that Roman Catholics had got a patent for it in this country, but I see one of the Editors of your paper has got a hand in it some way or other. Speaking of myself, under date of the 3d February, in reference to this controversy, you say: "If he (myself) does succeed in putting down Universalism, at which he aims, he will accomplish a great thing—a thing, by the bye, which *no other man* has ever yet succeeded in accomplishing." I could find some other fine specimens of this style in your

letter of February, but I dare not touch them at present. Permit me to say of this stroke of policy, that the class that are caught by it are much in need of Universalism. What cause was ever put down by a single discussion, or by one or two efforts? Was corrupt Judaism—was any system of idolatry or of false philosophy thus put down and destroyed by the Apostles? Has Romanism, Mahometanism, or infidelity been put down by all the efforts of a thousand years! And what does this prove?—that Romanism, Mahometanism, or Skepticism is true and righteous? or that those opposed to them are in error or imbecile? What else could you mean by it!! Let us, then, have no more of this lure. They are silly birds that are caught in such a snare. I do not think that if the twelve Apostles were with us in disguise, and to debate every day as Paul used to do, they could put down Romanism, Mahometanism, Paganism, or any other erroneous or corrupt *ism* in twice seven years. Still they would do a great deal; and we hope to do something for the truth, and to keep alive the ancient “enmity between thy seed and her seed,” till the time when the saints shall possess the kingdom.

26. I profess in the spirit of candor and of truth to discuss the points at issue, and I trust that I shall be met in the same spirit and style. I regret that the preliminaries were not arranged before you commenced. It is better, however, as the case is, to await their acceptance, than to put to sea without compass, or pilot, or port in view. I have no doubt but much time and many words will be saved by a due regard to the oracles of reason, of logic, and of experience, in the commencement. In order to expedite, as much as possible, the discussion, I request either the acceptance of the rules proposed, or such amendments as may be substituted, by return of mail, as I shall forward this communication to you by the first mail in April.

Very respectfully, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER III.

UTICA, MAY 25, 1837.

DEAR SIR—After so long a silence, which has been imposed on me from the impossibility of my obtaining sight of your April letter till after my return from the South, I resume my pen. I sincerely regret that you did not forward me a copy of your letter to *Virginia*, agreeable to my request sent you from Richmond, or that if you did so, it never reached me.*

2. I also regret as sincerely, to find, on the perusal of your April letter, that it is no reply, nor even an attempt to reply to my last. I did hope, my dear Sir, when I engaged in a discussion of the all important subject of controversy between us, that I had found an honorable and high-minded opponent, who would stand forth with Christian candor and manly boldness in defence of what he considers the truth and holy sanctions of the Gospel of Christ—one who felt himself above those little quibbles and stratagems, those bandyings of words about *challenges*, and the substitution of new and multiform questions for debate, unnecessary laws of evidence, rules of discussion, etc., etc., to the neglect of the main points at issue. And I will still cherish the fond-hope that what to me appears, in your letter now before me, to be a departure from the course of the honorable and high-minded Christian controversialist, is only an exception to your general character—that you will shortly return from this strange digression,

* On arriving at New-York, I found a copy of Mr. C.'s letter which had been mailed to *Baltimore* sometime (date not in the post mark) to the care of Rev. L. S. Everett, for me, and remailed to New-York between the 20th and 30th of April. But as I had made no request to have any letter thus addressed for me *later than March*, and Mr. E. did not know whither to forward it at so late a season, I did not get it, while in *Virginia*.

resume the discussion of the points on which we are already at issue, and fairly, candidly, and fully investigate them *pro bono publico*. For I am fully confident that all of our readers, and I believe most of yours, are much more desirous of, and would be more essentially benefitted by seeing a thorough and candid discussion of the points of difference between us, than by seeing an *everlasting controversy ABOUT a discussion*.

3. I have too often been disgusted with long controversies about a *challenge*, as to which party had given it, when perhaps both parties had virtually, but neither verbally, given it. You make a labored effort to prove that you have been *challenged* by the Universalists; but I think you do not succeed in the effort. For certainly I have not challenged you—Spencer did not challenge you—and though you say Mr. Montgomery did, the proof you give of it only shows that he modestly inquired of you, “*Will you continue to publish letters from me, if I continue to write on the subject of my letter to you?*”—Suppose A, B, C, and D, to meet in social mood at the house of C—A converses with C awhile on the subject of religion. He then retires, and B resumes the conversation where A left it. They are soon interrupted, and B says to C, I should be glad to converse longer on this subject for mutual edification, if convenient, for I deem it of vast importance; but as it is inconvenient for me, I would like to hear you and D converse further on the points whereon we differ. C and D both assent to the proposal. Now, in all this there would be no challenge given or received, or requisite. It is a mutual agreement for a conversation on a particular subject. Precisely so stands the case with us in my view.

4. I must however confess that, taking every thing into consideration, pertaining to this matter, you occupy a somewhat singular position. You first appear very anxious the subject should be discussed—say to Mr. Montgomery, you have fully made up your mind to canvass it—think justice was not done to it by Messrs. Ely and Thomas, and resolve if a fair opportunity presents of getting glory in the controversy, to engage at once. But as Haman of old scorned to lay hands upon Mordecai alone, lest he should not by his death exterminate the whole race, so the celebrated Mr. Campbell scorns to re-engage in the controversy with an amiable young man “in the blocm of 25, or thereabout,” though he acknowledges him to be “a promising Goliath.”

He resolves on "encountering some of the older giants, the Anakims, or Zamzummims of Universalism," and to let "these sons of Hercules" know that he could kill something more than a "stripling." Well, he reaches the land of the giants, the far-famed city of Boston, and there is introduced to one of these mighty men of Universalism, preaches in the presence of most of them, (*perhaps* they hear him allude to their dogmas,) and is very anxious to start a controversy with the mightiest of them all; *but*—* * * as he never challenges others for controversy, only accepts challenges when others give them, he could only say to them, or hint by his actions, "Come, gentlemen giants, you Anakims and Zamzummims, just give me a challenge for a discussion—I'll meet the stoutest of you if you'll only *challenge* me to fight." But, alas! no man challenges him—he was either not large enough to attract their notice, or else they were afraid of him and did not dare to encounter so mighty a champion, or else they had not the bump of combativeness very strongly developed! And Mr. C. returns to the shades of Bethany, without having won a single laurel in battle with any Universalist, save the little one he picked up at Lockport, N. Y.!

5. Having returned from the East without starting there any controversy with what he is pleased to style the "sons of Hercules," it was expected that my friend Campbell would have so good an appetite for the prosecution of the controversy already begun, as to need no other stimulus to engage right heartily in it, but to be reminded of the engagement already entered into with Mr. Montgomery.*

6. Accordingly, without allowing myself to doubt your intention to fulfil the agreement on your part, I wrote you November 14, merely to remind you how I understood that agreement, and to consult you about the *time* of re-publishing in our paper what was already before your readers, and then continuing the discussion of the subject already under consideration. You replied November 29, tacitly admitted the correctness of my understanding of said agreement, but offered another alternative, *viz.*, an *oral debate*, (*which some of my friends, though I doubted it myself, supposed to be a stratagem to get rid of the discussion already commenced,*) leaving the acceptance of the alternative optional with me; and saying in regard to the

* See Preface and Preliminary Letters.

time of resuming the discussion, that your attention would most likely be wholly engrossed with the Catholic discussion till the first of February, and hence it would be injudicious to divert your attention from it till after that period. I answered this, December 23, informing you that I chose to adhere to the engagement already entered into, rather than accept of your proposed alternative, and should accordingly re-publish the articles from the Harbinger in season to follow them with "*my reply to your last article between the first and middle of February.*" To this you made no objection, no reply. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, 1837, the 5th number the discussion,* viz., my reply to yours in the Harbinger of February, 1836, was duly published. It was re-published in the Harbinger in March last: and now, after waiting about *three months* from the date of that letter, I am permitted to see your April No. of the Harbinger containing your last letter to me! And what do I see? Why, my opponent horror-smitten at my eagerness for the debate, and at my entire want of method; nay, even more, I have no proposition to discuss, and am "without law, or rule, or stipulation in the case." You would fain persuade our readers that I have "been too eager for the combat," have "gone ahead as though I were hasting out of cannon shot of the enemy," and although I have "spread the controversy over the whole face of the Atlantic," and have "got a little of every thing" in my letter, yet I have only been *beating* the air, not knowing what I was about, and in all that I have said, you can not find a single proposition to controvert, not one on which you are at issue with me. Hence you very quaintly ask, "What are the propositions which we have agreed to discuss? What are the rules of this discussion? How long is it to continue? Who is to open and close it? What are the rules of evidence to be relied on? What the authorities to be admitted? etc., etc." But, my dear Sir, permit me to query in my turn. Why are these questions *now* propounded in the 6th letter* of the discussion? Why not proposed to Mr. Montgomery when you agreed to continue the discussion, only accepting of me instead of him, as the defender of Universalism? If you forgot to put them then, why not put them to me in your letter of November 29th? Or if you forgot it then, why

* Beginning with "Spencer's" Letter.

not propose them after you received mine of December 23d? in which I informed you I should *reply to your last, early in February*. But no, you never thought of these questions then, nor till after my reply had been published, nor am I permitted to see them till near *three months from that time*! Is it not fair, then, to infer, and will not your readers naturally infer, that not until you read my letter of February 10th, did you *think* of proposing any such questions?—that you then found, that in order to reply to the arguments therein contained, *hic labor est, hoc opus est*—? And hence that you had recourse to the *ruse de guerre* which your April letter exhibits, in order to divert the attention of your readers from the real points at issue between us! But, Sir, “they are silly birds that are caught in such a snare.” And after the perusal of this specimen of your controversial talents, and the first question which you gravely propose for opening the discussion, viz. “Is there *any punishment* for sin,” I should expect you would be the last man in Christendom to accuse your opponent of having recourse to the “*ad captandum* style of controversy.”

7. What, Sir, no question at issue between us for discussion! And yet you say you are now “before the public in defence of *the sanctions* of the Gospel, of the basis of God’s moral government, and of all political government, against a system of religious and moral belief which makes *satan* a metaphor, *hell* a fable, and *punishment after death* a mere bugbear!” And pray, Sir, what are those *sanctions* in defence of which you stand before the public? (and, by the way, who is the advocate of the “system of religious and moral belief” of which you speak? for surely I know of no such system, and have seen nothing in this discussion thus far, that savors of it in the least.) Do you suppose our readers are all perfectly purblind, when you say, “neither of these gentlemen” (Spencer Montgomery, or myself) “were ever parties to a discussion with” yourself?—that “there was no controversy begun?” and that you “had no controversy with” Mr. M. “about terms or inferences?” Why, really Sir, did not Spencer lay down certain premises and introduce certain terms, and hence draw conclusions in favor of Universalism, and did you not *controvert* at least his conclusions? Did not Mr. M. *controvert* your arguments, and you his again in turn? And did not I formally reply again to yours? and yet *there was no*

controversy begun!!! Why, really Sir, are we to infer from hence, that notwithstanding your pretended arguments against these Universalists, you in fact and mentally acceded to all they have said, and are yourself a true Universalist? Very well, then, come out honestly and own it, and let your readers "have no more of this lure" to lead them back into a system which you do not believe yourself.

8. As to your question, "What are the propositions which we have agreed to discuss?" I will shortly point out what propositions *are already under discussion*, my arguments on which remain unanswered. "Who is to open and close it?" *It is already opened*—how, when and by whom, you, and I, and our readers all know; and it will be closed by whom and at such time as we shall hereafter agree. These are not necessary questions at this stage of the controversy, though I have no objections to having them settled fairly at any time. As to the rules of the discussion, the evidence and authorities to be admitted, *etc.*, I consider that honorable controversialists never need be concerned about these, when they engage with honorable opponents. If either party should at any time depart from the common rules of courtesy and propriety, or attempt to bolster up his cause by inadmissible or disreputable authority, the other party would not fail to take advantage of it and turn it against the aggressor. The self-respect of each party ought to be a sufficient guaranty on these points.

9. But to show you that I am disposed to accommodate you in any thing and every thing reasonable—to have distinct and well defined questions and propositions to discuss, and all reasonable rules, regulations and limits fixed, I will proceed,

10. *First*, to the questions and propositions for discussion.

1. *Are sheol, hades, and gehenna*, (separately or together) ever used in the Scriptures to express a place or state of endless misery? Although I honestly supposed you had relinquished the affirmative of this question, from the fact that you said, "to save time and labor, *I will concede the whole*," (which Spencer advanced concerning these words,) and though Mr. Montgomery appears to have understood you in the same way when he declares, "it gave me much satisfaction to perceive that you also was much pleased with it," (Spencer's letter,) "because you admit the truth

of his quotations and remarks, *simply excepting his inferences* ;” yet, as you have now taken back that concession, which I am perfectly willing you should do, as you appear to have more time and labor to spare at present, you have now the affirmative of this question to sustain. I take the negative of course.

2. Do the words *alem, aion, aionios*, etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked, mean duration without end? You have already taken the affirmative and I the negative of this question.

3. Is there “any word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked,” or which can “certify us that God, angels or saints shall have duration without end?” I have already taken the affirmative and you the negative of this question.

4. “Shall eternal life (meaning thereby endless holiness and happiness,) be, according to the Scriptures, the ultimate destiny of all mankind?” Here I have the affirmative and you the negative. This question is already in discussion before our readers substantially, in your statement that this doctrine is “out of the Record and to you a new revelation,” and my proof by a multitude of witnesses adduced in my letter of February 10th, that it is *in the Record*.

11. Thus we have each of us, two affirmatives and two negatives to sustain, and the laboring oars are equally divided between us, as they should be. It is but fair and equal that each should have an *affirmative* as well as a *negative* to defend. And this you will not object to, unless your system is a system of *negation*, and your *faith* consists in *unbelief*, especially after declaring that you are “before the public *in defence of the sanctions of the Gospel*,” etc.—This would be but fair and equal, even if a challenge had been given, though I have shown that none has been given on our side.

12. *Secondly* : As to the evidences admissible, I have no objections to the rules you mentioned, except that I would prefer that neither of us should be denied the advantages derivable from the *subordinate* lights of nature and reason, and the translations and comments of men of acknowledged eminence and standing in the republic of letters.

13. *Thirdly* and finally, for the rules of discussion. I

will not object to any of the seven rules you propose except the first, which as you see above, is by the state of the controversy somewhat modified, and the second and fifth, of which I will offer modifications or substitutes, which I think all impartial judges will acknowledge to be fair and honorable. I object to the rule that "the respondent (meaning yourself) shall close the discussion," that is unqualifiedly, by occupying six pages of the Harbinger after seeing my last letter, to which I shall be absolutely inhibited from replying. For it would not only be contrary to all rules of forensic debate, but would give you great advantage, by affording you an opportunity of introducing new and labored arguments in a new field, to which you knew no reply could be made, and thus afford a plausible pretext for claiming the victory from your last broadside, when in fact the enemy had quit the field before it was fired. I propose therefore two alternatives, each equally fair for both parties—take your choice. 1. After the stipulated number of letters of equal length shall have been exchanged of the controversy proper, each party shall write *one* of the same length in reviewing, summing up, and making the most he can for himself of the discussion, and these two last letters shall be published simultaneously (the time being before agreed upon) in our respective periodicals, neither of us seeing the last letter of his opponent till he has published his own. Or 2. After the stipulated number of letters of the controversy proper shall have been exchanged, the first writer shall occupy, in review or reply, *one-half* the space of the last; the last shall then occupy *one-half the space of that*; the other again one-half of that, and so on till the length of the letters is reduced to half, or a quarter of a page of the Harbinger, so that no labored argument on either side should remain unnoticed.

14. In relation to your 5th rule, that the number of letters shall be limited to *twelve* on each side, I would prefer that it should not be limited to so small a number: nevertheless, if you insist on it I will accede. I would prefer saying it shall not be *less than twelve nor more than twenty*, on each side: and either party shall have the privilege of closing the discussion at any intermediate number, by giving the other notice in one letter, that his *next* letter shall terminate the controversy proper. on his side.

15. Thus, Sir, I dispose of the subject matter of your April letter. The work is fairly before you. Gird yourself then to the task. Remember, Sir, you have "the sanctions" of your Gospel to defend, and "nine feet of argument" to refute, and that, too, "spread over the whole face of the Atlantic."

16. I am, my dear Sir, in earnest in this discussion. I do believe it to be an important one, and that, although feeble myself, my cause is strong, for truth is on my side. I hope you are also in earnest in your declared resolution fully to canvass the subject. But, Sir, you have a hard task to perform. I really commiserate your condition—not because you are destitute of talents for the task; for I know of no man that has the requisite talents, if you have them not. In most of your former controversies, you have had greatly the advantage from the very ground you occupied: for you have contended on the one hand, with sour and intolerant bigots, whether Protestant or Catholic, and on the other, with cold and heartless skeptics, whose aim was to prostrate the dearest hopes of humanity. Of course you had the light of nature and revelation, the voice of reason and humanity, the desires of all benevolent hearts, and the prayers of all good men and angels on your side. But now all these are against you. You have espoused the cause of endless malevolence, sin and misery, against that of endless and universal benevolence, holiness and happiness. Wonder not, then, if in fighting this battle, your arms are inverted and turned against yourself. In consideration of this your unhappy condition, I am willing to make every allowance that charity itself can suggest, and really hope your courage will not flag till you have at least tried what can be done.

17. I shall send you a copy of this (in proof) seven or eight days before it will be published in our paper, so as to afford you time to publish and answer it in your June number, which I really hope will be done, and that, henceforth, nothing will retard the progress of the discussion.

Yours very sincerely, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER IV.

BETHANY, MAY 30, 1837.

DEAR SIR—Your favor reached me only per mail of yesterday, and to-day, the 30th May, I hand my reply to the compositor. Having delayed the June number more than one week, in constant expectation of your reply, we are much behind our regular date, and are now hasting to send you a proof of my letter by the mail of the 1st of June. We hope not to be again detained by your ill health during the pending discussion. You need not have “seriously regretted my not sending you a copy of my letter to *Virginia* agreeable [agreeably] to your request,” till you knew what we had done and what letters we had received from you. Mr. *Arny*, my faithful clerk and deputy post-master, had mailed for you no less than *three* numbers of the *Millennial Harbinger*, besides one proof-sheet of my letter. All your directions were strictly obeyed. Your last letter received, requests, if *before such a date it should arrive here*, that a copy be sent you to *Richmond*: but your letter arrived not within the date prescribed—and therefore there was no fault, unless in obeying your instructions not to send after said date. So much for *sincere* regrets!

2. I have risen from the perusal of your epistle [No. 3.] with a higher esteem for your understanding, if not for your courteousness. Your compliance with my requests in stating the propositions to be discussed; your acceding to the evidence to be relied on; and in the main, your yielding to the rules to be observed, etc., shows that in your own good sense these preliminary arrangements are both necessary and proper. True, indeed, you comply not the most gracefully with these most reasonable requisitions. If you *sincerely* regarded these matters which are as universal as religious controversy, as “little quibbles

and stratagems, those bandyings of words about challenges, new and multiform questions for debate, unnecessary laws of evidence, rules of discussion," etc., etc., why did you finally come up to all these "little quibbles," etc., and show that you felt that they were not what your words represent them! I can not, then, sincerely thank you for your very *courteous* apology for me in making my demand "an exception to my general character" of being "an honorable and high-minded Christian controversialist." I should *sincerely regret* for my reputation of being "an honorable and high-minded Christian controversialist," before the American community, if these demands were to constitute "an exception to my general character." No, indeed, I have never undertaken, and, I think, shall never undertake, a formal discussion without *form*, without the propositions in writing—the rules of discussion, and the evidence to be relied on.

3. Of a piece with your querulous notes about quibbles, etc., are you third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs about challenges. You admit that I did not give any challenge in this case, and that Mr. Montgomery REQUESTED a discussion! and that you have accepted his place; and therefore I do not care whether you call it invitation, suggestion, request, demand, or *challenge*, so long as we understand whence it came and whither it aims. I choose to call it a challenge, and you may, as you are somewhat squeamish, call it "a *modest request*" on the part of Mr. Montgomery.

4. I received the other day a letter from Mr. *Spencer*, stating that I rightly viewed and represented his communication in my April letter to you; so that the challenge, or *modest inquiry* for a discussion, lies with Mr. Montgomery and the Universalists.

5. Your attempt at humor and wit in your strictures upon my gentle reprimand of Mr. Montgomery's 'modest inquiry,' is unworthy of a grave notice; for you evidently feel that it was uncalled for, and out of place. To such matters I will not reply. The pages of the past volumes of the Harbinger and the Christian Baptist will show how the Universalists have sought in years that are past to drag me into a controversy on their tenets.

6. You are still more unfortunate and unsuccessful in your attempt to apologize for your having begun to write before I returned from the Cincinnati discussion, or had

time to respond to your letter of December 23d. You were informed that I left home in December, and in all courtesy I expected you would wait till you heard from me, or of my return from the Roman Catholic discussion, before you began the controversy. Equally impertinent to the case is your question, *Why did I not propose all the preliminaries to Mr. Montgomery?* with whom I had never concluded to have a discussion, only on an alternative never anticipated. In all these shiftings and writhings and subsequent concession of all that I demanded, you only the more emphatically impress upon every man of sense your evident mortification in having so informally, illogically, and lawlessly rushed into the arena. And yet you would do yourself the injustice to appear as vaingloriously attributing my demand for rules of discussion to the "horror-smiting" efficacy of your letter of February 10th.

7. If, indeed, my good friend, your letter had any thing to do with these propositions, I do most sincerely assure you that its impotency, rather than its potency—its headless, pointless, wide-spreading declamation, rather than its logic or authority, would have suggested to me the necessity of an attempt to control your wanderings by putting into your mouth the *bits* of logic, and by throwing around your neck the *reins* of reason. For, Sir, I trust that I will yet (if you are candid) convince even yourself that there is not in said letter a single scripture quoted in its true meaning; or a single argument that will bear the line and plummet of sound sense and logical discretion. I know, Sir, how Universalists have generally managed their cause: but, if the Lord will, it shall not be so done with me on the present occasion. There must be something more solid than declamation, something more forcible than assertion, something more convincing than *ad captandum* appeals to the passions and sinister bias of ungodly men. But, Sir, to conclude this point, all my discussions on important subjects are appealed to in disproof of all your excuses for yourself and your insinuations. My published debates are ample proof that I never engage in a debate without some propositions and rules of discussion. This fact alone dissipates all you have said on the "horror-smiting" impetus of your first epistle according to your esteem of it.

8. You say, "the discussion is opened:" certainly not by me! I therefore can not conceive on what fair principle you object to my closing it. Do you expect to open and

close it too! But, no, you ingeniously say, neither shall close it; and you offer two choices to prevent either of us from closing it. One is to let it flicker out like the expiring wick, till it comes to half a page of the Harbinger!—a monosyllable a piece!—The last words on each side, *Victory is mine!!* Do, then, let some other person shout it for you.

9. But, no, you will have each to write a *finale*, etc., to prevent—what? The bringing forth new arguments in the last speech. I will remove the reason for your alternatives, and of course you will not insist on such an unprecedented course. The rule is usual—it was observed by Bishop Purcell, Romish though he were, and without any demand on my part, save the reminding of him in my last speech of the oracle of reason and custom in such cases, which is, that *in the final address the respondent is not authorized to introduce new arguments or new topics*. I trust, then, this will be satisfactory to you, and that you will not claim first the choice of a written rather than an oral discussion—the choice of the propositions, and the choice of leading the way and of closing too!!! This is very honorable to Universalism, truly! You have made me respondent in the two first propositions, and yourself in the two last. I shall then expect that you conform to *universal* usage in all such cases, and allow me to respond to the close of the two last propositions.

10. I will split the difference with you as to the number of letters—say not less than twelve nor more than sixteen; and that he that wishes to extend it to sixteen, shall intimate it at the close of the eleventh. We shall call yours now before me the first, or if you will have it, yours of the 10th February shall be the first. These important preliminaries being adjusted, and, as I hope, satisfactorily, may I not add, with them shall terminate all those trifles, which indeed are mere quibbles or manœuvres to save appearances, alike unmanly and undignified, and endeavor to interest our readers with matters more worthy of our pages and more deserving of their attention. I shall, with these wishes and expectations, proceed to the two propositions which you have sketched for me to affirm:—

11. *First*, you ask, “Are *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*, (separately or together,) ever used in the Scriptures to express a place or state of endless misery?” Without the imputation of any sinister design on your part to inveigle

me by the verbiage of your first thesis, I must beg leave to object to it as not fairly expressing any point at issue : for three reasons :

1st. You ask, "Are these three words, separately or together, used in Scripture to express a place or state of endless misery." I answer, they are never used *together* at all for any purpose whatever.

2d. They are noun-substantives ; and if fairly rendered, can not express both the adjective *endless*, and the substantive *misery*.

3d. In the third place, if the mere substantives *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*, without any adjunct, did mean *endless misery*, or *eternal wo*, they would be insusceptible of the prefix *aiônios*, or any other *adjective* signifying eternal : for surely *aiônios hades* or *aiônios gehenna*, *everlasting endless misery*, would be too pleonastic for either Hebrew or Greek prose !

12. But if I may be allowed to construct out of your materials a proposition which I can logically and scripturally affirm, and on which, if you please, a fair issue can be formed, I submit the following thesis :—*Sheol, hades, and gehenna are sometimes used in sacred Scripture to express a state of misery or punishment.*

13. I shall not fatigue you or my readers with unnecessary proofs or long displays on any point. Neither reason nor logic demands it. A few instances, well selected and well sustained, is all that I shall, in ordinary cases, allege.

14. The proof in the case of *sheol* and *hades*. Psalm ix : 17. "The wicked shall be turned into hell (*sheol*) and all the nations that forget God." The Septuagint of this passage is, "The wicked shall be turned into hell (*hades*) and all the nations that forget God." Mr. Balfour, who gives his 64 *sheols* from the Old Testament, says it is rendered by our translators three times *pit*, twenty-nine times *grave*, and thirty-two times *hell*. Grant it all: he also admits that *hades* is the fair and full Greek representative of *sheol*. Of course whatever the one signifies the other also signifies. This is as generally true in this case, as perhaps in any other. Well, then, in Psalm ix : 17, both *hades* and *sheol* represent not simply the *grave*, but hell or punishment. Can any one of an unbiased judgment imagine that here it simply means the *grave*? Then what is the difference between saying, "The wicked," etc., and the righteous shall be turned into hell and all the nations

who remember God ! This, on his hypothesis, is as true as what David said ! !

15. Prov. xxiii : 13, 14. " Withhold not correction from thy child : for if thou beatest him with the rod he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shall deliver his soul from *hell*," (*sheol*) destruction or punishment, not simply the grave: for as dieth the worthless youth so dieth the virtuous.

16. Luke xvi : 23. " The rich man died, and in *hell* (*hades*) he lifted up his eyes being in torment." Surely this is unequivocal proof that *sheol*, and *hades* its Greek representative, sometimes indicate a state of misery or punishment which is all that I affirm.

17. It would indeed be supremely absurd, and no scholar ever did affirm, that either *sheol* or *hades* did necessarily signify *endless* misery ; because *sheol* or *hades* is to be destroyed. Thus speaks John : " Death and *hell* (*hades*) were cast into the lake of fire : this is the second death." Rev. xx.

18. You ought, my dear Sir, to have added to these two the word *tartarus*, translated *hell* by the King's authority, and have left out *gehenna* for another category. It occurs but once ; but it is in such a context as stereotypes its meaning. " If," says Peter, (2d Epis. ii : 4,) " God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to *hell*, (*tartarus*), and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment." *Tartarus*, then, represents that prison in *hades* in which Dives was tormented, and into which the wicked dead are " turned," where they are confined to the judgment of the great day.

19. But *gehenna* is a part of the subject of your proposition, and of course included in the predicate. *Gehenna* is a purely Hebrew word, compounded of *Ge* and *Hinnom*, the valley of *Hinnom*, a place near Jerusalem, sometimes called *Tophet*, and fully described Jeremiah 19th ch. and 7th ch. ver. 29th to the end. All intelligent Christians, long before the days of Universalism, knew that this valley was in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem : that " here the children of Israel greatly sinned in the cruel and abominable sacrifices offered to the idol god Moloch : that a constant fire was kept up in this place ; and therefore no place could convey to a Jew a more lively view of misery and wretchedness than the valley of *Hinnom*. The torments inflicted in the valley of *Hinnom*, until the days of the

Spanish Inquisition, were the most cruel in the annals of time. Hence it was first conspicuous as a place of temporal misery. Now if the future punishment of evil doers should be set forth in human language, there was not, in all its wealth and fulness, any one term more fit to express it than the term *gehenna*. That it literally denoted a place of punishment, will not be controverted by you, Sir, any more than by Mr. Balfour; but that, like *heaven*, *paradise*, and many other important words, it began to be used figuratively as the doctrine of a future life was opened to the human understanding. That in the Scriptures it denotes future punishment, a punishment very different from that in the valley of Hinnom, is, I think, very evident from every place in which it is found in the New Testament: for in no case does it refer to the valley of Hinnom only as an illustration of a severer sentence, and this but once. But it is only necessary to my purpose that I prove that it sometimes denotes a state of misery or of punishment other than the literal flames of the valley of Hinnom. Of the twelve places in which it is found in the New Testament, every one might be appealed to; but, as my method is, I will cite one or two. Scribes and Pharisees, "how can you escape the damnation of *hell*?" (*gehenna*)—certainly not the fire of Tophet, or of the literal Gehenna. Matt. xxiii: 33. Again—"Fear not them," says the Great Teacher, "fear not them who kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but fear him who when he has killed the body, has power to destroy both soul and body in *hell*," (*gehenna*.) Matt. x: 28; also, Luke xii: 5. Does not this unquestionably denote future punishment? *Hell*, a Saxon word, be it observed, was once as rich in meaning, as *sheol*, *hades*, *tartarus*, and *gehenna*; for all these words have been translated by it. Hence *hell* signified once—the grave, the separate state, or the invisible world, and future punishment. Since the conflicts about purgatory, it has, for nearly two centuries, by the Protestant world, been exclusively appropriated to the place or state of future punishment of wicked men. This being generally admitted by Universalists, I need not dwell upon it. The context alone is therefore the sovereign arbiter of the precise import of *sheol*, *hades*, and *hell*, in any given place. *Gehenna* and *tartarus* are never used but to denote punishment. They were two thousand years ago as firmly fixed to that sense, as the word *hell* is now amongst the Christians of the

present day. If I mistake not, Universalists admit this; consequently *sheol* and its representative *hades* never did, in the estimation of learned Christians, include more than that portion of the future state lying between the last breath and the first blast of the archangel's trumpet—the interval between death and judgment, or the state bounded by these two events. Therefore, they include both Tartarus and Paradise, the righteous and the wicked dead; and consequently only *sometimes* can they represent punishment; and for one great reason assigned, never can signify *eternal* or *endless* punishment. *It is the province and the power of other words, adjuncts, and phrases to teach punishment without end.* And when we shall have disposed of your *three verbal* propositions, this will, we have little doubt, be apparent to our most candid readers.

20. It avails nothing for you or your party to reply that *Gehenna* was the name of a place which once denoted temporal punishment or any inferior punishment, and for that reason can not represent misery of the most exquisite kind. This, I am aware, is a very fashionable species of logic amongst Universalists; but it wants alike the authority of the Bible and the laws of language. The Hebrew *Shemim*, the Greek *Ouranos*, and their English representative *heavens*, have all a literal and local meaning. They denote the regions of air, the expanse sometimes called firmament. Shall we thence affirm that in the universe there is no other heaven than the air, or the sky, the azure vault, because the word *heaven* first of all had this sense and no other! Is not this the pith of the ten thousand columns written by your brethren upon the word *Gehenna*! I will not, however, anticipate you: but, to save our paper and time, as well as the property of our readers, I will remind you and them, in confirmation of the above important fact that speaks volumes, that the Persian word *Paradise*, once the name of that garden of Eden planted by God for the home of our first parents, (and also the name of the Persian Elysium,) continued not to be literally appropriated to that spot, any more than *Gehenna* to the valley of Hinnom. In the beautiful and bold imagery of Eastern style, it was soon transferred to the blissful abodes of happy spirits in the future world. So that Jesus promised the penitent thief a visit with him to Paradise; and Paul, caught away into Paradise, was so entranced that he never could tell whether he was in the

body or out of the body till the day of his death. But this he remembered, that in Paradise he saw and heard things unspeakable in all the tongues of earth. *Query*—Were the penitent thief and the entranced Paul carried into the Persian Paradise, or to Adam's garden in Eden! Why, then, circumscribe the word Gehenna to the valley of Hinnom!!!

21. *Gehenna*, then, like the words *heaven* and *paradise*, and many others, became at length, according to the universal law of language, the instituted sign and name of a state of future punishment of the most terrific and appalling character—just as *heaven* and *paradise* in process of time became the instituted names and signs of future and eternal bliss. Mr. Balfour has in one volume given 254 pages on *Gehenna*. I can take his own logic and criticism, and in half the number prove there is no heaven.

22. From the proof already offered, may I not then conclude that *sheol* and *hades*, sometimes, and *Gehenna* and *Tartarus*, generally, if not always, in the same style, denote future punishment or misery, which is all that was proposed to be demonstrated in my first proposition.

23. The 2d proposition which you allege for me you have thus expressed: "Do the words *olem*, *aion*, *aionios*, etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked, mean duration without end?"

24. Even here you are too loose and illogical for my taste. I value my veracity at a higher rate than to affirm the truth of any proposition that ends with *and so forth*, etc. I have indeed heard of a person under oath, finishing his testimony with etc., etc., "*and so forth, and so forth*;" but then he was not a Limitarian, and of course his example could not be obligatory upon me in this case. From the verbiage of your proposition I infer that you admit, first, that the wicked are punished, and that this punishment is future; for in this proposition you only deny that the words *olem*, *aion*, *aionios*, etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked, mean that their punishment shall endure without end. You admit, moreover, and I am glad to observe it, that there are other words which denote the punishment of the wicked besides *sheol*, *hades*, *gehenna*; for you can no where find *olem*, *aion*, or *aionios* applied to *sheol*, *hades*, or *gehenna*!! You must, then, on your own showing, affirm my first proposition, or you must admit that there are other words than *Tartarus*

and Gehenna, which express the punishment of the wicked; for, in the name of reason, why deny that *olem*, *aion*, and *aionos*, "when applied to the punishment of the wicked," mean endless duration, if they are never so applied!— Now, Sir, before I affirm or deny the second proposition, I request of you a list of those passages where *olem*, *aion*, and *aionos* are applied to the punishment of the wicked, and then I will undertake to show that in such places *olem*, *aion*, and *aionos* do mean duration without end. You certainly must be well acquainted with those passages where the punishment of the wicked is defined by such words, as you inform the public that you are prepared to show that in none of these passages do these words signify duration without end; or, that the punishment of the wicked shall be endless. You will please be very precise in your enumeration of all those passages in which the punishment of the wicked is set forth in other terms than *sheol*, *hades*, *tartarus*, *gehenna*, and especially those places where *olem*, *aion*, and *aionos* are applied to these words, or those other words which express the punishment of the wicked. Should you fail here, yourself and friends will appear in rather an unenviable attitude in the two propositions which you have agreed to negate and annul.

25. The concluding paragraphs of your epistle are reserved for another occasion. The sequel will, perhaps, furnish the best comment upon them. Confidence in one's self, or in the goodness of one's cause, and the swaggering style of gasconade, are weak logic and easily rebutted. But, my good Sir, the dignity of the cause which I espouse commands a dignified defence, and therefore I can not descend to the playfulness or frivolity of every smart and piquant expression, which, in the exuberance of your fancy, you may deem amusing to your readers.

26. Since you have demanded the discussion of three propositions about words, and only one upon the thing itself, I will aim at the utmost brevity in the support of those two propositions which I affirm; so that we may be detained for as short a time as possible in the portico of the discussion. I already perceive that your own scheme will comprehend all the points suggested in my April letter.

27. This communication exceeds six pages *bourgeois*, because we are still on the preliminaries, and because you yet occupy in the Harbinger some pages in advance of me. When we are equal in words or in space, and when

the preliminaries (as I trust they will be in your next) are approbated by you and finally concluded, we shall be circumscribed to the six pages proposed; for reasons already suggested.

With all due respect, etc , A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER V.

UTICA, JUNE 15, 1837.

DEAR SIR—Your last letter has this day come to hand ; and for the promptness with which you have furnished me with the proof you will please accept my thanks. By your first paragraph it appears that you were not in fault that I did not receive your April letter while in Virginia ; but the whole is to be charged to the extreme tardiness of the mails.

2. In your second paragraph you seem to think me wanting in courteousness and grace in my manner of acceding to your requisitions relative to the propositions to be discussed, the evidence and rules to be regarded in the discussion, etc., and you think such compliance on my part evidence that I considered such preliminaries "both necessary and proper." In answer to this, my dear Sir, I will simply remark that, as nearly one-half of your letter was occupied with an unsuccessful attempt to show that you had been challenged, and with expressions of astonishment or reproof that I had so hastily rushed into the arena of combat, it did appear to me very much like quibbling and stratagem to evade the real subject of controversy, and bandying of words about challenges, altogether unbecoming the honorable and high-minded Christian controversialist. The requisition for the propositions for discussion appeared to me both puerile and captious, for the reason that they had already been on the carpet of investigation for months, nay, more than a year.— And the rules of evidence, and rules for the discussion, (excepting those proposed for fixing the length and manner of closing it,) being in general unexceptionable, and such as all honorable Christian controversialists would be likely to regard just as well without as with a written agreement, I considered entirely unne-

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cessary to be obtruded into what ought to have been a part of the discussion itself. And because I acceded to *these*, you consider it evidence that I regarded all you had said on those topics as "necessary and proper." Your logic here must be peculiar to yourself.

3. We will not quarrel about any "attempts at humor and wit" nor about your "gentle reprimand of Mr. Montgomery's 'modest inquiry.'" If you had thought such things "unworthy of a grave notice" at an earlier day, or before the public had witnessed those boastful pretensions on your part, it would have saved you from the mortification you now evidently feel.

4. One can not but smile at your sixth paragraph, in which you speak of my "unsuccessful attempt to apologize" and my "evident mortification in having so informally, illogically and lawlessly rushed into the arena." Apologize! Sir, I *apologize!* for what? Why, for having promptly fulfilled my promise, my positive engagement, and published, as I told you I would in February, 1837, my reply to yours in the Harbinger just one year before that, viz., in February, 1836. Wonderful precipitancy! Do you think you will ever be guilty of such an act—the prompt fulfilling of an engagement with Universalists? I begin seriously to doubt it, unless the "*bills*" of truth can be put "into your mouth," "the *reins*" of constraint "around your neck," and the *spurs* of compulsion applied to your sides. No, Sir, I have no apology to make for promptly meeting *my* engagements. I informed you in November last, that I would commence the publication of the discussion as soon as your convenience would allow you to attend to it. You answered in the same month that you would probably be absent from home from the first of January to the first of February, but said nothing about any preliminaries being necessary, other than the articles already before the public. I then informed you when I would commence, and have kept my word; and not a syllable did I receive from you notifying me that you would not be ready to respond immediately after the first of February, though my February letter probably did not reach your place of residence till past the middle of that month.

5. Your affected *sneers* at the "impotency" of my February letter, your calling it "headless, pointless, wide-spreading declamation," saying "there is not in said letter

a single scripture quoted in its true meaning, or a single argument that will bear the line and plummet of sound sense and logical discretion," may pass with our readers for what they are worth—bare unsupported *assertions*. I suppose, however, you think them very "gracefully" made, and with the climax of "courteousness." It is, however, much more convenient for some men to *make* assertions than to *prove* them. But, Sir, "there must be something more solid than declamation, more forcible than assertion, more convincing than *ad captundum* appeals to the passions and sinister bias of ungodly men," or, I may add, the prejudices of the followers of a professed reformer to whom and to whose opinions many of them are as closely wedded as a Romanist ever was to the Pope. You promise hereafter to say something towards convincing the public and even myself of the truth of your assertions.—Well, Sir, the sooner the better. I pray you may at least attempt it without further delay.

6. Your objections to both the alternatives I proposed for closing the discussion clearly evince your unwillingness to meet me on fair and equal grounds, and your apparent intention of evading the discussion unless you can get decidedly the advantage in the arrangements for it. You attempt to *ridicule* the alternative of gradually reducing the letters in length till they come down to half a page in the Harbinger, and call this but a "monosyllable a piece." If, Sir, the Harbinger contains but two syllables to the page, it is a *smaller* concern than I had hitherto regarded it. But why you should object to the other alternative, of closing it by a simultaneous *finale* from each, I can not conceive, unless it be for the purpose of getting decidedly the advantage. Why should you object to it any more than you did to Bishop Purcell's proposal for an appendix to the Catholic discussion? Can you not use your six pages to as good advantage as I can mine? Then it must either be from a deficiency of talents, or the badness of your cause. Even this proposal of mine will be more advantageous to you than to me, because it will be allowing you *twelve* pages to my *six*, after my last of the controversy proper.

7. In reply to your sophistical insinuation that I "claim first the choice of a written rather than an oral discussion—then the choice of the propositions, and the choice of leading the way, and of closing too," I will simply remark,

that the choice or alternative of an oral discussion was not given me till after the agreement for a written discussion had been entered into; the choice of the propositions was not mine, for they had been already under discussion over a year; as to my "leading the way," after the agreement for my continuing the controversy had been entered into, I think it was very necessary somebody should do it, and I am fully confident you never would have done it; and as to closing it, I allow you quite as large a share in that as I claim myself. You must, I think, mean the *reverse* of what you say, when you state that I have made you the respondent in the two first propositions and myself in the two last. For I suppose he who has the negative of a given proposition, is respondent to him who has the affirmative. But as each of us has two affirmatives and two negatives, and as I have shown that neither myself nor Mr. Montgomery challenged you to a controversy, and moreover as my proposal still gives you the last letter of the controversy proper, before the *finale* from each, I do insist that no reasonable man can ask more of another than I concede to you.

8. I accede to your proposal concerning the *number* of letters, excepting that I would have them begin and be numbered from the time you shall agree that the preliminaries are settled—the next letter after which shall be called No. 1, or if you make no more demurring, this letter shall be called No. 1. May I not then even hope for this, and that already have terminated "all those trifles which indeed are mere quibbles and manœuvres to save appearances, alike unmanly and undignified?" and that henceforth our readers will all be edified "with matters more worthy of our pages and more deserving of their attention?" I most heartily respond your expressed wishes and hopes on this subject.

9. I now come to notice what you say upon the first two propositions for discussion. But, really Sir, I was not prepared to expect so sudden a relinquishment, or backing out on your part, from the first proposition, and what I had been given to expect you regarded as one of your strongest holds—one of your most inaccessible and invulnerable fastnesses. You now concede even more than I had ever before supposed or claimed that you had conceded, or would concede. True, you do it in such a way as to save appearances all you possibly can. You begin by

complaining of my verbiage in wording the first proposition.

10. You object first to the phrase "separately or together" which I had included in a parenthesis, because you say of *sheol, hades and gehenna*, "they are never used together at all." Very well, then leave out the parenthesis: I only added it for your benefit to give you the wider scope, and allow you the privilege, if you could not prove your doctrine by *one* of the words (*sheol, hades or gehenna*) in any *one* passage, of doing it by *all* those words in a connected view of *all* the passages where they occur.

11. Your second objection contains the broad concession before adverted to, viz. That these words (*sheol, hades and gehenna*) "are noun-substantives; and if fairly rendered, can not express both the adjective *endless* and substantive *misery*." Of course, then, neither word can express endless misery. Why, then, my dear Sir, did you blame me in your April letter for taking your concession to "Spencer" as a frank and *bona fide* concession, or giving up of these words "as being in themselves insufficient to teach the doctrine of endless misery?" You seemed to take great umbrage that I took that concession as in earnest, and said it was not so intended, but was only made "to save time and labor." I then gave you the liberty of taking it back, and put the proposition in form for you to defend, what I supposed to be, your view of the words. But behold, you have made the concession a second time, and in still broader terms!—You have driven the nail through, and even clenched it on the other side! You now not only declare that these words, (rendered hell in our version of the Bible,) "if fairly rendered, can not express both the adjective *endless* and the substantive *misery*," but in a subsequent part of your letter you say, "you can no where find *olem, aion* or *aionos*, [aionios] applied to *sheol, hades or gehenna*"!! Hear it, O ye heavens! Listen, O earth! Let the world take knowledge of it!—Let it be recorded in a book, and never forgotten!—The Rev. Alexander Campbell states, in a set controversy with a Universalist, that *sheol, hades and gehenna*, if fairly rendered, can not express *endless misery of themselves, or without an adjunct*;—and that we can no where find *olem, aion* or *aionios* (his favorite terms for expressing *endless*) applied to *sheol, hades or gehenna*!

12. Our labor, therefore, would seem by this to be con-

cluded so far as these words are concerned. For you can never hereafter predicate the doctrine of endless misery from the force of any or all of these words. Hence your third objection to my form of the question is altogether gratuitous.

13. The proposition you are disposed to substitute for the one I proposed, is in all conscience, singular enough for a Partialist gravely to propose for discussion with a Universalist! "*Sheol, hades and gehenna, are sometimes used in sacred Scripture to express a state of misery or punishment.*" Verily, Sir, your courage has risen to a wonderful pitch. You are not afraid to take the affirmative of, what may almost be denominated a *truism*, a proposition which no enlightened Universalist or Christian of any denomination, ever questioned or doubted for one moment!

14. All your labor, Sir, in attempting to prove the truth of the above proposition, is entirely the work of supererogation. For I as firmly believe as you do or can, that *sheol, hades and gehenna are sometimes used in sacred Scripture to express a state of misery or punishment.* It would be infidelity or madness to affect to disbelieve it. And here I might in perfect justice to the subject leave the matter, so far as those words are concerned, and neither notice any of your proof texts, nor allow the subject to be again broached during the pendency of this discussion, for you have conceded all that I ask. But as a matter of courtesy to you and our readers, I will make a few remarks on the words rendered hell, and the passages you quote containing them.

15. The Hebrew *sheol* and Greek *hades*, more properly signifies a *state or condition* than a *place*. It signifies, *first*, literally and commonly, the state or condition (or if you please, the place) of the dead in general, irrespective of their goodness or badness, their happiness or misery.—*Secondly*, in a figurative sense, severe judgments, great afflictions, sudden temporal destruction. *Thirdly*, in a moral and figurative sense, a distressing sense of guilt, remorse of conscience, great mental anguish. In the second or third of the foregoing senses, or perhaps both, does David use the word in Psalm ix : 17—"The wicked shall be turned into hell and all the nations that forget God." See and read from the 15th to the 20th verse inclusive, which shows this to be his meaning. In a similar sense also it is used in Prov. xxiii : 14, and Luke xvi : 23,

the other two passages you quote in which the word is found. In the third or last sense the Psalmist uses the word in Ps. lxxxvi: 13, and cxvi: 3. "Thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest *hell*"—"The pains of *hell* gat hold upon me." See also Jonah ii: 2.

16. You say I ought to have added *tartarus* to the other two words. I saw no necessity for it, inasmuch as the word occurs but *once* in the whole Bible, and then in a passage of very doubtful import. (2 Pet. ii: 4.) The case is only a supposititious one, referred to, not for the purpose of giving any new information, but to illustrate an argument of the apostle. He does not inform, nor can we ascertain, who or what the "angels" were to whom he refers. Most likely he refers to some Heathen tradition, some apocryphal book, or some fable or story familiar to those whom he addressed, without either affirming or denying its truth, for the sake of illustrating and enforcing the fact that there was a righteous overruling Providence that would equitably reward the righteous and punish the guilty. But, Sir, if there had been an apparent necessity for including *tartarus* with the other words, that necessity is now removed by your own concessions. For according to your own definition of it, *tartarus* only represents a part of *hades*; and you say, "*hades* is to be destroyed." Of course, *tartarus* will then exist no longer.

17. With your definition of the origin and primary meaning of *gehenna*, I fully concur. But I do not agree with you that all intelligent Christians knew where *gehenna* was "long before the days of Universalism," for the very obvious reason that I consider the days of Universalism coeval with the days of Christianity, and its doctrine identical with the latter.

18. I agree with you that generally, (though not always,) the word *gehenna* in the New Testament is used not in its primary and literal, but in a figurative or metaphorical sense. What that figurative sense is, I think has been clearly shown by Mr. Balfour in his *First Inquiry*. You are careful, however, not to inform your readers of the sense in which he has shown that our Saviour used the word: but you have set up your own unsupported assumption that it figuratively set forth a place or state of future punishment—i. e., (as you undoubtedly mean, if you use the phrase in its present popular sense,) punishment in another state of being. Now, my good friend, although so

far as this controversy and its results are concerned, I would not have the least objection to conceding such a *doctrine*, yet as such a conclusion is not in your premises, and I do not choose to allow *assumption* to take the place of *argument*, nor *assertion* that of *proof*, I shall wholly object to that kind of procedure.

19. If mankind generally were liable to *gehenna* punishment in another state of being, how will you account for the well known fact that neither Christ nor his apostles ever preached *gehenna* fire, or *gehenna* punishment, to any but Jews?—that none of them ever preached or lisped a syllable of it to Gentiles or authorized others to do it?—that no Gentile is ever threatened with it in all the Scriptures? Mr. Balfour has not only admitted that the word *gehenna* is used figuratively to express the most dreadful punishments, but has actually shown what those punishments were, viz., the woes that were to befall the Jewish nation at the destruction of their city, their temple, their theocracy, etc., etc., when they were to experience such tribulation as there had never been since the beginning of the world, and such as there never should be after that time. Matt. xxiv : 21. Such woes as Moses had predicted should come upon the children of Israel in case of their continued iniquity and disregard of the laws of God. Deut. from chap. xxviii : 15, to chap. xxxii, inclusive. See similar punishments spoken of in Ezek. xxii : 18–22, and other parallel passages. The first proof text you quote, is, in connection with its context, clearly indicative of this sense and use of *gehenna*.

20. "Fill ye up then," (says Christ, verses 31–36,) "the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?—Wherefore, behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: *that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zecharias son of Barachias whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation.*" Add to the explicitness of the above language, the fact that the very next verse commences the pathetic lamentation of Jesus over the doomed city, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem," etc., and can

any sane and enlightened mind doubt for one moment, that by the "damnation of hell" (*gehenna*,) our Saviour here intended to express the approaching temporal woes of the Jews, and the desolation and destruction of their city?

21. The other passage you cite to prove your views, (Matt. x: 28, with its parallel, Luke xii: 5,) is probably one of the most plausible ones for your purpose that you could have found in the whole New Testament. But before it can be allowed as affording any proof of your views, I wish you to answer a few questions concerning it. What is the being or power, the disciples of Christ (for *they* are the persons addressed) are exhorted to fear? Are you certain it is God? Does not the context indicate a different power? Are not the disciples particularly called "*friends*," and after being exhorted to "fear him, which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell," are they not immediately exhorted to repose *confidence and trust in God* instead of being *frightened* at the thought of his power!—thus, "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God? But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. FEAR NOT THEREFORE: *ye are of more value than many sparrows.*" Might not the Saviour have intended that power (the Roman) that was to be employed in the overthrow and destruction of Jerusalem? What is meant by the word *soul* in Matthew? Luke does not use the word *soul* at all. Was he deficient in expressing our Saviour's meaning? Or, is the word *soul* in Matthew used *expletively*, as in some other passages? (See Matt. ii: 20; vii: 25; Rom. xiii: 1; 1 Pet. iii: 20; where it is used either expletively, or else simply to express *person*,) and as is used the word *body* in various places? (See Romans vi: 6; vii: 24; Col. ii: 11; and many other texts.)

22. Again; granting that the power to be feared was that of God himself, and also that the soul was the surviving spirit or immortal part of man, (which you have made no effort to prove,) what follows? Why, not necessarily the conclusion that any one would *actually be destroyed in gehenna*; but only that God had the *power* to destroy them, the same as he had the *power* to raise up children to Abraham from the literal stones of the field. But suppose him not only to *possess* the power, but actually to *exercise* it, and *literally to destroy both soul and body* in the hell that you believe in—What follows? Why not *endless*

*miser*y, surely, not the *preserving* of the soul to endure ceaseless torment, but the *destruction* of the soul—of course the cessation of its happiness and misery—and the annihilation or destruction of the material body of flesh and bones in hell! Therefore, the text in this view would disprove, instead of proving endless misery.

23. You object to the second proposition on account of the suffix "*and so forth.*" Very well, Sir, then leave it off. I have no desire it should be there—it was only added for your benefit, to give you the greater scope; though by it I only meant all the forms and variations, of *aion*—whether Hebrew, Greek or English, substantive or adjective, singular or plural—and I presume my readers all understood this to be my intention.

24. But of all the strange requisitions that I ever knew to be made by any reputable theological controversialist, your demand is the strangest, that I should furnish you with "a list of all those passages where *olem*, *aion*, and *aionos* [*aiwnios*] are applied to the punishment of the wicked," before you can be prepared to "affirm or deny the second proposition," or "undertake to show that in such places *olem*, *aion* and *aionios* do mean duration without end!" Although you have heretofore affirmed it substantially and made an unsuccessful effort to establish it! Verily, Sir, a new era has arrived in theological controversy, when the respondent to a proposition has not only to negative the proposition and arguments of his opponent, but is also called upon to furnish all the materials and weapons in his power to enable his opponent to sustain *his* side, or the affirmative of the question! Your earnest calls for mercy and help on this subject at the hand of your opponent, may possibly be construed by some into a cry for quarter. I will not, however, so regard it. But, Sir, it is not my business to do your work for you. Yours is the affirmative of this question—yours the labor of proving it. It is not my business to furnish you with a list of passages where those words are found and applied to the punishment of the wicked. If those passages are to your purpose, it is your business to look them up and apply them: and, may I not hope, kind Sir, that you will soon be about it? Yours, very respectfully,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER VI.

BETHANY, JUNE 29, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—I have prefixed to your last letter (date unknown) the propositions, rules of discussion, and the evidence to be relied on in the pending controversy.* You will see that I have given up the whole matter of discord to your own dictation. I do this, Sir, to avoid printing in every letter some three or four pages of matter, which, whatever we may think of it, can not but be regarded by our readers as more puerile and captious than edifying. With regard to your alternative for my replying to your last letter, or closing the discussion which Universalists began, you have now made it evident to all that you object not, as suggested in your letter of May, through the fear of my introducing new arguments in the closing address: for I have given you my pledge that nothing of the kind on my part was intended, or should be attempted. As our readers can not now doubt the true reason, I need not infer it for them. Yet you have the courage to say, that my objecting to your alternative for the usual mode of closing all discussions, is to you a “*clear proof* of my unwillingness to meet you on fair and equal grounds”! What singular vision is that, to which twilight or darkness is brighter than day!

2. I will not spend time in replying to your constant imputations of timidity or unfairness, or some sinister influence, as controlling or giving direction to all my movements in reference to the vauntings, challengings, or “modest requests” of Universalists. In all this, you walk in the steps of the leaders of Romanism in this country; for, time after time, did they boastingly say that the reason why I had for years paid no attention to them, was the full

* See page 3.

assurance that I felt that their fortress was unassailable, and that I knew too well what strength they could bring into the field, to think of hazarding a conflict on their grand peculiarities. But, Sir, the sequel has convinced them that rather the want of sufficient interest in their cause in this community till recently, and the want of a respectable advocate, was the secret of all my cowardice and timidity.

3. There is another point in which I am sorry to see, or even to imagine that I see, a very striking analogy between your periodical and those of the Roman Catholics. Just about the time that I had a challenge from Bishop Purcell their prints began to create prejudices against me, so that I might not have with the Romanists an impartial hearing. The most singular, misshapen, and unjust views of my sentiments were held up for weeks to that community, so that I might appear under the greatest disadvantage in opposing the swaggering pretensions of the Man of Sin—the real “Sea Serpent” that has been around our coasts for some years.

4. The following notice from a gentleman in New-York illustrates my meaning, and gives an item or two by way of proof:—“Have you ever seen Mr. Montgomery’s letter to the Universalist preacher with whom you had a short discussion at Lockport last June? It was published in Mr. Skinner’s paper of March 10th, 1837, just on the eve of your correspondence with him, and was, without doubt, designed for effect. Mr. Potter of Lockport, in his reply to Mr. Montgomery, accuses you of having ‘lost sight of not only the Christian character, but of the gentleman;’ of having given, at the time of that debate, ‘evidence of entire recklessness to all decency, religion, and truth.’ In the same paper of February 24th, 1837, you are accused by Mr. Grosh, one of the Editors of the ‘Advocate,’ of having ‘sinned against dignity and decency’ in your notice of Mr. Potter and his congregation, and of having ‘violated truth for the sake of making himself [yourself] appear greater than he [you] really is’ [are.] I have no doubt but these pieces were published in the ‘Advocate’ in order to destroy your reputation with the readers of that paper, and thus get an advantage over you in your intended discussion with Mr. Skinner. If not, why did they make their appearance in its columns at that period?”

5. In answer to my friend and correspondent, I must say I did not read those pieces to which he alludes: but

had I read them, I should not at such a crisis have honored them with a reply. Yourself and brethren, Sir, seem to have very great confidence either in your theory, your learning, or your talents, when you imagine that so many appalling and terrific attributes belong to your defence of Universalism. If I thought I could dispossess you or your readers of these hideous spectres that guard the avenues to your fortress, by simply telling the truth, I would, Sir, from the inmost recesses of my soul assure you, that, according to my modes of thinking, your cause is incomparably the weakest cause in Christendom; and therefore I promise myself no honor in this earthly world from the most ample refutation of each and every of its pretensions. Its growing popularity and its able defendent which I have found in you, Sir, with the frequent challenges I have had to discuss its merits, are my apology to this age for the attention which I am now to bestow upon it. Its growing popularity and the talents of some of its champions, are, indeed, regarded by many as no weak proof of its claims for Divine authority. But, Sir, may not infidelity itself rear its hideous front and vauntingly urge the same plea in its defence? I expect then, Sir, from you better logic than this.

6. To put an end to all this manœuvring and cavilling about preliminaries, I have concluded to give you every thing you demand:—

1st. You asked a written rather than an oral discussion. I have conceded it.

2d. You have written out and propounded four propositions, and asked me to accept them in preference to any other questions, words, or sentences by me propounded. I have acceded to them.

3d. You proposed to open the discussion on your part by writing on the subject as propounded by Mr. Montgomery. I made no objection. And allow me emphatically to say, had you in your first letter, as I had every reason to expect, offered the propositions, rules, etc., which, before a debate commences are as universal as debating schools from the village Lyceum up to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, you might have saved both the patience of our readers and so many words about nothing. Your last effort to place it all to the credit of your boldness and promptness in the faith, will occasion more smiles than convictions among the discerning.

4th. You have asked twenty letters, of six pages each, to deliver yourself on the subject. You have got them, counting from yours of February 10th to the close. Any excess of pages which you now have will be regulated in the present number according to the computation of my compositor. Having then, Sir, nothing more about which to complain, I trust you will henceforth devote all your strength to the question under discussion, according to the preceding stipulations.

7. Your four propositions being now legitimately before us, it is in order for me to make a few farther remarks on their illogical, clumsy, and unworkman-like organization and arrangement. This is not so much the fault of my opponent, perhaps, as the hard destiny of his subject.—Indeed it is proof of the difficulties that surround him. The barrenness of the genius of Universalism is more apparent in the hands of one of its master-spirits, than when preached by the humblest of its advocates; for in the latter case we excuse the subject and blame the advocate; while in the former we excuse the advocate and blame the subject. In the present case we blame the soil rather than the cultivator.

8. Give me leave then, Sir, to say, your propositions are most singularly illogical and unfortunate: for if there be any point in any one of them, the other three are redundant—yes, Sir, as useless as three additional pens would be at this moment in my fingers; or as three new tongues in your mouth when you arise to preach universal heaven. Suppose, for example, I affirm and prove the first proposition as you have written it, that *sheol*, *hades*, or *gehenna* is used in Scripture to express a state of “endless misery;” what comes of Universalism! Can the other three propositions raise it from the dead!!

9. Again, if *oleu*, *aion*, and *aionios*, etc., “when applied to the punishment of the wicked do mean duration without end,” of what use is the first proposition? Does not this embrace the whole question!! Why prove the same thing a second time under different terms! Your second proposition admits that *oleu*, *aion*, and *aionios*, although not applied to *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*, are nevertheless applied to the punishment of the wicked; therefore you admit there are other words, besides these three, indicative of that punishment. Why did you not, then, put these words in the first proposition along with the aforesaid three?

10. And here it comes in my way to reply to the last paragraph of your letter now in review. In all that you say of the 2d proposition, you evince how much you felt the dilemma in which you placed yourself in the terms you have chosen. But, Sir, you possess the happy art of dispelling sorrow by a smile. You represent me as imploring you for help to disprove your second proposition, while I am exposing its singular concession—that *neither the nature nor duration of the punishment of the wicked is affected in the least by the decision of the first proposition.* That it makes void your first proposition by the supposition which it avows—viz., *that the punishment of the wicked is set forth under other terms than sheol, hades, or gehenna.* Of course, then, nothing depends upon the truth of your first negation!—any more than to deny that fainting, swooning, dying means eternal death, proves that no other words in human language can represent that idea. You will not, my dear Sir, hazard the imputation of obtuseness of intellect by either doubting or denying this. This being admitted, converts your smile into a laugh, and disposes of every word in your last epistle on the second proposition. My request for you to enumerate those other words declarative of the punishment of the wicked, which some would call rather *quizzing* you, was indeed intended to make you feel how you had committed yourself, and not to compel you to dishonor your intellectual standing with the whole community by representing me as imploring your assistance to prove my side of the question. I do not think that my opponent ought to set so great a value upon his theory as to stupify himself, and spit upon his beard, feigning himself obtuse, for the sake of escaping from the unfortunate predicament of proposing for discussion two propositions that stultify each other. Truly, his average value of the intellect of his readers is not exaggerated, when he furnishes them with such literary repasts.

11. His 3d proposition is still more radically illogical and redundant: for if “*there are words, or at least one word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked,*” if that word be also not applied to the future happiness of the righteous—neither applied to the one nor the other—of what use is such a proposition in this discussion! But when he produces said word and proves it, (which, we think, he can not do,) we shall more fully show its irrelevancy.

12. The fourth proposition stultifies the three first ; for if he prove that "*eternal life will be according to the Scriptures the ultimate destiny of all mankind,*" of what use to disprove the two first !—of what use to prove the third ? Mr. Skinner's logic reminds me of a certain mystic theologian. His method after reading his text, usually was—"Brethren, my method shall be, 1st. To explain to you what my text does not mean—and in the second place I shall endeavor to show you what it does mean. In the first place, then, it does not literally mean——. In the second place, it does not metaphorically mean——. In the third place, it does not analogically mean——. But in the fourth place, it does literally mean——," etc. A sagacious wag once interrupted his mystic reverence by observing—"Sir, the weather is cold, the day is short, and the congregation is thin ; please, then, explain to us who are present what the text does truly mean, and reserve its negative meanings for those who are absent, or for more favorable circumstances." So I would say to the champion of Universalism—My dear Sir, prove that all men are to be eternally happy ; reserve what you have to say on the other three propositions to those to whom you fail to prove the fourth, or for the amusement of other readers than mine.

13. Say not, Sir, that I have compelled or caused you to take this course. The propositions are your own manufacture, raw material and all. [See again my first letter to you, *Millennial Harbinger*, p. 178.] I there showed how many points might be made, and left you to select or not, as you pleased. You made no selection, but offered such propositions and in what terms you pleased. You have then, Sir, the unrivalled honor of their organization and arrangement.

14. I do not, however, complain of the four propositions as being partial or more favorable to you than to me. They are, indeed, too favorable to me ; because, should I fail to sustain my affirmatives, I have lost nothing as respects the claims of Universalism. Should you also clearly sustain your third proposition, still I lose nothing ; because, should you blot *olen, aem, aionios, sheol, hades* and *gehenna* out of the Bible, and show that there are ten words in Greek or Hebrew that signify duration without end, which are never applied to saint or sinner, I have remaining other words and phrases from which I deduce invinci-

ble arguments in proof that it shall not hereafter be with the wicked as with the righteous ; that to him who dies in his sins, posthumous, purgatorial, or future holiness and future happiness are as impossible as it is for God to lie. But your liberality is not yet all told : You have so arranged matters, that should I prove any one of the affirmative propositions you have tendered me, it is impossible for you by the other three to make out your theory. I complain, then, because you will have us travel forty years in the wilderness on a journey which might have been performed in a few days, and not of any partiality to yourself in this arrangement. You are, Sir, generous to a fault ; and it is because I ask no favors, that I revolt at such uncalled-for bounty and munificence at your hand.

15. I disposed of the first proposition in my last, even to your entire satisfaction. The only thing that you do seem dissatisfied with is, the full satisfaction I have given you on that point. I threw your proposition into my crucible ; and when its alloy was purged you could not but be pleased with it. But even then you rather blamed me for disentangling your net-work. Or is it possible that you misconceived my object ! It would seem so : for you speak of me as having "surrendered an invulnerable and invulnerable fastness"—"the strongest hold"—"I have driven the nail through and clinched it on the other side." And after much to the same effect, you could contain no longer, but burst forth into the following sublime apostrophic personification, or rather rhapsody : "Hear it, O ye heavens ! Listen, O earth ! Let the world take knowledge of it !—Let it be recorded in a book, and never forgotten !—The Rev. Alexander Campbell states, in a set controversy with the Rev. Mr. Skinner, a Universalist, that the Hebrew *Shemin*, the Greek *Ouranos*, and the Persian *Paradeisos*, if fairly rendered, can not of themselves, or without an adjunct, express endless happiness ; and that we can nowhere find *olem*, *aton*, or *aionios* (his favorite term for expressing endless) applied to *Shemin*, *Ouranos*, or *Paradeisos*—in English, heaven and paradise ; and therefore he has conceded there is no endless happiness, no eternal life for human kind !!!" I ask you, Sir, as an honest man, after reading this version or parody, or what you please to call it, of your aforesaid rhapsody, to say whether so far as this proposition is concerned, if the controversy were about the endless happiness of the saints, my version or

imitation, etc., would not be to a scruple as exactly in point as what you have written. I expect no less from you than to say, that the Hebrew *Shemim*, translated sometimes *air*, sometimes *heaven*; and the Greek *Ouranos* and the Latin *Cælum*, frequently translated the *sensible air*, the *visible sky*, and only sometimes a *state of bliss*, and not necessarily alone, and without an adjunct, *endless bliss*, are exactly standing as *hades*, *sheol*, and *gehenna* in the proposition; and if the question were about endless happiness as it is about endless punishment, my concession, as you call it, would in the one case prove as much against the endless happiness of the righteous as the endless punishment of the wicked. So much, Sir, for what you have gained by the first proposition.

16. I will now show what the truth gains from it.—First, an explicit renunciation of that grand dogma of Universalism, which is expressed in the words following, to wit:—

“In the sincere penitence and reformation of the offender, justice is satisfied and can neither ask nor receive farther punishment, either retrospective or prospective.—The sinner has been punished according to the full demerit of the crime (in his case at least,) and all good objects that could be obtained by punishment are already attained. Thus justice and mercy meet together, righteousness and peace embrace each other,” etc.

17. Now as *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna* do sometimes represent the punishment of the wicked, and never repentance nor reformation, the above allegation that repentance is the *only hell* or state of punishment, is fully discarded. Though I do not feel rhapsodic nor elated on obtaining this distinct renunciation of a doctrine so uncomplimentary to Christianity, which presents the Messiah's appearance and mediation a mere pageant, a *splendid effort for nothing*, still I am pleased that my friend Skiuner admits that the wicked are punished in *hades*, *sheol*, and *gehenna*, extra the aforesaid popular dogma.

18. A second point is gained: these words sometimes signifying the punishment of the wicked, it obliges us always to ascertain the nature and extent of that punishment from the words and phrases in connection with them. Thus the adjuncts of *Gehenna* make it probable that it was used by our Lord to represent not only punishment for sin, but *future punishment—punishment after death*;

and perhaps we might go farther and say, that, with him, it meant sometimes *by its adjuncts* not only future, but *everlasting punishment*!! But then, you, Sir, will say, or rather have said with the learned Mr. Balfour, or with Mr. Ballou, "How will you account for the fact that Christ never preached gehenna fire, or punishment to any but the Jews?" A learned question, truly! Did Christ ever preach eternal life to the Gentiles!! What sage reflections do we sometimes meet with amongst the old sages of this age! Jesus had no commission but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. But we shall hereafter see what he preached to the Jews and what the Apostles preached to the Gentiles. They never mentioned *Gehenna* once to the Gentiles, Mr. Balfour will say. Nor did they ever mention *Shemim*, nor *Paradise*, nor *Abraham's bosom* in any sermon to the Gentiles on record!! What does all this prove? No more than that they always chose such words as their hearers understood, as best suited to their ideas. Hence Peter once uses the Pagan word *Tartarus*, because its meaning was well understood in all the Pagan world.

19. You did not, Sir, concede quite enough when you conceded in your letter before me that *Gehenna* is generally taken figuratively in the New Testament. I said always, and I repeat it. Of the twelve times in which it is found, it never means a literal punishment in the literal valley of Hinnom. When you mention an exception it will be time enough to examine it.

20. But that it signifies the punishment of the wicked is conceded, and being generally, you say, used figuratively, it generally denotes a punishment of which the flames of Tophet were but a type. Something worse than repentance, truly! But what, let me ask, are its adjuncts! For this purpose we shall hear every passage in which it is found:—"Whosoever shall say, Thou fool, (to his brother,) shall be in danger of *hell fire*." Matt. v: 22. "It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into *hell*." This occurs twice, Matt. v: 29 and 30. "Fear him who has power to destroy both soul and body in *hell*." Matt. x: 28. "It is better for thee to ENTER INTO LIFE with one eye, rather than having two eyes, to be cast into *hell fire*." "It is better for thee to *enter into life* halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet, to be cast into

everlasting fire." Matt. xviii: 8, 9. "And when the proselyte is made, you make him two-fold more the *child of hell* than yourselves." Matt. xxiii: 15. "Serpents! generation of vipers! how can you escape the damnation of *hell*!" Matt. xxiii: 33. "Enter into life, rather than go into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched, where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched." Mark ix: 43. "Enter halt into life, rather than to be cast into hell, into the fire that shall never be quenched, where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." Mark ix: 45. "Enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, rather than to be cast into hell fire, where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched; for every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." Mark ix: 48, 49. "Fear him who, after he has killed, has power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, fear him." Luke xii: 5. "The tongue is set on fire of hell." James iii: 6.

21. Now, Sir, these are the words of an Asiatic, of a Jew, of Jesus, the great Prophet, the Messiah, the Lawgiver, who is *able to save and to destroy*. In Eastern costume he spoke. Through comparisons, similes, parables, and the most apposite, striking, and beautiful imagery, he communicated the knowledge of things spiritual, future, eternal, divine. Through the *temple*, a *grain of wheat* deposited in the earth, and *Jonah's deliverance* from the sea, he taught the destruction of his body and its resurrection again. Through the *manna*, the *water of Jacob's well*, he set forth the bread and water of life—the strength and consolations of the Gospel. By *life* and *death* he taught salvation and condemnation: through *Paradise* and the *valley of Hinnom* he set forth the joys of heaven and the future punishment of ungodly men. As we explain one we explain all. We bring all these figures into one court, try them before one and the same tribunal, and judge them by the same law. Such are the rules of interpretation agreed on.

22. Can we, then, with all these premises before us, doubt that Gehenna is contrasted with "*life*" and "*the kingdom of God*?" By every law of language, then, it is a state opposite to that to which it is contrasted. Good and evil, light and darkness, pleasure and pain, sweet and bitter, etc., etc., are contrasts; so is life and death, heaven and hell, *life* and *hell*; so is the kingdom of God and hell. We have in the passages quoted the phrase "*enter into*

life" three or four times contrasted with entering into Gehenna. Now I ask, whatever is meant by *entering into life*, the very opposite of that is going into, or being *cast into Gehenna*. If, then, to "enter into life," as all Christendom admits, is to enter into future and eternal bliss, to be cast into hell is to be cast into eternal punishment, or into everlasting death.

23. But we have not only to consider its *adjuncts* by way of contrast, but by way of substitution. Thus, in Matt. xviii : 8 and 9, *gehenna* is substituted for *to pur to aionion*, THE EVERLASTING FIRE. To be cast into hell, and into the *aionion pur*, the everlasting fire, are, in the style of Jesus, identical expressions, perfect equipolents.— But this is not a solitary expression, though then it were not to be explained away. It is the settled style of the Messiah. Thus, to *go into hell*, and to *go into the fire that shall never be quenched*, are also identical; for in Mark ix, we have this phrase repeated *three times*. Gehenna, then, as explained by its adjuncts, means, "fire, everlasting fire, fire that shall not be quenched;" and this everlasting and unquenchable fire is by contrast explained to be the opposite of entering into life, the kingdom of God, or eternal happiness. So, then, to say nothing of destroying soul and body in hell, after the body is killed, which is so plain that even the ingenious Mr. Skinner can find no way of evading it, except by asking, Who is *he that is able to destroy*—it is obvious Jesus threatened by Gehenna an everlasting punishment to his enemies, who should be salted with fire as sacrifices were preserved by salt.

24. Thus the punishment or damnation of hell was always preached by Jesus as future punishment, punishment after death; a punishment contrasted with life, with the kingdom of God, expressed by the strongest imagery, not merely by fire, but by *aionion*, or "everlasting fire," "a fire that shall never be quenched."

25. It will avail little for you, my friend Mr. Skinner, to take the ground of Mr. Balfour, and tell what the fire and worms of Hinnom anciently meant, or the salt of the sacrifices; and then assume that the destruction of the Jews at Jerusalem was meant, etc.; for we will then show it matters not what the manna, the rock of Horeb, the brazen serpent, the temple, Jerusalem, Mount Zion, Paradise, the valley of Hinnom, the undying worm, and a thousand other things, originally meant. That is one question; but what

they became figures of, or what they in process of time came to denote, is quite another question. The New Testament manna, passover, circumcision, temple, Jerusalem, Mount Zion, Paradise, Gehenna, and the worm that dieth not, you will never be able to show are the same as the Old Testament or first things represented by these words. Why, then, make a special law in favor of Gehenna, the word in debate!!!

26. The assumption that the destruction of Jerusalem and all your etc.'s thereunto appended, constitute the gehenna or hell threatened by Jesus, scarcely deserves grave consideration. Then Jesus said in vain to his blaspheming contemporaries, "Serpents! offspring of vipers! how can you escape [the punishment] the damnation of hell!" By dying and being buried long before that day, they escaped the damnation of hell in the heaven of Universalism!

27. To prevent the recurrence of a new species of logic, I select a sample or two from the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th paragraphs of your June letter:—

"The Hebrew *sheol*," you say, "and Greek *hades*, more properly signifies [signify] a state or condition than a place. It signifies [they signify] *first* literally and commonly the state or condition (or if you please the place) of the dead in general, irrespective of their goodness or badness, their happiness or misery." So far I have already asserted.—Here, then, there is no need of proof, for we agree. But you add, "*Secondly*, in a figurative sense, severe judgments, great afflictions, sudden temporal destruction.—*Thirdly*, in a moral and figurative sense—a distressing sense of guilt, remorse of conscience, great mental anguish." Then, without a single instance by way of proof or illustration, you proceed to prove your definition by the case in debate. This is summary justice—the Lynch-law of Theology. For example, you despatch Psalm ix: 17, and my other witnesses by assuming, without a single proof, "that in the second or third of the foregoing senses, or *perhaps* (yes PERHAPS BOTH) does David use the word hell," etc. Psalm ix: 17. "The wicked shall be turned into a distressing sense of guilt, or *perhaps* into remorse of conscience, and all the nations that forget God"!!! A flaming abolitionist in Vicksburg could as easily escape the vigilance of Judge Lynch, as your humble servant from such a judgment seat as you have erected, and such

witnesses as you have brought into court in this and many similar cases, both in your first and last letters to me.

28. "The case of *Tartarus* is a supposititious one!" "to illustrate an argument!" "most likely to refer to some heathen tradition," "some apocryphal book," "some fable or story" about angels and *Tartarus*!! This is summary work of the same category.

29. "Universalism is coeval with the days of Christianity"!!! I thought it was more ancient. There is a fable that says, the Old Serpent was a graduate in that school; for his first sermon was from the text, "You shall not surely die," or, You will be eternally happy!

30. You will accept these as a mere specimen of the easy disposition of much that you have written, which, for the want of room, and because not pertinent to the question, I suffer in the meantime to pass toll-free.

31. I am now prepared to examine the second proposition, if you can only explain it, or show that it does not stultify the first. That *olem*, *aion*, and *aiouios* do sometimes mean endless duration I do affirm, and you dare not deny; and that as we ascertain from the adjuncts that *Gehenna* in the lips of Jesus represents punishment after death, future and eternal destruction from the presence of the Lord, so it may *perhaps* be made as evident that these epithets prefixed to those words which you are yet to reveal, may, by their adjuncts, as clearly indicate duration without end, as we have proved *by an induction in every case* in which *gehenna* is found, that *it most certainly represents eternal death, if there be any eternal life into which the ONE-EYED hearers of Jesus entered*, through faith in him and obedience to his will.

32. From the calculation of my compositor we are now equal in point of space. I have numbered the paragraphs for the sake of easy and certain reference, and will henceforth number our forty letters, commencing with yours of February 10th as No. 1. I have signed the stipulations and prefixed them to your June letter. You will please present them to your readers with both our signatures attached to them. The yet unanswered parts of Letter No. 1, will come in review under their proper heads.

Very benevolently and respectfully,

A. CAMPBELL.

P. S. We waited almost a month for the reply to our

last ; and unless the utmost despatch is observed by the parties, the discussion must be on hand a long time. This leaves Bethany by the mail of July 6, it being the first proof we could in the present circumstances obtain.

A. C.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER VII.

UTICA, JULY 18, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of June 29th, has just come to hand. Accept my thanks that you have now settled the preliminaries of this discussion to our mutual satisfaction. The long and wide digression concerning them, was not of my seeking, and its termination, therefore, belonged to you. You seem, in conceding simple justice to me, to grant it as a matter of great grace and condescension on your part. Well, call it *grace* or *justice*, I am equally well satisfied, as I am afraid of neither; and as Universalists are so seldom able to obtain any thing approximating even-handed justice, from their opposing brethren, I am even thankful that (however long delayed or bad the grace with which it is given) you have at last conceded it. In reference to your other remarks about the preliminaries, and particularly about your having “given up the whole” to my “own dictation,” I would observe, that you seem to have greatly altered your mind since your last letter. In that you said I had “acceded to the rules of evidence” proposed by you “to be relied on, and in the main, yielded to the rules to be observed,” and had “finally come up to all” your “little quibbles,” etc.

2. In reply to what you say in your third, fourth and fifth paragraphs, about the apparent design of “destroying your reputation with the readers of this paper,” on the eve of the commencement of this discussion, I will remark, that I never saw or knew any thing of the articles mentioned by your New-York correspondent, as published in this paper of March 10th and February 24th, till after they were published. And had your correspondent quoted the whole paragraph by Mr. Grosh, instead of taking garbled and disjointed extracts, you would have seen that the

article, instead of assailing your reputation, was actually written to defend it from a recent assault made upon it, by a cotemporary journal, in Rochester, N. Y., which has nothing to do with this discussion. Thus, Sir, you see you have not been so greatly dishonored in our columns after all. But your modesty in disclaiming the expectation of any "honor in this earthly world, from the most ample refutation of each and every" of the "pretensions" of Universalism, is only equalled by your affected contempt of the system. I shall leave it to wiser heads than mine to say what you could justly be compared to, if, on trial, you should find your powers inadequate to refute Universalism, which, you say, "is *incomparably the weakest cause in Christendom.*"

3. In view of the above, and the serious difficulty you complain of in your seventh paragraph, and similar difficulties all along complained of, since you commenced addressing me, every master of sound logic and every skilful theological controversialist, must truly commiserate your unhappy destiny. To see so great a master in logic and controversy—one who is "logically and grammatically, as well as theologically and religiously," qualified to "put into the mouths" of novices "the *bits* of logic," and to "throw around their necks, the *reins* of reason"—to appeal on all occasions to the "oracle of reason"—to keep constantly "the canons of logic and philosophy in his eye"—to subject all matters "to the canons of criticism and laws of language current in the commonwealth of letters"—to see such a man linked in controversy with one embracing a system, "the barrenness of whose genius" is such as in the first place to induce him "informally, illogically, and lawlessly, to rush into the arena"—a system that has so stultified his intellect, as to make him incapable of enditing any thing but "headless, pointless, wide-spreading declamation," distinguished for nothing but "its impotency," and which contains "not a single argument that will bear the line and plummet of sound sense and logical discretion"—all this, Sir, is peculiarly calculated to excite the sympathy and commiseration of great logicians. It is, forsooth, too bad!

4. In despite of the scintillations of your genius and system, so great still is the obtuseness of my intellect that I can discover no more stultifying of each other in my propositions than in yours. Take now the four questions

you proposed in your April letter : " 1. Is there any punishment for sin ? 2. If any, is that punishment present or future ? 3. If future, is that future before or after death ? 4. If after death, is it temporary or eternal ?" Now, Sir, I put it to your own conscience whether your second question does not stultify the first ? the third the second ? and whether the simple question, " Is eternal [endless] punishment true ?" would not have stultified all the preceding questions ? See Rom. ii : 1. The merriment introduced into your 12th paragraph about the " mystic theologian," is therefore at your own expense.

5. In your 10th paragraph you appear exceedingly happy, almost overjoyed, at the wonderful *concession* I have made, viz., that the punishment of the wicked is set forth under other terms than *sheol*, *hades*, or *gehenna*. If, my dear Sir, I had known this admission would have pleased you so well, I would have made it in the very first paragraph I wrote to you—nay, I would have furnished you with a number of instances in *proof* of its truth—I would have referred you to the first punishment for sin recorded in the Bible, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, to the sentences upon the serpent and upon Cain, the drowning of the old world, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the plagues of Egypt, and hundreds of other similar cases of punishment, both individual and national, where not a syllable is said about *hell* ; but after all, such is the obstinate obtuseness of my intellect that I am utterly incapable of perceiving what possible advantage you, or any one of your positions, could have derived from such concession.

6. You complain of me, not because the propositions for discussion are unfavorable, but because they are *too* favorable to you—I am generous even to a fault. Very well, Sir—make the most you can of your vantage ground. I am contented. But, Sir, if you fail to substantiate your position, relative to either of the first three propositions, so many of your strongest ramparts fall. And if I prove the affirmative of the fourth, your whole system of endless sin and misery falls.

7. In reply to your 15th paragraph, I would simply ask, Why, my dear Sir, did you take back with so much indignation, the concession made in a former letter concerning *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*, as though the concession were likely to prove fatal to your cause, if in fact it were a matter of no consequence ?

8. Your parody of my apostrophe, or what you are pleased to call my rhapsody, is a perfectly futile attempt to shift the difficulty, in which you are involved, over to my side of the question. You ask "were the controversy about the endless happiness of the saints," whether your "version or imitation" would not be, to a scruple, as exactly in point as what you [I] have written." I answer unhesitatingly, *No*. And for this reason: neither the Hebrew *Shemim*, the Greek *Oouranos*, nor Persian *Paradiseos*, nor, I may add, the Latin *Caelum*, nor English *Heaven*, is ever relied on by any Universalist, nor any other enlightened Christian, as proof of "the endless happiness of the saints." The endless happiness of the saints is attested in Scripture by a very different kind of proof. And how very few are the instances where the words *shemim*, *ouranos*, and *heaven*, are used to designate either the place or state of the endless happiness of the saints, compared to the vast number of instances where they are used in a very different sense! How very different then the case you name. It is not at all in point.

9. Your 16th and 17th paragraphs fairly "stultify" me. Were you dreaming, Sir, or what were you about when you penned that most outrageous perversion both of the language and sentiment of the quoted dogma? When and where, Sir, did you ever hear any intelligent Universalist say that "repentance is the *only hell* or state of punishment" for sinners, or any thing tantamount to it? Never, my dear Sir, since God made you. As well might it be affirmed that a *birch tree* is *holiness*, because with a branch therefrom you have chastised your disobedient child, and produced humility and reformation, which has resulted in confirmed holiness of character. I do not wonder, Sir, after delivering yourself of such a perversion, that you involuntarily remarked, that you did "not feel rhapsodic nor elated," especially if you have any conscience! What you say about Messiah's appearance and mediation being a mere pageant, would be measurably true were his appearance and mediation to be regarded in the light of your system—a system that represents him as coming to save an alienated and lapsed world, and after much display and pretension, only succeeding in rescuing a *small part* of the general wreck, and dooming the rest to a *far more hopeless condition* than he found them in. But Universalism makes his mediation no pageant, but a triumphantly

successful effort to reconcile and save from sin and death a whole world of intelligent beings.

10. In your 18th paragraph you assume that it is "probable" [so you are reduced to a mere *probability*] that "gehenna was used by our Lord to represent *punishment after death*"—and "perhaps" [so here you are reduced to a bare *possibility* of being right] "it meant sometimes—[*not always*] *by its adjuncts* [not by itself] *everlasting punishment!*" Sir, is not that cause "incomparably weak" that has nothing but bare *possibility* in its favor, and that based wholly on *assumption* without the least particle of proof, or any attempt at proof? In the quotation you pretend in this paragraph to make from me, why do you not quote me fairly? Why garble my question to my disadvantage? My language was, not merely that "Christ never preached gehenna punishment to any but Jews," but that "neither Christ *nor his apostles* ever" did it—"that *none* of them ever preached or lisped a syllable of it to Gentiles, or *authorized others to do it!*" Is there any thing in this incompatible with the fact that Christ's personal ministry was limited to the house of Israel? Moreover, did not Christ himself preach salvation *for*, if not *to*, the Gentiles? See Matt. viii: 11, 12, and xxi: 41-43, and Luke xiii: 28, 29. And did he not commission his apostles to preach salvation *to* Gentiles? Mark xvi: 15, and its parallels. Why then, I repeat, if Gentiles were liable to *gehenna fire* or *punishment*, were they *never* threatened with it? Could it not have been explained to them as well as *you* can now explain it to me? That the apostles did not mention *Shemin* nor *Paradise*, nor *Abraham's bosom* to the Gentiles, is evidence that they did not regard them as any proof of immortal beatitude.

11. In reply to your 19th paragraph, I remark that if I erred in conceding too little in regard to the figurative meaning of *gehenna*, I have erred in very good company. That the word is used literally and in its primary sense in Matt. v: 22, appears to have been the opinion of Drs. Parkhurst, Macknight, Rosenmuller, Heylen, Winne, Wakefield, and A. Clarke. See their notes, comments, and illustrations of the passage—and their opinion that the punishment here threatened was *burning alive in the literal valley of Hinnom*. The above commentators happen to be on your side of the main question.

12. Your 20th paragraph being mostly quotations from

the Bible, I am highly pleased with ; and notwithstanding you take considerable pains to put in capitals and italics certain words and phrases, I see very little prospect of your being able thereby to make out your case. I would only inquire relative to the last passage quoted, if your definition of *gehenna* be correct, and it have the same meaning in all places, whether we are to understand James as saying that the *tongue* of his brethren was *set on fire of endless misery, or everlasting punishment?* Your 21st paragraph is a medley of truisms and assertions without argument, requiring no other answer than will be found in reply to the preceding and succeeding paragraphs.

13. I fully endorse all you say in your twenty-second paragraph, with all its *et ceteras, et ceteras*, excepting only the last sentence; and cordially maintain that "*gehenna* is contrasted with '*life*' and '*the kingdom of God*,'" etc. "And now I ask [assert that] whatever is meant by *entering into life*, the very opposite of that is going into, or being *cast into gehenna*." Are you prepared to abide the issue? That "*life*," "*entering into life*," "*passing from death unto life*," "*entering into the kingdom of God*," "*kingdom of heaven*," etc., do not in the Scriptures generally signify future and eternal bliss, or entering into immortal beatitude, I think must be obvious to the most superficial of biblical critics. "I am the bread of *life*"—"The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are *life*." John vi : 35, 63. "He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me, *hath everlasting life*, and shall not come into condemnation; but is *passed from death unto life*." John v : 24. "The kingdom of God is come unto you." Matt. xii : 28. "For ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men. Matt. xxiii : 13. See also Matt. xi : 12, and xviii : 1, 4; Luke xvii : 20, 21; John iii : 36; xi : 25; xvii : 3; xx : 31; Rom. xiv : 17; 1 John iii : 14; and parallels too numerous to name. That these and similar phrases, signify in general the Gospel dispensation, Messiah's reign, the joy and peace of believers, and the privileges of faith and hope therein, I think even you will not deny on further reflection. And so far from its being true that "all Christendom admits" that they denote "*future and eternal bliss*," the learned Dr. *Hammond* says—and with him agree the learned *Lightfoot*, *Knatchbull*, *Wynne*, *Heylen*, the *Compilers of the Dutch Annotations*, *Poole's Continuator*s, and many other eminent critics on

your side of the house—that the “phrase *basileia ton ouranon*, or *ton theou*, the kingdom of heaven, or of God, signifies in the New Testament, the kingdom of Messias, or that state or condition which is a most lively image of that which we believe to be in heaven, and therefore called by that name.” Now, Sir, if, as you say, going into or being cast into *gehenna*, is the very opposite of entering into the kingdom of God, entering into life, etc., as exhibited in the above quotations, it must mean, on your own premises, that mental and moral darkness and perplexity which the rejectors of the Gospel experienced, and the woes and calamities that befel them in consequence thereof. They have seen the Gentiles sitting down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God, reclining in Abraham’s bosom (or faith) and they themselves thrust out into *everlasting punishment* for nearly 1800 years since the destruction of their city—a condition “the very opposite” of that of every true believer. “For we which have believed, *do enter into rest.*” Heb. iv : 3.

14. What you say in paragraph twenty-three, about considering the *adjuncts* of *gehenna* by way of substitution, as well as contrast, will be sufficiently answered by a few scriptural citations, where the same or still stronger phraseology is used respecting *everlasting fire—fire that shall never be quenched,* etc., and evidently applied to mere temporal things and punishments. “The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar ; it shall never go out.” Lev. v : 13. “A fire is kindled in my wrath, and shall burn unto the lowest hell.” Deut. xxxii : 22. “It shall not be quenched night nor day : the smoke thereof shall go up forever : from generation to generation it shall lie waste ; none shall pass through it forever and ever.” Isa. xxxiv : 10. “For their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched ; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh.” Isa. lxvi : 24. Now, Sir, I am confident you will not risk your reputation, as a scholar or theologian, by affirming that either of these texts refers to any thing beyond this state of being. Why, then, should you make an exception to the common scriptural import of similar phraseology, when found in connection with *gehenna* ? Is this *your* “Lynch-law of Theology ?” If it be not a Lynch-law, it is surely an *ex post facto law*, of which the Scriptures and the Scripture writers knew nothing.

15. The unsupported *assertions* and swaggering *assump-*

tions of your twenty-fourth, thirtieth, and thirty-first paragraphs, so ludicrously interlarded with the *petitio principii*, or begging of the question, together with your attempt at ridicule in your twenty-eighth, I need not notice. It is sufficient that I notice what bears the semblance of argument. Your hypercritical corrections of my grammar, as in the commencement of your twenty-seventh paragraph, where a *singular verb* is made to agree with *one noun singular* expressed in *two languages*, and numerous other examples of the same disposition in your letters, I shall hereafter pay no attention to, though I have in a few instances followed your example, as a mere *caveat* to you.

16. When your twenty-fifth paragraph is reduced in "my crucible" to its legitimate *quantum*, and tried by the "canons of logic and philosophy," I find nothing of it—at least nothing that is applicable to this discussion.

17. What you say in the close of your twenty-sixth paragraph, is not true, if Jesus the true prophet spake truly, and authentic historians are to be believed. For instead of "escaping the punishment of gehenna in the heaven of Universalism," upon that generation of unbelieving Jews came the righteous retributions that had been for ages accumulating, and they endured the full measure of the *damnation of hell*, or *gehenna punishment*. See Matt. xxi : 41-44 ; xxiii : 35, 36 ; xxiv : 15, 21, 34 ; Luke xiii : 28 ; and Josephus' account of the destruction of Jerusalem.

18. In your twenty-seventh paragraph, you speak of my "Lynch-law of theology." But, Sir, I leave it to our readers to say whether my definition of *hades*, and the use I made of the text, (the subject of your complaint,) was any thing near as *Lynch-like* as your gross perversion and misrepresentation of my definition in that very paragraph. If the reader will consult again my *second* and third definitions of *sheol* and *hades*, he will perceive that my version of Psalm ix : 17, was, "The wicked shall experience severe judgments, great afflictions, sudden temporal destruction," and perhaps also "a distressing sense of guilt, remorse of conscience, great mental anguish." Let us, have, then, no more of this wilful perversion. You, Sir, had given your definition of *hades*, and then quoted Psalm ix : 17, not merely as an example of your sense, but you attempted to make your readers believe that Universalists always explained *sheol* or *hades* in this text, to mean the *grave*. I gave my definition, and, to disabuse our readers

of that false imputation, cited and explained the same text and several others, in the different senses in which the word *sheol*, or *hades*, was used. And you have made no effort to prove my definition or version incorrect; but accuse me of adopting the "Lynch-law of theology," merely for disabusing our readers of your false insinuation!

19. That the *fable* you give in your 29th paragraph, is a spurious version, will appear evident from these facts: God said to Adam, "the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt *surely die*." The serpent said to Eve, "ye shall *not surely die*." Now Universalists believe that Adam *did die* the *very death* that was threatened, and on the *very day* of transgression. But my good friend, Mr. Campbell, does not believe it. He thinks the death there threatened, was *eternal death*—that Adam not only did not die the threatened death *then*, but *never will*—that though all mankind are threatened with it, they shall *not all surely die*—that it is even *possible* for all to escape it, if they will. He therefore thinks that God was mistaken, and the serpent told the truth. So it appears that his "sooty majesty" was not merely a "graduate" but *principal professor* in the school whence he and his brethren "of like precious faith" graduated. It is true that Universalism was preached in the Garden, but by a very different Professor. It was preached in the declaration that "*the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head*."

20. In your next I shall expect something bearing the semblance of *proof* in favor of your positions, or in answer to the arguments contained in my February letter. The proof sheet of this will be mailed for you on the 21st inst.

Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER VIII.

BETHANY, AUGUST 1, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of the 18th ult. arrived yesterday. No thanks are due me for settling preliminaries to “mutual satisfaction.” That has not been done. You may, indeed, thank me for having given up every litigated point to your entire satisfaction. Your thanks would have been in order had you substituted *my* for “mutual.”

2. Your 2d and 3d paragraphs have no bearing on the question before us. Your 4th admits the justice of my strictures on your four propositions; but you defend your nullifications, etc., upon the ground that my four questions were objectionable on the same score. Shrewd, indeed! To allow a person to select one out of five questions, is, in your optics, identical with compelling him to discuss the whole. To be asked at table to partake of any one of five dishes, is, in your reason, equivalent to be compelled to digest another five! To offer for selection four or five *homogeneous* propositions, and to constrain the discussion of just so many *heterogeneous* points, are just the same thing!! Having in the very elements of your defence admitted all that I alleged in my general review of your positions, I feel no necessity of farther demonstrating the entire dissimilarity of the case you urge to protect you. Without farther comment, I fearlessly refer the review to all our readers.

3. You candidly allow (paragraph 6) that your first three propositions only reach the ramparts, the mere outposts of the besieged city; and wisely say, “If I [you] prove the affirmative of the fourth, my whole system of endless sin and misery falls.” Yes—*if—if* you prove the fourth! Aye, that is the point: for this not proved, yourself being judge, your other toils are vain and useless. Hasten then,

my dear Sir, to the fourth. That is the vital point—and the affirmative is yours.

4. The first point of interest bearing on the question before us, is in your 8th paragraph. My parody upon your apostrophe you allege is not in point. Here we are at issue; and it is an important issue. The great point with your school on the first proposition is, *that Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom, as we have been told a thousand times: therefore it can not represent a state of punishment after death in another world.* This is your great *enthymeme*. Syllogistically expressed, it would read in full—

5. *Whatever word has represented a place of physical misery in this life, can not represent a state of future misery after death.*

But Gehenna has represented a place of physical misery in this life:

Therefore, Gehenna can not represent a state of future misery after death.

6. Now, Sir, answer me unequivocally, and say whether the above syllogism does not state the point, to illustrate and prove which, the ten thousand pages written about Gehenna have been published from Georgia to Maine. Be definite, and explicit too, on this question: for here I do claim for the truth a decided victory. Out of the lips of Universalists themselves I refute these ten thousand pages, by showing that their syllogism and philology as fully prove that the words *shemim, ouranos, calum, heaven*, because they originally signified the sensible air and the visible sky, can not signify a state or place of future happiness after death: I say, the case is precisely similar. Take the Hebrew *shemim* and *gehenna*, or the Saxon *heaven* and *hell*, and compare their history, and there are not two cases more parallel in universal language. HELL has often denoted the vale of Hinnom, the pit, the grave, and sometimes a state of punishment after death. HEAVEN in like manner has often denoted the air, the region of the sun, moon, and stars; the blue ethereal, exaltation, and sometimes the state of future happiness after death. Do you, Mr. Skinner, deny this? If so, say it distinctly. If you do not deny it, then I ask you, *Are not these two cases parallel?* Compare the following with the preceding syllogism:—

7. *Whatever word has represented a place of physical*

enjoyment in this life, can not represent a state of future enjoyment after death.

But SHEMIM has represented a place of physical enjoyment in this life :

Therefore, SHEMIM can not represent a state of future enjoyment after death.

8. You may have another still more precise case, if this one is not fully satisfactory. For example :—

Whatever word originally signified a state of limited and temporary suffering, can never afterwards represent a state of unlimited and eternal suffering.

But Gehenna originally signified a state of limited and temporary suffering :

Therefore, Gehenna can never signify a state of unlimited and eternal suffering.

Its counterpart is as follows :—

9. Whatever word originally signified a state of limited and temporary happiness, can never afterwards represent a state of unlimited and eternal happiness.

But Paradise originally signified a state of limited and temporary enjoyment :

Therefore, Paradise can never afterwards represent a state of unlimited and eternal happiness.

But both *Heaven* and *Paradise* are so used in the New Testament. Therefore all these Universalian syllogisms are equally fallacious and delusive.

10. On comparing these four syllogisms, then, ask how much has been gained to the cause of Universalism from all the concessions of all the believers in future punishment ; or from all your writings and debates on *sheol*, *hades*, and *gehenna*. This, Sir, I wish you to remember is one of my outposts, which I can not surrender till you bring forces of reason and logic incomparably superior to all that have ever marshalled under your banners. It is, indeed, a rampart in which I feel perfectly impregnable, and I wish to give it conspicuity in the ratio of your efforts to slur it over. I fearlessly conclude, that as the word *heaven* represents a state of future happiness, so the term *hell* as undeniably represents a state of misery after death. So do all the words in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which are now properly translated by them.

11. And here, Sir, I am sorry to accuse you of shuffling in a most palpable manner. You change the point most dexterously. You say, "Neither the Hebrew *Shemim*,

the Greek *Ouranos*, the Persian *Paradiseos*, nor, I may add, the Latin *Cælum*, nor the English *Heaven*, is ever relied on by any Universalist, nor any other enlightened Christian, as proof of the endless happiness of the saints." That is not the point. The question is not, "On what words do Universalists rely;" but, Do these words sometimes represent the future happiness of the saints? You, my good Sir, have admitted this; and this being by you admitted, is all that is necessary to my parallelism. Why then did you, ingenious Sir, change this point into a question about what Universalists choose to rely on in debate. By thus subtly changing the point, and by conceding that these words do sometimes mean a state of endless happiness, in despite of their original or more common signification, you prove that you are sometimes sufficiently acute; and, moreover, you establish, to my full satisfaction, all that I have alleged about Gehenna.

12. Permit me, Sir, to correct your style of address. You are so much accustomed to speak of "wilful perversions" and "outrageous perversions," and to a swelling, declamatory, and highly turgid and boastful manner, that you are not only sinning against human dignity, but misinterpreting the proper language of decency and respect. I now allude to your 7th, 10th, and various other paragraphs, where you declaim on certain terms of modesty, almost to an utter perversion of my meaning. You say that I am "reduced to a mere *probability*," "to a bare *possibility*," "a *perhaps*," that Gehenna was used by our Lord to represent punishment after death. Because I did not in your style, or in that of "His Holiness," say it certainly does so signify, or I have proved it beyond all doubt to signify, etc., etc., but modestly said it is possible, it is probable, etc. But, Sir, I think I have proved more than I allege in these words. I wish my arguments to be always a little stronger than my assertions. Yet if you require it of me, I now say that I have fully proved,—

1st. That Gehenna in the New Testament does not represent the valley of Hinnom; but

2d. That it is used by our Lord, not possibly nor probably, but certainly to represent a state of future punishment after death. I assert now the more positively, because we have seen all that you have been able to allege against it. And what is it? That, in the opinion of certain interpreters, it *once* (Matt. v : 22) refers to burning alive in

the literal valley of Hinnom. Then, Sir, yourself being judge, we have it eleven times out of twelve the representative, not of the valley of Hinnom, but of something more terrible.

13. It is unnecessary for me to contend about Matt. v : 22, as you only urged it upon mere authority. But, Sir, were it necessary, I could show that you misinterpret the authors you quote. Of those that I have now leisure to examine, not one of them authorize you or any one else to say that Jesus threatened a literal burning in the valley of Hinnom. They only say that he alluded to this valley, but *meant a future and a different punishment*. You rely too much, Sir, upon Mr. Balfour. Jesus never threatened his disciples or his hearers with Jewish punishments for disobedience to his instructions. I have given, some dozen years since, the substance of all these comments, in a note on this passage, in the first edition of my Family Testament.

14. Your cordial admission that to "enter into life" is the contrast of being "cast into hell," and that to "enter into life" is in Scripture style sometimes equivalent to entering heaven or eternal happiness, goes far indeed to justify my remarks in my last letter on Gehenna. But you will have to go a little farther on this point. You take refuge from your own concession that "*to enter into life*" sometimes means to enter into future and eternal bliss—"into immortal beatitude"! by throwing a glorious ambiguity around the phrase "enter into life." But, Sir, I must allure you out of the smoke you have thrown around you. To talk of life and of the bread of life, and of passing from death to life, in such a connection, is supremely rabbinical. You will have "entering into life" sometimes to mean entering into the church! You ask me gravely am I prepared for the issue of my assertion—viz., "that whatever is meant by *entering into life*, the very opposite of that is going into, or being cast into Gehenna?" I answer, *I am*. But why do you immediately fly from the issue by introducing phrases in which the word *life* occurs; such as "bread of *life*," "my words are spirit and *life*," etc., as if these had any thing to do with the contrast before us! Did Jesus contrast "the bread of life" with the "everlasting fire," or with "gehenna," or being "cast into hell!" You abandon the issue, the very moment you dare me to the conflict. I am prepared for the issue, Sir,

and fearlessly assert that you can not produce a single instance in the whole Bible where the phrase in issue, viz., "*enter into life*," means to join the church, to become a citizen of Christ's kingdom on earth, or regeneration, or any change of state which happens in this world. You need not parcel out these words and tell me what *life* sometimes means, what *enter* means, and what *into* denotes. No, Mr. Skinner, this is mere trifling. *To be cast into Gehenna* is the phrase with which *enter into life* is contrasted.

15. No one denies that the phrases "kingdom of heaven," "kingdom of God," sometimes mean the church of Christ or Christian institution. No person living perhaps, has either said or written more on this subject than your humble servant. But that to "enter into life" and to "enter into the kingdom of God," mean the church or Christian institution, in contrast with entering into any other state, is as gratuitous an assumption as you can make. Jesus said to a rich young man, "If you would enter into life, keep the commandments"—"a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven"—"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Do these phrases by any conceivable interpretation mean entering into the church on earth!! If they can not, in such a connection, how much less possible or probable that in the contrast with being cast into Gehenna, or the everlasting fire where the worm dieth not, they mean admission into an earthly institution!!

16. Among other delusive questions and assertions, you ask me, paragraph 12th, *If Gehenna have the same meaning in all places*, how are we to understand James speaking of the tongue? etc. Who says that either heaven or hell has the same meaning in all places!! Is this, or is it not, *ad captandum*? I have then, Sir, formed the issue. It is with me a strong outpost. That life implies death, that eternal life implies eternal death, that to enter into life in contrast with being cast into hell, means the possession of as great a contrast as reason or language knows: in one word, Sir, that in the preaching of Jesus, to be "cast into hell," "into the everlasting fire," as certainly means endless punishment, as to "enter into life" or "into the kingdom of God" does mean endless bliss; and that "to enter into life" does in no place mean to enter into the church or kingdom of God on earth has been shown, and may be most clearly seen by an induction of every passage where

the phrase occurs. As I gave all the places where Gehenna occurs, do you give all the places where "enter into life" occurs.

17. I am much abused for an alleged "wilful perversion" of your favorite dogma which I quoted in my last. I have not, Sir, wilfully perverted it. You affirm that "justice can neither ask nor receive farther punishment than sincere penitence and reformation." Nay, you go farther and say, that, in this way, "the sinner has been punished according to the full demerit of the crime," etc. Now, Sir, if *hell* and *punishment* are two names for the same state; and if justice can demand no greater punishment than repentance, where is the mighty wilful perversion of your dogma in regarding repentance as the only hell or the only state of punishment. If in repentance "the sinner has been punished according to the full demerit of the crime," where shall we find a severer hell than in a penitential heart!! I contend then, Sir, that your words amply justify my conclusion. Here I might retort upon you with seven-fold evidence. Why do you coin dogmas for me at the mint of your imagination? Where did you learn that I think that "Adam was threatened with eternal death," etc., etc.? These are fictions of your own manufacture.

18. I protest against such a defence of yourself in any case as you exhibit in the 18th paragraph. You call my exposure of your fantastic or nameless "*version*" of Ps. ix: 17, "a wilful perversion." I unequivocally and *ex animo* repel the charge. Except it be your own wilful perversion of reason and truth, there is no other perversion in the passage. You again say, "The wicked shall experience severe judgments, etc., and *perhaps* also a distressing sense of guilt," etc. This is your hell with a *perhaps* in the middle of it! Let the reader examine your 18th paragraph, and turn back to my 27th; and after comparing them, I venture to predict he will hereafter understand your "wilful perversion" to mean your own signal and unanswerable defeat. You talk about my making "no effort to prove your definition or version to be incorrect"!!! My whole 27th paragraph is given as a perfect disproof of what yourself did not so much as attempt to prove but by the case in debate, as I there told you. Hereafter I advise the reader to look for an unanswerable refutation of your speculation where you talk of "wilful

perversion." You will be surprised, Sir, to find how soon we begin to understand your style. Your 19th paragraph also proves a proposition not now in debate--viz., that it is possible for a person to be ridiculous without being sublime. This, indeed, you proved to a demonstration in the 21st paragraph of the preceding letter, when you made the Roman power "Him that had power to destroy both soul and body in hell"! Yes, reader, Mr. Skinner's version of "Fear not them that kill the body," is, "Might not the Saviour have intended the Roman power?"!!!

19. I have now touched upon all the important points before me, and have formed with you two main issues. These two contain every thing of vital consequence to the discussion of the first proposition. Your 14th paragraph runs out into the second proposition, on the words *everlasting, endless, etc.* Still, as the phrase *the everlasting fire* occurred as a substitute for *Gehenna* in my quotations from the four Gospels, I must observe that your quotations from the Old Testament are not in point. Not one of them is of the *genus*, much less of the *species* before us. "A fire ever burning upon the altar," or a "smoke ascending forever," are as unlike *par to aionion, the everlasting fire*, or *to pur to asbeston, the unquenchable fire*, as the phrase "bread of life" differs from the phrase "enter into life," or as the phrase "it is truth" differs from "it is *the* truth," or "he is *a* light of the world" differs from "he is *the* light of the world." "*The* everlasting fire" substituted by Jesus for the word "hell," is never found identified with anything else but hell or future punishment. It is defined by him as "*the everlasting fire* prepared for the devil and his angels." Matt. xxv: 41. *You can not produce a single instance in the whole New Testament wherein it is applied to any thing temporal or limited!* Take notice, I have given you the chance of an issue on the second proposition. My dear Sir, there is the width of the poles between saying, "Thou art *a* man," and "Thou art *the* man"—between *a fire that ever burns* on my hearth, and "*the everlasting fire.*" I beseech you to abandon your loose style of quoting Scripture. No man ever can arrive at *the truth* who interprets and applies words regardless of their adjuncts.

20. Universalists believe that "Adam did die the very death threatened, on the *very day* of transgression." They believe many other strange things. I believe that Adam died at the end of NINE HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS after

his creation, and that this was threatened in the words, "In the day thou eatest thereof DYING THOU SHALT DIE." But of all these curious matters in their own place.

21. What the Apostles preached to the Gentiles will also appear in the sequel. That they preached fearful vengeance, future punishment, punishment after death, everlasting ruin to wicked men, to those who rejected the Messiah, is awfully certain. Yes, Sir, you will as soon quench the orb of day by your spittle, as quench the everlasting fire of Heaven's insulted Majesty, by all your powers of reason and declamation.

22.* You admit there has been PUNISHMENT for sin—punishment issuing in the destruction of sinners. Of these admissions hereafter. You pass too lightly over many things in my last epistle, No. VI. The 17th, 21st, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 28th, and 31st, paragraphs have been either leaped over, or trod on as burning embers.

23. That the Scribes and Pharisees, addressed by Jesus as an offspring of vipers, were cast into the hell of Jerusalem's destruction, is as baseless, wretched, miserable, blind, and naked a *get-off* from a dilemma, as, in my opinion, can be found in universal history. These Scribes and Pharisees, so ripe in wickedness, could not be less than 40 or 50 years old when Jesus was 33. They had seen their fourscore years and more before Titus, A. D. 70, besieged the city; and if they did not escape that damnation of hell, must, in at least nine cases in ten, have been raised from the dead!

24. Your reply to this letter, if it reach me not before the 22d inst., will not find me at home. I shall be gone to Ohio for two weeks or more. In case it should not arrive in time, I will leave a letter on the 2d proposition, to follow your next, and shall attend to your reply to this on my return. This will be forwarded in *proof* by our mail of the 3d instant. In all benevolence, your friend,

A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER IX.

UTICA, AUGUST 12, 1837.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 1st inst., reached me yesterday. It is useless to waste more time about the vastness of your concessions.

2. You admit that you have been wide from the question before us, when you say that my 2d and 3d paragraphs, which directly met what you had written, had no bearing on the question. I hope in future you will observe more strictly your own rule to keep to the question.

3. Your attempt to evade my retort of your own charge of the proposed questions' stultifying [nullifying you now have it] each other, is a lame effort. You pretend that your questions were all *homogeneous*; either of which would have been sufficient to cover the ground of difference between us, but mine were *heterogeneous*, compelling us to travel over more ground than necessary. Is it possible you can be serious in this? If your first question, "Is there any punishment for sin?" had been settled in the affirmative, would you not then have desired a discussion of your next, viz.: "Is that punishment present or future?" and so on with the third and fourth questions? And yet you would persuade our readers that you only meant to give me the option of selecting *one* out of four or five questions! Admirable consistency!

4. If your strongest ramparts fall, you need not "lay the flattering unction to your soul," that your citadel will be spared. It will be time enough for me to advance further proof of my fourth proposition, when you have disposed of that brought forward in my first letter, or done any thing towards establishing the affirmative of your own side.

5. All you say in your 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th paragraphs, is wide of the mark. Unfortunately for

my learned and acute opponent, it is an entire misapprehension (whether intentional or unintentional, I know not,) of the views and arguments of Universalists generally, and certainly of my own. Certainly, I have never argued, nor known any Universalist to argue, that, because *gehenna* originally meant the valley of Hinnom, therefore it can not represent a state of punishment after death in another world. No, Sir, such are not the arguments of Universalists. And all your fine syllogisms, based on this supposition, are like the fragrance of a rose in the wilderness, wasted upon the desert air. We say, Sir, that *gehenna* originally and literally meant the valley of Hinnom. This you admit. We further say, that in process of time, *gehenna*, or the valley of Hinnom, and *tophet*, another term for the same thing, were used in the Old Testament figuratively to set forth the temporal but severe judgments coming upon the Jews. The learned Schleusner, in his Lexicon, (and with him agree the most eminent critics,) *in voce gehenna*, says, "As a continual fire was necessary to consume the substances, [carcases of animals and of desperate criminals,] lest the air should be infected by putrefaction, and as there were always worms feeding on the remaining fragments, [see Isa. lxvi : 24,] it hence came to pass that every severe punishment, and particularly every ignominious kind of death, was called by the name of *gehenna*." He refers to Matt. v : 22—"shall be in danger of a *gehenna* of fire—i. e.," he says, "shall be worthy of an ignominious death." See as confirmation of the justness of this definition, Jer. vii : 25, to end, and viii : 1, 2, 3, and the whole of the 19th chapter of Jeremiah. Also, Isa. xxx : 27-33, and xxxi : 1-4. The reader is requested carefully to examine all these places.

6. Such being the acknowledged meaning and use of the valley of Hinnom, in the Old Testament, what reason have we to suppose it was used in an entirely different sense in the New? Would Jesus have used the term in so very different a sense from that in which the Jews had been accustomed to understand it, (and it was never used in addressing the Gentiles,) without giving the least intimation that he had entirely changed its meaning from that in which their ancient prophets used it?

7. Though Schleusner, Dr. George Campbell, and other advocates of the doctrine of endless misery, assume that *gehenna* was afterwards used to designate the future

punishment of the wicked, or the state of the damned in the eternal world, it is only their *opinion*, unaccompanied by a particle of proof. They may assume or opine ever so confidently, and you may assert ever so positively any doctrine or position you please, but this to me and our readers is no proof. You and they can prove as far the Bible warrants, the application of *gehenna* to severe temporal punishments; but beyond this you have no warrant in the Bible to go. As the term was used in the Old Testament to designate, besides the literal valley of Hinnom, the severe temporal judgments coming on the Jews, I maintain that it was used by our Saviour in the New Testament in the same or a similar sense, to designate the severe temporal judgments coming on the same nation. Therefore I do not say, that because *gehenna* originally meant the *valley of Hinnom*, it can not represent a state of punishment after death in another world; but I say *you have brought no proof of the latter*. Give us the *proof*, Sir, and we believe; but not without. Or show that my definition is incorrect, and I give it up. [See my letter, No. 5, published in your August number, 19th and 20th paragraphs.]

8. The position you would establish by showing the fallacy of your peripatetic syllogisms, reminds me of, and is about as well sustained as, the visionary theory of Emanuel Swedenborg. Swedenborg established his doctrine by *correspondencies*, you yours by *contrasts*; and though both are alike visionary and devoid of proof, the Baron's is altogether the most beautiful and inviting. You attempt to establish the doctrine of *endless misery* on the ground, that it is the exact opposite of *endless happiness*!—of *eternal death*, not once mentioned in the Bible, on the ground that *eternal life* is mentioned! About as consistent as the Orthodox argument, that because there is a personal *God*, there must be a personal *devil*. Of two days, one is said to be *hot* and the other *cold*. It is proved that the thermometer rose to 100 degrees of Fahrenheit on the *hot day*. It follows *sylogistically*, and by *contrast*, that it must have sunk just 100 degrees below zero, on the *cold day*.

9. I deny that the Hebrew *shemim*, and Greek *gehenna*, are always used in opposite or contrasted senses in Scripture, or that the Saxon *heaven* and *hell* are always, or generally, or even frequently, so used. True, they are so used Matt. xi: 23, and Luke x: 15; but you will not

contend that in these places any thing more is meant, than temporal prosperity and temporal adversity. There are a great variety of senses in which these Saxon words are used in the Bible, but these different senses are by no means always opposites. *Heaven* (or heavens) is used to signify the air, the visible sky, the heavenly bodies, temporal prosperity, honor, exaltation, God himself, or his dominion and providence, spiritual enjoyment, and sometimes the place or state of endless happiness hereafter.—*Hell* is used to signify the grave, the state of all the dead, a dark, hidden or concealed state, temporal adversity or destruction, mental condemnation, guilt, remorse of conscience, the valley of Hinnom, the judgments of God on the Jewish nation, and infidel persecuting opposers of his Gospel; but that it signifies a place of misery in the eternal world, *you have not offered one particle of proof*, nor do I believe you can offer any. This strong rampart of error then falls for want of support; and I therefore “do claim for the truth a decided victory” here. And the greater “conspicuity” you have sought to give this point of the debate, only serves to render your defeat the more signal.

10. Your 11th paragraph is mostly about a matter on which we do not differ essentially, and which is not in dispute between us, viz., the meaning of the words rendered *heaven*, etc. It is needless, therefore, to waste words about my “shuffling” or “changing the point,” which I certainly did not do. I have shown above that you were not to the point, or rather that *that* point was not to the question in dispute. The conclusion of your 11th paragraph, is a *non sequitur*.

11. One can hardly avoid smiling on the perusal of your 12th paragraph. After accusing me of a “highly turgid and boastful manner,” and of “sinning against human dignity,” by “misinterpreting the language of decency and respect,” we have a formal declaration of your extreme “modesty.” Reader, take notice, my friend Campbell is a very “modest” man in controversy. But unfortunately for him, his *arguments*, instead of being “a little stronger than his *assertions*,” fall very far short of them. Indeed the latter, though the very quintessence of modesty, are frequently found entirely unsupported and widely separated from the former. In the same paragraph you *assert* that you have fully proved, “1st, that *Gabonza* in the New Testament, does *not* represent the valley of Hinnom;” and

"2d, that it does" *"positively"* "represent a state of future punishment after death." Very modest! In your 13th paragraph, you seem to think I misinterpret the authors I quote or refer to, relative to Matt. v : 22, viz. : Parkhurst, Macknight, Rosenmuller, Heylin, Wynne, Wakefield, and A. Clarke. You appear dissatisfied with the authority I refer to. Well, my dear Sir, I will endeavor to suit you better now, so far as *authority* is concerned. I now quote from a note on Matt. v : 22, found in the New version or translation of the New Testament, by *Alexander Campbell*. "The fact is, that the allusions in this verse are all to human institutions or customs among the Jews; and the Judges, the Sanhedrim, and the hell-fire here introduced, are *all human punishments*."—"The following translation of this verse is expressive of the sense of the original: 'Whoever is vainly incensed against his brother, shall be obnoxious to the sentence of the judges; (the court of twenty-three;) whoever shall say to his brother, (in the way of contempt,) *shallow brains*, shall be obnoxious to the Sanhedrim; and whoever shall say apostate wretch, (the highest expression of malice,) shall be obnoxious to the *gehenna of fire*,' or to being burned alive in the valley of Hinnom. This translation is in substance approved by Adam Clarke, and other critics of respectability."

12. Thus our readers may see how very differently my learned opponent talks and writes when honestly endeavoring, in his private study, to give the true sense of Scripture in a new version, and when engaged in a controversy with a Universalist. I trust, my dear Sir, that you will not complain of this authority, and also trust that we shall see no more repetitions of your "modest" *assertions* that you "have fully proved that *gehenna* in the New Testament, does not represent the valley of Hinnom," etc.

13. Your 14th paragraph charges me with admitting that the phrase "enter into life," is, in Scripture style, equivalent to entering into eternal happiness or immortal beatitude, throwing the smoke of ambiguity around the phrase, and then immediately flying from the issue formed with you on the subject. By re-examining my arguments, our readers will perceive that I have done neither. I have not admitted, and do not admit, that "enter into life" is ever equivalent in Scripture, to entering into immortal beatitude in the eternal world. So far from seeking to obscure the meaning of the phrase, I studiously avoided

all ambiguity, a thing, by the bye, of which I fear you will never be guilty, so long as a *double entendre* will serve your purpose better. You well knew that *heaven, kingdom of heaven, eternal life*, etc., were phrases which were vulgarly used and understood in a different sense from their usual scriptural import, and that they would answer for you to play an ambiguous game with.

14. In reply to your 14th, 15th and 16th paragraphs, I remark that the phrase "enter into life," only occurs in three passages in the New Testament, viz., Matt. xviii : 8, 9, and xix : 17, and Mark ix : 43-47, and in all the three passages, evidently means entering into the Gospel dispensation, or Christian institution, and nothing more or less, my learned opponent's *modest assertion* to the contrary notwithstanding. The only way of coming at the true meaning of the phrase, is to collate all the places where it occurs, with their respective contexts, and compare them with other phrases as nearly resembling it as can be found. The passages I cited "hath everlasting life"—"is passed from death unto life," John v : 24 ; John iii : 14, "enter into rest," Heb. iv : 3, and others of the same stamp—I do and will maintain are precisely synonymous with the phrase *enter into life*, Mark ix : 43, 46, 47, and its parallels. This fact is confirmed by the Saviour, Matt. xix : 23, 24, where he gives as the true meaning of *entering into life*, verse 17, this comment, "a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven"—"for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God," evidently meaning, not that the rich could never enter the abodes of immortal blessedness, but that they would be the last, or least likely of all, to expose themselves to reproach and enter the church of Christ in that generation. This view is further confirmed by a valuable note of your own in the appendix to your version of the New Testament. You say on Matt. xi : 12, "The Scribes and Pharisees claimed for themselves the chief places in this kingdom [of heaven] and were, by their conduct, shutting this kingdom against men. Publicans and harlots, however, in opposition to the influence and example of those men, received the doctrine of the Messiah, and thus, as it were, invaded or took possession of that kingdom, from which the elders and doctors [the rich men] excluded them. Finally, the Gentiles, too, by their faith in the Messiah, and their consequent boldness, took possession of this heavenly kingdom." Thus, Sir, by your own ar-

gaments, your own authority, and on your own premises, I have met you on the issue, and a glorious—defeat is yours.

15. In your 17th paragraph you again repeat your caricature of what you call my Universalist "dogma." But, Sir, until you see from my pen, or from some Universalist in existence, the idea advanced that *repentance* and *punishment*, or *repentance* and *hell* are synonymous, I beg of you for your own reputation, never to be guilty of another such outrage. Does not so great a logician as you profess to be, know the difference between *cause* and *effect*?—between *means* and *ends*? We do not regard *repentance* either as *hell* or as any *punishment* at all; but it may be the *result* of just and fatherly punishment.

16. On the perusal of your 18th paragraph, I wanted to whisper in your ear, "*keep cool, friend Campbell—keep cool!* you will not only *feel* but *do* much better if you will." You again introduce here your groundless charge of having a hell with a *perhaps* in the middle of it. If the reader will again refer to my 5th letter, published in the Millennial Harbinger for August, he will see there was no other *perhaps* than this: I gave three definitions of *sheol*, and said the word was used Ps. ix: 17, in the 2d or 3d of those senses, or *perhaps* both. And, Sir, may not a man endure either *remorse of conscience* or *temporal destruction*, separately? and may he not endure them *both together*? Answer No, if you dare. I am glad you inform me your 27th paragraph was given to disprove my position on this subject; for otherwise I should not have known it. Try again, my good Sir. On the closing part of your 18th paragraph I will simply remark, that *sneers* are not *arguments*.

17. In your 19th paragraph you say, my "quotations from the Old Testament" [relative to the *unquenchable fire*, the "fire that shall never go out," etc.] "are not in point," and that "not one of them is of the *genus* much less of the *species* before us." I admit, Sir, that not one of them is of such a *genus* as to prove *endless misery*, though they are generally of the very *species* of the texts under discussion, containing the same phraseology generally, and in some instances even stronger. "*Their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched,*" Isa. lxvi: 24, is quite as strong phraseology as "*their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched,*" Mark ix. But the same thing substantially is

meant by both. The phraseology concerning the duration of the fire and the judgments of God mentioned Isa. xxxiv : 10, is quite as strong as the phrase *everlasting fire*, Matt. xviii : 8, and xxv : 41. And the very fact that the article *the* (Greek *to*) is prefixed to the phrase, confirms my views. It shows that, in the opinion of Jesus, the Jews understood what was meant by *the* everlasting fire, *the* unquenchable fire, *the* gehenna of fire, viz., the same that their ancient prophets had so frequently mentioned. It was a definite subject familiar to them all; and hence his use of the definite article. But if it had been an entirely new subject, never before broached, or new language, never before used and wholly unknown among the Jews, is it possible that the great Teacher of truth, would have used the definite article, and called it *the* everlasting fire, *the* gehenna of fire, etc., and never explained what he meant by it? No, Sir, I can not think it possible. And if the doctrine of endless misery had never before been taught, (and certainly the Old Testament does not contain it,) how is it possible his disciples could have understood him to refer to so awful an event, when he used, without any explanation whatever, the *very language* which the Jews had always used and understood in a very different sense?—Can you answer? I may just as logically and more truly affirm, that “*The everlasting fire* substituted by Jesus for the word *hell*, is never found identified with,” nor remotely hinting at, future punishment; as you do that it is never used in any *but* that sense. I may then add that *you have not and can not produce a single instance in the whole Bible, wherein it is applied to any thing beyond the present state.*—And I will again add, that *if you should, it would be nothing to your purpose*; for we are not discussing the question of *future punishment*, but of *endless punishment*. I wait for some evidence from you on the affirmative of the 2d proposition, before I attempt further proof of the negative.

18. You confirm my version of the “fable,” when you admit that you agree with the serpent that Adam did “*not surely die*” the threatened death “*in the day*” of transgression, but lived nine hundred and thirty years after his creation.

19. It will be time to reply to your arguments promised in your 21st paragraph when they appear. I will not waste my “spittle” to quench your sun till it rises. If I thought there were any thing worthy of further notice in

the paragraphs you think I "pass too slightly over," I surely would attend to them. If they do really contain arguments of weight unanswered, our readers, I doubt not, will see and give you credit therefor. But I assure you that if you deposited any "burning coals" therein, they must have gone out, however unquenchable or everlasting they might have been; for I felt of them and there was no warmth in them whatever.

20. Your 23d paragraph appears to be the offspring of spleen and petulency, or of disappointed ambition in being wholly unable to gainsay the evidence adduced, that the *damnation of gehenna*, Matt. xxiii, meant the severe judgment and destruction that our Saviour foretold the Jews should come upon them. However "baseless, wretched, miserable, blind and naked" my arguments or opinion, I happen to have the company of the learned and orthodox Theophylact and Bishop Pearce on my side. If you were present at the calamities that befel the Jews, at and just before the destruction of their city, perhaps you could tell whether Jesus *spake the truth* in foretelling those woes, and how large a portion of that generation had to be raised from the dead! I hope my dear friend will get in better humor before he writes again.

In all kindness and friendship, I am yours,
D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER X.

BETHANY, AUGUST 22, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Your Letter No. IX, not having yet arrived, and I being on the eve of departing from home, as intimated in my last, in order that the discussion may go forward I proceed to offer a few reflections on the 2d proposition, the first having been as fully discussed as it can well be without the second: for already have you been speculating upon the words *everlasting* and *forever*, as they are sometimes found in the sacred Scriptures. See your letter No. VII, page 389.

2. The second proposition is thus drafted by yourself: "Do the words *olem*, *aion*, *aionios*, etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked mean duration without end?" You deny—I affirm.

3. I ask, Why should they not? Why should they mean duration without end when applied to the happiness of the righteous, and not duration without end when applied to the punishment of the wicked? It can not be from the force or meaning of the words themselves: for if they at one time mean duration without end—if they fairly have that force and power in any case, they may have it in another, unless there be something in the nature of the substantive with which they are connected absolutely prohibitory of that signification. If it is admitted (as I think it is by you, Sir—nay, your own proposition declares it,) that they do, *when applied to the happiness of the righteous*, mean duration without end; it would be whimsical in the extreme to ask for a special law limiting their meaning when applied to the punishment of wicked men. Why in the name of reason should *aion*, for instance, when applied to happiness mean *endless*, and when applied to punishment mean *ending*? Do, Sir, in the plenitude of your

benevolence for us who believe in punishment after death, give us your reasons, numerically arranged, why *aionion* bliss should be *endless*, and *aionion* misery *ending*? The secret which you are about to disclose will be, of course, either in the substantive or in the adjective. If in the *adjective*, by what authority or by what secret charm, or rather by what inspiration does it instantly mean *endless* duration when it is followed by the word *happiness*, and as instantly mean limited duration when prefixed to the word *punishment*? But if the meaning of the adjective is found in the substantive, and if the reason is not in itself, but in its associate, why should we have any dispute about the meaning of the adjective, inasmuch as it is a perfect cipher without value? Thus if you put 1 before a cypher, it means 10; but if you put 1 behind a cypher, it means 1-10th, while by itself it counts nothing. Thus having no meaning in itself, its prefix or suffix gives it sense: so with you, *oleu*, *aion*, *aionios*, when prefixed to *happiness*, mean *endless millions*; but prefixed or suffixed to *punishment*, only mean parts of millions or ending millionths. Truly your logic, as well as your cause, is of a singular daring, and in its aspirations to the clouds treads upon the hills and mountains of argument as though it moved over the sandy plains of the desert. A mammoth would feel himself as much impeded by a cobweb as a bold Universalist by all the laws of language.

4. Not so bold and courageous as you, Sir, I argue that if *oleu*, *aion*, *aionios*, independent of the noun-substantive in construction, have any meaning when prefixed to *happiness*, they have the same meaning when prefixed to *punishment*. In one word, when Christ says, "These shall go away into *aionion* punishment, and the righteous into *aionion* life," the *aionion* means as long or as short in the one case as in the other. Eternal punishment and eternal life are with me two eternals of equal dimensions. I ask you, then, Sir, for what reasons the one should be an *ending* and the other an *endless* eternal! Be kind enough, Sir, here also to enumerate your reasons, that I may count and weigh them!

5. I could neither flatter nor provoke you to enumerate those other words which represent future punishment, to which *aionios* or its fraternity have been prefixed.— I shall therefore have to do it myself. We have them—

1st. *Aionios kolasis*, everlasting punishment, Matt. xxv: 46.

2d. *Aionion olethron*, everlasting destruction, 2 Thess. i : 9.

3d. *Aionios krisis*, everlasting damnation, or condemnation, Mark iii : 29. This is defined to be the consequence of an *unpardonable* sin—a sin *never* to be forgiven.

4th. *Aionion krima*, everlasting judgment, or punishment, Hebrews vi : 2.

5th. *Aionion pur*, everlasting fire, Matt. xviii : 8 ; xxv :

41. “ *The everlasting fire* prepared for the devil and his angels.”

6. Here are no less than *five* words applied to the future state of wicked men, to which *aionios* is an adjective. We have endless punishment, endless destruction, endless damnation, endless judgment, endless fire. These are then to be superadded to your first *three*, *sheol*, *hades*, *gehenna*, and to *tartarus* also. Thus your three have already in my hands, become *nine*—*sheol*, *hades*, *gehenna*, *tartarus*, *kolasis*, *olethros*, *krisis*, *krima*, *pur*. How logical, then, is your first proposition which selects three out of nine !!

7. We have *aionios*, endless or everlasting, applied to *five* only out of the nine, because two of them are Hebrew, and one of these (*sheol*) is not indeed in its nature *aionios*. But not one of the words in your second proposition has ever been found in construction with any of the three terms in your first proposition!!! I emphasize on the word *aionios*, because it is of the three the only epithet that could be expected in the Greek Testament; because it has all the pith and marrow of the Hebrew *olem*, and the Greek *aion* in it; and because we have this word applied to “life” *forty-five* times in the New Testament. For while we have the phrase “everlasting life” only once in the Old Testament, we have *aionios zoe* (“eternal life”) *forty-five* times in the New!

8. We have indeed *aion* with prepositions used adverbally, as *eis ton aiona*, having with a verb the same power as *aionios* with a substantive. This word *aion*, in various forms is found *one hundred and three times* in the New Testament; and when relating to time alone, or simple duration, is usually, if not always, rendered *for ever*, or with a negative particle *never*.

9. This term has frequently in construction the force of an adjective, as when we say, “The blackness of darkness is reserved for certain wicked persons for ever,” it is equivalent to “*Eternal darkness* awaits them.” Both

Peter and Jude thus use this phrase ; so that the future punishment of wicked men may with propriety be said to be exhibited under the figure of *eternal darkness*, outer darkness, or the blackness of eternal darkness.

10. But I fear I shall soon tread on your toes : for I am here obliged to observe that the only word that expresses simple *duration without end* in the New Testament is *aion*, the roots of which are *ai*, and *oon*, being, *always existing*. The adjective formed from it, more naturally than any other word in Greek, expresses the *always being* or duration of the substantive with which it stands in construction. While other adjectives or epithets speak of other qualities of the things defined, this word regards simple existence, being, or duration alone. Thus immortal, incorruptible, indissoluble, indestructible, imperishable, are associated with the elements of things, their peculiar organization, constitution or composition ; while *aionios*, enduring, *always being*, has respect to their existence itself, or simple duration. Immortal, incorruptible, indissoluble, indestructible, imperishable, denote two or more ideas, and only *figuratively* and secondarily or inferentially express eternal being, while this epithet regards simple duration, and literally expresses endless existence. When speaking of deified dead men, or of corruptible beasts and their images, an Apostle would say, "*The immortal God*," "*the incorruptible God*;" but when he speaks of God with regard to his eternal being, as in Romans xvi : 26, he calls him *the aionion*, "*the everlasting God*." Nay, indeed, when he conceives of him in reference to mortal and corruptible creatures, and speaks of his absolute eternity, he places this before all other epithets, as in 1 Tim. i : 17. "*Now to the King eternal, (aionios,) immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor*," etc. This places the true meaning of this most lofty of all adjectives, in its proper relation. For the self-existence, *the always being*, the eternity of God, is, of all conceptions which we can form of him, the most sublime. Incorruptible, indissoluble, immortal, etc., are taken from things of yesterday, as it were ; but this admirably corresponds with him whose incommunicable name is I AM.—*Oon* is the living or active participle of this said verb I AM : so that *aion* has the whole divinity in it as respects the most lofty and sublime of all his names and attributes.

11. The rancor with which this adjective is assailed by all Universalian partizans is in the ratio of its pre-eminence.

I have here, Sir, some recollections of your bold assertions concerning this word in your February letter, and shall therefore lay down my pen and see what you have alleged against it.

12. I perceive from the perusal of said letter, that more than two-thirds of it consists of criticisms and dissertations upon the words indicative of duration, or such as you would have the reader to regard in that light. These are tastefully interlarded with a few introductory compliments to myself—such as, “Your constant and overweening, yet fruitless efforts throughout your reply to Mr. M.”—“You are unable to adduce a particle of evidence in favor of this assertion”—“There is no possible ground on which you can raise even a plausible argument in favor of the endless perpetuity of punishment”—“Your unfairness and disingenuousness”—“The God-dishonoring and soul-withering system of endless punishment”—“You evidently saw the impossibility of fairly maintaining your position, and therefore to invalidate the force, etc., you state”—“One false position requires several more to sustain it”—“This declaration was evidently made when driven to a most distressing strait,” etc., etc. There is one excuse, Mr. Skinner, for this very complimentary and debonair introduction:—You wished to try my nerves, and see how much I could bear while at the threshold of the discussion. Perhaps, too, your indignation was at fever-heat because of my exposition to Mr. Montgomery of the nakedness of your benevolent system in its attempts to expel from the universe “*that horrid doctrine,*” as you call it, that God will punish sin.

13. You will think that I am about to retaliate when I tell you that your dissertations on Greek terms are more like an irony or a satire on criticism, than a sober, grave, and literary inquiry into the meaning of words: but, I assure you, Sir, that there is no vengeance in this declaration, but a desire to induce you to reconsider your reasonings, or rather your hazardous and unauthorized assertions about the meaning of words.

14. In my letter to Mr. Montgomery, after quoting his language on the words *incorruptible, endless life, incorruption,* and *immortality,* with his question, “Are these words applied to the punishment of the wicked?” I answer, “No, nor to the happiness of the righteous, nor to *simple duration* at all. Two of them are substantives, and there-

fore can not be used as epithets, viz., 'immortality' and 'incorruption;' and the other three apply to *beings* or material substances in reference to simple indissolubility; not one of them could properly be applied to a simple state of being, or to happiness or misery: for although the word 'endless' might seem to be an exception, when the original word is considered it is not. It only *figuratively* signifies *endless*, as any one may see who will examine either the etymological import or the common use of *akatalutos* in Greek writers." This answer became the theme of your first letter, so far as my letter to Mr. M. was concerned. Your whole effort is an attempt to prove that these words are applied to the happiness of the righteous and to simple duration. And, strange as it may appear, you have not adduced a single passage from the Bible where the words immortal happiness, incorruptible happiness, endless life happiness, immortality happiness, ever do occur; nor a single passage where immortal duration, incorruptible duration, endless life duration, immortality duration, occur. But you attempt to show that these words and their fraternities have respect to "the resurrection state and the ENDLESS PERPETUITY thereof;" evidently, therefore, they must have some applicability to happiness and simple duration!!! This is your head and front and conclusion philological in proof that these words do belong to happiness and simple duration.

15. Every word, then, that has respect to a state, will logically and grammatically properly apply to the persons in that state. If I say of the married state, "It is a delightful, blessed state," it is equivalent to saying that Mrs. Femina is a delightful, blessed wife, and that Mr. Homo is a delightful and blessed husband! All this may be: but it follows not, by any rule or law of nature or of logic, that what may be true of a state, or person, or thing in the concrete, or in a particular circumstance, is an attribute of any one of them. For this plain reason, Sir, there is not an atom of logic or philology in the *five-sevenths* of your February epistle. You are all the while laboring under the delusion THAT WHAT MAY BE TRUE OF THREE, FIVE, OR SEVEN THINGS IN THE CONCRETE, IS TRUE OF EACH OF THEM IN THE ABSTRACT. Thus Paul speaks of an immortal, indissoluble, imperishable, incorruptible body, because that body may be happy; therefore he writes of immortal, indissoluble, imperishable, incorruptible duration and happiness!!

16. But after describing the resurrection state, you ask, "Can any enlightened person," etc., etc., "read Paul's description of a state of glory, honor, power, incorruption, immortality, imperishableness, indissolubility, indestructibility, etc., and then honestly say he believes these terms have no APPLICABILITY *whatever* to the happiness of the righteous or to duration?"

17. "No applicability whatever." What a subtle changing of the question, or what an imposition on one's self and the community! "No applicability whatever"! That is not the question in debate. Why, Sir, I would not say that fearlessness, contentedness, peacefulness, delightfulness, joyfulness, sociableness, communicativeness, have no applicability *whatever* to the happiness of the righteous. But why do you talk of the happiness of the righteous in the resurrection state, seeing you say there will then be no wicked in the universe!

18. To have no sort of applicability, direct or indirect, proximate or remote, concomitant, precedent or subsequent, is one category; and whether any of these words can be epithets of happiness or of duration—applicable to happiness or duration, is quite another category. For example, we say that LONG, SHORT, PERPETUAL, etc., apply to duration; for they make sense with that word: but who ever heard of incorruption duration, or indestructibility duration? Besides, Sir, there is in the word IMMORTALITY, and in all the others, an idea of duration; and to apply them to duration would be to define a thing by itself!—as, for instance, a *rosey* rose, a *lily*-looking lily, an *opposing* opponent. So ends this chapter of your *logical* logic!

19. Your comparison and affirmation that "felicity is applicable to express happiness" is out of the reach of criticism. Matters of criticism must always have something plausible about them. To show that felicity is applicable to itself, and that one can make it an epithet of bliss, is a shift which peculiarly belongs to Universalism. But, perhaps, you did not perceive the sophism in proving from the words, "I am in a state of complete felicity," that you change the subject of comparison from the *state* to the person; and thence infer what belongs to the one belongs to the other!!

20. You proceed to the Greek language, and give us definitions of ΑΚΑΤΑΛΥΤΟΣ by Donnegan and Grove in proof—of what?—That it expresses an attribute of dura-

tion or of happiness! They define by the word *eternal*, everlasting, endless! Nay, indeed; but by the words "not loosened or destroyed, indissoluble, indestructible, firm, stable, binding." And with their definitions you argue that is one of the terms that more than *AIONIOS*, or any other, signifies eternal. Strange that your own authorities should not have given as its first, middle, or last meaning, eternal, everlasting, or endless!! To help you, too, this word occurs but once in the New Testament.—What a splendid subject of debate against *AIONIOS*, which occurs in the New Testament SEVENTY-FIVE TIMES, translated by the words *ETERNAL*, *EVERLASTING* and *FOREVER*; and by no other!!

21. You next define *APTHARSIA*, which is found *eight* times in the New Testament; and most learnedly quote Donnegan, Grove, and Loveland, as lexicographers, defining it, "imperishableness, immortality, incorruptibility, and incorruption;" and yet not once by the words *eternal*, *everlasting*, *forever*, *endless*!!!

22. Then you submit *APHTHARTOS*, which occurs SEVEN times. Donnegan explains it, *INCORRUPTIBLE*, *IMMORTAL*, *ETERNAL*. Here we have got the word *ETERNAL* for the first and last time in your select terms, and here it is the THIRD and most figurative meaning according to your authority.

23. "Last of all, the woman died also"! You give us *ATHANASIA*, which occurs THREE times, and which your Loveland defines "exemption from death or dissolution, immortality." Which of these four terms you will put into your third proposition, when you undertake to furnish "a word that expresses duration without end, not applied to the future punishment of the wicked, or that assures us that God, angels, or saints shall have duration without end," I wist not; but I advise you to choose *AKATALUTOS*, because it occurs but once, and will afford most ground for debate!

24. These four words are found in all the New Testament nineteen times, and your authorities give us *ETERNAL* once as the third meaning of *APHTHARTOS*; but, unfortunately for this single *ETERNAL*, *APHTHARTOS*, Paul places it after *AIONIOS*, and shows that in his critical skill it differs from it most subordinately:—"Now unto the King eternal, *AIONIOS*, immortal, *APHTHARTOS*, the only wise God," etc. 1, Tim. i: 17. Thus, Sir, the Apostle gives the

negative to your ONCE eternal against the SEVENTY-FIVE TIMES we find eternal, everlasting, or forever, which, in the judgment of *all translators* and *lexicographers*, is the true and proper meaning of AIONIOS. I say ALL translators and dictionary-makers, for there is not one on earth that I have ever seen or heard of, that does not give *eternal* or *everlasting* as the first and most natural literal and obvious meaning of AIONIOS. I have now lying around me all the great authorities, Stokius, Schrevelius, Thesaurus Græcae Linguae, Robertson, Parkhurst, Greenfield, etc., etc., and all these superadded to your list, give *unlimited duration*, *eternal*, *everlasting*, as the proper meaning of AIONIOS.

25. Eternal, endless, everlasting, etc., be it observed, like all other words, are used figuratively. I often speak of my everlasting solace, my endless labors, my ceaseless cares, etc. But who thence infers that these words have no higher signification with me, no proper and unfigurative meaning, errs, as that person errs who would say because "everlasting" is applied to an order of priesthood, to hills and mountains, etc., therefore, when applied to things beyond time or after death, it means a limited time, or a short duration ?

26. These are not the words that belong to time, only in a figurative sense. In their literal sense they are only applicable to God and that world which is itself eternal. Hence God, in both Testaments, is called the everlasting and the eternal God. The future state of the righteous is by Jesus called "eternal life," and the future state of the wicked "everlasting punishment." But as yet we have only introduced this matter and offered a few reasons why we allege that AION and AIONIOS, as well as their Hebrew and English representatives, should, when they are used in reference to objects connected with another world, whatever these objects may be, be uniformly understood in the sense of that world to which they belong. If to the present world, they are used figuratively or in part of their signification ; but when used as in relation to the eternal or future world, they ought to be understood as the world to which they belong is understood.

All of which is respectfully submitted by your friend,
A. CAMPBELL,

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XI.

UTICA, SEPTEMBER 22, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of the 22d ult. has just arrived. I hasten to reply.

2. I had fondly flattered myself, that how much soever you might be inclined to exercise your ingenuity and tact in evading or attempting to invalidate the force of my reasoning and arguments, that the game of palpable sophism, open perversion, and downright distortion of my language and meaning, had been given up, and would not again be attempted by you—that if not the gravity and dignity of the Christian minister, at least the decorum and affability of the gentleman, would have been maintained. Not only our professions, and the position we occupy before the public, but the solemnity of the theme under discussion, and the deep and thrilling importance of the subject, should demand candor, honesty, and Christian fairness between us. It has been a source of deep regret to me, and I know it has also to the readers of both of our papers, that there has been too little of the open, fair and generous spirit of the Gospel in this discussion thus far; and I am sorry to see that the letter now before me, makes apparently no nearer approximation to this spirit.

3. In your 3d and 4th paragraphs you demand why *aion* should mean *endless* when applied to happiness, and *ending* when applied to punishment, and repeat the question in various forms, as though I had given those definitions of *aion*. But this you knew that I had never done. Because I deny that *aion*, when applied to punishment means *endless*, does this prove that I give *ending* as its definition?—Because I say of a *great* man, he is *not infinitely great*, does this convict me of saying he is a *little* man? But worse than this: in your 11th paragraph you accuse me

and my system of "attempts to expel from the universe 'that horrid system,' as you [I] call it, that God will punish sin!" Have I ever denied—have I not uniformly maintained—and does not the very proposition under discussion, necessarily suppose that God will punish sin? Is this, my dear Sir, Christian candor and fairness on your part? I do fervently hope in future communications to have no further occasion to notice these things.

4. Your letter now before me, although it contains some arguments, does not, in my opinion, answer that part of my first letter relating to the subject, nor meet the merits of the question at issue, and for the following reasons: 1. You undertake to show that *aion* must mean naturally and primarily *endless duration* from its *radical derivation*, without any attempt at proof, and I think without any possibility of proving, that either *radix*, or root, from which it is derived, is ever used in the New Testament to signify endless duration. 2. You assume or take for granted, that *aionios*, when applied to *life* in the New Testament, uniformly, or very generally, signifies *endless*, which is not conceded, nor do I think it can be proved. 3. You assume without argument, and assert without proof, that the five passages you quote where *aionios* is applied to punishment, destruction, condemnation, etc., all relate "to the *future state of wicked men*," and mean "*endless punishment, endless destruction*," etc.; whereas you have a great labor to perform before you will be able to make that appear. 4. You have made no effort to prove from the *nature of punishment itself*, that it is, or necessarily must be endless; but this must be done before so ambiguous a word as *aionios* can be allowed any force towards establishing its endless duration. But this I am confident you will not be able to do till your locks are grayer than I suppose them to be at present.

5. I will now go into a examination of the radical derivation and meaning of *aion* and *aionios*. For I deem it useless to spend time about the Hebrew *olem*, it being by both of us conceded that it is the exact synonyme (at least scripturally) of these two Greek words. You maintain that *aion* is the only word in the New Testament, which expresses simple duration without end. If this be correct, I am confident that simple duration without end is not expressed in the New Testament. Your reason is, that it is derived from *aei*, *always*, and *eon*, (or *on*,) *being*, or *existing*—*always existing*.

6. Now as *oon* is nothing more nor less than the present participle *being*, from *eimi*, *to be*, it follows of course, that *duratum of being* is not expressed by this root of *aion*, and therefore, whatever force the whole word may have in expressing duration, must be derived entirely from the adverb *aei*, which we translate by *always*. An examination of all the passages in the New Testament where *aei* occurs, will be the best criterion by which to judge of the meaning of this root of *aion*. It occurs eight times, as follows :

7. Mark xv: 8—"And the multitude, crying aloud, began to desire him to do as he had *aei* (*ever*) done unto them" : i. e., *uniformly* since he (Pilate) had been governor. Acts vii: 51—"Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do *aei* (*always*) resist the Holy Spirit; as your fathers did, so do ye" : i. e., ye do *continually*, *habitually*, resist, etc. 2 Cor. iv: 11—"For we which live are *aei* (*always*) delivered unto death," etc. : i. e., *constantly*, *at all times*, liable to death. 2 Cor. vi: 10—"As sorrowful, yet *aei* (*always*) rejoicing" : i. e., *continually*. Tit. i: 12—"The Cretans are *aei* (*always*) liars" : i. e., *habitually*. Heb. iii: 10—"They do *aei* (*always*) err in their hearts" : i. e., *uniformly*, *habitually*. 1 Pet. iii: 15—"Be ready *aei* (*always*) to give an answer to every man," etc. : i. e., *at all times*, *continually*. 2 Pet. i: 12—"Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you *aei* (*always*) in remembrance of these things" : i. e., *constantly*. These are all the places where *aei* occurs in the New Testament, and in not one of them does the word signify *endlessly*, or apply to any period beyond this state of being. And if neither of the two roots signifies *endlessly*, it is useless to attempt to prove that *aion* has the radical meaning of *endless duration*. Judging from its *radix*, we should conclude the word was used to express, not *endless being*, as you suppose, but *continuity*, or *continuous being*, without any *necessary* reference to duration : and such is really the fact concerning it.

8. By an examination which I have just made of the Greek Testament, I find *aion*, the substantive, thus formed from *aei* and *oon*, occurs *one hundred and twenty-seven times*, (instead of only *one hundred and three times*, as you have it.) It is rendered *ever*, seventy-one times; *never* seven times; *world*, thirty-six times; *worlds*, twice; *evermore*, three times; *ages*, twice; *eternal*, twice; *world without end*, once; *course*, once; and left untranslated twice. It occurs in the

singular number, sixty-five times, and in the plural, sixty-two times. It is never translated *eternity* in the New Testament, and in most cases, would make nonsense if it were.

9. Suppose we try a few instances. Col. i : 26—"The mystery which hath been hid from the *eternities* (*aionon*) and from generations," etc. Eph. ii : 7—"That in the *eternities* (*aiosi*) to come, he might show," etc. Eph. iii : 11—"According to the purpose of the *eternities*, (*aionon*)," etc. Eph. ii : 2—"According to the *eternity* (*aiona*) of this world." Matt. xii : 32—"Neither in this *eternity* (*aoni*) nor the coming." xiii : 22—"And the cares of this *eternity*, (*aionos*)," etc. Verses 39, 40—"The harvest is the end of this *eternity*; (*aionos*;) so will it be in the end of this *eternity*, (*aionos*)." Rom. xii : 2—"And be not conformed to this *eternity*, (*aioni*)." 1 Cor. ii : 6—"We speak—not the wisdom of this *eternity*, (*aionos*;) nor of the princes of this *eternity*, (*aionos*)." 2 Tim. iv : 18—"To whom be glory to the *eternities* of *eternities*, (*tous aionas tou aionon*)." This form of the *double plural*, or plural twice repeated, occurs *twenty-one times*, and is used as the most intensive form of the word, and is a circumstance sufficient to prove that the word does not of itself radically, legitimately, or properly imply endless duration. A *proper eternity* is *one*, undivided, indivisible, unbeginning, unending, and can have no PARTS. The translators of the common version, evidently paid very little attention either to the number (whether singular or plural) or to the form of the word, (whether substantive or adjective,) as they frequently *change the number*, and also render the *substantive by an adjective*, and the *adjective by a substantive*. But could they do this with a word radically signifying *eternity*!

10. The adjective *aionios*, formed from *aion*, occurs in the New Testament, according to my enumeration, (and my numbering agrees with Scarlett,) only *seventy-one times*, (instead of seventy-five, as you have it,) and is rendered *eternal*, forty-two times; *everlasting*, twenty-five times; *ever*, once; and *world*, three times, (though you say, paragraph 19, it is rendered by no other word than *eternal*, *everlasting*, and *forever*.) It is applied to *zoe*, *life*, *forty-four times*; *thrice* to fire; *thrice* to times; (*chronon aionon*;) *thrice* to glory, and *once* each to punishment, destruction, condemnation, judgment, things unseen, house, salvation, redemption, spirit, inheritance, him, (meaning Onesimus.)

habitation, God, consolation, power, weight, covenant, kingdom, and Gospel.

11. In Scarlett's translation of the New Testament, the adjective *aionion* is retained, or rendered *æonian*. The reason he gives for this, is, "Because there is no word in the English language which fully expresses what that word in its original sense implies. Had it been lawful to have coined a new word to express *aionion* in English, perhaps *agical*, or *age-lasting*, would have been near it." In further remarking on *aionios*, he says, "The word expresses duration or continuance; but it is sometimes of a short and sometimes of a longer duration. Paul, writing to Philemon concerning Onesimus, says, 'perhaps he was separated for a while that thou mightest have him *æonianly*.' This certainly could mean only during the life of Onesimus. So also Jude (7) says, 'Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed, and set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of *æonian fire*.' Though this fire lasted upwards of 2000 years," [or from the time of Abraham to the days of Philo Judæus, in the beginning of the second century,] "it is now extinct."

12. "But," continues Scarlett, "that *aionion* does not mean *endless* or *eternal*, may appear from considering that no adjective can have a greater force than the substantive from which it is derived: thus *black* can not mean more than *blackness*; *white* can not mean more than *whiteness*—if *aion* means *age*, and its plural *ages*, (which none either will or can deny,) then *aionion* must mean *age-lasting*, or duration to the *age* or *ages* to which the thing spoken of relates. That this is the meaning of the word in the Septuagint, will not be disputed by any one that recollects the *everlasting* covenant of circumcision, (Gen. xvii : 13,) the *everlasting* covenant of Priesthood, (Num. xxv : 13,) the *everlasting* statute of the day of atonement, (Lev. xvi : 34,) etc., etc. The *aionion* covenants, statutes, etc., are waxed old and have vanished away. When the reader meets with the phrase *æonian God*, he will understand thereby that God reigns through all the *æons* or *ages*, whether past, present, or to come, and *æonian spirit* is the *spirit of God*, which has presided over the church in all *ages* or *æons*."

13. "*Æonian life*, in the largest view of it, is the life which God hath given us in Christ, according as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the world, (Eph. i : 4 ; 1 John v : 11,) or the life which is conveyed from Christ

to all the sons of men in the course of the *ages* of his reign. (Rom. v : 21 ; vi : 23.) But in, its more confined sense, *æonian life* is the life of the believer in the present, or *millennial age*, which is the peculiar portion of God's first-born or church, and which they alone enjoy." (John v : 24 ; xvii : 3 ; Matt. xxv : 46.) "*Æonian judgment*, Heb. vi : 3, the Editor [Scarlett] thinks is the judgment of the Aaronic *æon*, or *age*, which is past, under which the priests gave judgment according to the law. (Lev. xiii : 13 ; Num. v : 15, 16 ; Exo. xxviii : 30.) *Æonian Gospel*, is the good news of reconciliation to God, through Christ ; which will continue to be preached through the *æons*, until every creature, whether in heaven or earth, visible or invisible, is reconciled to God. (Col. i : 16-21.) And then the promulgation of the Gospel will cease. And as there was a period when the *æons* began, so a period will come when they will all have an end."

14. The *aiônios zoe* ("eternal or everlasting life") of the Gospel, almost always, if not uniformly, signifies the *continuous spiritual life* or *joy and peace* which believers enjoy, which pertains peculiarly to Messiah's kingdom. In not one instance in all the New Testament, does the phrase necessarily, unequivocally, and exclusively apply to the immortal and endless state of glory hereafter. So much for your "loftiest of all adjectives."

15. From the foregoing facts and authority it clearly appears that *aiôn* and *aiônios*, neither *radically*, (or by their roots,) nor naturally, by their construction, nor scripturally, nor commonly, by their usage, signify *endless duration*.—That although in their secondary, or accommodated, or as you would call it, their *figurative sense*, they may be applied to subjects that are endless, and to signify endless when thus applied, yet whenever this is the case, the subject necessarily fixes this modification of meaning to the words, and not they to the subject. That when applied to life itself, they do not signify endless duration, much less then can they signify *endless* when applied to punishment, destruction, condemnation, judgment, or fire, the only words you can find them connected with where you even pretend that punishment is spoken of.

16. You ask why these words should not mean duration without end, when applied to punishment ? This question, Sir, is not for me to answer. The affirmative of the proposition is yours. And as you ask why they should not,

I ask why they *should*? Can you assign any reason? Is there any thing in the *nature* of punishment which necessarily supposes it will be endless? What is punishment—an end? or a means? If it be an end, it was *designed* by the Creator of man when he gave existence to our race; and will you seek to thwart the *end* *Sehorah* has in view? Is endless damnation, then, the chief end of man—the end for which our race or any portion thereof, was created?—You will not, you dare not affirm it. It would be a libel on the character of God, transforming him into a worse than fiend. If punishment be not an end, but a means to an end, then it can not, from its very nature, be endless; because, if endless, it could never accomplish the end which as a means it was designed to accomplish. The laboring oar, Sir, is in your hand—prove that *punishment* or *miser*y is *necessar*ily or from its *nature* and *design*, *endless*, and I yield. But as yet you have made no effort to prove this, or even to prove that the passages of Scripture you cite, where *aionion* is connected with punishment, etc., have any reference whatever to a future state of being.

17. A few passing remarks on some of your paragraphs, and I close. You seem to desire information towards the close of your 3d paragraph, whether the adjective gives to, or derives from, the substantive its meaning. Answer: In some cases both have a bearing in modifying the meaning of each other—e. g., we speak of a *wise man* and the *wise God*—a *good man* and the *good God*. We understand the words *wise* and *good* in a finite or limited sense when applied to man, but in an infinite or unlimited sense when applied to God; and yet we do not understand either a *foolish man*, or a *foolish God*; a *bad man*, or a *bad God*. *Aionios* in construction with a substantive, is to be understood in a similar way as *wise* and *good* in the above instances. Your 5th paragraph. As I have not been, so I do not design to be, “either flattered or provoked” to do the business that properly belongs to you. If you add to the testimony as you have in your 6th paragraph, where you speak of *endless punishment*, *endless destruction*, *endless damnation*, etc., as though these were already proved, *three* will not only become *nine*, but very soon *ninety-nine*, in your hands. You need not fear treading on my toes. (See your 10th paragraph.) If you will only keep your feet off of divine truth, and forbear to tread the testimony of Scripture and candor under foot, I will not complain. Univer-

salists have no "rancor" against the adjective *aionios*. It is perfectly harmless to us; and we are confident that long after the merciless dogma of endless misery, which is now clinging to *aionios* as its last plank of hope, shall have sunk into the ocean of oblivion, the plank itself shall triumphantly ride above the ocean for *many a happy age*.

18. Accept my thanks, kind Sir, that you have not opened the vials of your "vengeance" upon me for my "irony or satire on criticism." (See your 12th paragraph.) Such lenity is worthy of all commendation. From your 13th to your 18th paragraphs, inclusive, you labor very assiduously to show that I have subtly changed the question in debate, and imposed on myself and the community, by assuming that what is true of a state in the abstract, is true of each individual belonging to that state in the concrete. I deny the justice of this charge. I have used no subtlety nor sophistry at all. I have simply stated the honest convictions of my heart, and what I deemed fair, conclusive reasoning and scriptural argument in the case; and refer our readers again to my first letter for re-examination. Does not the great and infallible Teacher declare, that "they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage: neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection"? Does not Paul declare that "all shall be made alive in Christ," and then tell in *what manner* they shall be raised, viz., in *incorruption, glory, power, and spirituality*? Will you say, Sir, that what is true of one is not true of all in that glorious state? Or will you say that any that are raised to incorruption, glory, power, and spirituality, and are the children of God, equal unto the angels, and can die no more, will nevertheless be miserable? Will you deny that all such will be *perfectly happy, and endlessly happy*? If so, then settle your account with the Bible, and not with me.

19. In your 10th and 17th paragraphs, you have (probably undesignedly) conceded two important facts, viz., that "immortal, incorruptible, indissoluble, etc., denote two or more ideas," of course, then, they are altogether more copious in their meaning than *aion* or its derivative *aionios* can be, yourself being judge: and also that there is in all these words an idea of *duration*, which, in your reply to Mr. Montgomery, you were seemingly fain to deny.

20. What you say from your 19th to your 23d paragraph, inclusive, more properly belongs to the 3d proposition than to the second. One question is enough at a time. I will, therefore, only remark concerning your 19th and 20th paragraphs, that my own authorities would not give as the definition of *akatalutos*, or *aphtharsia*, any word so ambiguous or indefinite as *eternal* or *everlasting*. The same reason might be offered why *eternal* is the last word employed to define *aphthartos*. I am alike indifferent to your affected sneers and ridicule, and your kindly proffered advice in your 22d paragraph. Why do you infer, paragraph 23, that Paul considered *aphthartos*, 1 Tim. i: 17, *subordinate* to *aionios*? Why, forsooth, because he places *aionios* before *aphthartos* in that verse! Verily, this is a most singular reason. But, Sir, how do you know but what Paul began with the lowest epithet and rose to the *climax*, increasing in sublimity as he advanced? If your reasoning be correct, then Paul must have considered *invisibleness* a quality of the divine being, altogether more important than *wisdom*; for after calling him the "eternal and immortal," he calls him "the *invisible* and *only wise* God!" This "shows that in his critical skill," *wise* differs from *invisible* "most subordinately!" I suppose, however, that the apostle threw in these terms just as they happened to come into his mind, without reference to the greater or lesser importance of the adjectives.

21. All the great authorities lying around you in such profusion—*translators, lexicographers, et cetera*, who have given "*eternal* or *everlasting* as the first and most natural, literal, and obvious meaning of *aionios*," have, in my opinion, thereby evinced their wisdom, and shown that they could render it by a word nearly, though not quite, as ambiguous in the English Bible as *aionios* was in the Greek. Had they rendered it by the word *endless* instead of *eternal* or *everlasting*, I should have thought them all wisecracs indeed. The unsupported assertions of your 25th paragraph, are of a piece with much that you have before written. However, as you say in it you have "only *introduced* the matter," I fondly cherish the hope that your future assertions will be accompanied with a corresponding weight of evidence.

22. You will oblige me by sending a proof or a copy of your next to Richmond, Va., whither I expect to go to spend the Winter, ere your next will have time to reach me here. I am truly and most respectfully your friend,

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XI. [XII.]

STEAM-BOAT COQUETTE,
OHIO RIVER, SEPTEMBER 30, 1837. }

Of one of the Cæsars it has been truly said, that he sought the fame of victory and the spoils of war more than the good of his country or of human kind. If, like him, you are not too much enamored with the love of glory, you do yourself great injustice. We have not yet discussed the first proposition, and already you have proclaimed about seven triumphs. Our readers will, I fear, begin to think that you are more in quest of victory than of truth. Dazzled with the splendor of your conquests as with their number, you excel even Cæsar in the relation of them.—Three words told his glory—two yours. He said, *VENI, VIDI, VICI*, (I came, I saw, I conquered.) But you still more heroically say, *VIDI, VICI*, (I saw, I conquered.) It is your glory, Sir, to gain a triumph before you enter the field of battle. I know indeed some cynical folks may say that you resemble not so much the Roman hero, as a certain American chief, who, while he was on the retreat, was always reporting the victories he had gained.

2. Connate with this your gasconade, as some hypercritics might call it, are the elegancies of the following Universalian compliments. Of yourself and me in contrast you very politely say, "I studiously avoid all ambiguity; a thing, by the bye, of which I fear you will never be guilty, so long as a *DOUBLE ENTENDRE* will serve your purpose better"—"You well knew that certain words would answer for you to play an ambiguous game with"—"Keep cool, friend Campbell—keep cool: you will not only *feel* but *do* much better;" and why did you not add, 'Don't swear, don't lie, friend Campbell?'—"I will not waste my spittle to quench your sun till it rises"—"I hope my dear

friend will get in better humor before he writes again," etc., etc., etc.

3. These, Sir, are a few, a sample of your Universalian nose-gays from your letter No. X. My readers will remember, as an excuse for me, that you were recommended to me as a most GENTLEMANLY opponent—not only as the MAGNUS APOLLO, but also as the BEAU IDEAL of an honorable Universalist disputant. They will therefore forgive me, and I will endeavor to give them a specimen of self-government.

4. Notwithstanding your seven triumphs, I am gratified to observe in your letter of August, No. X, received while I was (as I now am) from home, that my syllogistic parallelisms, between the various acceptations of Paradise, Heaven, Hell, Shemim, and Gehenna, have been by you unequivocally admitted. For this admission you may have as many triumphs as you make paragraphs in your reply to this. The concession is, that although Shemim, Paradise, Heaven, Hell, Gehenna, all originally meant something earthly, local, and passing away, they have actually become the figures of other states, and the names of them too, and that they *might* even represent a future state of misery or bliss. This is all I asked. But, strange to tell, now that I have sustained my first proposition, it is not one of the arguments of Universalists; that, in one word, "Universalists do not now argue that because Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom, therefore it can not represent a state of punishment after death." And what in the name of reason, mean the hundred volumes of Universalists, proving that Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom, if they did not thence argue that it could not in the New Testament mean a state of future and endless punishment? or that it could not depart so far from its original meaning! And why do you dwell so much upon the original meaning of this word!!

5. Our readers will judge between us here when I have quoted a few words from your oracle Mr. Balfour—"I have," says he, "contended that the Jews could not understand our Lord by 'the damnation of hell' to mean a place of eternal misery, because Gehenna had no such meaning in the Old Testament."* Again, to sustain himself on this ground, he says, "The Old Testament is the dictionary of

* Balfour's Inquiry, pp. 134, 179.

the language of the New;" and therefore whatever Gehenna meant in the Old it must mean in the New Testament. And yet you now affirm that Universalists never denied that Gehenna might mean endless punishment, so far as its original signification is concerned!!

6. And why do you, paragraphs 5 and 6, recall this concession, and again, for the 10th time, tell us that Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom; and ask, "What reason have we to suppose it was used in an entirely different sense in the New Testament?" But as you have admitted my syllogistic arguments, letter VIII, paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, you can not now be indulged with the re-occupancy of the fortress which you have abandoned, if not surrendered.

7. Yet I must say, that it is not an entirely different sense even from its Old Testament acceptation, yourself being judge: for you say, "In process of time"—yes, I quote your words, "*in process of time* Gehenna and Tophet, another name for the same thing, were used in the Old Testament *figuratively* to set forth the temporal but severe judgments coming upon the Jews." In process of time it began to be used *figuratively*! Well, so far so good.—And upon better testimony than your Balfour, we add, *in process of time* it was used to represent future and eternal punishment, as is found in the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and in the Jewish Targums. These writings, so far as the use of words or their current acceptation are concerned, are of as much authority as dictionaries. The *norma loquendi*, or the particular meaning of words in any given time, must be learned from the books of that time. Hence some of our most learned writers have been at pains to show that during the interim between Malachi and Matthew Levi, the word Gehenna was used *figuratively* to represent not only future punishment, but future punishment in another state of existence. The "*process of time*" and the process of change which you mention, may, even upon the concessions of Balfour, be continued on down to the New Testament.

8. In the New Testament, as I have already shown, (though you seem not to have noticed it,) this is not the only term which in process of time has come to mean something very different from its Old Testament or original meaning. Did I not enumerate the words Jerusalem, Mount Zion, Temple, Circumcision, Passover, Manna,

Babylon, as well as Garden or Paradise, Heaven, Hell, etc.? And will you hazard the denial that these words have meanings in the New Testament which they never had in the Old?

9. After all, your courage rises to concede, paragraph 7, still more unambiguously all that you seemed just above desirous to recall. "Therefore," you conclude, "I do not say that because Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom, it can not represent a state of punishment after death in another world." Now, Sir, stand to this. Let it be final, and tell us no more about the valley of Hinnom.

10. But we are yet one step before you. We do not only say that in accordance with the laws of language and the words Paradise, Heaven, Temple, Zion, Jerusalem, Babylon, etc., etc., it *may mean*, but it *does actually mean*, in the New Testament, punishment after death in another state of existence. And to present our proof in order—that Hell or Gehenna, in the Christian Scriptures represents a place or state of punishment after death, we argue;—

11. 1st—From Matt. x: 28, where Christ taught his hearers to *fear him that after death*, "after he has killed the body, has power to destroy both soul and body in hell: FEAR HIM." Hell, then, indubitably denotes a state of future punishment after death.

12. 2d—The Messiah again threatens *punishment in hell* to some of his cotemporaries as unavoidable: "How can you escape the damnation of hell?" Matt. xxiii: 33.

13. 3d—Jesus uses the words "*hell fire*," "*unquenchable fire*," "*everlasting fire*," as substitutes for hell, or as equivalent to one another. Matt. xviii: 8, 9; Mark ix: 43, 44, 45. Words, as well as things, that are equal to the same term, are equal to one another.

14. 4th—*Hell* is by Jesus contrasted with *life*; and to "go into hell" opposed to "entering into life." But to "enter into life" is by Jesus explained as equivalent to *entering into heaven* or into eternal life after death. Therefore to go into hell is the opposite of going into heaven. If heaven be everlasting bliss, hell is everlasting misery.

15. 5th—But as the word Hell or Gehenna occurs twelve times in the New Testament, and as it is impossible to show that the valley of Hinnom or any temporal punishment was ever intended by any of them, they may in their various occurrences be regarded as so many

evidences of punishment after death in another state of existence.

16. Now we shall see what you have been able to urge against these proofs. With regard to the first it is said, perhaps—the person who had power to cast into hell after death was some of the Roman Cæsars—and the disciples of Christ and his hearers were commanded supremely to fear Cæsar, because he had power to destroy both soul and body in the conflagration of Jerusalem! With regard to the second—perhaps the “damnation of hell” meant the conflagration of Jerusalem, with all its calamities, by the hand of Titus; and perhaps some of the scribes and elders to whom Christ said, “How can you escape the punishment of hell,” lived forty years after Christ—perhaps they were present in the siege, and perhaps they were burned in the Temple. In reference to the third—perhaps the “everlasting fire” substituted for “hell” by Jesus, (Matt. and Mark,) meant the sparks of Hinnom or the transient flames of Jerusalem. And with regard to the fourth, to *enter into life* certainly means to join the church—and contrasts certainly do not mean contrasts, because a hot day (which may sometimes be 100 degrees above zero,) when contrasted with a cold day, does not mean 100 degrees below zero!!! This being your own logic, Sir, I return it without any other comment than—Perhaps you may be mistaken in some one or all of these hypotheses against facts. We only affirm that a thousand such hypotheses would not disprove one fact.

17. But with regard to the fifth proof, you quote a note from my Family Testament, with a very triumphant air; and yet the said note on Matt. v: 22, does not prove for you any thing that in this controversy I have denied. For the note does not say more than that the judges, the council, and the hell fire *alluded* to in the passage were all *human punishments*, and were used by Christ as figures or illustrations of the severity of his administration as respected the discrimination and punishment of offences! I request our readers to examine the whole note. And this is all you have to except out of the New Testament use of the word as possibly once referring to your valley of Hinnom!

18. But you will say you have made a stronger effort against my fourth proof. Well, we shall try it. To “enter into life,” you now affirm does never mean to enter into

heaven; and this is your proof, that it always means to join the church. Summary logic! In your letter, No. VII, paragraph 13, you do admit that sometimes "life, entering into life," etc., mean in Scripture entering into future and eternal bliss. But in your letter No. IX, you recall this and affirm as follows;—"I have not admitted, and do not admit, that 'enter into life' is *ever* equivalent in Scripture to entering into immortal beatitude in the eternal world."—Paragraph 13. What credit is due this assertion will appear by comparing it with the passage above referred to. Your words are—"That life, entering into life, passing from death to life, entering into the kingdom of God, kingdom of heaven, etc., do not in the Scriptures generally signify future and eternal bliss, or entering into immortal beatitude, I think must be obvious to the most superficial biblical critics." Now I ask every man of sense, whether the affirmation that a word *generally* does not mean entering into life, is not an admission that it *sometimes* does so mean? However, you now say it never does so signify. I will rest all the controversy on my proving that it does so signify according to the best interpreters in the universe.

19. In your letter No. X, [IX,] paragraph 14, your words are—"In reply to your 14th, 15th, and 16th paragraphs, I remark, that the phrase 'enter into life' only occurs in three passages in the New Testament; viz. Matt. xviii: 8, and 9; xix: 17, and Mark ix: 43-47; and in all the three passages evidently means entering into the Gospel dispensation." And what is your proof? You say, "The only way of coming at the true meaning of the phrase is to collate all the places where it occurs, with their respective contexts, and compare them with other phrases as nearly resembling it as can be found." But you have not worked by your own rule. We shall try it. Let the reader open Matt. xix, and carefully read from the 16th verse to the end. The facts are:—

20. A rich man asks the Messiah what he should do "that he may have eternal life." Jesus replies, "If you would enter into life, keep the commandments." Observe first to *have eternal life* and *to enter into life* in the style of the great Teacher are equivalent. The young man went off disobedient; upon which Jesus said, "A rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of God." This also is made equivalent with "entering into life" or "having eternal life." The disciples, startled at the answer given to the

young worldling, ask, "What shall we have that have left all for your sake?" The answer, as stated by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, is, "A hundred fold more in the present life, and *in the world to come eternal life.*" Now I ask every unsophisticated mind, can there be any thing more plain than that Jesus used the words "*inherit eternal life,*" "*enter into life,*" "*enter into the kingdom of God,*" and "*receive eternal life in the world to come,*" as equivalent!! Compare Matt. xix: 16-30, with Mark x: 17-30, and Luke xviii: 17-30. Matthew, Mark, and Luke all finish the same narrative in the same words—"He shall receive in the world to come *life everlasting,*" as contrasted with all that he receives in the present life. Nothing, then, can be more evident than that to "enter into life," to "inherit eternal life," to "enter into the kingdom of God," and to "receive in the world to come eternal life," are used by Jesus as perfectly equivalent.

21. I may, under another head of this controversy, enlarge much upon this subject. In the mean time I will only add, that although all Christians are said to have life, and to have eternal life abiding in them, as a *principle* and a *right*, or gift *under Christ*; yet the inheriting, entering into, or receiving life, or eternal life, is always regarded as future by the Apostles, and so presented by them to the churches. For example: Paul says, (Rom. ii: 7—"To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, honor, and immortality [*he will reward*] eternal life." He exhorts Timothy (1st Epis. vi: 12) "to fight the good fight of faith, and to *lay hold* on eternal life." This he calls "the prize of their high calling," Phil. iii: 14. And of the rich Christians, who you say could not get into the kingdom of heaven on earth, he says to Timothy, (1st Ep. vi: 12,) "Charge the rich in this world to do good," etc., "that they may *lay hold* of eternal life." And of himself he says, he "had not yet laid hold of the prize;" but (Titus i: 2) "in hope of eternal life I am a servant of God," etc. "What a man hath why doth he yet hope for?" What say you, Mr. Skinner!!

22. My five proofs standing firm and unscathed by all you have alleged, I shall only add a sixth and dismiss this proposition. It is this:—The word Gehenna, or Hell, in the New Testament, can by no possibility of interpretation refer to any earthly punishment; for, besides the reasons already given, neither Jesus nor his Apostles did at any

time threaten temporal, physical, or corporeal punishments to those who disobeyed the Gospel; but, on the contrary, said, "*Of how much sorer punishment than even the temporal calamities and death of the rebellious Jews, shall he be thought worthy who despises the Gospel,*" etc.

23. Perhaps by this time you will think that your last letter is sufficiently eviscerated without my stopping to descant upon the *impersonal* devil in which you believe, or whether you might not have chosen one of my four propositions rather than to have heaped upon me two negatives and two affirmatives—to nullify and stultify each other; or to show how gratuitous it was for you to deny propositions that I never affirmed—such as that *heaven* and *hell* were *always* contrasted; and how inapposite your allusions to Baron Swedenborg's correspondence, and to hot and cold days, etc., etc. But I must tell you that your language is often too strong, and your assertions might at least not be quite so reckless as in the case of sincere penitence being the only hell or punishment which Divine Justice can ask or receive: for, Sir, the passage quoted, paragraph 16, in my August letter, is every word taken from your own paper. I can not here refer to the page, but think you will find it in the present volume, from page 50 to 60.

24. I have never noticed in your paper a copy of the propositions, rules of discussion, etc. signed by your hand; nor have I heard from you touching the tendering of the copy-right of our discussion to the Bible Society, etc.—Pardon me for calling up these matters, if you have attended to them. I have only seen one of your papers for two months. I hope you will early despatch the reply to this, as I have been under the necessity of now writing two letters out of place through my absence from home. I am now on my way to the annual meeting of the College of Teachers, Cincinnati, and expect to be at home about the 18th of October. Yours, etc.,

A. CAMPBELL,

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XIII.

RICHMOND, VA., NOVEMBER 13, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Your letter No. XII, (XI you have it,) dated September 30, in answer to mine of August 12, No. IX, (which you miscall No. X,) only reached me on Saturday evening, 11th inst., *six weeks after its date!* Whether it had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca, or Jerusalem, or made an excursion among the Cæsars, I know not; but certainly it has been a long time in reaching me.

2. It is useless to waste time and words in replying formally to your first two or three paragraphs, about boasting of victories, gasconading, etc. If I have vaunted or swaggered more than, or even as much as, yourself, over the “incomparably weakest of all causes” espoused by an opponent—over his “headless, pointless, wide-spreading declamation” and “impotency,” or of the ability amply to refute “each and every of its pretensions,” etc., etc., I have only to say, “The Lord have pity on me!” But I am perfectly willing to trust the decision of this question to the good sense of our readers, believing they will “render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.”

3. I deeply regret the necessity imposed on me of pointing out to our readers, in the very first paragraph which you have written on the question in issue, (paragraph 4,) the grossest perversions and misrepresentations, and following them up, exposing the like perversions in several other parts of your letter. You say I have “unequivocally admitted” your “syllogistic parallelisms between the various acceptations of paradise, heaven, hell, shemim, and gehenna”—that I have “conceded that these words might represent a future state of misery or bliss,” etc. This is an egregious error. So far from “unequivocally admit-

ting" them, I said distinctly that they were "all wide of the mark;" and went on to show that they were as fallacious as the "visionary theory of Swedenborg." And although I admitted that heaven was sometimes used to represent the "place or state of endless happiness hereafter," yet of gehenna I said, "you can prove, as far as the Bible warrants, the application of it to severe temporal punishments, but beyond this you have no warrant in the Bible to go: that it signifies a place of misery in the eternal world, *you have not offered one particle of proof*, nor do I believe you *can* offer any."

4. In the same paragraph, after charging me with acknowledging that these words "might represent a future state of misery or bliss," you add, "This was all I asked." This is *another* error. So far from this being *all* you asked, you say, letter 8, paragraph 16, "I have, then, Sir, formed the issue. It is with me a strong outpost. That *life* implies *death*, that *eternal* life implies *eternal* death—in one word, Sir, that in the preaching of Jesus, to be 'cast into *hell*,' 'into the everlasting fire,' as certainly means *endless* punishment, as to 'enter into *life*' or 'into the kingdom of God,' does mean *endless* bliss." Thus, Sir, you asked that these phrases should be allowed to signify *endless* punishment and *endless* bliss.

5. In your 6th paragraph, you call Mr. Balfour my oracle. This is a *mistake*. I acknowledge no man on earth to be my oracle. And if I mistake not, you have had recourse to Mr. Balfour quite as often as I have, though I regret to so little profit—for you misrepresent him. You affirm that he says, "whatever gehenna meant in the Old, it must mean in the New Testament." It is true that he said, "the Old Testament is the dictionary of the language of the New," and that "to the Old we must have constant recourse for the true meaning of it." But he did *not* say, "whatever gehenna meant in the Old, it *must* mean in the New Testament." In the close of this paragraph you say, "and yet you now affirm that Universalists have never denied that gehenna might mean endless punishment, so far as its original signification is concerned!" This is *another* error. I have never made such an affirmation. In your 6th paragraph you accuse me of recalling a concession, which in fact I had never made, and you *repeat* the erroneous statement of the concession of your syllogistic arguments, which I have above pointed out.

6. In your 16th paragraph you accuse me of maintaining that " 'to enter into life' certainly means to join the church"—and that "contrasts certainly do not mean contrasts." These also are *two more* errors; for I have done neither. In your 18th paragraph you accuse me of having admitted, in letter No. VII, that "enter into life" does sometimes mean in Scripture, entering into future and eternal bliss, and of recalling it in No. IX, and denying that it ever does so signify. This is *another* error; for I never made that admission. What is your proof that I did?—Why, that I said in No. VII, "That life, entering into life, passing from death to life, entering into the kingdom of God, kingdom of heaven, etc., do not in the Scriptures generally signify future and eternal bliss, or entering into immortal beatitude, I think must be obvious to the most superficial biblical critic." Thus, because I say of five or more distinct phrases, *they* do not *generally* signify a particular thing, this is saying of *one* of them, selected by my opponent out of the whole, that *it* does sometimes positively signify that particular thing!! Is this the *acumen*, is this the *candor* of my learned opponent?

7. I shall pass by a number of similar errors, and for the present only notice one more, viz., your perversion of the quoted "dogma" as you call it, "of Universalism." I find it on the 38th page of the current volume of the Magazine and Advocate. It reads thus, the words in brackets [] only being added: "In the sincere penitence and reformation [the end sought] of the offender, justice is satisfied, and can neither ask nor receive further punishment, [as a means to the end which is already attained,] either retrospective or prospective. The sinner has been punished according to the full demerit of the crime, in *his* case at least, and all good objects that could be obtained by punishment are already attained. Thus justice and mercy meet together; righteousness and peace embrace each other." These are my very words. Let the reader candidly read them, and see if he can discover one of those odious features which your caricature, or perverted form of it, would fain present to him. You represent me as saying—"Repentance is the only *hell* or state of punishment"—"justice can neither ask nor receive further *punishment than sincere penitence and reformation*"—"justice can demand *no greater punishment than repentance*," etc. How different this from the above! Have I there declared either penitence or

reformation to be the *only hell*, or *any hell at all*; or the *only punishment*, or *any punishment at all*? have I used either penitence or reformation, as synonymous with either punishment or hell? or have I used the word hell at all? Do you deem it possible for any candid man to suppose me, for one moment, to mean any thing like your distorted view of the matter? You ought, Sir, to blush and be ashamed of such an outrage, instead of essaying again and again to sustain and justify yourself in it! If you can *not* blush yourself, every friend you have on earth ought to blush *for* you: especially all those who have been accustomed to regard you as the MAGNUS APOLLO, the BEAU IDEAL of an honorable, high minded controversialist. At all events, did I suppose that many more such errors and outrages as those above pointed out, would occur in your future letters—for no one acquainted with your genius can attribute them to ignorance—I should be disposed to take up with the advice you give me, paragraph 2, and say to you, “Don’t l-e, friend Campbell!”

8. I shall now attend to those parts of your letter that bear the semblance of sober argument. You ask, “What in the name of reason, mean the hundred volumes of Universalists proving that Gehenna originally meant the valley of Hinnom, if they did not thence argue that it could not, in the New Testament, mean a state of future and endless punishment? or that it could not depart so far from its original meaning! And why do you dwell so much upon the original meaning of this word!” Answer—To give (though in something less than a hundred volumes) not only the true original and literal meaning of the word, but also its figurative or secondary and accommodated sense or meaning—in short, to show in what sense or senses it was actually used by each and all of the Scripture writers, and thus, by an appeal to the “living oracles,” make it apparent that no such sense as that of a place or state of endless misery was ever attached to the word by any sacred writer. In this object I think we have abundantly succeeded.

9. Evidently sensible of this fact, and unable to adduce any thing to sustain your view of the word from the authentic records of truth, you resort, in your 7th paragraph, to the Apocrypha and Targums! Alas, alas! that great city! How is she fallen! Had you forgotten, my dear Sir, that one of your own rules for this discussion was, that

“no other witnesses than the apostles and prophets, or the spirit of God speaking in them, can be admitted as of any authority”? And what assistance, pray, in determining the meaning of the word *Gehenna*, could the *Apocrypha* render you, even if its *authority* were admitted? for the word *Gehenna* does not once occur in *all the Apocryphal books*! And can it be for once imagined by any enlightened and candid person, that the divine Teacher should have entirely departed from the sense in which the ancient prophets and inspired writers used language, and adopted a wholly new and different sense of the word, not Jewish in its origin, but derived wholly from Chaldaic and Babylonish paraphrasts on these scriptures, and that, too, without the least intimation of so doing! Impossible.

10. I was not unaware that you had said the words Jerusalem, Mount Zion, Temple, Circumcision, etc., etc., were sometimes used in the New Testament in senses different from those attached to them in the Old—nor was I unapprised of the fact, that in those different senses of these words the inspired writers had, themselves, fixed the meaning by signs unequivocal and terms unambiguous; and that, too, without ever leaving the endless weal or woe of our race to be merely *conjectural* or *inferential* from a particular word, supposed to have a signification entirely different from any that had ever been given it before in the sacred writings, as you suppose to have been the case with *Gehenna*.

11. But you say, you have proof of your position even in the Christian Scriptures, and from your 10th to your 15th paragraphs inclusive, you attempt to bring forward that proof. In reply to your five proofs, as you regard them, it were sufficient to say, *relative to the first*, Matt. x : 28, that as you have not attempted to gainsay or refute what I said of it in my June letter (No. V), paragraphs 21, 22, nor adduced any argument save *assertion* in favor of your own view, I may, with equal plausibility, assert that the word Hell, then, indubitably denotes, not eternal but temporal punishment. Relative to your second text, Matt. xxiii : 33, it is sufficient to say that I proved in the *fore-said* letter, paragraph 20, that the damnation of *Gehenna* was used to denote the temporal woes coming upon that generation of the Jews. As to your third proof, I say, of the three equivalent phrases, which you say are substituted for hell, that neither one nor all of them afford any evidence

of your position. Of your fourth, that as the "life" with which hell is contrasted, was evidently enjoyed in this state of being, so the hell was evidently suffered in the same state. Of your fifth, that as you yourself have proved in your Note on Matt. v: 22, *hell fire* does in one instance at least, signify temporal punishment or destruction, and have no where shown that Gehenna necessarily signifies any thing different from that, it can not therefore be adduced as proof of sufferings beyond the present life.

12. With reference to your 16th paragraph, I have only to say that "*perhaps*" the statement of some "*facts*" in proof of your position, instead of the use of irony and misrepresentation, would have quite as much weight with people of sense and candor.

13. To save you from performing works of supererogation, or from laboring to no effect, let me here once more remind you, that the question at issue between us, relative to Gehenna, is not, whether it signifies *future* punishment in another state of being, but whether it signifies a place or state of *endless* misery. You appear not to understand the question. To save you from the repetition of the like blunders hereafter, let me farther inform you, that I am myself, and ever have been since my religious opinions were formed, a firm believer in the doctrine of future punishment. My faith in this doctrine has often been avowed to my hearers and readers, both from the pulpit and the press. But I must say, were there no arguments in its favor but those *you* have adduced, I should not be a very firm believer in it. But the doctrine of endless misery, (dreadful idea!) if true, must falsify the plainest testimonies of Scripture, transform the *Divinity* into a *fiend*, clothe heaven in sackcloth, and fill the universe with sighs and tears. To prove this horrid doctrine, Sir, is the task you have assigned yourself, and that too from the word Gehenna! To your task, then, my dear Sir, and linger not about questions not at issue between us.

14. I desire, as well as yourself, that our readers may all see and examine the whole of your note on Matt. v: 22. It will greatly confirm them in my views of Gehenna. In your 19th and 20th paragraphs, you attempt to show that I have not worked by my own rule. You introduce Matt. xix: 16, to the end, Mark x: 17-30, Luke xviii: 17-30, in order to show two things—1. That Christ meant the same thing in these passages, by the phrases "enter

into life," "inherit eternal life," "enter into the kingdom of God," and to "receive in the world to come everlasting life;" and 2. That these expressions all relate to the future and immortal state. The first I grant, viz., that the phrases are here used as equivalents: but I deny the second, viz., that all, or any of them in these passages, relate to the future and immortal state of man.

15. You are doubtless aware that the scriptural expressions, *olem hazeh*, and *olem habo*, in Hebrew, *outos aion*, and *aion mellon*, in Greek, and *this world or age*, and *the world or age to come*, in English, are often used to designate the *Mosaic dispensation or age of the Law*, and the *Gospel dispensation or age of the Messiah*, (the first of which was drawing to a close, and the second about to open, when the Saviour spake the language under consideration.) In this sense Dr. A. Clarke understands the expressions in Matt. xii: 32. But though these passages might be so understood, if such were their phraseology, yet the language is not as favorable to your views even as this. For although you say, "the answer as stated by Matthew, Mark, and Luke is 'a hundred fold more in the present life and in the world to come eternal life,'" I find you are mistaken.—Neither of them uses the phrase, "present life," at all. Matthew has neither "present life," "world" nor "time." Mark and Luke both have "the present time" (*to kairo touto*) and "the coming age," (*to aioni to erchomeno*). That the texts and contexts relate not to the future and immortal state, appears to have been the opinion of many eminent orthodox critics.

16. Gilpin, in paraphrasing the words of Jesus, says, "How almost impossible is it, says Jesus, turning to his disciples, for a rich man to become a sincere Christian.—It was impossible, he said, for any person, under the influence of such a disposition, (that of trusting in riches,) to be a member of his kingdom." Pearce says, "A rich man shall hardly, i. e., not without great difficulty, enter into the kingdom of heaven, i. e., become one of my disciples." Elsley says, "It may be read '*will*' hardly enter; meaning that in the approaching time of persecution, a rich man will hardly be persuaded to be a disciple of Christ, which is here called entering into the kingdom of heaven." See Wall's Critical Notes. *Auror. in loco*. Kenrick says, "The kingdom of heaven here means, as in several other parts of the Evangelists, the body of Christians, To come

into this kindom, therefore, is to become a disciple of Christ." Rosenmuller says, "To enter into the kingdom of heaven is to join the company of Jesus and become his follower," etc. *Scholia in loco*.* Our readers will thus perceive that many eminent critics on your side of the question about hell, agree with me in the meaning of these passages.

17. On your 21st paragraph, I remark, that the texts you quote form no exceptions nor objections to my views, but rather go to confirm them. The exhortations to "lay hold on eternal life" imply that it is *within the reach* of mankind. And as there is "nothing impossible with God," even the *rich may* lay hold of it, though with more *difficulty* than others. With reference to the last text you quote, Titus i: 2, I would only remark, that I have never denied that "eternal life" might, in some instances, be used with reference to a future state.

18. Having seen that your five principal proofs that Gehenna punishment is in the future state, are entirely powerless and irrelevant—in fact, that they are but unsupported assumptions, let us see what is your sixth and last proof. Why, forsooth, it is this: "Gehenna or hell in the New Testament, can by no possibility of interpretation, refer to any earthly punishment: for besides the reasons already given, neither Jesus nor his apostles did at any time threaten temporal, physical or corporeal punishments to those who disobeyed the Gospel!" The reader is now requested to read attentively Matt. xxi: 41-44, xxii: 2-7, xxiii: 35-39, xxiv: entire; Luke xxi: 20-36; Acts v: 1-10; Rom. xi: 17-23; 1 Cor. xi: 30; 1 Tim. i: 19, 20, and numerous other parallel passages where Jesus and his apostles threatened the disobedient with severe temporal punishments, which were actually executed upon them, and then say whether my learned opponent must not have been *dreaming* when he penned his sixth argument. Death by civil wars, famine, pestilence, and a distress so great as to cause mothers to kill and eat their own children, may well be called a "*sover punishment*" than being stoned to death under the law.

19. Your letter is answered. Due attention was early paid, on my part, to the "rules of discussion," etc., and a request made for you to copy my addenda thereto as I had yours; but I have not seen it done in the Harbinger.

Yours truly, D. SKINNER.

* See Paige's Selections.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XIV.

BETHANY, DECEMBER 6, 1837.

SIR—Yours of the 13th ult. was received here last mail. Your preceding letter also was received since I last addressed you. I have therefore two letters to answer in this one. I shall briefly attend to the last first.

2. Your letter No. XIII is little else than a series of accusations, denials, and unsupported assertions. *I have never, in any one instance, either perverted or misrepresented you, to my knowledge or belief.* You do not need to be perverted or misrepresented. I would not ask, in any opponent, any thing more perverted or more vulnerable than your defence of Universalism. It is, in my opinion, the grossest and most suicidal sophistry I ever read. I again reiterate every thing you say I have misrepresented or perverted, and stand to every declaration I have made. I leave our readers to settle those matters. I shall only apprise them of your manner. You *did unequivocally admit my syllogisms on the words Paradise, Heaven, Hell, etc.; at the same time saying they "were wide of the mark."* Now you take these words, "*wide of the mark,*" etc., and the Baron Swedenborg's correspondences to prove that you did not admit their truth! What a high regard you have for the common sense of our readers! Does not a child know that to say an allegation is wide of the mark, when there is no other objection to it other than its alleged irrelevance or impertinence, is no denial of its truth!—You have never made an exception to the truth of those syllogisms. As to their relevancy our readers will decide for themselves. You have not even attempted to disprove them. I now say you can not detect in them the slightest error or irrelevancy.

3. A similar trick is discoverable in your 4th paragraph.

There you substitute certain phrases for the word Gehenna, etc., and say what I asked for these, I asked for the word Gehenna by itself! In the 5th also you make me misrepresent Mr. Balfour. It is you, Sir, that misrepresent my quotation. You substitute my inference from his words, for the words themselves, which I did directly quote from him!

4. This is only surpassed by your foisting two clauses into a dogma (paragraph 7) to show that I did not quote it fairly or comment on it truly! These you say "are my very words." They are *not*, pardon me, your "*very words*" quoted from the 38th page of your Magazine, and do not express the same idea; for you now confess you have inserted two clauses. They are not, however, in my judgment, any better for being mended. To talk about Divine Justice being satisfied with penitence and reformation, is placing it below our legal justice. If a man kill his neighbor, and repent and amend his ways, this satisfies the justice of no human law!!! There is not, Sir, a civilised court in any country that would sustain your doctrine, or say that this reformed wretch "has been punished according to the full demerit of the crime." And this being your only punishment for sin, I re-assert that your dogma makes repentance the only punishment—the only hell.

5. It would seem from the recklessness of your assertions, accusations, and denials, together with the coarseness of your vulgarity as expressed at the close of your 7th paragraph, that you intended to browbeat me off the arena. This may be the best defence of Universalism you can offer; but to get into a passion and rail with you is not the best exposition of its folly and rueful consequences which I have to offer. If you are the personification of the good sense, logic, and courtesy of Universalism, I was in error in not believing those who told me that I would never find a gentlemanly defender of your system. I shall henceforth, until you mend your manners, address you merely as the champion of Universalism, without any of the usual compliments of personal respect.

6. There is nothing that demands any special notice till your 18th paragraph. You make short work of my recapitulation of the acceptation of Gehenna, evading every point or passing it with a mere denial or assertion. It is true that in your 13th paragraph you seem to concede a great deal; but you will doubtless deny it, if I should hold

you to it. You say that "the question at issue between us relative to Gehenna, is not whether it signifies *future* punishment in another state of being, but whether it signifies a place or state of *endless* misery; and you add, that since your religious opinions were formed (how long since you do not affirm!) you are "a firm believer in the doctrine of future punishment." It is the first I have heard of it, unless you mean by "future punishment" a day or two after the sin is committed. Where have you, Sir, published to the world that you believe in an *after death* Gehenna punishment, but not of endless duration? Name the book, if you please, or the paper in which I shall find it thus written. You will excuse me for regarding this as deceptive till I see it in print.

7. But you add, "the doctrine of endless misery," [dreadful idea!] "if true, transforms the Divinity into a fiend! clothes heaven in sackcloth, and fills the universe with sighs and tears. To prove this horrid doctrine, Sir, is the task you have assigned yourself!" What shall we call this?—an anathema, a blasphemy, a flourish, a bugbear, or a Universalian argument!! This, if there be any sense in it, is just as applicable to your *future* punishment as mine: for if the Deity made his own Son an offering for sin, and yet punishes those whom he pardons only one hundred years in your Gehenna, no mortal can justify his ways. I dare not say what you have said about transforming the Divinity. Forbid it, Heaven! I will quote the Messiah, who said that "he that is unjust in little is unjust in much." Of this, however, at another time.

8. Before noticing your new argument, paragraph 18, I should remark on your 15th paragraph, that you seem to have got an advantage of me in the phrase *present time*. I quoted it, "Shall receive a hundred fold more in the *present life*, and in the world to come eternal life." You glory in this correction. I quoted from memory, in a steam-boat cabin full of passengers talking round me, having with me a Greek Testament to which I did not always look, for my memory in those matters is generally faithful. And it seems I committed several other errors of which you have convicted me: I mistook or miscounted the proper number of our letters, putting XI for XII, and X for IX, etc., etc. Yet, after all, the difference between "a hundred fold more in this present time" and in "this present life," goes but a short way in proving your allega-

tion. But you wish to have it read "a hundred fold more in the Jewish age, and in the Christian age eternal life!!" This is too ridiculous for a grave reply.

9. You say that Dr. A. Clarke and other critics admit that sometimes *mellon aion* and *outos aion* meant the two dispensations. You might have quoted the New Version also in your favor in that case. But, Sir, you can not produce one critic out of your ranks (and I never read of one in them) that ever taught that in these passages it means anything else than the present life and the future. All your critics quoted are *perverted* if you intended them to favor your ideas on this passage: FOR NOT ONE OF THEM SUPPORTS YOUR GLOSS.

10. I come now to the only point in this letter that is new. My 6th argument in proof that Gehenna or Hell can not refer to any temporal punishment in the New Testament acceptance of it, is drawn from the fact that *neither Jesus nor his Apostles did at any time threaten temporal, physical, or corporeal punishment to those who disobeyed the Gospel*. And how is this very weighty argument met?—You prescribe the reading of certain scriptures concerning the calamities coming on the Jewish people for their accumulated crimes; the case of Ananias and Sapphira; the chastisement of the Corinthians for abusing the Lord's Supper; and Paul's delivering Hymeneus and Philetus to satan for their contumacy!! And this is the proof that the Lord and his Apostles did threaten bodily punishment or temporal sorrows in the valley of Hinnom or some other place, to those who would not obey the Gospel!! Not one of these reach within a thousand miles of the point.—Temporal punishments and chastisements are very common matters in the divine administration from the days of Cain down to the present time. But all the intelligent know that temporal rewards and temporal punishments, temporal blessings and cursings in the basket, store, family, field, and persons of the Jews, were the sanctions of that dispensation. But under the Gospel age there are no such sanctions—not riches, wealth, health, nor prosperity for obeying; not poverty, sickness, or temporal calamities for disobeying the Gospel. Christ's sanctions are, "He that believeth not shall be condemned"—not cursed with blasting, mildew, or locusts, or the valley of Hinnom—they that "obey not the Gospel shall be punished with an *everlasting destruction* from the presence of the Lord"—not with the

loss of health, wealth, goods, or chattels. "Behold, you despisers, and wonder and perish," was Paul's finale—"Be converted that your sins may be blotted out," was Peter's argument. In no case was any temporal inducement or threatening urged as a reason of obeying the Gospel. I will only add, that your evading the antithesis of "entering into life and being cast into hell, into the everlasting fire," leaves on record against you one of the most immutable and general laws of language—viz., *the words on both sides of an antithesis are taken in the same extent of meaning*. From all which, I ask; may we not conclude, that my six arguments in proof that Gehenna, in its New Testament associations, and antithesis with future bliss and eternal life, does most certainly and unanswerably mean *future and everlasting punishment*, all remain in pristine vigor: you having now assailed formally only one of them, and that evidently without perceiving the point of it? So endeth the first proposition.

11. Your letter No. XI, (miscalled No. X,) is upon *aion* and *aionios*. Your first assumption, paragraph 6, on this subject, is that *aion* compounded of *aei*, always, and *oon*, being, can not mean endless duration, because that *oon* by itself signifies not duration, but being; and *aei* signifies not "endlessly," but "continuity"! You quote eight places (paragraph 7) where *aei* occurs in the New Testament; and I appeal to the reader whether *aei* does not in every one of them mean duration *endless* as the subject with which it is connected. "You do always (*aei*) resist the Holy Spirit"; "*always* rejoicing"; "they do *always* err"; "be *always* ready," etc., etc. The Scotch or English word *aye*, always, is this word *aei* anglicised. Now if there be any word that necessarily and essentially represents *endless* duration, it is the word *aion*, *always being*.

12. You say you find *aion* the substantive 127 times, while I count it only 103 times in the New Testament. I count the *phrases* where it occurs—you count the word, although it should occur twice in one clause of a sentence. This explains the difference. Five of your 127 are spurious, but for this I care not. You add, "It is translated by the word 'ever' 71 times, and by the word 'never' 7 times." This is a mistake: *aion* is never translated *never*. There is a negative particle with it. You ought to have said, it is translated in the New Testament 78 times *ever*, *three times evermore*, *twice eternal*, and *world without end*,

once—84 times equivalent to eternal; and “world 36 times, worlds twice, ages twice, course once, and left untranslated twice.” Very particular indeed! Mind, then, it is never translated once a limited time, or a part of any given duration; but on all occasions extends to the full limits of the subject.

13. You also say you count *aiouios* 71 times, and that it is translated “eternal” forty-two times, “everlasting” twenty-five times, “ever” once, and “world” three times. I have not time to contest your enumeration; it is sufficiently accurate for my purpose—only that it is never, by itself, translated *world*. “Before the world was,” *pro chronon aionion*, is from eternity.

14. But, Sir, your manœuvre (paragraph 8) in substituting *eternity* or *eternities* for *aion* is too preposterous for a school-boy. Certainly you intended that for your special friends, who know as much of criticism as of the philosopher’s stone. But now, with your own data as to the number of occurrences and the common version of them, I have to submit a few facts and reasonings. And first of *aion*:—

15. This word occurs, you say, 127 times. Now of these referring to God, or Christ, to his own being, perfections, and praises, we have it rendered 36 times “*forever*” or “*forever and ever*,” such as Rev. x: 6—“Swear by him that liveth forever and ever.” Rom. ix: 5—“God over all, blessed forever.” xi: 36—“To whom be glory forever.” Rev. i: 18—“Behold I live forever and ever.” I formerly noted these at 22, because in 15 of these phrases the word occurs twice; but on your count I now put them down at 36. Now, Sir, if in this case this word does not denote endless duration, no word can do it, or rather, there is no such thing!

16. But in reference to the future state of the righteous, we have this same phrase or word translated *forever* and *ever* in the following instances: John vi: 51—“If any one eat of this bread he shall live *forever*.” viii: 51—“If any one keep my word he shall *never* see death.” x: 28—“They shall *never* perish.” “He that doeth the will of God abideth *forever*.” 1 John ii: 17; vi: 58; viii: 52; xi: 26; 2 Cor. ix: 9; Rev. xxii: 5. Of this sort there are ten occurrences. Besides these, it is translated 38 times “*ever*,” “*forever*,” and “*forever and ever*”—making in all 84 times.

17. In reference to the punishment of the wicked, it occurs eight times in five passages—2 Peter. "To whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever." Jude, ver. 13; Rev. xiv: 11; xix: 13; xxi: 10. "And they shall be tormented continually, forever and ever," or as you say, for eternities of eternities.

18. Now, waiving the *figurative* uses of this word, we have got it *thirty-six* times applied to God and Christ, to their glory and praise; *ten times* to the future state of the righteous, and *eight times* to the future state of the wicked. I ask, then, by what rule or law of language—what canon of criticism, or for what reason do you conclude that when it is applied to God, to his perfections, to his praise, to the righteous portion of our race in the future state, it *should always signify endless, forever and ever*, in the most unlimited sense; and not have the same signification when applied to the future state of the wicked, but *always* in their case mean ending or for a limited time!! I put this question with the utmost confidence that it never can be, because it never was, satisfactorily answered by any Universalist.

19. But I have not half done with *aion* yet. I have lying before me the Septuagint version of the Old Testament and the Hebrew Bible itself, and proceed to state a few facts for which I hold myself responsible:—

1st. We find *olem* or *oulm*, in some of its variations, more than *three hundred*, say *three hundred and ten times*, in the Hebrew Old Testament. In all these instances, with comparatively a very few exceptions, it is used to express unlimited time or a *period without end*.

2d. I find also that in the Septuagint *aion* in some of its flexions, is found more than 320 times, from 320 to 328. In more than *three hundred* of these it represents the Hebrew *oulm*, and, as yourself admit, it fairly represents it.

3d. I was about to state that this word, as well as *aiwnios*, frequently occurs in the Apocryphal books; but by an interpretation of our rules of discussion, which I never contemplated, even in *criticism*, you preclude these writings! Be it so, then. I argue nothing from this fact.

4th. Of some 18 or 20 cases at most, in which the word *aion* in the Septuagint represents any other word than *oulm*, it is a word or a phrase which is synonymous with *oulm*, or where the Septuagint differs from the common Hebrew text. Now be it observed, that there is no word

of such frequent occurrence in the sacred dialect of more definite, or less figurative, or of more ascertainable import, than *aion*.

5th. For of the 320 times in which it is found in the Old Testament, it is translated "ever," "forever," and "forever and ever," and "evermore," about 290 times! Even in the Psalms of David we have it more than eighty times in such acceptations as, "The Lord shall endure forever." ix: 7.—"Thou hast made him most blessed forever" xxi: 6.—"The Lord is King forever." xxix: 10.—"Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." xlv: 6, etc., etc.—"All the workers of iniquity shall be destroyed forever and ever." ix: 2, 7.—"His saints are preserved forever." xxxvii: 28.—"The Lord knoweth the paths of the upright, and their inheritance shall be forever." xxxvii: 18. I might greatly multiply these; for if I were to take your way of counting the word in all the phrases in which it occurs, I know not but I should be able to add a hundred more such occurrences in the Old Testament.

20. To all this it will be excepted, no doubt, that this word in the Old Testament, as in the New, is used catachrestically, and in a part of its signification applied to hills, mountains, covenants, priesthood, the land of Judea, etc. Grant it, for this is common to all words in every language. We use the words eternal, endless, forever, in the same catachrestic style every day: "You everlasting talker." "He is an endless declaimer." "She is a perpetual tattler." "He is an endless trouble to me." "He is forever seeking his own honor." I could fill pages of such common phrases. And would you not say that he who thence infers that this is the true and proper use of the word, and that we mean no more by it when we talk of God's existence, of heaven, of future happiness, is, to say the least of him, no very profound linguist and logician—we only add, and of future misery too!

21. To proceed in the same inductive style with *aionios*: All the learned know, and many of the unlearned have heard, that from *aion*, always being, eternity, forever, comes *aionios*, eternal, everlasting. We have the word *eternity* only once in the common version. Isa. lvii: 15. "The Holy One who inhabiteth eternity." Here it is *aion* in the Septuagint. They might, indeed, have rendered the same sort of phrase (Micah v: 12) by the same word; for it is not only *olen* in the Hebrew, but *aion* in the Septua-

gint: "Whose goings forth have been of old from everlasting"—literally, from the days of eternity.

22. You have conceded enough for me on *aionios*. You say, out of the seventy-one times in which you find it [some of which are, by the way, spurious readings] in the New Testament, it is in the common version forty-two times translated *eternal*, and twenty-five times *everlasting*, and once *ever*, leaving but three occurrences to dispute about. I venture to say you can not find another adjective of the same construction in the whole New Testament, that is so uniformly rendered by one word in all languages, as this is by the strongest word for endless duration. To confirm this I will only add that I find it more than *ninety* times in the Septuagint of the Old Testament, and only seven times representing any other word than *olem* in some of its forms! in English rendered as in the New Testament, by *eternal*, *everlasting*, *forever*.

23. What need have we, then, of farther witness? Look first at the general fact: The words *aion*, *aionios*, occur in the Greek Old and New Testament some *six hundred and eighteen times*, of which extraordinary sum they are properly and literally translated in the common version **FIVE HUNDRED AND EIGHT TIMES BY THE STRONGEST TERMS IN HUMAN SPEECH INDICATIVE OF ENDLESS DURATION**—such as "eternal," "everlasting," "forever," and in the judgment of the most numerous and learned critics, might as well in many of the others have been as literally translated by the same words. Then look, in the second place, at the special fact: These said terms occur in the New Testament alone, referring to the *continuance* of the happiness of the righteous, *sixty-one times*; and to the *continuance* of the punishment of the wicked *fifteen times*, translated "eternal," "everlasting," "forever." Now from the general fact, and this still more striking special fact, I emphatically, and with intense interest, demand why—for what reason—by what law of language or canon of criticism, shall the *duration* of the happiness of the righteous and of the misery of the wicked be as different as time and eternity, when they are thus so often, and in such various circumstances, set forth by the very same words! On the answer to this question must always hang the fate of Universalism, so far as the meaning of these words is concerned. I hope, then, this question will not be again slurred over, but be clearly, fully, and rationally met and answered.

24. A specimen or two of the puerile evasions of their force, as a warning against similar manœuvring in future, will now be selected from your letter of September 22, paragraph 9. After your array of the figurative use of the word *aion*, age, or world, under the literal representative of it, eternity, you make the following grave objections:— Because we have the *plural* of these words used for the singular, and the *plural twice repeated*, as *tous aionas ton aionon*, used as the most intensive form of the word; you say, “this is a circumstance sufficient to prove that the word does not of itself, radically, legitimately, or properly imply endless duration.” A profound objection, truly!— a new law of criticism! A single glance into the Hebrew style, into the Bible language, will thoroughly scatter this mist. But I wish all our readers to understand your learned objection, and shall state it again in more familiar style. Because we have the phrases “ages of ages,” “eternities of eternities,” “forever and ever,” to represent endless duration; therefore in the singular number, and without repetition, the words “age,” “eternity,” “forever,” can not mean the same thing; but must mean less in the singular than in the plural, and less when once than when twice used in the same phrase. A few examples of Hebrew or biblical usage will settle this point. If our readers understood Hebrew, I would request them to read Psalms xvii : 6, 7, 8; lxi : 5; cxlv : 13; Isa. xlv : 15; 2 Chron. vi : 2, where they will find *olem* in the plural signifying just what *olem* in the singular means. I would tell them to examine the word God, wisdom, dwelling, the wicked, Creator, etc., in the Hebrew, and see whether in the singular and plural forms in which they are frequently found, they have a different signification. Or if they understood Greek, I would refer them to *Sabbaton* and *Sabbata*, to *ouranos* and *ouranoi*, the singular and plural of Sabbath and Heaven, so frequent in the New Testament, which mean the same in both numbers. But as they do not all read these, I will only invite them to examine in the common version such phrases as “the holy of holies,” “a servant of servants,” “the heaven of heavens,” etc., to see whether this intensive form of expression made the words *holy*, *heaven*, *servant*, in the singular to mean something less than *holy*, *heaven*, *servant*, scripturally, etymologically and properly! But if the plural form or a repetition changes the meaning of words, we are still sustained in the question in debate, if not in

behalf of the righteous, at least as respects the doom of the wicked; for we are told that "the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever and ever," and "all the workers of iniquity shall be destroyed forever and ever"!! for ages of ages, for eternities of eternities; and if this expresses not duration without end, language can never express an idea certainly and unequivocally.

25. To sum up this branch of the argument: We have, from your own display of *aei*, always, and *oon*, being, shown that no word etymologically or radically, can more naturally signify *endless being* or *endless duration*. 2. That *ever*, *forever*, *evermore*, and *eternal*, are its most common versions in both Testaments. You have examined the New and conceded this. I have examined both Old and New, and if it is disputed I will reinforce it; but I think you will not demand this. 3. When applied to God's being, you admit it means endless. 4. Also, when applied to his glory, it means duration without end. 5. Also, when applied to the praises to be offered to him. And, 6. You also admit that when it is applied to the future happiness of the righteous, it means endless. Now for your reasons why it signifies a limited time, and ending period when expressive of the continuance of the punishment of the wicked.

26. Our readers will doubtless remember that we told them long since that the English Bible enables any honest person of common sense to settle this matter as satisfactorily to himself as though he possessed the most perfect knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin—because, although the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans believed and taught future and eternal punishment, their words, like our own "eternal," "everlasting," "forever," etc., were used sometimes figuratively in reference to present things*—just as the most sacred words, God, Lord, Saviour, Redeemer, etc., etc., are with us. There is not, then, a single atom of relevance or propriety in all this Universalian talking about *gehenna*, *hades*, *aion*, *aionios*, etc. It is all fog to the eyes of their readers. But as they choose this untoward way, we shall give them messes of it to satiety.

* I never saw a Patent from any American Land Office, that did not end with these words—"His heirs and assigns forever." Does this prove that Americans have no other "forever" than such a Deed or Patent conveys!

27. My last letter, written on the Ohio, fell short of the stipulated length about one page. I am yet some words, if not arguments behind, if my compositor rightly informs me. Meanwhile, Sir, be assured that I will henceforth omit to notice any paragraph you write in which there is any expression so grossly vulgar, undignified, and coarse, as in some paragraphs of your last communication. I shall set down such uncourteousness as an indication of your conscious want of argument. I have found some decent and veritable gentlemen among the Universalian laity; but such folks among their clergy are rare commodities.

28. Unless you can forward your replies in manuscript before you send them to Utica, it will be impossible, I judge, to receive them here in time for a monthly exchange.

A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XV.

RICHMOND, VA., DECEMBER 21, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR—Yours of the 6th instant, came to hand last evening. I am quite sorry to find my good friend in such ill humor. But, really, I know of no remedy, if you are angry at having your perversions and misrepresentations pointed out, but for you to break off from your sins by righteousness, and from your transgressions by adopting a candid and honorable style towards your opponent. And although you are determined henceforth to withhold from me “the usual compliments of personal respect,” I am not so much grieved thereby as to cease bestowing them on you, in hopes of producing in you a salutary reformation. From present appearances, “I was in error in not believing those who told me I would never find a gentlemanly” opponent of Universalism in you. Still, I do not wholly despair. One favorable symptom is, your confession, that “to get into a passion and rail” at me, is not the best way. Who knows but the next step may be a *practical* lesson from the same text?

2. Though you say you “reiterate and stand to every thing” that I say you have misrepresented, like Goldsmith’s village schoolmaster,

“For, e’en though vanquished, he could argue still.”

yet as you have not told *when, where, nor how* I ever made the concessions you say I did, respecting your syllogisms, etc., I am content to have pointed out the misrepresentations, and willing to leave the decision of the whole matter to the judgment of our readers, whom I request to review my last, and all there referred to. Their good sense will do the rest. Because I did not attempt to analyze and disprove each of your syllogisms, you conclude I “could not detect in them

the slightest error or irrelevancy." Were you to assert that the Rocky Mountains were composed of saw dust, I should deem it sufficient to say, that has nothing to do with our discussion, without attempting to show what they were composed of.

3. The phrases introduced in brackets, into the perverted "dogma," were sufficiently *marked*, and you appear angry at them, only because they preclude the possibility of future perversion. But you say, to talk about Divine Justice being satisfied with penitence and reformation, is placing it below our legal justice." No, Sir, begging your pardon, it is placing it far above. If our legal justice and its administrators, could invariably and certainly effect penitence and reformation in their subjects, and could know certainly when they were genuine and sincere, would capital punishment ever be inflicted? I trow not. Human justice often fails in producing repentance and reformation. Human tribunals know not when professed repentance is sincere, and hence sometimes deem the public safety to require capital punishment. Not so with Divine Justice. That can see, and know, and reform the heart, and never be deceived.

4. In your 6th paragraph you complain of my making short work of your "recapitulation of the acceptations of gehenna." The work, my dear Sir, might well be short; for there was nothing to reply to but the quotation of a few texts, all of which, or their parallels, I had before explained, which explanations you had not set aside. You accompany the quotations with several unsupported *assertions*: but assertions are *not arguments*. In compliance with your request, I refer you to the Magazine and Advocate, of September 3, 1836, for an article from my pen, of six or seven columns, in which I argue future punishment. But because I believe and argue future punishment, does it hence follow, as you intimate, that I must "believe in *after death gehenna punishment*"? Would it follow that I must believe in *after death State's prison punishment*? or in *post mortem bastinado punishment*? Not at all. Though I believe in post mortem punishment, and would very willingly believe that *gehenna* referred to that punishment, *if the Bible taught it*, yet I say you have not even proved so much as this, much less proved from it the horrid doctrine of endless misery.

5. Accompanied with a number of doleful exclamations

at my supposed temerity, you seem to think, paragraph 7, that future limited punishment would derogate as much from the Divine character, as endless. But can you be serious in such an idea? Any limited punishment, whether here or hereafter, that is emendatory, salutary, and results in the reformation and good of the punished, is not only compatible with, but an evidence of, Divine goodness. But endless punishment must be an unmixed and *infinite evil*, vindictive, unmerciful, and utterly malignant. If God "made his own Son an offering for sin," to redeem and save the *world* from its bondage, will he, nevertheless, *perpetuate sin and misery to all eternity?* Impossible.

6. To pronounce, as in your 8th and 9th paragraphs, a position "too ridiculous for grave reply," and to say the authors quoted in proof of it, "are *perverted*," although fairly and literally quoted, is doubtless much easier than to fairly meet and refute the arguments. I am willing our readers should judge and decide whether the authors whom I fairly quoted, support my *gloss* or not.

7. In your 10th paragraph you seem virtually to concede, but yet verbally deny, the fact so clearly proved by the scriptures I referred to, that temporal and physical punishments were both threatened by Christ and his apostles, and executed under the Gospel dispensation. You appear in great difficulty to know which way to turn, but finally attempt to crawl out by assuming that these punishments were merely the sanctions of the *Jewish dispensation!* Really, Sir, did the *Jewish law* point out the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira? Did *that* threaten bodily sickness and death to the Corinthians, for abusing the Lord's Supper? Was it the *law of Moses* merely that Paul followed when he delivered Hymeneus and Alexander [not Philetus] to satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme? and especially when, "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," he directed to deliver the incestuous Corinthian "to satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus?"—1 Cor. v : 5. Verily you must presume greatly on the credulity of our readers, to suppose you can make them believe all this.

8. The truth is, temporal punishments, as well as rewards, were in existence and employed, in the Divine administration, long before, and independent of, both the Mosaic and Christian dispensations—coeval with the exis-

tence of our race—and recognized and more fully explained by both of those dispensations. These facts being indisputable, our readers can judge whether my quotations and arguments “reached within a thousand miles of the point,” and whether your former assertion is not a point blank contradiction of the Bible. Temporal punishments being, then, indubitably threatened to transgressors, in the New Testament, and even *gehenna fire* (by your own showing in your note on Matt. v : 22) being threatened as a *temporal punishment*, is there any thing so very absurd in supposing that where *gehenna* occurs in other similar passages, the same thing is meant, or something *analogous* to it? But what analogy is there between *temporal* punishments inflicted for a *benevolent purpose*, and *endless punishment, malignant in character, and utterly destitute of all goodness!*

9. The “everlasting destruction” mentioned in one of your quotations, was a temporal destruction, long since executed on the transgressors mentioned, and which followed them for *ages*. I deny no sanctions which the Gospel reveals. The last struggle you make on the first proposition, is faint indeed—a feeble effort to sustain your sense of *gehenna*, merely by the *antithesis* which it sometimes forms to *heaven!* Your doctrine of *antitheses*, if fully carried out, would send David and Jonah, and many others, both to an *endless hell* and an *endless heaven!* They were once in *hell*, and you doubtless believe they are now in *heaven*. If one is endless, why must not the other be?—It would make corruptible crowns endless, if incorruptible ones are, because they are used *antithetically!* 1 Cor. ix : 25. It would make *vice and virtue equal in duration, because opposed in character*. And, indeed, it seems to be your principal aim to eternize and immortalize *sin*, unless I will allow that *holiness* will come to an end! I see no way for you to avoid the adoption of Zoroaster’s theory, and allow two Gods, the one good and the other bad, both alike self-existent and co-eternal! But I believe that as evil had a beginning, so it will come to an end. And thus has come to an end your first proposition. Amen.

10. I proceed now to notice what you say on the second proposition. You adopt a curious manœuvre, paragraph 11, to evade the force of my argument on the radical derivation and meaning of *aion*, from *aei*, always, and *on*, (or *on*,) being. You “appeal to the reader whether *aei* does

not, in every" passage cited, "mean duration *endless* as the subject with which it is connected!" *Endless* as the subject, etc. Ah, there's the point! For it is *not once* connected with an *endless subject*. In every instance where it occurs in the New Testament, it expresses, and applies only to, temporal or limited duration. Is it not strange, Sir, if it naturally and literally mean *endlessly*, that it is never so used in the New Testament?

11. You are placed in a singular dilemma. You maintain that *aion* and *aionios*, "in their *literal* sense, are only applicable to God and that world which is itself eternal;" and that they belong, and are applicable to, time only in a *figurative, metaphorical, or inferential* sense! See your letter to Mr. Montgomery, and numbers X and XIV, to me. And yet the word *aei*, the only root that imparts to these words the idea of perpetuity of duration, is *eight times* used in the New Testament, in reference to *time*, or the present state, and *is used in no other sense!* Verily, the public must form an exalted opinion of your philology and exegetical skill!

12. It may not only be conceded that *aei*, (always,) but also that *aion* and *aionios* mean duration as endless as the subjects with which they are connected. And thus virtually, though reluctantly and indirectly, you are at last compelled to allow, what we have all along contended for, that the precise sense of these words is to be gathered from the connection in which they are found, and that the subject they are applied to, gives important modifications to the meaning of the adverb, the substantive, and the adjective. Thus it devolves upon you to prove, and I again, for the *third* time, call on you to prove, from the *nature and object of punishment itself*, that it must be endless. For this must be done *before either of these words can afford you the least aid in the support of your dark theory of endless wo.*

13. You present our readers with an onerous mass of your lucubrations on the words *aion* and *aionios*, which will prove, in the main, as useless to your cause, as you intimate our whole logomachy will be uninteresting to our readers. I shall save myself the labor of writing, and them the task of reading, a *formal reply* to all you say; but shall notice all that has any weight or bearing on the subject in dispute. It seems we are nearly enough agreed about the number of occurrences of these words in the New Testament. †

shall not dispute your account of the number of times they occur in the Old. For I have not time (wishing to send this immediately to the printer) to collate their occurrences in the Septuagint, nor that of *oalem* in the Hebrew. Nor is it at all necessary. You have conceded amply enough for my purpose, without this labor.

14. We are not in dispute whether *aion* and *aionios* are ever used to signify endless duration. I not only concede, but argue, that when applied to God and his perfections, they necessarily have this meaning—and that, from the very nature of the subject. And were you to find them 6000 instead of 600 times, in their various forms and flexions, in the Old and New Testaments, and out of that number, 5900 times applied to God and his perfections, yet if, in the other hundred, they were applied to a variety of things of short duration, and which from their nature could not be endless, you would not have gained one step towards establishing endless punishment from the force of them, unless you proved by something else, that punishment must be endless.

15. You are quite too prone to assume, without any attempt to prove, that the texts you quote, relate to the *future state*. You assume that the future state of the righteous is referred to in the nine texts cited in your 16th paragraph; whereas it is not certain that *either* of them has any such reference. The majority of them evidently refer to the *spiritual life* of the believer under the Gospel dispensation, without any reference to the endless perpetuity of happiness in the future state: the same as John iii: 36; v: 24, 25; xvii: 3; and their parallels. So also, with the five texts referred to in your 17th paragraph, you assume that they all relate to the *future state of the wicked*, which is not conceded with regard to *either* of them. And until you make some effort to prove that they have that reference, they are utterly useless to you and your cause; and, let me add, equally so even if you do prove that reference, until you can show punishment to be endless, by some stronger term than *aion* and *aionios*.

16. You assert, paragraphs 19 and 20, that "there is no word of such frequent occurrence in the sacred dialect, of more definite or ascertainable import than *aion*," and that I "can not find another adjective of the same construction in the whole New Testament, that is so uniformly rendered by one word in all languages, as this (*aionios*) is

by the strongest word for endless duration." And paragraph 23, you say, *aiônios* in the Old and New Testaments, is "properly and literally translated *five hundred and eight times by the strongest terms in human speech indicative of endless duration*"! On these declarations I remark, in the first place, that *everlasting, eternal, forever, etc.*, are *not* the 'strongest terms in human speech (nor in the English language) indicative of endless duration.' The word *endless* itself, is much stronger, more emphatical and definite. Why did not our translators use it? Evidently because they knew *aiônios* would not bear it. In the next place I ask, are not the words God, Christ, man, woman, faith, hope, charity, peace, mercy, truth, and indeed, almost every substantive that occurs in the Bible, of more fixed, uniform, or definite import than *aiôn*? Has the meaning of any of them ever been as much disputed about? The phrase "same construction," above, was very artfully inserted; for I know of no adjective of the *same construction as aiônios*. I have not time now to examine many adjectives of any kind. But I have just glanced at two—the two first that happened to come into my mind. I find *sophos* occurs in the Greek New Testament *twenty-two* times, and in every instance is translated *wise*. Nobody can mistake its meaning. *Kalos, kalon*, occurs *ninety-nine* times, and is rendered *good* in almost every instance. In a few places it is rendered *goodly, meet, worthy, and honest*; but in these places it *means good*, and might have been so rendered uniformly, with propriety. There can be no dispute about its meaning. Is it so with *aiônios*? I allow that its meaning is easily ascertained by its subjects and connections. But then its meaning varies exceedingly in different places, even by your own showing, paragraph 20, and note to your 26th.

17. You take much pains, paragraph 24, to parry my argument drawn from the use of the double plural, or the most intensive forms of *aiôn*, against its signifying, necessarily, an absolute eternity. You *wish* our readers understood the Hebrew—how readily you could convince them by the use of *oulem*! And yet, in some of the texts referred to, *oulem* does not occur! Perhaps your references are wrong. Well, no matter. For what you have said on the use of English words and phrases, will help me quite as much. And pray, Sir, does not "servant of servants" signify a person more degraded, or of lower

rank, than an ordinary servant? Does not "holy of holies" signify more holy than common? Does not "heaven of heavens" signify a higher state of exaltation than simply the word heaven? But, Sir, are there *common eternities and intensive eternities*? i. e., *longer than common eternities*? I ask, then, again, if the double plural (*tous aïons ton aïonon*) does not imply a longer period, naturally, than simply *aion*? But even in the double plural, or most intensive form, of *aion*, it is sometimes applied to mere temporal things and periods. Isa. xxxiv: 10—"It shall not be quenched, night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up forever: from generation to generation, it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it *forever and ever*." Of this class, and evidently borrowing its phraseology from this very text, is Rev. xiv: 11—"The smoke of their torment ascendeth up *forever and ever*," etc., and its parallel, Rev. xx: 10. For, that these all relate to *time*, is evident from the fact that time is here divided and marked by "day and night."

18. To sum up, then, the amount of this investigation thus far, on both sides, it is evident—1. That *aion* and *aïonios* often signify endless duration, especially when applied to God and his perfections, which subjects necessarily fix this meaning upon them. 2. That where the subject does not determine the exact meaning, they signify a *long* but *indefinite* period, (when relating to duration at all.) Parkhurst, an Orthodox and standard lexicographer, (and with him agree all the best lexicographers,) says of *aion*, that it "*seems to be much more frequently used for an indefinite than for an infinite time*." 3. That they sometimes signify *spiritual and continuous*, without reference to duration, as in John iii: 36; v: 24; vi: 51; xvii: 3, and their parallels. 4. That they signify a very long duration, but temporal or confined to time, (as even you admit,) as when applied to hills, mountains, covenants, priesthood, possessions of lands, servants, etc., and, as I have shown above, even when used in their most intensive form, the *double plural*. 5. That they are sometimes used to signify a very *short* period when that *seems* long, as in the case of Jonah, (ii: 6,) where he calls *three days* "forever." And permit me here to ask, may not the punishment of the wicked be sometimes connected, in Scripture, with these words, for this very reason—that it must seem very long, even longer than it really is? and thus these words would

not necessarily, even in their most intensive forms, signify endless.

19. Having now answered your letter in every particular, except your repeated calls for my reason for not allowing *aion* and *aionios* to signify endless when applied to punishment, I proceed to give some of those reasons. You having failed to prove the affirmative, I proceed, though properly the labor does not belong to me, to prove the negative. My reasons, then, are—1. That endless punishment would be *useless*. It can be of no possible advantage to any being in the universe—to God, angels, saints, devils, or the damned. The only supposable advantages any beings can derive from any thing, must be either *pleasure, honor, or profit*. But neither of these can accrue to any being in the universe, from endless torment. 2. It is not only useless, but absolutely *pernicious*. It must of course be pernicious to the sufferers themselves: it must also be pernicious to the happiness of saints, angels, and all benevolent beings that know it; especially if they are *fit* for heaven, possess the spirit of the Gospel, and “love their neighbors as themselves.” It must be pernicious in its *example* and *influence* over all moral beings, exhibiting in the *Father of all*, the spirit of *infinite malignity* and *vengeance insatiable*! 3. It is highly *dishonorable* to God. It supposes either that he *could* not prevent it, or that he *would* not; and therefore makes him either *weak* or *malignant*. 4. It stands directly opposed to the infinite *benevolence* of God: If God be benevolent at all, he is infinitely so, unchangeably so, endlessly so. Therefore he is, and eternally will be, good to every being he has ever created. Endless misery necessarily denies this. 5. It is opposed to the *mercy* of God, for the same reason that it is opposed to his goodness. God’s tender mercies are over all his works; but they can not be, if any suffer endless misery. 6. It is opposed to the *wisdom* of God. As it is opposed to his honor, benevolence, and mercy, we may reasonably suppose his wisdom would have provided means of preventing so great a misfortune to himself and his creatures, if it had foreseen and could have prevented it. If it did not foresee, or if it could not devise means to prevent it, his wisdom could not be infinite. 7. It is opposed to the *power* of God. Not only would his power, if omnipotent, prevent such a doom of his children, for the honor of his other attributes, but as he has revealed it as his will that all should

be saved, it must be because *he can not effect his will*, if any are endlessly miserable. 8. It stands equally opposed to the *justice* of God. Man is a finite being in all his attributes and powers—all his actions are necessarily finite and limited. The justice of God, then, would be violated by the infliction of *infinite* and *endless* penalties for *finite* and *limited* transgressions. 9. It is opposed to the *veracity* of God. For he has declared that he will *not* contend forever, nor be always wroth; and that he will *not* cast off forever.—Isa. lvii : 16; Lam. iii : 31. 10. It is opposed to the general voice of revelation, and to numerous positive declarations of the Bible in favor of the final salvation of all men, as I shall show on the last proposition. *Therefore, endless punishment can not be true.*

20. In conclusion, can you assign as many and strong reasons why endless punishment *must* be true? If I count correctly, you have occupied more room than I have, exclusive of this letter. Suppose you publish two in succession, without waiting for my answer, if you are so anxious to progress with the matter. I will answer without delay, and shall be willing to do the same with you, when I come to have the affirmative. I would trust my manuscripts and proof-reading to you, had you shown a disposition to treat me with fairness and honesty; but as the matter now stands, I must be excused for wishing to have them first put in type by a friend. The mail goes from here to Utica, by steam, in from three to five days.

Yours, in all kindness, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XVI.

BETHANY, JANUARY 15, 1838.

SIR—This morning by our regular mails, yours from Richmond, of the 21st ult., came to hand. My last of the 6th December, it seems, reached you, and was considered by you, and your reply written in fifteen days from its date. While yours has been one month, lacking six days, in making its appearance here from the time it was written. These 25 days added to the 15, make 40 as the shortest interval between our dates; and still worse, it now only wants two days of two months since you wrote the preceding letter to me. It is dated November 13. And now very politely tell me *it must be so*; that your *friend*, from his peculiar and exclusive honesty, I suppose, shall first print them; for you dare not permit me to have your manuscript! And so, *volens volens*, you will give me six letters per annum and prolong the controversy some two years from this date. A very *honest* and profitable scheme, truly, for your Magazine, and such other Universalian papers as raised the wind and took subscribers during the war!

2. I begin to think that I have equal right to be heard on this subject, and to say what shall be; and I now tell you that the present volume of the Harbinger must close the discussion, unless you furnish a letter every month in proper time for its pages. My contemplated absence from home, to say nothing of decorum, or a decent respect to my readers, imposes upon me this duty. I therefore timidly inform you that you are not at liberty to trifle with us as you please. We shall now see what interest you feel in conducting this discussion to its proper close according to our agreement. On the present principle of courtesy to public opinion, you may next go to Cuba, or

the south of France, and thence despatch us two letters per annum!

3. Were it allowable to form an opinion from your last two letters, this will be to you a very fortunate alternative; for you seem to have got pretty well through with argument. Your first long letter, written before the preliminaries were agreed on, seems to have exhausted your resources. You then proved all your propositions, and disproved all mine in the lump!

4. You unceasingly tell us, indeed, of my "assumptions" and "assertions;" of your having "*proved*" this and that, and of my having "*proved nothing*;" until, as a matter of course, we now expect to see these words once or twice on every page. Your compositors, one might presume, will have found it economical to keep these words always *set up* ready for a long paragraph. You tell us so often of your good nature and of our "ill humor," that I begin to doubt whether you have any humor, or whether you are not a Universalian ossification of the type of Clark, of Museum reputation, who lived sometime after his eyes and ears and outward flesh were converted into bone.

5. I regret to notice in your last, farther indications of the same unfortunate weakness heretofore complained of. The perversions and misrepresentations scattered over the face of this letter, I shall briefly notice, as a caution to our readers. You represent me, paragraph 7, as assuming that "temporal punishments were *merely* the sanctions of the Jewish dispensation." This is not fact. You next bring us the case of Ananias and Sapphira, the Corinthians, etc., against a position which I never held. My words are, "Neither Jesus nor his apostles did at any time threaten temporal, physical, or corporeal punishment to those who disobeyed the Gospel. These are not sanctions of the Gospel." And you urge these cases as though they proved that such punishments were held forth as sanctions of the Gospel. Such incidents are common to all dispensations. Hence my sixth argument in proof, that Gehenna in the lips of Jesus, did not mean temporal punishment when he spoke of an after death destruction of body and soul in hell, or of the disobedient being cast into hell, the everlasting fire—remains in all its strength.

6. In paragraph 8th you say that, by my own showing, Matt. v: 22, "Gehenna fire is threatened by Jesus as a temporal punishment, as a sanction of the Gospel." You

refer to my note on Matt. v : 22. This is not fact. I never said so. In that note I only say that "Jesus *alluded*" to this and other punishments to convey certain instructions to his disciples. I appeal to the whole note taken together. Will you lay it before your readers ?

7. I will only add another sample. Our readers must examine for themselves. In paragraph 12 you say I am "at last reluctantly compelled" (by your gigantic force, I presume) "to allow that the precise sense of those words is to be gathered from the connection in which they are found." This is an unequivocal misrepresentation. All my regular readers know that many years since, and again and again, I have published this as one of the cardinal rules of interpretation of all words.

8. Before I call up the grand concession in your epistle, I will notice two or three minor points. You assert, paragraph 9, that the "everlasting destruction" mentioned in one of my quotations, 2 Thess. i : 9, was a "temporal destruction long since executed on the transgressors mentioned." This is no assumption, nor assertion ; but a good logical argument ! I call this a minor point ; but not the argument which I shall yet, all things concurring, draw from it. Before you, Sir, will *prove* that "the everlasting destruction" here spoken of is *past*, the English language will cease to be spoken—grammar, logic, history, and the Bible will have disappeared among men—and Atheism will have gained the ascendant.

9. The doctrine of *antithesis* is also assailed in the same paragraph. My doctrine of antithesis is that of the schools. It is this : "*The words on both sides of an antithesis are taken in the same extent of meaning.*" And my argument from it is, that as Gehenna or *Hell*, is by the Saviour placed in antithesis with eternal life, and everlasting punishment placed in antithesis with everlasting life, the words *hell* and *everlasting life* represent two states equally endless ; or, if you please, that the word *everlasting* is of equal extent of meaning *on both sides of the antithesis*. Matt. xxv : 46.—These shall go away into *everlasting life*, and these into *everlasting punishment*.

10. Instead of examining the doctrine of antithesis, or of exposing any misapplication of it in this case, you are pleased with the assertion, "It would send David and Jonah both to an endless hell and endless heaven." Astonishing logic !—In what antithesis are these two persons, or

these two bells, found in the Bible? Again you assert, "It would make corruptible crowns endless! It would make virtue and vice equal in duration, because opposed in character!" There is not a freshman pupil in any school could speak more unintelligently than you have here done. Is it a fact that you do not comprehend the doctrine of antithesis? Or do you feign ignorance, and speak thus foolishly for effect? Produce an antithesis, and exemplify your objections if you can. You can not. I will offer to your consideration some two or three, on which Universalists in former times often spoke with rapture as fine antitheses, but without understanding the passages:—

11. "By the offence of one, judgment came upon *all men* to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of One, the free gift came upon *all men* unto justification of life." I ask, is not the "all men" on the one side of the same extent with the "all men" on the other side?

Again—"For as by one man's disobedience the *many* were made sinners, so by the obedience of One, the *many* shall be made righteous."

Again—"By a man came death; by a man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as *in* (or by) *Adam* all die; even so *in* (or by) *Christ* shall all be made alive."—The question is not now about the meaning of these passages; but whether the terms in antithesis are taken in the *same extent* of interpretation? For you have opposed the doctrine of antithesis, and it is for the doctrine I now contend. "These shall go away into *avonion* punishment, and the righteous into *uionion* or everlasting life." This I call an antithesis. Or, "it is better to enter into life with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into *gehenna*, or the everlasting fire." These antitheses I contend are perfect; and the terms must be of equal extent on both sides.

12. Your letter now under consideration leaves my last standing erect in unbroken strength. I strongly suspected it was invulnerable on your part. I am now confident of it. On the words in dispute, I will henceforth regard it as a final settlement of the whole question. I boast not of my reasoning in the matter; but of the strength of the facts and documents therein displayed and arranged, and of the evidence and weight of the inference deduced and submitted to you and my readers. Your conclusions and treatment of it now authorize me to say, that I do most candidly and sincerely believe it to be, by yourself or any other

Universalist, wholly unanswerable. If you reply that you do not think so, the sequel will show that you *have acted* so. I shall attempt to make this matter clearly apparent.

13. After a very feeble and erroneous critique upon *aion*, you prepare for the avowal. You make *aei* the adverb, the *root*, and the participle *oon* the adjunct. This no scholar can admit; for *being*, the participle from the verb, *I am*, is itself the root of eternity, as I AM is the name of Him that *inhabiteh eternity*. The word *oon*, without any adjunct, adverb or adjective, means without beginning or end; so that *aei* prefixed only makes a substantive of simple duration without regard to person or thing. It is the participle of the substantive verb which indicates *absolute existence*; I say, after a powerless attempt to annihilate the significance of the only word in the Greek language that *in both its parts, always, and being, represents endless duration*, you make the grand concession that YOUR THEOLOGY IS YOUR PHILOLOGY: or, in other words, you practically, and *in fact* declare, that your own conceptions of what is becoming, is the sovereign arbiter and interpreter of Scripture language!!

14. My last epistle has, it seems, abundantly satisfied you on the words of my second proposition. You have at last got Hebrew and Greek references and criticisms to satiety. You unequivocally tell me that were I "to find *aion*, *aionios*, and *olem*, 6000 times in their various forms and flexions in the Old Testament and the New, and out of that number 5900 times applied to God and his perfections," (and I suppose to the happiness of the saints also.) "yet if in the other hundred they were applied to a variety of things of short duration, and which from their nature could not be endless, I would not have gained one step towards establishing endless punishment from the force of them; UNLESS I PROVED BY SOMETHING ELSE THAT PUNISHMENT MUST BE ENDLESS." So endeth the second proposition.

15. Mark it well. I have virtually—nay, I have almost in the same ratios, done what you have said; and you tell me it avails nothing, for I must prove eternal punishment by *something* else than by the meaning of these words.—This consummates all that I said from the beginning. Yet this concession reflects no great honor on your wisdom and sincerity in constraining a controversy about words which you now say if they were found 59 times to mean endless

duration for once any thing else, you would not, on such a demonstration, admit there was any thing gained, unless I could prove the point from some other source of reasoning than the words of inspiration. Why, then, did you not tell us this at first, and save so much labor!—?

16. I can not, however, but congratulate myself, even now in the midst of all the toils you have heaped upon me, and of all the hard things you have said to me, that I have so soon got through with the drudgery of proving my second proposition. I did not, indeed, flatter myself that at so early a period I could extort from you so full a *concession in fact*. I never did, in any of my discussions, promise myself the pleasure of converting my opponent, infidel or professor, or of even constraining him to admit that I *proved* a single position; and less, an advocate of a doctrine so palatable to sinners as that of Universalism; and still less in the case of an opponent so bold and reckless as yourself. I can not but regard it as a singular proof of what I before said of the peculiar impotency of the cause you plead, and of the little honor I could promise myself from the fullest refutation of it.

17. I conjectured, indeed, that all this was in your heart from the beginning: for I imagined that your objection to eternal punishment arose not from the lack of evidence in the words *gehenna, olem, or aionios, etc.*, but from its supposed incongruity with, or contradiction of, your *a priori* theory of the nature of sin, the divine benevolence or good of the universe. In some cases I have reason to think opposition to this tremendous consequence of sin arises from heart-burnings against the notion of punishment. Some of this class having turned Universalists, have been known, on finding its foundations giving way, to turn skeptics, and even to become like Abner Kneeland, antitheists, atheists, or pantheists.

18. If you, Sir, with all your virtue, would stake fifty-nine to one, or fifty-nine hundred to one hundred on your theory against fact, or on your theology against philology, what shall we think of the daring efforts of less virtuous persons! You must know that the words *God, Lord, heaven, salvation, life, death, etc., etc.*, are often, very often, used figuratively; and that there is not an *adjective*, I mean a *compound adjective*, one of the same construction, of such frequent occurrence in the Bible, more uniformly rendered by one word than *aionios*; (your inapposite and uncom-

pounded *kalos* and *sophos* fully proved what you sought to disprove by them;) yet you would risk 5900 to 100 for your opinion against fact!!!

19. The reason why you made this candid concession, nor the value and extent of it, I presume does not yet appear to all. That it may be understood in its cause and tendencies, I request our readers to reconsider paragraph 10, 18, 19, 20, 23, and 25, of my last letter to you, and your notices of these paragraphs. He may then see the delusion, may I call it? of your species of Universalism. It admits that God is *aionios*—that his perfections are *aionios*—that his praise is *aionios*—that the happiness of the righteous is *aionios*—and that the punishment of the wicked is *aionios*; yet that the four first are endless, and the latter momentary, though all expressed in Hebrew, Greek, and English by the same word!

20. Why this inconsistency? I besought you, Sir, two or three times not to slur this matter again; I laid it before you time after time, in its length and breadth, until in your 19th paragraph you make the grand avowal—you disclose the secret. The *thing* of endless punishment can not be proved to you by any rules of language or philology; for you say: 1. "It is *useless*"—2. "Absolutely *pernicious*"—3. "*Dishonorable* to God"—4. "Opposed to infinite *benevolence*"—5. "To *mercy*"—6. "To *wisdom*"—7. "To *power*"—8. "To *justice*"—9. "To the *veracity of God*"—10. "To the *general voice of revelation*." "Therefore," you say, "*endless punishment can not be true*." This is the triumph of theology over philology!

21. It is not yet in order for me to follow you into your philosophical ambush; but I have no doubt your philosophy will be found as superficial and as palpably at fault as your philology. I would not be surprised (mind I state it now) if when we get upon those points, you would flee again to the mountains of philology as affording more *shade* than the fertile plains of your philosophy. At present the matter stands thus:—Mr. Skinner *thinks* that everlasting punishment is *useless, pernicious, dishonorable, unwise, unmerciful, unjust*, etc., etc. Therefore, though everlasting, and eternal, and endless, were found in the Bible 5900 times in all their force, and one hundred times only in a part of it, he would balance; yes, *overbalance* the difference, and annihilate the force of these words by one single "*I think*,"

22. Will it avail any thing with you, Sir, to reflect upon the ground assumed in this avowal. You have assumed that universal language possesses no word which could eternize a subject unless the subject be in its own nature eternal without it. You go so far as to allege that the word *aionios*, when applied to God, could not by its own power or meaning, assure us of his eternity, unless we found other reasons in himself giving to it that meaning. So of the happiness of the righteous. Not finding these reasons in your philosophy of punishment, the word *aionios*, or everlasting, prefixed to it, means momentary, or limited; just because you think it "useless, pernicious, unjust," etc., etc. In your philology all adjectives are cyphers. A cypher placed after 9 means 90; but placed before 1, it means 1-10th of a unit.

23. Again, as there is no special law passed in the commonwealth of letters in favor of *aionios*, it must be by virtue of the common law of adjectives and epithets that it has no meaning of its own. This must be true of all adjectives. They all, on your theory of language, derive their meaning from the substantives with which they stand. In your new grammar, "A substantive is a word added to an adjective to express some quality belonging to it, or to give it a peculiar meaning." Thus happiness eternal, means endless; and punishment eternal, means momentary.

24. As you are safely moored, I will tell you where I may be found: Where I bade Mr. Montgomery adieu.—All nouns and adjectives have a literal or common, and a figurative or less common meaning. Words that belong to the body, when applied to the mind are used figuratively; words that belong to the mind, when applied to the body must also be used only in a part of their signification; words that belong to things temporal, when applied to subjects in another state are used figurative, in more or less than their common signification; and words that pertain to eternity or to another state of being, when applied to things in time or on earth, are used in less than their common signification. This universal and immutable law of language, not made for any special case, explains satisfactorily that when I say, "He is an *endless* talker, an *eternal* trouble, an *everlasting* nuisance," I use these words figuratively, and not in their proper signification.

25. You having said you believe in punishment after death in another state of being, and have referred me to a

document that I never saw. Will your co-editor please send me a copy of said future punishment? I am pleased to find, on your testimony, that you believe "in future *post mortem* punishment." I trust it is not in what some call absolute *destruction*—the everlasting punishment of a few of my acquaintance, who affect to think that Nero, Caligula, and Judas Iscariot will be doomed to the eternal destiny of a dove or a lamb! for surely if absolute *destruction* be everlasting punishment, the greatest wretch that ever lived and the most innocent lamb go into the same everlasting punishment.

26. I hope you have not found a Protestant Purgatory; though you speak a good deal like it—about punishment leading men to repentance, whose icy hearts the love of God could not melt; these, you believe with Bishop Purcell and the Pope, may be melted in the penal fires of Purgatory. I am anxious to learn your theory of future punishment. Excuse me for my unbelief. I think when it comes to be examined it will be found to be rather a lunar hoax.

27. Lastly, I am now ready to hear from you on the third proposition. Your grand avowal and concession, and your having introduced *ten* arguments philosophical and theological, will, I have no doubt, be fully satisfactory to our readers that enough is already said on that subject. Besides, I wish now to get at the naked question; for I think we have document enough on that solemn subject to satisfy every candid person under heaven. You can no doubt despatch your proposition about the *apax legomenon*, or the word that is found *once* in the Greek Testament, in one letter, though you can have five if you please. Meanwhile, I forewarn you that I will not, after your concessions, have much more of a logomachy. From words to things we must ascend. Controversially yours,

A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XVII.

RICHMOND, VA., JANUARY 27, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR—I have just received yours of the 15th inst. And although you may regard me as “a Universalist ossification,” I am free to acknowledge that I would rather be without “any humor,” than to be always in *bad* humor. I am, however, not so devoid of feeling as not to commiserate your unhappy condition.

2. It must indeed be exceedingly vexatious to have this discussion delayed so long, and to reflect that most of the delay has been occasioned by yourself—to know that “the Magazine and such other Universalist papers as took subscribers during the war,” are gaining patronage by means of it, and that you can not reap the same advantage—(what can be the reason? are Universalists better satisfied with the discussion, thus far, than your readers?—) to be assured that your opponent will not accept of assumptions for arguments, nor assertions for proof of your positions—to be compelled to produce *bona fide proof of endless misery*, when none is to be had—is doubtless all *very* perplexing. I pity, but can not help you. I will, however, do what I can to restore the equilibrium of your temper, if an early copy of this letter, and these assurances can do it. I will, for once, send you my manuscript direct to Bethany, reserving a copy for Utica. I entreat you, my dear friend, not to be too much cast down. You know the old adage, “the darkest time is just before day.”

3. The last sentence in your 3d paragraph, shows that the truth may be told in the form of a sneer. I am willing our readers should judge of the misrepresentation complained of in your 5th paragraph. If you did not assert that temporal rewards and punishments were the sanctions of the Jewish dispensation and *not* of the Gospel, then lan-

guage has no meaning. And if I did not disprove your assertion, and show that temporal punishments *were* threatened and executed under the Gospel, as well as the law, then nothing has been proved or disproved on either side. (And for temporal *rewards* under the Gospel, see Mark x : 30.) But you say these were not the sanctions of the Gospel. What then were they? They were threatened by, and executed under, the preachers of the Gospel. But you may say it was not for disobeying the Gospel. What then was it for? It was for great sins : and were not these sins (yea, all sin) in disobedience of the Gospel? Thus, Sir, the foundation of your boasted 6th argument about Gehenna, being wholly taken away, the argument itself has evaporated with the other five that preceded it.

4. It is amusing to see your writhing under your own Note on Matt. v : 22, and your fruitless efforts to evade the force of its positive statements about *Gehenna*. But, Sir, look at your own language. You say in your note, "the Judges, the Sanhedrin, and the HELL FIRE here introduced (Matt. v : 22) ARE all human punishments." And now you deny that you said any thing more than that an *allusion* was made to human punishments, etc. I need say no more on this subject, till you have refuted your own note. It is as positive in my favor as language can be.— If the only misrepresentation you accuse me of in your 7th paragraph consisted in representing you as conceding a point which you have for years contended for, it must be obvious that I have not used you half as bad as you use yourself. For you positively misrepresent and contradict yourself point blank, as on Matt. v : 22.

5. It will be time to consider your 8th paragraph when you have made an effort to prove that 2 Thess. i : 9 relates, not to time, but to eternity. I have never denied nor opposed the doctrine of *antithesis*, as you accuse me of doing in paragraphs 9, 10, 11. It is only your *abuse of antitheses* and contrasts, your extravagant assumptions with regard to them and their applications, that I have opposed. See your letter VI, paragraphs 15, 21, 22, 25, and letter VIII, paragraphs 7-11, and frequent subsequent attempts to make out an *endless hell* because *hell* was the *opposite of heaven*, and the word *heaven sometimes* (though I have shown not generally) signifies a state of endless happiness. It was with reference to your whole course on this subject that I made the remark that you would send David and

Jonah, and many others, both to an *endless hell* and an *endless heaven*.

6. The rule, which you say is that of the schools, that "*The words on both sides of an antithesis are taken in the same extent of meaning,*" is undoubtedly correct as a general rule, though there are sometimes exceptions or modifications with reference to some of the minor if not the major terms employed in an antithesis. (And for proof that *aiouios* is used both in a limited and unlimited sense in the same text, I refer you to Hab. iii: 6, and Rom. xvi: 25, 26.) But I do not need the benefit of any such exceptions or even modifications in the case now before us. For I contend that neither the *everlasting punishment* nor the *everlasting life*, Matt. xxv: 46, expresses the immortal and endless condition of the sinner or the saint; and that *entering into life* or being *cast into hell*, Mark ix: 43-47, expresses simply entering into the faith and obedience of the Gospel, on the one hand; and the dreadful woes, calamities and destruction that came upon the unbelieving Jews, on the other. The contexts of both passages, and especially of the latter, obviously suggest this view.

7. That the eternal life mentioned Matt. xxv: 46, is not the endless beatitude of immortality is deduced, not only from the context and general scope of the passage, but especially from considering that it is the *reward* of good works. No number or amount of good works can justly merit an infinite and endless reward; and by parity of reasoning, no number or magnitude of sins that a finite being commits in a limited time, can demerit an infinite punishment. Moreover, the very word here rendered *punishment* (*kolasin*) forbids the idea of its being endless. "*Amputatio arborum luxurantium*" is one of the definitions, and a very common sense of it. And its meaning in the text, and other similar ones, is obviously, *correction* or *chastisement for the good of the punished*; in accordance with the Scripture truth that God punishes his children "for their profit, that they may be partakers of his holiness," and that the correction may "afterward yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness to them who are exercised thereby." But endless torment could neither "profit" the sufferer, nor yield any *after* "fruit of righteousness." The punishments of the wicked and the rewards of the righteous, *as such*, must both come to an end.

8. Both parts of your two favorite *antitheses* may hence

be allowed "the same extent of meaning" without any detriment to my side of this argument. And if I am not much mistaken, you will yet find your doctrine of antitheses recoiling on your system with an irresistible force in regard to the three texts you quote in the beginning of your 11th paragraph, and other similar texts.

9. I regard your affected criticism on the derivation of *aion*, paragraph 13, as a powerless effort to dust the eyes of your readers in order to help you out of difficulty. In your first critique on this word (letter X) you allowed it to have *two* roots, *aei* and *oon*. As I have shown that *aei*, the only root that could impart to it any idea of *duration*, is not once used to express *endless* perpetuity, you have now changed your mind and concluded that it has but *one* root, and that is *oon*! Admirable consistency! and this *oon* "is itself the root of eternity, as I AM is the name of Him that *inhabiteth eternity!*" More wonderful still!—The present participle of a word in a language *not then known*, was made the root of eternity because the Deity in the Hebrew language styled himself the I AM! Mirabile dictu! Surely you deserve a medal! You have also discovered that *oon* of itself absolutely "means without beginning or end;" I suppose because the word itself does not say any thing about beginning and ending! You are, however, mistaken in supposing that I wish to annihilate the signification of *aion*. It has quite too important senses attached to it to allow me to indulge in such a desire.

10. You seem to have wrought yourself up at one time into such an ecstasy in view of your wonderful achievements, the "unbroken strength" of your last previous letter, the marvellous "strength of the facts and documents therein displayed and arranged," the vast concessions you think I have made, etc., etc., that you entirely overlook a considerable portion of my letter, and very important portions too. See my 15th, 17th, 18th, and 19th paragraphs. But you sink back again very soon into your sullen and murmuring temper, complain of the toils heaped upon you, of the "drudgery" you have to perform to prove your proposition, ask why I did not make such and such avowals before, and save you "so much labor," etc., etc. If, my dear Sir, you can find comfort enough to pay you for all your trouble, you ought to be content, seeing you are doing so well with the argument in your own opinion.

11. You say I have made the grand concession that my

theology is my philology. Though such is not the fact, yet I would sooner have it so, than, like my learned opponent, make my *philology my theology.* Perhaps you might read Col. ii : 8, with profit. You charge me with saying I would make no allowance for the proof of a given point, unless that point were proved from some other source of reasoning than the words of inspiration. This, Sir, is an error. I have made no such declaration, nor any thing equivalent to it. I bow to the authority of inspiration with unreserved deference. All that I have said or argued on this subject, amounts to this only, that I can not admit so horrid and God-dishonoring a doctrine as that of endless misery, on the mere force of the ambiguous words *aion* and *atonios*, when these words, by the consent of all critics, yourself among them, are frequently applied to things and times that have had, or from their very nature must have an end; and while I at the same time gave ten very weighty reasons why these words must be used in a limited sense when applied to punishment, which reasons you have not attempted to invalidate.

12. In answer to your 17th paragraph, I remark, that my objections to endless punishment were founded, not only on its incompatibility with the character and attributes of God, such as all Christians and all enlightened heists acknowledge belong to him, and as set forth in my ten objections to endless misery, but also on the entire absence of all proof of its truth in reason and revelation, and its opposition to the desires and prayers of all good and holy beings.

13. I have no "heart-burnings against the notion of punishment," if that punishment be benevolent and salutary; but take away these attributes from it, clothe it with fiend-like cruelty and merciless vengeance, make it malignant in character and endless in duration, and well may it occasion heart-burnings; yea, and heart-breakings, too, in all that sincerely believe it. I ask, Sir, can you view it with joy and satisfaction? Can you delight in its contemplation? Can you pray for it? Can you believe it for yourself, without becoming crazy? No, my dear Sir, neither you nor any mortal living can do it. The truth is, those who profess to believe the doctrine, seldom or never believe it for themselves, or their intimate friends. The only person I ever saw that fully believed it for herself, was a lady, and she was then, and had been for years, in

the agonies of despair and the ravings of madness in consequence of it.

14. Your mention of Abner Kneeland's case is quite as unfortunate for yourself as for me: for he was once, like yourself, a *Baptist*. And if his Baptist orthodoxy could not save him from heresy, need you wonder that his heresy did not save him, in his dotage, from atheism or monomania? Where have I said or intimated that I would stake fifty-nine to one, or that I would stake any thing at all, on my "theory against fact," or on my "opinion against fact?" You know, Sir, I have made no such statement, nor any thing to warrant such a conclusion. I would, however, were it necessary, stake fifty-nine to one on an argument founded in reason and philosophy, supported by the Holy Scriptures and proved by numerous facts, against a mere philological *conjecture* unsupported by a single proof; and such, permit me to say, do I regard your conjecture—for you can give no proof—that *aiônios* means endless when applied to punishment.

15. Again, I do not by any means admit that the proportion of times in which *aiôn* and *aiônios* signify endless duration is as 5900 to 100 where they are used in a limited sense. Nay, I do not admit that they are used to signify *endless duration* in *one-half* of their occurrences in the Scriptures, nor even in one-half of the instances in which you have set them down as signifying it. We have the authority of lexicographers quite as learned and quite as orthodox as yourself, for assuring us that they are used "*much more frequently for an indefinite than for an infinite time.*" In your 19th paragraph, you attempt to show our readers the great "value and extent" of my "candid concession." I shall offset your illustration by a parody on it which will at least show our readers the extent of your ("delusion may I call it?" or) *consistency!*

16. You admit that hills and mountains are *aiônios*—that the possessions of Israel in Canaan are *aiônios*—that the covenant of circumcision is *aiônios*—that the priesthood of Aaron is *aiônios*—that the servant was to serve his master *eis ton aiôna*—that Jonah was in the whale's belly *eis ton aiôna*—that the land of Idumea was to lie waste *eis tous aiônas ton aiônôn*—that deeds of land run *forever*—and that the punishment of the wicked was to be *aiônios*, or *eis ton aiôna*; yet you maintain that the first *nine* are only temporary and limited, and the last *one* endless in duration,

though all are expressed in Hebrew, Greek and English by the same words! Why this inconsistency? Why this special exception in favor of the sense of endless to *aion* and *aionios*, when applied to punishment? I have besought you time after time, and now again beseech you, to give your *reasons* for this strange and arbitrary sense of the words when applied to punishment. It seems you have no reason to give but your own *philological conjecture*, and that the *thing* of endless punishment must be sustained at all hazards for the reputation of your orthodoxy! This is the triumph of individual and conjectural philology over rational and scriptural theology!

17. Was your conjecture, paragraph 21, that I shall hereafter "flee again to the mountains of philology as affording more *shade* than the fertile plains of my philosophy," intended to cover your retreat from a field where you found more reasons against your doctrine of endless wo, than you knew how to cope with? Am I, with all our readers, left to suppose that my friend Campbell "thinks" endless misery very *useful*, very *salutary*, very *honorable* to God, very *benevolent*, *merciful*, *wise*, *just*, etc.? If you *think* so, what are your reasons? My arguments, Sir, rest not upon "one single 'I think.'" You say I "have assumed that universal language possesses no word which could eternize a subject, unless the subject be in its own nature eternal without it." This is positively untrue. And, Sir, did you not *know* it to be so? Did you not know that the third proposition of which I take the affirmative, denies it? Equally untrue are your assertions, that in my "philology all adjectives are cyphers," that "*aionios* has no meaning of its own," and your intimation that I require a new grammar, interchanging the positions and definitions of substantives and adjectives. Such misrepresentations, witticisms, irony and sarcasm, I can not but regard, my dear Sir, as entirely unbecoming the dignity of your profession, unworthy of yourself, and undeserving of any further notice from me. I will only refer the reader to my last letter, paragraph 18, and my letter No. XI, paragraphs 11 to 17 inclusive, for my definitions of *aion*, etc.

18. You seem to exult considerably in having given me "Hebrew and Greek references and criticisms to satiety." In reference to this, I will only remark that a much smaller amount than you have given, would have abundantly satisfied, had they been to the point, or gone in the least to

establish the truth of your second proposition; but as they made no approximation to that point, a larger, or any supposable quantum of the same sort would have been useless. For the same reason, your repetition, paragraph 24, of the ground you took with Mr. Montgomery, is irrelevant and out of place. In all you have advanced from beginning to end, no reasons have been assigned why *aion* and *aiônios*, when applied to *punishment*, must signify endless duration.

19. Your feverish anxiety, conjectures and speculations about my views of future punishment, your disposition, before you know what they are, to brand them with the name Purgatory, etc., etc., are mistimed and out of place. Wait patiently till you see them, and then disprove them if you can. You need have no apprehensions that they will be found to embrace what some call absolute *destruction*, although both myself and many of our readers were at one time seriously apprehensive that you would attempt to shelter your doctrine of endless punishment under that form. I am heartily glad such is not your aim.

20. I now proceed to the third proposition, viz., "Is there any word in human language that expresses duration without end, which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked, or which can certify us that God, angels or saints shall have duration without end?" And I here remark, that I need say but little; indeed, I am not bound to say any thing more, by way of argument, till you have answered what I have said—and which remains unanswered—in my first letter. To that letter, particularly paragraphs 11 to 16 inclusive, and paragraph 20, (especially what is said on 2 Cor. iv : 17,) I refer you and our readers for unanswered and I believe unanswerable arguments in favor of the affirmative of this proposition.

21. In my first letter, I gave four words with their definitions, viz., *akatalutos*, *aphikarsia*, *aphthartos*, and *athanasia*, which are applied to, or used in connection with, God, life, the immortal beatitude of heaven, etc., etc., and never used in the New Testament in a limited sense, nor applied to *any subject of a perishable nature or limited duration*.—You attempted, letter X, to turn the subject, or what I had said upon it, into ridicule, but you have not denied, and I think will not deny, a single material statement I made or argument I drew from the above words and their use. My letter No. XI sufficiently answered all you said

by way of ridicule. I demand a candid answer to my arguments, or a concession that they are unanswerable.

22. You yourself conceded that in all of those words, the idea of *duration* was embraced; and as you made no attempt to prove that they ever were, or could properly be applied to any finite or limited time, or any thing of a mere earthly nature, I take it for granted that you do not calculate to do it. Indeed, I do not see any motive you can have for attempting it. For whatever may be the fate of your favorite *aion* and *aionios*, I can not suppose you doubt the endless existence of God, angels, saints or happiness, or that you would be unwilling to allow that either of the four words I gave should signify endless duration when connected with them. I have all along supposed, and still suppose, that you wished to make some show of argument against these words, more for the sake of enhancing the value and importance of *aion* and *aionios* in proving endless duration, than because you really objected to the idea of endless being attached to the others.

23. To the four words previously named, I might add, were it necessary to strengthen my argument, the word *aidios*, perpetual, which is applied to God, and the word *aperantos*, endless, infinite, boundless, also used in the New Testament, and ask, in reference to all six of them, why neither of them is ever used in connection with sin, punishment, or misery of any kind, if the latter were regarded by the inspired writers as really endless in duration?—why no other or stronger term than *aionios*—a term you acknowledge is often used in a limited sense—was applied to punishment, when so many others unequivocally stronger and less ambiguous were at hand? I pause for a reply. If in your reply you can offer nothing new, or more to the point, on the first three propositions, than what you have furnished, I shall proceed without delay to the fourth. I hope your answer to this will be forthcoming without delay.

Yours in sincerity, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XVIII.

BETHANY, VA., FEBRUARY 8, 1838.

MR. SKINNER :—

SIR—This morning yours of the 27th ult. was received ; and I am thankful for the promptness with which you have this time replied. I see that you are susceptible of conviction and correction, on some points at least. There is also a small improvement in your style and temper ; and I flatter myself that, as there is yet considerable room for amendment, you will continue to improve.

2. Like the house of Saul, your cause waxes weaker and weaker : for certainly this is the tamest epistle you have yet written. I might ask your greatest admirers what point you have even attempted to prove in the first 15 paragraphs. You did not even lay my note on Matt. v : 22, before your readers, and show that you quoted it in its connection. You assert, I grant, with great strength ; but then we now understand your most violent assertions to occur either in the absence of the appearance of argument or in the ratio of its weakness.

3. Your explanation of your former objections to antithesis, and your late acquiescence in the doctrine, is a proof of what may be achieved by taking a favorite sectarian text or two, and showing how the doctrine in question affects them. I was not disappointed in the means which I employed to constrain the concession.

4. But now that you admit my doctrine of antithesis, you attempt a new project. You seek to make the everlasting life to which the everlasting punishment is opposed in the antithesis, a temporal life. And thus you make the Saviour, in effect, say—“ These shall go away into temporal life, and these shall go away into temporal punishment.” This is too gross, I should think, for the

major part of even your brother Universalists. I am willing, however, to let the public judge how much the truth has gained by my bringing you over to the doctrine of antithesis, through the bribe of your three Universalian texts, by which I commended it to your favorable regard. In due time these texts will be shown to have no friendly aspect to the doctrine you espouse. "To enter into life," and "to be cast into hell," in antithesis, you now, in substance, gloss as follows:—"To enter into life" is to believe and be justified—"to be cast into hell" is to disbelieve and be condemned to the siege of Jerusalem!!

5. The word *kolasis* punishment you think precludes the idea of *endless*, because of a certain acceptation of it. This is about as sagacious as the allegation that the word *liquid* can not apply to fire, because it is sometimes applied to air and water!

6. The assumption that all punishments are for the reformation of the subjects of them, is unsupported and unsupportable. If they were so designed, certainly they have most generally failed; else the records of human kind in the Bible, and out of it, are not to be relied on.—The sequel may show this.

7. Your 9th paragraph asserts a very great mistake. I have not said that *oon* is the only root of *aion*. I have said that *oon* is the root of eternity. Read my letter X and my last again. Nay, in my last I say that *aion* "in both its parts, *aei* and *oon*, *always* and *being*, signifies endless duration!" Why do you not fairly quote my words?

8. The conclusion of your 14th paragraph, after such a flourish in the beginning of it, is really amusing. You say I give no proof that *aiomios* means endless when applied to punishment. If I had, of course you would have abandoned Universalism! But it would be impossible to prove that to you; for although it *sometimes* signifies endless when applied to God, to heaven, to future bliss—it never can signify endless when applied to punishment: for, with you, all punishments end in reformation; and if they do not, they are unjust, cruel, useless, etc.—and therefore we have done with all such arguments, yourself being judge. In this remark you only corroborate the grand concession already made, and you need not now attempt to deny it or explain it away. Permit me, however, to parody your parody, and to show how much wind is in it.

9. You admit that hills are everlasting—that Israel's

possession of Canaan was everlasting—that the covenant of circumcision was everlasting—that Aaron's priesthood was everlasting—that the land of Idumea was to lie waste to everlasting—that deeds of land are everlasting—and that heaven and happiness are to be everlasting; yet you maintain that the first six everlastings are limited, and the latter unlimited and endless, though all are expressed in Hebrew, Greek, and English in the same words! Why this inconsistency? Say, Mr. Skinner, why?

10. I find that my predictions are already beginning to be fulfilled. You are for again getting into the mountains of philology. But, Sir, since you have said that could I offer 59 to 1 in favor of my philology against yours, (for that is certainly your meaning,) you would hold on to your theory because of your *ten weighty arguments* drawn from your theology, I shall not labor this ground over and over again. Your philology on your third proposition must indeed be examined, and then I will proceed to your philosophy and theology, for I see these are strewed profusely through your letter before me, which is a singular compound of these heterogeneous substances. In the following strictures on your third proposition you will see how kindly I dispose of the chicanery of your 17th paragraph.

11. This new proposition is a logical rarity: for why in the name of reason, open a discussion of six or sixty words, that yourself affirms are never applied to punishment; and I affirm are never applied to happiness; and one of them excepted, the others never but by *implication* import duration. No Greek writers, sacred or profane, ever used any of these words, (*aeidios* excepted) to denote duration, simple duration at all. But we shall allege a few facts concerning them.

12. Of these words *akatalutos* is first on the list. It is rendered in Greek Lexicons generally *indissoluble*, as its etymology imports. Wm. Tyndale translated it once *endless*, and was followed by other translators. It was never applied to God, heaven, hell—to happiness or misery—or to any *state*. It is found but *once* in the New Testament. It can only be literally applied to something compound, as life; but yet it is not found applied to the life of Christians on earth or heaven by any inspired writer. What a splendid display of critical ingenuity in producing this as a word which might have been used by the Holy Spirit, if he had intended to give us a definite and unpervertible

view of future punishment—a word which in its literal import can not possibly apply to happiness or misery!!

13. *Apharsia* stands second on the list of words which necessarily and immutably signifies *endless* or *everlasting*. This word is found once in Rom. ii: 7; four times in 1 Cor. xv: 42–54; once in Eph. vi: 24; and 2 Tim. i: 10, and ii: 7; in all eight times—never translated *endless* or *everlasting* by any writer sacred or profane. *Incorruptibility* is its proper meaning, whether in doctrine, sentiment, (Eph. vi: 24,) or in body. It is never by any writer applied to God or angels, to happiness or misery, to reward or punishment, and is distinguished from *eternal life* by Paul, Rom. ii: 17!!

14. *Aphthartos* stands next. It is found Rom. i: 23; 1 Cor. ix: 25; xv: 52; 1 Tim. i: 17; 1 Peter i: 4, 23; iii: 4, rendered by the translators of the Bible once *immortal* and six times *incorruptible*—never applied to a state, to happiness, or misery. It is applied to God, but contradistinguished from *eternal*: “Now to the King *eternal, immortal,*” *aiaios, apthartos*.

15. *Athanasia* is the last of the first class of words that necessarily and immutably mean *endless*! It is found three times in the New Testament: 1 Cor. xv: 53, 54; 1 Tim. vi: 16, rendered *immortality*. This word is never applied to God, angels, happiness, misery, heaven, or hell. It is never rendered *endless, everlasting*, etc.

16. To these you have added two other terms in your last letter—*aperantos*, which occurs once, 1 Tim. i: 4, literally *unlimited, endless in space*, not in time. It is never applied to God, angels, spirits, heaven, hell, happiness, misery, etc.

17. But to finish your rare collection of literary curiosities, you also introduce *acidios*, translated both *eternal* and *everlasting*, for it occurs but twice. I give you great credit for this last. You are right for once in saying that this word does signify absolutely eternal or endless duration. It is applied to God, Rom. i: 20, and certainly he is absolutely eternal, without beginning and without ending. It is also applied, Jude 6th verse, to the chains in which the fallen angels are held bound, and certainly these are absolutely endless; and therefore I return you my sincere thanks—first, for conceding that the punishment of fallen angels is absolutely endless; and as wicked men are to share with the devil and his angels in their future punish-

ment, I can not but thank you a second time for giving up the whole controversy, and admitting that the punishment of wicked men is thus set forth by a word which absolutely and immutably signifies endless. But I must thank you still more emphatically a third time for a greater concession: for you have now settled the controversy and given up the whole matter of *aion* as denoting absolutely and immutably endless duration; for observe all the learned world, without a single exception, declare that whatever of duration is in the word *aeidios*, it derives it all from *aei*, *always*, from which all say it is formed. Mr. Skinner's root of *aeioon*, which heretofore in his hands signified only limited duration; denotes perpetual endless duration. So endeth your proof of this third proposition.

18. This is really a greater triumph of the truth than I promised myself in this discussion. I have only one thing to hope, that you, Sir, will not appear to your readers to have fallen into a pit by accident; or to have in an oversight suffered the truth to gain a momentary triumph.—Confirm, Sir, your candor now by holding up *aeidios* to be a word fairly and immutably expressive of duration without end: for it is applied to God and to the chains that confine the fallen angels under darkness to the judgment of the great day, which is called by Paul (Heb. vi.) “eternal judgment.”

19. Having now, as I honestly and humbly conceive, fully and conclusively disposed of all your philology on the first, second, and third propositions, I can fearlessly leave them to the candid and impartial consideration of our readers, and will forthwith proceed to your philosophy. I have always been assured of the fact that your philosophy, or rather your *a priori* hypothesis on the nature and design of punishment, together with your conceptions of what is fitting and worthy of the character which you have adopted for the Supreme Being, and not philology, or the sayings of the Bible, are the real causes of your Universalism.—Your critiques upon the words in dispute were got up rather for obviating the difficulties in the way of your theory, than for establishing it. Your cavils against the Mexicans arose from your passion for Texas: for had you not coveted the latter, you would never have thought of a quarrel with the former—of course, then, I design a thorough exposition of your *a priori* theory of what ought to be done with the wicked.

20. I own that you have the popular side of the question. One can hardly contend for endless punishment, how devoted soever to the truth and will of God, without appearing malevolent : nor can one scarcely contend against it, without the appearance of superior benevolence. Of this I need not, however, inform you. The copious and frequent denunciations of "the horrid doctrine," "the soul-chilling, the diabolical doctrine of endless misery," etc., etc., which appear in your epistles, are indubitable evidence that you understand the multitude and the proper game to play in prepossessing it in your favor.

21. You delight in expatiating upon the benevolence, and mercy, and philanthropy of God, and in showing how irreconcilable with these conceptions of yours are the withering and cruel doctrines of interminable wo. But, Sir, I go for *the truth* first, and for the *epithets* of that truth afterwards. Experience and much reflection have taught me how often we are deceived in what is most expedient and fitting the divine character ; and how dangerous it is to affix epithets to persons and things whose pretensions we ought to examine. I never could rationally hope to obtain from you a candid hearing after I saw you call my views "horrible" doctrines. This state of mind is wholly incompatible with the discovery of truth. You resemble the Captain that first commanded Paul to be whipped, and afterwards asked what he had done. You denounce the doctrine, and then ask for its evidence. With such a preparation of heart it is impossible that you could discover the truth. I shall not imitate you, but calmly and dispassionately examine, one by one, your ten theological arguments. And let me assure you that I should greatly rejoice if you could persuade me to think with you on this matter ; for really if I could regard the ultimate holiness and happiness of all mankind as a part of the divine scheme, and every way practicable and consonant with God's glory and the supreme bliss of the pure and virtuous portions of the universe, I would espouse it and promulge it with the fulness of joy to the utmost extent of my means.

22. You assert first that endless punishment would be useless. It can be of no supposable advantage to any being in the universe, etc. I have often said that one good philosophical argument is enough on any subject, for one good argument never can be overthrown. Now, Sir, if I thought you knew the whole universe, that you had travel-

led over infinite space, and lived through eternity, and knew what was good for every creature in every part of it, then indeed your assertion (for argument it is not) would be entitled to very grave consideration. But in the absence of this knowledge and experience, your dogma is of no more authority than that of the child who says burning mountains on earth, and volcanoes in the ocean, icy mountains in the polar regions, and burning deserts between the tropics, blazing stars in the heavens, meteoric stones above the clouds—lions, tigers, and hyenas among the beasts—hawks and vultures among the birds—serpents among reptiles—and vegetable and mineral poisons among plants and metals, are all useless things, and afford “neither honor, pleasure, nor profit to God, angels, or men.” There is as much modesty, as much good sense, logic, philosophy and religion in Will Five-Year-Old’s objection as in yours. Every thing is useless to him that does not know the use of it. And seeing there is a multitude of things called evils against which we are fighting, the utility of which we know not, is it, I ask, either modest or veracious to say that future and eternal evils are useless, because we can not explain them? Again, our inability to see or point out the use of any thing, never can be alleged philosophically either against the thing itself or its utility; for the wisest man in the world would have to say that more than half of all the ten thousand physical evils in the universe are useless, because he can not point out the use of the smallest half of them.

23. But, Sir, I have one argument on this subject, and, if it be a good one, it is enough. We commonly say that all that can be known of *the future* is learned from the present and the past. Hence a wise man said, “The past and the present for the future.” Well now what deposeth past history of human and angelic existence, and what says the present? We must answer that the history of angels and men has been the history of sin and of punishment—not, indeed, that all intelligences have sinned; but some of all have sinned and been punished. Now this punishment is *useful*, else folly is directly charged upon the moral Governor of the universe. Now as punishment has been, and still is useful, it is most philosophical to conclude that it may be always useful. For should a period arrive when punishment shall not be useful, that time will be contrary to all human history and human experience.

24. And let me add that the utility of punishment is not to be estimated by the reformation of the subject of it; for this but seldom happens. The punishment of sinners is, according to the Holy Spirit, "*set forth for an example,*" to secure others from rebellion or apostacy. And herein, perhaps, its capital utility will be found to consist. At all events, we have the data of God's past and present government in proof of the utility of punishment. And in the absence of Scripture testimony and universal experience—nay, contrary to both, to affirm that a period may arrive when punishment will be of no use to any being in the universe, to say the least, exhibits a degree of boldness and reckless daring more to be reprobated than approved, more to be eschewed than admired. But the utility of future and eternal punishment may perhaps still appear more clear as we proceed to examine the other nine assertions by which you have so gallantly repudiated all the canons of criticism and the statutes of philology.

25. I had here just finished my letter, but my compositor informs me there is yet more room. I will then confirm the joy you acknowledge you received from ascertaining that I am not a *destructionist*. I will give you *one reason* for this, and with me one good reason is enough: I opine that one good argument would sink a fleet of a hundred sail freighted with hypotheses. Well, now, for this one argument: I only premise that spirits are immortal. Jesus is my authority. He says *angels can not die*; and angels are spirits. If you ask me for the positive proof that angels can not die, I refer you to Luke xx: 36; "*Neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels*"—immortals. Now I am prepared to state my argument: The Supreme Judge will say to wicked men, "*Depart, you cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.*" Now as wicked men are to be cast into the same fire with the devil and his angels, they are of course to partake of the same punishment; and as this everlasting fire can not annihilate or utterly destroy the devil and his angels, so neither can it destroy those who are doomed to share his punishment. They are equal unto angels; therefore, neither can they die any more.

26. Because I make no greater display, I would caution you not to presume that I have not many other arguments in waiting: but I do not think that the occasion calls for more than one. And has it not occurred to you that this

is rather a four-sided argument, and that one of its sides looks very hard against your speculation? For if the devil and his angels were only doomed to the valley of Hinnom or the siege of Jerusalem, their everlasting fire is quenched, and they are all either dead or again walking up and down in the earth. But I know the power of your crucible; it can impersonate (give me leave to invent for you a new word) the devil, convert him into a metaphor and his angels into shadows, and thus free yourself from any difficulties in the case.

27. But yet there is another side of my argument that you can not so easily dispose of. If this impersonal devil and his angels could have been annihilated, would it not, on the principle of your "*ten weighty arguments*," have been wiser for Omnipotence to have killed him at the beginning of the campaign, and not to have suffered him to trouble our world and fill it with sin and misery, than thus at the end of the drama, to put him to the pain of eternal annihilation?

26. I shall, all things concurring, fully canvass your "*ten weighty arguments*" philosophic in my next.

Controversially yours, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL,

LETTER XIX.

RICHMOND, VA., FEBRUARY 26, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR—I am happy to perceive by yours of the 8th inst., which has just arrived, (being, by the by, a long time in reaching hem from its date,) that you are getting in much better humor. You seem, indeed! quite joyful and happy, and one would suppose every thing was going on entirely to your mind—in deed, it would be inferred from some parts of your letter, that you had not only proved both your propositions and disproved mine, but that I had fully conceded the fact, and gone over to your side of the issue. Well, any way to get good natured. I am content.

2. If you can see no point that I attempted to establish in the first fifteen paragraphs of my last letter, I am perfectly willing to leave the matter to the decision of our readers, requesting them to read again and see. If there was no point in them, it must have been for want of point in yours of which they were the recitation. You say I did not lay your note on Matt. v : 22, before our readers. Why should I? I had previously made a liberal extract from it, and, I contend, gave the gist of the whole. You say I did not, and that the whole would wear a very different aspect. why, then, do you not lay it before our readers, instead of asking me again to occupy my portion of space with what you say is to benefit you? What a truly liberal policy!

3. You charge me with making the Saviour say, "These shall go away into temporal life, and these shall go away into temporal punishment," and then say this is too gross for even my brother Universalists! Did. 1, Sir, ever give the word *temporal* as either of the definitions of *aiônios*? No, you knew I had not. Why then, misrepresent me?

Why not take at least one of the definitions I had given? This you were bound to do in representing my views. But this would not make me appear "gross" enough to answer your purpose. My views of the other antithetical text, must also undergo a similar distortion, in order to discredit them with your readers.

4. I contend that the definition I gave of *kolasin*, Matt. xxv: 46, instead of being merely "a certain acceptation" of casual occurrence, is its *common* acceptation, and your attempt to evade its force in this sense, is about as rational as it would be to deny that water is liquid, because it may some times be congealed by frost. I have never said that "all punishments are for the reformation of the subjects of them." So far from this being a fact, the apostle assures us, that earthly fathers sometimes correct or punish for their pleasure; but at the same time he assures us that God does it "for our profit, that we may be partakers of his holiness." Because earthly fathers and human instruments sometimes fail in producing beneficial results, it does not follow that God will fail in producing these desired results. See Isa. xlii : 4; lvii : 16-18 ; Lam. iii : 31-33; Hos. v : 14, 15.

5. I certainly did not intend to misrepresent you in the 9th paragraph of my last. I really supposed you meant to maintain that *oon* was the principal or only mot of *aion*, and that *aei* was only an adjunct. And I am willing the reader, after again looking at your 13th paragraph, Letter XVI, should say whether your language did not warrant such a supposition.

6. Your 9th paragraph, or parody & my parody, is really a philological curiosity. You ask why I allow hills, possession, covenant, priesthood, desolation, and deeds, to be of limited duration, and maintain that heaven and happiness will be of endless duration, though the duration of all is expressed by the same word (*everlasting*) in Hebrew, Greek, and English? Answer—1. The duration of all is not expressed by the same word in either of those languages. I know of no text where *aionios* or *everlasting* is applied either to *heaven* or *happiness*. 2. If they were thus applied, it would not be the only or main reliance to prove the endless perpetuity of heaven and happiness. Other and less ambiguous terms are applied to, and all allow, while none dispute, the latter. 3. In this discussion you have attempted to prove endless punishment merely

by the force of *aiónios*, the very word in dispute, which you and all acknowledge is often used in a *limited* sense, as in the first six subjects of your parody; and you have no other or stronger term than *this* to apply, and can give no other reason under heaven in favor of endless misery! Why this inconsistency? say, Mr. Campbell, why?

i. Your next great effort is on the third proposition. And here I wish I could give you credit for as much candor and fairness as I can for ingenuity and evasive tact. You refer to all the passages in the New Testament where the six words I adduced in favor of the affirmative of this proposition, occur; but you quote none of them. You make several remarks relative to them, which I think directly calculated to mislead and deceive the reader.—And it requires a great stretch of charity to believe you did not intend to mislead them. You say neither of these six words is ever used, (*aiónios* excepted,) “to denote duration”, simple duration at all.” Well, whether used to express *simple* duration or not, you yourself acknowledge that five of them embrace the “*idea* of duration.” You say, (letter X, paragraph 18,) of the first four words, “there is in *all* of them an *idea* of duration; and to apply them” [as epithets I suppose you mean] “to duration, would be to define a thing by itself, as a *rosy* rose, a *lily*-looking *lily*.” Now, whether these words are used to express *simple* duration, or duration *in connection with something else*, it matters not. They are applicable to, or express *duration*—that is sufficient for my purpose. And you, Sir, have never attempted to prove, nor do I think you will, that the *duration*, of which these words express the idea, is ever a *limited* duration. Endless duration, then, is expressed by five of these words, yourself being judge.

8. You say of *akatalutos*, “William Tymk. retranslated it once *endless*, and was followed by other translators.” Yes, and among others by my learned friend, Mr. Campbell, without a syllable of misgiving from his pen on the subject. But you say, “it can only be literally applied to something compound.” Do you mean to say that *life* is a compound! What are its component parts? Suppose, Sir, *akatalutos* had been applied to the misery of the wicked in the New Testament, would you not have argued from it in this discussion, that misery must be endless because it was *akatalutos*, with as little scruple as you have translated it *endless* in Heb. v ii; 16? Does not the phrase

zoe akatalutos imply nearly if not quite the same as the word *athanasia*?

9. You attempt a double game of evasion with *aphtharasia* and *athanasia*. You say neither of them is translated *endless* or *everlasting*. Wonderful indeed! Why not? Because the former are *substantives* and the latter *adjectives*; but you dare not deny that the sense of the latter is included in the sense of the former. Again: you say neither of them is applied to God or angels, heaven or happiness. I am surprised at your recklessness! Had you forgotten, dear Sir, that the apostle has said of God, 1 Tim. vi: 16, "who only hath immortality," [i. e., original and underived,] *athanasia*? Thus it is applied to God, not indeed as an epithet or adjective, for the plain reason that it is a substantive, but as an *attribute essentially and exclusively his own*. And though these words, for the same reason, are not applied as *epithets* to heaven or happiness, yet the connections in which they are found, clearly show that they embrace often, if not always, in themselves, the idea of happiness. The glory, honor, power, incorruption, immortality, imperishableness, indissolubility, indestructibility, etc., ascribed in the Scriptures to the subjects of the resurrection, certainly express in full, both *endless perpetuity and perfection of happiness*. At all events, I do not desire greater or more durable bliss.

10. Is not the inheritance, 1 Peter i: 4, a state of happiness? If so, why say *aphthartos* is not applied either to *state* or to *happiness*? How did you ascertain that *aperantos*, defined endless, infinite, boundless, has this meaning only in reference to *space* and not to *time*? The words by which lexicographers define it apply as well to one as the other. And I doubt not, had the sacred writers applied *aperantos* to punishment, you would have zealously argued its endless duration from the very-appropriateness of the word used.

11. But of all the splendid triumphs you have gained since the commencement of this discussion, and all the fatal concessions I have made, none seems to have filled you with such perfect ecstasy, as that noticed in your 17th and 18th paragraphs, for which you so repeatedly and heartily thank me. Your joy seems so complete that I almost regret the necessity that compels me to break the spell with which you are bound, and show you the pit into which you have fallen through the very intoxication which

your imaginary triumph produced. But what is the ground or occasion of your great triumph? Why, this, that I have introduced *aidios* (which you mis-spell, in order to make it appear to be derived from your favorite *aei*) as a word signifying absolutely *endless*. Here you agree with me, and say I am "right for once in saying that this word does signify absolutely eternal in endless duration." Very well; then our third proposition is settled. I have proved the affirmative, and you joyfully concede the fact, that there is at least *one* word besides your favorite *aiwnios*, in the Greek, that does absolutely signify endless, that this word is sufficient to certify us of the endless duration of God or any other subject to which it is applied.

12. This question being settled, there is no need of farther discussing the six words above, so far as the third proposition is concerned. I am as anxious as you are, that there may be no backing out from the ground whereon we now stand. I also hope you may not appear to your readers to have been taken by surprise. For I certainly made use of no *bribery*, as you profess to have done. I had no idea that however artful a lure I might hold out, you could be induced to concede the whole as you have done. But so it is; you have actually swallowed the naked hook.

13. But, alas for me! in establishing the third proposition, I have yielded up all that I had before contended for on the second, where I had hitherto so successfully maintained my ground, and have enabled you to establish your doctrine of endless punishment by this same *aidios*!— Well, let us see then. In the first place, you make a small mistake in saying that *aidios* is by all the learned world allowed to be derived from *aei*. There are some respectable critics who suppose it to be derived from *ades*, (*hadēs*;) which is derived from *a*, negative, and *idein*, to see; and hence among other definitions they give *hidden*, *invisible*, *unseen*, *unknown*. So there is a disagreement as to the derivation of *aidios*. But we will not have a long controversy about the origin of the word: whatever its derivation may be, or whether it be radical, we both agree that its scriptural meaning is *endless*.

14. Well, does this word prove punishment to be endless, as you seem to think? No, for it is not applied to *punishment at all*. Nor is it applied even to the *state* of punishment. What then? # b y, to the *chains*, only, with which

the wicked messengers were bound under darkness *unto* (not *after* nor *during*) the judgment of the great day.—Jude 6. What were these chains? I presume you do not consider them as chains of *iron*, nor literally as chains of *any other material substance*. What then? Is it not reasonable to conclude these *chains* were the *purposes* of God, which are changeless and endless, in which the wicked are firmly held, during his pleasure, in any condition that he chooses, until he sees fit to change their state and condition? Thus Paul speaks, Eph. iii: 10, 11, of God's having made known by the church his "manifold wisdom, according to the *eternal purpose* which he purposed in Christ Jesus." Now, though his purpose was *absolutely eternal* and changeless, yet its *manifestation* took place only at a particular period. See 2 Tim. i: 9, 10. And thus, though the *purpose* of God was *eternal* or *endless* in which the wicked were securely held, they were not to be confined under darkness necessarily any longer than *unto* the judgment of the great day, whatever day that might be.

15. "Having now, as I honestly and humbly conceive, fully and conclusively disposed of all your philology on the first, second, and third propositions, I can fearlessly leave them to the candid and impartial consideration of our readers," and proceed to consider what you have said in attempting to refute my arguments against endless punishment. You are mistaken in supposing that I first adopted my views from self-interest, prejudice or prepossession, and then resolved to admit no evidence or argument that went against a favorite theory. I was brought UP under the constant preaching of endless punishment. I never heard a sermon in opposition to it till I had nearly reached the age of manhood, and then but very seldom for many years. I, however, early resolved to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good."

16. The Bible was my principal guide. After a thorough and careful investigation of its teachings, I became fully satisfied that it did not teach the doctrine of endless punishment, and on the other hand that it did clearly teach the final salvation of all mankind. On comparing these views with the voice of nature and reason, I was happily confirmed by finding a complete and perfect harmony between nature and revelation. And from that day to this, I have been compelled to regard endless misery as an odious and horrid doctrine—as a stigma on the Divine

character, and useless and pernicious among men, though I highly respect and esteem many of its sincere believers and advocates.

ii'. You confess that "one can hardly contend for endless punishment without appearing malevolent; nor can one scarcely contend against it without the appearance of superior benevolence." True, Sir, very true, you never uttered a more obvious truth. And why is it so? Because God has enstamped his impress upon the soul, and imparted to the conscience and common sense of all men the impression that punishment, endless in duration, vindictive in character, and productive of no good to the sufferer, must be malignant. You assure me that you should greatly rejoice if I could persuade you to think with me on this subject. Yes, my dear Sir, I know you would. And if you "could regard the ultimate holiness and happiness of all mankind as a part of the divine scheme, every way practicable and consonant with God's glory, etc., you would espouse and promulge it with the fulness of joy to the utmost extent of your means." This declaration is worthy of yourself and the philanthropy you claim. Give place my dear Sir, to such impressions on your heart, and may God increase and strengthen them. For although I can not hope that my feeble talents are adequate to the task of convincing you, especially while we stand in the attitude of opponents, yet God is able to convince you, and I believe he will do it in his own good time. And hence my prayer for that event is offered up in unwavering faith.

18. In your 22d, 23d, and 24th paragraphs you attempt to refute my argument against endless punishment based on its uselessness. You think, to give force to this argument I must know the whole universe and live through eternity. Nay, that the argument against the existence of volcanoes, icy mountains, burning deserts, lions, tigers, hawks, serpents, vegetable and mineral poisons, etc., which you put into the mouth of Will Five-Year-Old, is just as weighty as my argument. I think very differently. For all the evils mentioned by your favorite *protege* are of a limited and temporary character. Furthermore, we are able to conceive how good may result from those temporary evils—nay, we have often witnessed good resulting from many of them. So far as we do comprehend the object and design of these things, they are all seen to result

in something good if there be any whose object we do not fully understand, it is at least reasonable to suppose that it is in harmony with what we do understand, and therefore good on the whole. But why are these evils often seen to result in good? Answer, for the very reason that they are *temporary* and *limited*. But endless punishment is a *final* evil, a *limitless, boundless* evil, beyond which no good *can* result, for it will never end.

19. But again, you urge, we can only judge of the future by the past and present: and as the past and present exhibit sin and punishment, they will continue to exist hereafter and forever. If this argument be good, it will prove that, as man inherits a body of flesh and blood here, he will inherit one hereafter and forever! As he experiences natural birth, marries, procreate his species and dies in this world, so must he do the same in the next and forever! If the ceremonial law of Moses was ever of any use, it must continue in force to all eternity! If it is necessary for a father to chastise his son at all, it is necessary he should continue to do it as long as he lives!

20. But punishment is often "*set forth as an example, to secure others from rebellion and apostasy.*" Yes, truly, such is often the case in this world; but, my dear Sir, if such examples should be necessary hereafter, or in other words, if the saints in glory can not be restrained from rebellion and apostasy without the spectacle of endless damnation before their eyes, it is certain they can not be very holy, nor much in love with God and heaven, nor very happy, unless they have the disposition of fiends.—And I, for one, could never covet either their society or their condition.

21. I admit the force of your argument, paragraph 25, in favor of the immortality of human and angelic spirits. I am a firm believer in the immortality of man, not as original, but derived and dependent. (See 1 Tim. vi : 16 ; John xiv : 19 ; Acts xvii : 28 ; 2 Cor. xiii : 4.) And with some of your writings which I have seen on the subject, I am well pleased. But you seem to have forgotten that the word *angels* does not necessarily designate either the *nature* or character, but frequently only the *office* of those beings to whom it is applied, and simply signifies *messengers*; being often applied to men in the flesh as well as to celestial spirits. Your lugging in Matt. xxv : 41, is therefore wholly useless to your cause, unless you can

prove four things, 1. That the devil and his angels there mentioned are disembodied spirits; 2. That the fire is of endless duration; 3. That they are to remain and be endlessly tormented in it; and 4. That human spirits are to be tormental with them to all eternity. But neither of these being proved or provable, your "four-sided argument" is seen to be a sword with four sides, hut no edge—it looks four ways, but cuts neither.

22. You ascribe to my "crucible" some powers that it does not possess; nevertheless, I doubt your ability to break it. But you wish to know why it would not have been wise in omnipotence to have killed the devil in the beginning, and not suffered him to trouble our world, etc. I will answer by asking two other questions equally as wise. Why did not God create us all adults, without subjecting us to the weaknesses, wants and sufferings of infancy and childhood? Why did he not place us all in heaven and glory at once, without subjecting us to the imperfections and sufferings of mortal life at all! Now, Sir, I have the happiness to believe all these temporary evils will be overruled for final good; and that all that bears the name of evil, including the devil himself, whether personal or impersonal, shall at last be destroyed and succeeded by good—infinite and endless good, far superior to what otherwise would be experienced by the human family. See Heb. ii: 14, 15: 1 John iii: 8.

23. In my next, all things concurring, I shall proceed to the consideration of the fourth proposition.

Yours in all kindness. D. SKINNER.

THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XX.

BETHANY, VA., MARCH 9, 1838.

MR. SKINNER :—

SIR—Last night yours of the 26th ult. arrived here after the short passage of ten days. As usual you dilate upon my humor. You figure better as a humorist, than as a logician. As I have to do with you in the latter character, and not in the former, you will please excuse my unceremoniousness in returning such compliments. Your style, if not your temper, is indeed improving; but much as I may sympathize with you, neither your prayers for me, nor your great good humor can justify me in withholding a full exposure of your unenviable posture, and the singular imbecility of your present communication. And yet I could wish that its impotency was its most reprehensible attribute; for if I do not greatly err, the sequel will shew that there may be something more discreditable to your cause than a mere failure in the departments of facts, reason and evidence.

2. In the first six paragraphs there are but three assertions worthy of a single remark. You say I do charge you with making the Saviour say, " These shall go away into temporal punishment." Certainly I do; for with me every thing is either temporal or eternal as respects duration. Do you now deny this! It is, Sir, the just sentence of your lately admitted doctrine of antithesis. They must go away into either the one or the other. You say not into endless, consequently into ending; not into eternal, but into temporal punishment. So Paul contrasts when he says, " The things that are seen are temporal, but the things unseen are eternal."

3. In your defence of your theory of punishment, of which we shall speak in its proper place, you confound

chastisements and punishments, and quote Paul and the prophets speaking of God's worshipping people, as though what is said of them is true of fallen angels and wicked men! The words "for our pro fit," with you apply to all wicked angels and men!

4. The third assertion, "In this discussion," you say, I "have attempted to prove endless punishment merely by the force of *aiônios*, and can give no other reason under heaven in favor of endless misery." I merely reply that this is a double error in fact—an assertion as baseless and as truthless as your assumption of *post mortem* purgatorial punishment, as detailed in your standard No. for September, 1836, thankfully received here the other day, (of which in its proper place.) With what regard to truth could you say I "have no other reason under heaven in favor of endless misery?" Such is your *finale* of the two first propositions.

5. You then resume the proof of your first affirmative on the third proposition, and continue for nine paragraphs the attempt to repair its breaches. Your efforts on this proposition have sealed your reputation for all your distinguishing excellencies as a controversialist, and more fully show the reasons why your brethren have put you under the saddle in their team. I must therefore request our readers to read over and over your letter, from paragraph 7 to paragraph 15 inclusive, and to ponder diligently what I say upon it.

6. In paragraph 7 you charge me of an ingenious and evasive course in examining your words indicative of *absolute interminable duration*: for that is the purpose for which you produce them; and yet you do not make a single specification of evasion or ingenuity in the case. I affirm that *time*, *eternity*, and *duration* are substantive ideas; and that but one of your words is ever found in any book applied to the substantive ideas of time, eternity, or duration. This is evasion! This is ingenuity! And what is your affirmation in the preposition, but *that there is a word in human language that signifies duration without end, never applied to the future punishment of the wicked?* This is your proposition. Well, now, where is the ingenuity and the evasion in affirming and proving that five of your words are never used in the sacred Scriptures in reference to simple duration at all, whether of time or eternity! Is it evasive to keep to the very terms of your proposition!

In all logical truth and propriety every word you have adduced is an evasion of your own proposition; for not one of the terms is found in the Bible as an epithet of duration. Again, though you enter upon this subject in a mighty bluster about ingenuity and evasion, and with a threatening aspect, what misapplication, or mistatement, or deception have you adduced? Not one: I say again, not . . . You even only attempt it in a single instance, and in that you humble your own understanding to the dust.

7. I said in my last that neither *aphtharsia* nor *athanasia* is ever applied to God or angels, heaven or happiness.— You add, “I am surprised at your recklessness;” and say, “Had you forgotten that the apostle has said of God, ‘Who only hath immortality?’” If you were, indeed, astonished at my recklessness, I am truly so at your assumed stupidity. Why, Sir, is it possible that you confound a person’s possessions with his attributes of character! Is every item of your property an attribute of your character! or is every adjective applicable to you that is applicable to your property! Should I say of you, “that you only have a certain mystery,” will that authorize anyone to say that I called you a mysterious character, or applied to you 11, 0 word *mystery*! Do you, Sir, apply the word *earth* to the Lord, because you read “The earth is the Lord’s”!!! This is the sum total of all your specifications of evasion, ingenuity, recklessness, etc., etc., etc., on my whole exposure of the sophistry of the proof of your third proposition by a class of words not one of which is ever applied to duration, to heaven, or to happiness, in the sacred Scriptures, and, I believe, in no other volume.

8. But you say I concede “that *fire* of them embrace the idea of duration.” Why did you not quote my words? I said of the whole six—“One of them excepted, the others never but by *implication* import duration.” If you thus pervert my words, I can not wonder at your freedom with the dead apostles. As in some of them is found the idea of corruption, of distance, (*as aperiastos*,) of divisibility, and of mortality, so is the idea of duration found in them. These ideas are just as much in these words as duration; and you might as well say that either them or their contraries indicate absolute corruption, distance, divisibility, or mortality, as that they necessarily signify indefinite duration. Even take their negatives in composition, and I ask, can you say immortal, invisible, uncorrupt, frontier.

less, or boundless (*aperantos*) duration ! There is no affinity or congruity between such epithets and simple duration. Indissoluble, immortal, incorruptible, etc., apply to things that are compound. Our present life is partly animal, intellectual, spiritual, Our nature is now partly corruptible, divisible, and mortal. Hence such compound terms as immortal, incorruptible, indivisible, etc., are applied to a future state.

9. If you, Sir, had looked at your dictionary, you would not have asked me, unless for some of your readers, why *aperantos* refer? to space, and not to time. Recollect, too, that your proposition is to adduce a word *literally* signifying absolute duration, which the Holy Spirit might have applied to the punishment of the wicked had he wished to trove communicated such an idea. Well, then, let us try it; for you have proved the proposition and found such a word. These shall go away into—immortal, incorruptible, indivisible, borderless punishment ! !—This is your proof.

10. "Not all of it," you say, "for I gave you the word *aidios*, which you have misspelled *acidios* in order to deduce it from *aei*, always; whereas I and other learned men deduce it from *hades*, invisible," etc. Such is your strong proof: for this word *aidios*, you say, is applied to God denoting his absolute eternity. I thanked you thrice for your candor on your producing this word; but, alas for the frailty of your candor! It is all gone. And here is where I think you have sealed your reputation for both learning and candor. It is here, I fear, there is something more reprehensible than sheer imbecility.

11. Sir, is it a fact that you can not read Greek, much less understand it! If not, why do you commit yourself in this way and produce the impression upon all scholars that you are wholly destitute of even an elementary knowledge of the language! There is not a Greek scholar on earth that would say I had misspelled *acidios* when I spelled *aeion* along side of it to show that both words, *aion* and *aidios*, sprung from the same root and are formed in the same manner. Please read again my 19th paragraph, and see how I have spelled these words. Open your Greenfield, Parkhurst, Schrevellius, Robertson, Stokius, or any other Greek Lexicon in America, and see whether they do not all spell both words alike and derive them both from one root.

12. Why do you not give the name of some lexicographer that has derived the word *aidios* from *ades*? You say, "There are some respectable critics who suppose it to be derived from *ades*." Why did you not name them? I believe, Sir—nay, I am sure, you can not name one! You will now have to sustain your veracity and your learning at the same time. I pray you, then, give us your respectable critics, chapter and verse—your dictionary authority.

13. It is as impossible for any one skilled in Greek to imagine that *aidios* comes from *hades*, as it is to derive *eternity*, from the word *invisible*. It is, I say, impossible, for five reasons. 1st. The first letter of each bears always a different *spiritus* or mark—*aidios* has the *lenis*, and *ades*, written in English *hadces*, has the *asper*. 2d. There is no *i* in *hadces*, and there is an *i* in *aidios*, with a syneresis always over it. 3d. In *hades* there is the long *e*, written *ee*, which is not in *aidios*. 4th. They are both *compound* derivative words, and the one can not be derived from the other. They are just of as different families as the word *endless* and the word *invisible*. How in the name of reason, Sir, can you derive absolute eternity from 'the word invisible! And in the 5th place, all dictionaries in the world, certainly all that I have seen, derive *aidios* and *aion* from *aei*.

14. Mr. Skinner, your pretensions to Greek literature and a critical knowledge of those words concerning which you have scraped together from other smatterers such a farago, is forever gone. I suspected it on several occasions before—as when you introduced *kolasis* you always write it in the wrong case, besides other blunders which a scholar could not make; but I was determined to give you cord enough—and now, Sir, see how you swing.

15. You have now finished the controversy on the philosophy of Universalism, as I before said, in favor of the truth, far beyond all that I expected. You have said that *aidios* is that word which signifies absolute endless duration; that had it been prefixed to punishment, it would have made it absolutely endless and interminable. In thus deciding, you have refuted yourself and all your efforts to explain away both *aei* and *aeion*; for it is incontrovertibly certain that *aeidios* derives all its endless duration from *aei*, and that *aionios* and *aidios* are branches from the same root.

16. You have then, Sir, sustained my proof of the first two propositions, by sealing my facts and reasonings upon those long disputed words; and you have in another way established all my positions in contending for the absolute eternity indicated by this word; for it is applied to the punishment of the wicked and to God, and to nothing else in the Bible. *The everlasting chains of darkness* have now, in your plastic hands, been converted into God's purposes; but this still helps the truth; for all his purposes are eternal and immutable! You now appear to have lost your sagacity at every point: for you add, paragraph 11, by my admitting this word to mean endless duration, I have swallowed the naked hook—(what stupidity!) and sustained your third proposition! How can this be, inasmuch as this very word is applied to the chains of darkness or prison that confines wicked angels—a prison which, while it holds them fast to the day of "eternal judgment," secures them forever.

17. It is not my province here to descant upon all your wayward fancies—nor is it necessary. But surely your honorable allusion to the eternal counsels of God, under the appropriate imagery of "the chains of darkness," will secure to you some distinction amongst your brethren.—But I shall hasten to your ten weighty arguments begun to be examined in my last letter. Your effort at philosophy—your defence of your first argument on the uselessness of endless punishment, seems to be, that because we can see the woefulness of some evils, and can not see the usefulness of endless punishment, therefore it is useless. Of this logic we shall have occasion to speak more fully; but first we shall finish our begun review of your philosophy.

18. You assert that eternal punishment is "*pernicious*" to the whole universe. "It must be pernicious to the happiness of *saints, angels, and all benevolent beings* that know it." It exhibits too, in the "*Father of all the spirits of infinite malignity and revenge insatiable.*" so you affirm—and that is your proof. *Query*—Is the present punishment of sin and your "future punishment" *pernicious* to the happiness of *saints and angels and all benevolent beings* who now know it or shall hereafter know it? You dare not say it is. How then can you affirm that the mere continuance or increase of it will be so? If *temporal* reasons and causes justify your present and future punishment,

may not eternal reasons and causes justify an increase and continuance of it forever? How far you and the heavenly hosts differ on the subject of divine punishment for sins, and how differently you and they conceive of condign and suitable judgment, may be learned from the beginning of the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse. You regard it as an exhibition of "infinite malignity and revenge insatiable;" while they sing as follows: "Alleluia! Salvation, and glory, and honor, and power to the Lord our God! True and righteous are his judgments, [punishments,] for he has punished the Great Whore that did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and has avenged the blood of his servants at her hand. And again they said, Alleluia! and the smoke of her torrent rose up forever and ever." Thus, Sir, you see how far you and the heavenly intelligences differ about this pernicious thing.

19. But you say it is *dishonorable* to God also. It supposes that he *could* not or *would* not prevent it. If there be any sense in this, of which I am very doubtful, your admissions dishonor God infinitely more. You admit that sin exists, and sin is the cause of punishment. Now God *could* not or *would* not, as respects past, present, and future punishment, prevent sin.

20 You assert also that future punishment is opposed to the *benevolence, mercy, wisdom, power, and justice* of God. These are your 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th weighty arguments. It is as easy to transfix these five weighty arguments with one shaft, at one time, as to take them in single file: for they all rest upon a common fallacy. Sin and present sufferings are as much opposed to these perfections of God, on your own reasoning, as endless punishment. The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain in consequence of the permission of moral evil. Whenever you reconcile this to infinite benevolence, mercy, wisdom, power, and justice, I will by your own arguments reconcile eternal punishment to all the same perfections of the Deity. For if you assume that the end in view justifies the permission of the endurance of moral evil, with all its pains and agonies; for seven or ten thousand years; I have only to assume that similar or greater ends in view may justify perpetual suffering and punishment. The *principle* is the same. The difference is only in *degrees*. If the Creator could have created and Messed moral agents without sin or punishment, would he not have done it? And if this

has hitherto been impossible, on what principle or fact in philosophy can any one infer that it may at some future period be possible !

21. To my mind, Sir, there is no argument, no sense, no philosophy in your ten weighty arguments. God can not do every thing that he has power to do, or that he has mercy to do. He can only do what all his perfections, guided by infinite and eternal wisdom, say is consistent with his whole nature. He can show mercy, and he can punish sin ; but he can not do the one or the other in any way that is not in unison with all his perfections. Well, now, God is immutable in all his excellences. Yet he permits sin, punishment, and death; and who can say that what is now may not hereafter be ; and that what is just, and right, and benevolent in time, may not be just, and right, and benevolent to eternity !

22. Your theory, Sir, is the most baseless conceit in the universe. It has not a single fact nor argument to support it. It is the superlative of the weak and beggarly elements of assumption. Your hypothesis is without fact, without philosophy, without analogy, as well as without Bible authority. — Let us take a parable from the brutal creation. Look at yonder boundless plain: see how many beasts of burden, sheep, cattle, and domestic animals of every species are oppressed and tortured by human hands, m by a thousand accidents. Add to these all the wild beasts of every species that have been lacerated, torn, and bruised by one another. See the millions of birds, beasts, and reptiles—not t. invade the inhabitants of rivers, lakes, seas, oceans, the *animalcule* that people every thing that grows. Hear, Sir, the myriads of groans, shrieks, and agonies that rend the heavens and melt the stony heart of man. Who could endure for a single day to look on all the writhings, wrestings, distortions, convolutions of this con gre gat ed mass of sinless sufferers ! Who, Sir, could endure to hear and see so much misery for an hour without melting into sympathy ! And do you not believe that God, who is infinite in mercy and benevolence, whose goodness is boundless and unsearchable, has had all this groaning and travailing creation before his mind, not only for six thousand years, but from the dateless records of a past eternity, and that in full sight of it he called all those beings into existence, and permitted these sufferings for i-es. sons to man or angel, perhaps, forever inscrutable; but

to his mind perfectly wise, just, benevolent, and merciful, in reference to a boundless whole, an infinite system, which his eye alone surveys and understands. I ask you then, Sir, to show how you can reconcile this with your *idealism*, your *a priori* reasonings, your hypothetical divinity? If God, in all his power, wisdom, justice, mercy, and benevolence, did give birth to such a system and allot such sufferings to sinless and unsinning brutes; may he not, I ask, for ever punish wicked men and spirits, by whose rebellion all these miseries, groans, and agonies have diffused themselves over the face of animated nature, and cast at least a temporary gloom over universal being.

23. If farther evidence be yet wanting in demonstration of the quicksands on which your temple of reason stands, I would inquire whether from your own reasonings on the power, wisdom, goodness, justice, benevolence, and compassion of the Creator, could you fling yourself back before sin and sorrow were conceived or born, you could have expected or inferred from all the perfections of the Deity that he could possibly have originated such a mixed system of good and evil as now obtains, as far as known to us through the whole rational creation? From what attribute or excellency of the Almighty Father could you, before the event of sin and punishment occurred, have inferred the probability of the catastrophes of angels and men? I am bold to my, Sir, you never could, from any premises or *a priori* reasonings in reach of human faculties, have anticipated such events. How then, Sir, let me compassionately and benevolently ask you, dare you, from the empty storehouses of your ephemeral experience, memory, and reason—from your little horizon—from the deep valley covered with the mists of multifarious ignorance in which you stand, presume to say that a state of endless misery for wicked agents is useless, pernicious, dishonorable to God, malevolent, unmerciful, unwise, unjust, and impotent on the part of God; when, upon your own philosophy, present sin and suffering—nay, the origination of a mixed system of good and evil, is equally to be reprobated as useless, pernicious, dishonorable, etc.?

24. But to cap your climax of unfounded reasoning, you add that the eternal punishment of wicked men is contrary to the veracity of God. This is your ninth weighty argument. Your Proof?—You my, "For he has declared that *he will not contend forever, nor be always*

wroth, [with a certain people I trow,] and that he will not cast off *forever*.' I thank you for this proof; for it proves that when you please *forever* and *always*, yours. imdaion, do signify *endless*. Your only proof for this weighty argument is a positive disproof of all your reasonings upon *aei* and *etern*; for here you rely upon it three times as certainly intimating *without end*. God, you say, will not contend—*without end*, or forever !!! Never was there on earth a system more suicidal than your Universalism. It is *always* knocking out its own brains upon its own reasonings and upon its Own verbal criticisms. It will not wait for the sentence of the law.

25. Your 10th argument is the whole Bible—the voice of all revelation! Eternal punishment of the devil and his angels, and wicked men, is contrary to the voice of revelation. If this be so, your nine arguments were foolishness, yourself being judge. They are no part of revelation. You have given us nine arguments, and then the voice of all revelation! What a logician! Your tenth supersedes the nine, and dooms them not to be a part of the voice of revelation. Lest I should seem to sport with your frailties, or rather those of your system, I shall hear you once more, as you promise, on the fourth proposition.

Controversially yours, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXI.

RICHMOND, VA., MARCH 21, 1838.

DEAR SIR—Yours of the 9th inst. reached me last evening, after ten or eleven days journey. It is related of a certain kind of fish, that it emits after it a dark substance, filling the surrounding waters with blackness, thereby to elude its pursuers. But I am in hopes the superincumbent darkness proceeding from the emissions of your pen, will yield to the light which a few plain facts in the case will be able to produce. I shall not, however, follow the example of my illustrious opponent, by seeming "to sport with his frailties," and by charging him with "sheer imbecility," "singular impotency," "assumed stupidity," "truthless assertions," "wayward fancies," "total destitution of even an elementary knowledge of language," etc., etc. These and similar charges are all, no doubt, vastly polite, especially in a MAGNUS APOLLO of the theologians and critics, and will serve greatly to enhance his honor and glory in having entered the lists with such . . . opponent! But as I aspire at no such high honors, you must pardon me for not bandying such phraseology or returning such compliments.

2. I have no doubt our readers, as well as myself, are desirous that we should "ascend from words to things," and leave, as soon as possible, a logomachy in the discussion of which the great literary opulence of my opponent compels him to assume *la grande hauteur du mépris* exhibited in your last. I should scarcely have returned to Bay any thing further on the second and third propositions, had not your last exhibited uncommon ardor and assurance in defence of positions I deem wholly untenable. A few passing remarks on some of your statements and the exhibition of two or three important facts bearing on those two propositions, I think will soon set the matter at rest.

3. You say, paragraph 3, I “confound chastisements and punishments.” I think these are scripturally synonymous. But if not, it is certain, if Paul speaks truly, that “all are partakers” of “chastisements;” and if the Deity is not woefully disappointed in the results proposed, they shall finally cause all to be “partakers of his holiness” and yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness.” See Heb. xii : 6–11,

4. In saying you had attempted to prove endless punishment merely by the force of *aiónios*, and that you had no other reason to give, I meant *m* be understood relative to the second proposition, i. e., the discussion about *aiónios* on which we were then engaged. And I can now think of no argument you adduced in favor of endless punishment but the very word in dispute. You made no attempt to show from the *nature of punishment*, that it must be endless. What other argument did you adduce ?

5. The mode you adopt, paragraph 7, to sustain former evasions and denials relative to *aphtharsia* and *athanasia*, is singular enough. You assume that *immortality* is not an *attribute* of God, essentially and necessarily pertaining to his being and person, but is a sort of commodity which he has laid up as a *possession*, to which he can have access, and make such use as occasion may require ! Verily, my learned opponent is growing wiser in the *mysteries* of his *mysterious theology* every day he lives !

6. It is amusing to witness your efforts to evade the force of your own concessions, paragraph 8, relative to *akatalutos*, *aphthartos*, *aphtharsm*, *athanasia*, *aperantos*, and *aidios*. After admitting “that *five* of them embrace the idea of *duration*” you wish to neutralize that concession by adding of the six, *one* of them excepted, they never but by *implication* import duration.” Very well, if they import it by *implication* it is sufficient to sustain my proposition, inasmuch as you have not shown and can not show that the *duration* they *imply* is ever a *limited* duration. Yet for availing myself of the concession, you indignantly charge me with *perverting* your words ! Strange *perversion* this, of a concession which, in attempting to evade, you do but confirm ! You attempt to ridicule the idea of *duration* being attached to those words which you *confess imply duration* !

7. But to put a veto on all further evasion of your *concession*, or denial of my position, I now inform you that

there is something more than an *implication* of duration in several of those words, and shall give my authority. Robinson, one of your own favorite lexicographers, and in all conscience orthodox enough for any one, unless he be a thorough Catholic, gives *perpetuity* as one of the definitions of *aphtharsia*. He also says of *aphthartos*, it is "spoken of things *imperishable, enduring*. 1 Cor. ix: 25; 1 Pet. i. 4, 23, and iii: 4,"

8. So far from being convinced by looking into dictionaries that *aperantos* refers to space only, and not to time. a much fuller conviction of the opposite is the result. Jones, in his Lexicon, (London Edition, 1825,) which comprises the substance of Damm, Sturtze, Schleusner and Schweighäuser, gives "*endless, boundless*," as d. definitions of *aperantos*. It is here derived "from *a*, priv. and *peraino*, to carry to an end, terminate, finish, execute, accomplish." *Perasmos*, the corresponding substantive signifies *mmclmum*; *end*. E ccl. iv. 8. Robinson defines *aperantos*, "*unlimited*," and Loveland, "*endless, boundless, excessive*." I might multiply authorities, but it is useless.

9. With all these facts *staring us in the face*, how strange the obstinacy that can still persist in denying the propriety of connecting any of these words with *duration*, or with *punishment* if the Scripture writers had intended to represent the latter as *endless*! Would it be absurd, Sir, to talk of *akatalutos, aperantos, etc., punishment*, when you translate the former, and the best lexicographers define the latter, *endless*? The only absurdity in the case would be the monstrous idea that punishment itself could, by any possibility, be *endless*. And I am fully satisfied that the grand reason why none of the inspired writers ever applied either of thereto, or connected them with punishment, was that they did not choose to represent the latter as *endless*.

10. I now proceed to a farther notice of *aidios*. I did not, as you say, myself derive the word from *hades*; but merely said some respectable critics so derive it. I made the remark because you so confidently affirmed that *all* the learned world were agreed that it was derived from *aei*. You now say I can not name one exception. I mention the name of Nathaniel Scarlet, of London, who in conjunction with Mr. Creighton, a learned clergyman of the Church of England, gave a new translation of the Hebrew Testament, in 1798, which was highly commended both by the Critical

Review and the Monthly Review contemporary therewith. See a Note on *aidios* in that version; also a Note of similar import in Kneeland's translation, published in Philadelphia in 1822. I, however, concede that a majority of critics are with you, as to the derivation of *aidios*; and I have no disposition for a controversy about that, when we are agreed as to the *meaning* of the word—that it signifies *endless*.

11. But while I concede that *aidios* is derived in part from *aei*, I shall be obliged to cross your path in another very important point, where you say, "it is incontrovertibly certain that *aidios* derives all its endless duration from *aei*." For it has another and a very important root, which I must thank you for putting me in the way of examining a little more critically. It is *dios*, which Jones' Lexicon defines thus, "*dios*, divine, (fr. *Zeus*;) divine in nature, incorruptible as salt is said to be. 11.4.214, pure, serene, Od. *t.* 540—divine in power, vast, immense, mighty, formidable, *m.* 104—venerable, noble, *dia gunaikon*; divine of women. *Zeus*, gen. *dim*, accus. *dia* and *zena*. Jupiter, a poetic name for the high and pure air. From a Hebrew word signifying to command—in Arabic to shine and is pronounced *theda*, and in Persian *zee*. Of the same origin as *theos* (God) or the principle of light."

12. Thus, Sir, we see that quite as important a root as *aidios* has, is the very name of God. It is this that gives it a much stronger import of endless, than *aion* has; for while the second root of *aion*, simply denotes *being*, the second root of *aidios* denotes the *divine being*. It signifies not only *endless*, but *divine in nature*. This, aim, beautifully confirms the explanation I before gave of Jude 6th, that the *chains* there spoken of were the *divine counsels*, or the endless and changeless purpose of God. But you think this explanation only "helps the truth." I think so too; but it is a truth very different from the theory you attempt to sustain. Recollect, these wicked beings were to be held in these endless and divine chains only *until* "the judgment of the great day." Do you imagine, Sir, because it was God's *eternal purpose* that his Son should die for sinners at the time he was crucified, that therefore his Son must *eternally die*?

13. In no passage of Scripture is *aidios* applied to *punishment*, though I think it would have been had the Divine spirit intended to teach endless misery. Hence, by your

own admission that it unequivocally signifies *endless*, and my more ample proof, my third proposition is triumphantly sustained in both of its alternatives. In proof of the second alternative contained in it, viz. a word that could "certify us that God, angels or saints shall have duration without end," I will now add to the six words already adduced, the four following, *athanatos*, immortal, not subject to death, and *akeratos*, *akerasios*, and *akerios*, pure, imperishable, not subject to decay, undecaying; thus making ten in all. Do you wish more?

14. Like a drowning man catching at straws, you still feebly but wirily attempt to sustain your second proposition. No matter if revelation itself was overthrown, if you can successfully oppose Universalism, the truth of which you yourself are constrained to pray for! How reckless! Are you not aware, Sir, that the position you assume in paragraph 24, makes as much against the Bible itself, as it does against Universalism? If the Bible declares in one place that God will punish, or cast off *forever*, and in another that he will *not* cast off *forever*, what must we conclude? Why, certainly one of two things, either that the Bible contradicts itself, or that the phrase *forever* is used in different senses or extent of meaning in the two passages. I take the latter ground: inasmuch as we know that God *does* reject or cast off sinners for a season, denominated *forever*, or for an *age*; and when in other and different connections he says he will *not* cast off *forever*, this phrase being sometimes used to express *endless duration*, I understand it in these cases in the latter sense. But you seem to take the opposite ground, and as a Christian, turn suicide, and would destroy the Bible itself, the basis of your faith, for the sake of destroying Universalism!

15. One thing more respecting *aion* and *aionios*. In my first letter I showed that Paul (2 Cor. iv: 17) spoke of a glory "*exceeding aionion by an excess—a far more (or excessively) exceeding aionion weight of glory.*" I asked, if a *aionios* naturally and necessarily signified *endless*, how it could be exceeded, and that by an *extraordinary excess*. The question you have never attempted to answer. I now add to this the three following cases from the Septuagint. Exodus xv: 18.—"The Lord shall reign," *ton aiona, kai ep' aiona, kai eti, from aion to aion, AND FARTHER.* Dan. vii: 3.—"And they that turn many to righteousness as the stars," *eis tout aionas, kai eti, through the aions, AND FARTHER.*

Micah iv : 5.—“ And we will walk in the name of Jehovah our God, ” *eis ton aiona kai epekeina, through the aion, AND BEYOND IT.* These facts with what has before been said, ought to settle finally the second proposition in the negative, unless you can offer something in favor of the affirmative, from the *nature or design of punishment itself.*

16. In reference to your 14th paragraph, I will only remark that I wrote *kolasis* in the form that it bears in the *accusative* case instead of the *nominative*, for no other reason than because it occurred in that case in the passage whereon we were disputing, Matt. xxv : 46; and some of our readers who are not Greek scholars have the Greek and English on the same page of their Testament, side by side; and to speak of the word in the very form in which it occurred, would be more satisfactory to them. And in carefully reading through the Greek Testament in course, somewhat of the Septuagint, and such few other Greek works as have fallen under my notice, I have never found any law of language or etiquette that forbade such a course. Will my *very learned* opponent direct me to one?

17. I now come to notice your Pretended reply to my ten arguments against endless punishment. On reading it, I confess I could not avoid thinking of *the mountain in labor.* I will not imitate your illustrious example by calling it the superlative of the weak, beggarly, etc., etc. But, really, I am astonished that a man of your acknowledged talent and acumen, could not see that no part of it touches, or even approximates within hailing distance of my arguments. The whole of it, from your 17th to your 23d paragraph inclusive, is based on the false assumption that temporal sufferings and disciplinary punishments are of the same character, and to be regarded in the same light, as endless sufferings and endless punishment.

18. The amount of the whole is this, *If temporal sufferings, and limited punishment for sin, are not incompatible with the happiness of saints, angels, and holy beings that witness them, and with the honor, benevolence, mercy, wisdom, power, and justice of God, how can endless sufferings and punishments be incompatible therewith?* I answer, the one is but a means, the other an end; the one finite, the other infinite; the one limited, the other unlimited; the one merciful, the other unmerciful; the one a painful journey to a happy and glorious termination, the other an interminable journey of pain and wo, never ceasing, ever

increasing, without the least possible good to any being in the universe. Here are radical and infinite differences between the two. You might as well ask, if it is compatible with the character of a good earthly father and the happiness of himself and family, to punish a disobedient son to reclaim and make him happy, why is it not equally so for him to lacerate, bruise and mangle his body, and make him as miserable as lies in his power as long as he lives, and to protract his life merely to torment him?

19. The case you cite from the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse is nothing to your purpose. For the language of thanksgiving and exultation is not used with reference to the sufferers of endless misery, that subject not being named, nor to the individual sufferers of even temporary misery, but with reference to the downfall of Babylon—the overthrow of a corrupt, overgrown and wicked power. But *should* such language ever occur in Scripture relative to individual suffering, I should regard it as evidence that the holy beings using it saw the end of the misery and the good resulting prospectively therefrom, whether there were any thing said concerning that end or not in such passage; knowing that other texts do speak of the good resulting from such punishments.

20. In reference to your parable of the brute creation, I remark, that much as the thousands of animals of all species may suffer from man or from each other, or from any and all causes, they still love life, cling to it, and doubtless, on the whole, enjoy much more than they suffer. The notes of joy among them are more numerous than the notes of pain, and this proves that a benevolent God gave them being. We must all suffer death, sooner or later, and doubtless endure quite as much in its agonies as the generality of brutes, whether they die of sickness, old age, or are devoured by each other; and yet we esteem life a blessing, and cling to it, *maugre* all its troubles; and for one, I bless God for its gift: and if brutes were not dumb, so would they. But did I believe endless misery my doom, I could not bless God for life—it would be a curse instead of a blessing, I have never, like yourself, discovered that the rebellion of wicked men and spirits had any thing to do with the miseries or condition of the brute creation, either in changing the *teeth* and stomachs of from and tigers from *herbivorous* to *carnivorous*, their *hoofs* to *claws*, or any other similar disastrous change. Will you afford me a little light on the subject?

21. In answer to the "compassionate" queries in your 23d paragraph, I will say that though I probably should not have anticipated, beforehand, precisely such a system as this, in all respects, for want of wisdom to see clearly all its bearings and results, yet I should much sooner have anticipated such an one as the present, than one of infinite and endless sin and misery. Nay, I should have anticipated any and every other system sooner than the latter. And so I think would God and every other benevolent being. When God had finished the creation, he pronounced all he had made "very good." And I believe all he ever created, was, and is, and eternally will be "very good," as it respects the final *ultimatum* in reference to which the declaration was undoubtedly made.

22. You will pardon me for not replying to the riddle commencing your 22d and filling your 25th paragraph. I shall now *sans ceremonie*, proceed to the proof of the fourth proposition, viz: "Shall eternal life (meaning thereby endless holiness and happiness) be, according to the Scriptures, the ultimate destiny of all mankind?"

23. Before producing the direct Scripture proofs of this proposition I shall adduce some arguments in its favor, *a priori*, drawn from the acknowledged attributes of God, which attributes the Bible clearly ascribes to Him. And as you have made some objections to a *priori* arguments, on the ground of human ignorance of what will or may be, from what God acknowledgedly is, I shall preface those arguments with a few remarks.

24. We all do, and are obliged, whether we will own it or not, to reason *a priori* concerning God and what he does or will do. We appeal to the infidel in behalf of Christianity, on the ground that he perceives, even in nature, evidence of natural and moral perfections in God, exactly harmonizing with the voice of revelation—that the Scriptures accord with the best and noblest conceptions of God, and must therefore be true, divine, and have originated with him. We all reason *a priori* against Mahomedanism and Heathenism, that they can not be true, for they are incompatible with the Divine perfections. There are ideas of God 100, that are common and universal among all enlightened people of every sect and clime. All acknowledge him to be infinite in wisdom, power, goodness, etc., and all attach the same ideas to these individual words. It is impossible for any one to understand wisdom to mean

folly, power to mean weakness, or goodness to mean badness, or any thing equivalent therewith.

25. Moreover, all attach the very same ideas to these words when applied to God, that they do when applied to man, with this difference only, that in the latter they are finite, in the former, infinite—they are the same in kind, differing only in degree. If it were not so, we could have no just ideas of God, and the Bible must have been given to deceive instead of to enlighten man.

26. Now, it is conceded by all, that God is the *best* of all possible beings, and will *do the best* of all possible things. But what is the best of all possible things? I contend it is the greatest good of his whole creation, and that this must consist of the greatest amount of ultimate happiness to all the parts thereof. Well, now, suppose he were the *worst* of all possible beings, and would *do the worst* of all possible things—what would he be likely to do? Why we suppose he would produce the greatest possible amount of woe and misery eternally throughout his whole creation, by making every part thereof as sinful and wretched as possible. If we suppose him to be a medium *between* the best and worst possible beings, we might either suppose he would place all his creatures in a medium condition, neither very happy nor very miserable, or else make a part of them endlessly holy and happy, if that were possible, and the other part endlessly sinful and miserable.—The last is the result of your theory; the first, (or the result of the greatest possible good,) is mine. Which is true? One question more: Was “old Clotie” himself, as Burns calls him, bad as he is supposed to be, ever accused of doing any thing as *bad* as creating sentient beings, on purpose to render them endlessly miserable? What *worse* thing could the *worst possible being possibly do!*

Yours in all benevolence,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXII.

BETHANY, VA., APRIL 6, 1838.

SIR—On my return from Pittsburg, I found to-day your epistle of the 21st ult. on my table, received here on the 5th inst. You begin with the cuttle-fish, the best type in nature of your present politics. When pursued by a fish of prey, this cunning little fellow hides himself in his own black ichor, and by darkening the water, escapes the eye of his pursuer. You, however, can not so easily conceal yourself at this crisis, having solicited so much attention to your Greek erudition. The eyes of all our readers are now upon you to see how you will get out of the unenviable posture in which you were placed in my last review.

2. They saw you the mighty champion of Universalism, who had undertaken a discussion of all the Greek and Hebrew words that come within speaking distance of the future state—who had undertaken to show that neither *olen* nor *aei*, nor any word derived from them, could signify endless duration—who had undertaken to adduce some word that does necessarily import *endless*, which had it been employed by the Holy Spirit in reference to punishment, would certainly have made it absolutely endless: I say, they saw you by one fell swoop pull down your own edifice, the work of so many letters, affirming that *aidios* does mean absolute eternity; and then, to save yourself from the reprobation of all men, your own party included, when you were told that this word was another form of *aei*, you pretend that by some respectable critics it was derived from *hades*. This outrage upon language and etymology compelled me to adopt measure, which I had hoped to have avoided. In order to fix the eyes of your friends more immovably upon you, I unequivocally put both your *veracity* and your *literary pretensions* on the same

pillory that they might see your resources—that you might be roused to defend yourself from considerations that would stir up every man of sensibility to his best efforts. For one entire month you have stood there, an object of solicitude—all eyes gazing upon you to see how you would descend. Although I think you have as hard a face and as stout a heart as any person have met with, still I must confess I felt some curiosity myself to see how you would escape from that proud eminence on which you were stationed. Your apparent carelessness and complaisant tameness now displayed, fully intimate your own convictions of the strength of the battlements that environ you, while your dexterity in manœuvring shows how deeply and successfully you have studied the arts of evasion.

3. Your friends now see how much confidence is due to your criticisms and assertions. You said that “there are some respectable critics who suppose it to be derived from *ades*, (*hades*,) which is derived from *a*, negative, and *idien*, to see; and hence among other definitions, they give *hidden*, *invisible*, *unseen*, *unknown*.” These are your words, paragraph 2, letter XIX. I asked you, letter XX, paragraph 12, “why you did not give the name of some lexicographer who had so derived and explained *aidios*.” I called for chapter and verse. I also said, “I am sure, Sir, you can not name one.” Thus did I put myself in your power, that every one might see what is the literary and moral worth of your arguments. Now what is your defence? Who are the lexicographers? Where are the “respectable critics”? Where the page, chapter, and verse on which they have thus derived and explained *aidios*? You have not given one. You have named an obscure Universalist and an Atheist, and yet you have not quoted their words. Now, Sir, are these your respectable critics! I have their criticism lying before me, and I positively affirm it is not as you represent it. It is just as true as your assertion that Scarlett and Kneeland are of similar import—that neither of them derives *aidios* from *hades*!! They go no farther than to say, “it may have the same etymology as *ades*.” They do not say it has!!! And if they did, they are no better authority than yourself. These are your respectable critics! There is not a dictionary nor a scholar under the broad heavens that does derive *aidios* from *ades*, Mr. Skinner himself being deponent in the case! I do not wonder that you “have no disposi-

tion for a controversy about this word." And yet your veracity and literary pretensions are suspended upon it in the presence of the whole community!

4. But you now concede! (what a timous concession!) that *aidios* is derived in part from *aei*, and proceed to derive the *tail* of it from *dios*, divine!! This is a splendid demonstration of Solomon's proverb, that "the way of transgressors is hard." This is still more fatal to your literature than your asking me for a rule for quoting words in the nominative case. My rule is all the dictionaries and grammars in the wide world! But you have turned critic upon *dios*, and quote Jones' definition of *dios*. But, Sir, does Mr. Jones—does any critic—any dictionary derive *aidios* from *aei* and *dios*, or from *dios*, divine. No, Sir!—No learned man could do such a thing. *Dios*, Sir, is the root of no word in the Greek language. It is an adjective derived from *Zeus*, *dios*, Jupiter. As *Jove* comes from Jupiter, so *dios* itself comes from *Zeus*. A school boy might derive *dios* from the obsolete *DIO*, which sometimes signifies to run swiftly; and hence *aidios* would be forever running!!! This might be in boyhood a pardonable blunder, infinitely more plausible than your derivation. Your pretending to find a root for the adjective termination of *aidios*, is like finding a root for *orum* in the word *puerorum*, the genitive plural of *puer*; or for finding a meaning for *ternus*, in the word *sempiternus*, the mere adjective form of *semper*, always. So is *ios*, or *causa euphonia dios* in the word *aidios*. If you understand all this, you will learn that there is but one idea, one root in *aidios*, and that is the simple adjective form of it. But, Sir, you know your readers can not generally understand these and your other assertions about words. But there is one thing I intend they shall understand; and that is, that you can produce no authority for these assertions; and that they are unsound in philosophy, untaught in language, and untrue in fact; that you are positively coining at your own mint, without any license on earth, words to suit your own purpose. Have you, Sir, been so long practiced in works of this kind as to cast off all fear of detection and exposure!

5. The new batch of words which you introduce to mend your position, are as *ex post facto* since your late intimation about going on to the fourth proposition, as they are irrelevant to the subject in debate. You might as well summon a thousand as ten such words from the Greek

dictionaries, Like the braggart who boasts of his thousands when he can not show a pistareen, you talk of ten words when you can not show one in proof of you. third proposition that does not sustain the affirmative of the second. *Aei* indeed signifies endless whether in *aron* or *aidios*; for whatever force it has in the one it has in the other: yet because of *oon*, *being*, in the former, (for it is a real compound,) *aion* is positively more indicative of absolute eternity than *aidios*.

6. Your escape from the second fatal leap on "casting off forever," paragraph 14, is equally halt and blind. You prove that punishment can not be *endless* because God says he will not contend *endlessly*, or without end; showing that *aei*, *endlessly*, means *without end* when you please. The wit of your 14th paragraph is disposed of by a single remark—th at God is not said to cast forever; and not to cast off forever the same persons. You assume that the objects are the same, and that the difference is in *forever*; but this, like .11 your assumptions, is one-sided; f., some he will cast off forever, and others *he will not cast off forever*; as we shall abundantly show under your fourth proposition.

7. There are some things so exceedingly puerile in your present communication as to preclude the remit of exposition. Such are your remarks upon immortality, paragraph 5, and on implication, paragraph G, on perpetuity, paragraph 7, and on *aperantos*, paragraph S. This last word, derived from a negative, and *peras*, boundary, signifies in respect of place, without limit; and is therefore but figuratively used for duration. *Pera*, *peras*, and *peran* are used by the best Greek writers almost exclusively with regard to place. Let any one who doubts, examine Stokius on these words. Your assertions upon Greek words, you must now perceive, can have no credit with your friends or the community, and therefore you had better try *things* awhile, as you say you are now so desirous to rise from words to things." If you had taken my advice at the beginning, you would never have been in such a miserable plight as that in which you now stand. But the school of experience is the cheapest school that certain gentlemen can find.

8. Pardon me for omitting to notice some of the beauties of your interpretations; such as that on Jude 6, which represent the everlasting chains of darkness which confine

the fallen angels, to "the divine counsels," such as three which confine the elect angels, the choicest *spirits* in the universe. "Everlasting chains of darkness" and "everlasting love" are thus beautifully identified so far as the divine counsels are concerned.

9. I say, pardon me for passing by all these beauties, and for not answering such wise questions as that you ask on 2 Cor. iv: 17, about something that exceeds eternal—"a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory"—as if this Hebrew superlative, "*a far more exceeding*," applied to "eternal" as an epithet of an epithet: for to expose three beauties, and to answer these questions, would only be a new exposure of the same errors and blunders already noted: for let me assure you that while *eternal* here applies to *weight*, the phrase "a far more exceeding" can not syntactically apply to *eternity*. No person that understands the structure of the sentence could possibly ask such a question.

10. I regret the pedantic appearance which you have compelled me to assume. Our readers are all witnesses that it has been forced upon me. They can not forget that from the beginning I alleged there was no necessity for such a logomachy—that any English scholar could decide this matter as well as theme, I learned. Your party, Sir, like yourself, are constantly dabbling in Greek and Hebrew, as if they were adepts in those languages, or as if they could furnish better arguments from dead languages than from a living tongue, or from the common translation. This I have now shown to be unequivocal pedantry, and that it is the want, rather than the possession, of a thorough acquaintance with those languages that impels you to this foolish course.

11. Modern Universalism is quite quadrupedantic. Its four classic legs are philology, theology, philosophy, and prophecy. The philological leg has, to say the least, been broken, and the creature limps. The theological is already severely wounded. This limb is chiefly occupied with the perfections of Deity, called benevolence and mercy. The philosophical stands upon the position, that *all punishment is remedial, curative, and salutary, for the subject—that it must cease from the very nature of the case*—for it is of right and of necessity designed for the reformation of the transgressor. The prophetic leg moves through all that is foretold of the future destinies of mankind in the declarations, promises, and threatenings of the Bible. It is remarkable that you have "*ten words*" for the toes of your

philological foot, and that you have also ten arguments for the theological extremity,

12. Your ten theological arguments have been reviewed, and now it becomes our duty to examine how far my exposition of them has been disposed of. This will not be a very serious affair. After your elegant allusion to the mountain in labor, and my immense distance from your "hailing" point, and my "false assumption," etc., etc., in paragraph 18, you proceed to rebuild what I then called your philosophy, or your philosophic theology.* Your defence now is—that temporal suffering, or limited punishment, differs from eternal as means differs from the end. To use your own figure "the one is a painful journey to a happy and glorious termination—the other an interminable journey of pain and wo, never ceasing, ever increasing, without the least possible good to any being in the universe." This is all easily said and this is your defence. The two points in this part of the debate are here unequivocally assumed. The first, that all limited punishments end in perfect holiness and happiness, because so designed; the second, that eternal punishment must be without the least possible good to any being in the universe. Neither of these assumptions can be proved by any living man, and therefore you wisely never attempt it; but after a reinforcement of five assertions, you hobble off on the *a priori* toes of your prophetic leg. What a shrewd, and logical, and sagacious opponent I have found in you, Sir, the Goliath of Universalism! Your scheme is now fully developed. I understand it perfectly. You put the philological leg foremost, then the theological, then the philosophic, and finally you stand upon the prophetic.—You prove your philology by your theology, and then you prove your theology by your philosophy, and then your philosophy is to be proved by your scriptural declarations, and these are again to be proved by your philology. This is your everlasting circle. Like the fabled Sisyphus, grandfather of Ulysses, you have to roll this immense stone up hill forever. The lad who said the heavens rested upon the earth, and the earth rested upon the back of a large tortoise, and the tortoise rested upon nothing, was certainly

* I now see you rely more upon a new leg purely philosophic, and therefore for distinction I will henceforth regard your ten arguments before me as theological.

the *beau ideal* of your dialectics ! Your plan being now fully developed, I can anticipate you to the end of the chapter.

13. My exposition of your ten arguments is met by the single assertion that all punishment is for the reformation of the subject of it, and that all temporal sufferings are means to the end holiness and happiness. The elements of this assumption shall be arranged and labelled in due season. But I wish our readers to survey your defence of your ten speculative theological arguments. Your whole defence is found from paragraph 18 to 22 inclusive.

14. The 18th contains your five naked assertions. Your 17th assumes that the angels rejoice in heaven on seeing God take vengeance on his enemies and those of his people, because these judgments end in their reformation ; for which you have not one word to offer from Genesis to the final *Amen*. Your 20th justifies all the nameless and countless miseries of the unoffending brutal creation, on the ground that still they cling to life *as a choice of evils* ! Glorious vindication of Eternal Providence ! Yours is the theology of Mr. Compromise, who proposed settling his accounts with the Deity on striking a balance between his good and evil actions ! Your 21st concedes that from your *a priori* reasonings on the divine perfections, you could not have anticipated the present mixed system, and affirms that still less could you have anticipated an eternally mixed system. You never seem to have read these words—“He that is unjust in the least is also unjust in the much,” and so of every perfection of the Deity. He that causes one unnecessary pang, and he that causes a million, differ not in kind, but in degrees ; as he that steals a farthing, and he that steals ten thousand talents, are dishonest only in different ratios. Not having observed this principle, you think that it is all just, merciful, and benevolent to punish a defaulter for ten thousand moons or years, (for you believe in indefinite *post mortem* punishment)-but unjust, unmerciful, etc., to punish him forever ! And to perfect your systems of contradictions, you will have it, that, without any anticipation of sin, God planned a system of sufferings in the brutal creation by furnishing lions, tigers, vultures, eagles, etc., etc., with instruments of torture. Read again, benevolent Sir, your paragraphs 20 and 21, and ponder upon the character which you have drawn

for the Creator, as arranging a suffering creation without any justifiable cause.

15. Your last effort is an *a priori* preface to your lifting your fourth limb—your direct scriptural proof. This *a priori* or *hypothetical* philosophy is generally consummate nonsense. It is peculiarly so in theological inquiries. A person would as soon make a cable of sand as prove even the being of God from a *a priori* reasonings. From what cause could any one descend to the being, the nature, or the character of God ! The very proposition, Sir, to approach the Scriptures by *a priori* reasonings, is begging the whole question. It is sending the Bible a begging to the school of Plato or Aristotle, or infinitely more humiliating, to the school of every sectarian scrap-dctor.

16. Wise men, like Bacon, Newton, Locke, and all the authors of true science, reason *a posteriori*, not *a priori*, in eliciting truth, fact and law. I am a pupil in their school, and therefore look from and through nature up to its Author—you, a pupil in the school of Aristotle, look from the Author down to nature. You start from hypothesis—I from fact. You begin with *what ought to be*—I with *what is*. I reason from the things *that are*, to those that shall be—you, from the things that ought to be, (as you think,) to the things that must hereafter be. How different, then, must be our conclusions. You have put this label upon your own philosophy by your own fingers. Reconsider, Sir, your four last paragraphs.

17. Your *a priori* system of the universe, or your *beau ideal* of a godlike universe, is, that it must ultimately be without sin and sorrow. If I had drunk as deeply as you at the Castalian fount, I would have built an *a priori* system better than yours ; for I would have had a universe in which sin and suffering had never been known. Not a leaf would have ever withered ; no wasting breath would have ever blown ; not a murmur nor a sigh would have ever been beard ; but everlasting verdure, bloom, and beauty—unfading youth, undecaying vigor, eternal peace, serenity, and love ; unspeakable Joy and bliss would, without palling or satiety, have pervaded all. But you assume, the best of all possible things to be a universe that after many thousand years will come in such a perfection as to reform itself and be ultimately and eternally (*aei*) happy.

18. But I must omit your fine allusion to *Burns* and your pious strictures upon it, and request our readers to

examine your reply to my paragraphs 19, 20, and 21, and see how handsomely you have dodged the whole matter, and evaded a discussion upon the very pith of your ten arguments. My 20th and 21st paragraphs you practically acknowledge to be unanswerable. Your failure there is complete, and shows the foundation on which you rest.

19. Your *philosophy* now rises full-orbed. It is that *punishment cures sin*-that punishment is the means and holiness the end. Christ has then died in vain; the devil is getting better; the Jews are more holy now than they were 2000 years ago; penitentiaries, if they have punishment severe enough and long enough, can not fail to sanctify all the murderers and miscreants within their walls; for Nature's laws are universal. A few years in your *post mortem* Purgatory will save more than the sacrifice of Christ. If the Creator, then, would occasionally rain fire and brimstone on all the cities, as on Sodom and Gomorrah, instead of giving them rain from heaven and fruitful seasons—instead of filling their hearts with food and gladness, he would have acted more wisely than by showing forth his goodness and love; for, according to your reason, the wrath of God, rather than his love, leadeth men to reformation; for "all punishments are chastisements," and "all chastisements are punishments;" and *all* men and demons are partakers of these reforming institutions, etc., etc.

20. This single cluster from your vine I present as a pledge of what may be the vintage when your philosophy is ripe, and the time for gathering the grapes has fully arrived. Sympathetically and controversially yours,

A. CAMPBELL..

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL,

LETTER XXIII.

RICHMOND, VA., APRIL 21, 1838.

DEAR Sir—Yours of the 6th inst. has just reached me. If pedantry, contumely, bombast and ridicule constitute argument, then is your letter very argumentative; if not, it is decidedly the weakest production I have yet seen from your pen. You are quite mistaken if you suppose that by such a course you will be able to drive me from the equilibrium of my temper and the sober argumentative course I have marked out for myself in this discussion. I began it, and I pray God to enable me to finish it, under a deep sense of its solemn and thrilling importance. Embracing as it does, the eternal destinies of a world, I am at a loss to conceive how a man, like you, professing to believe in the awful doctrine of infinite and endless woe, can adopt the style and exhibit the spirit of your last letter.

2. You say you are “a pupil in the school of Bacon, Newton, Locke,” etc. What a pity you had not imbibed a little of the true dignity, charity, mildness and meekness of those illustrious men! You have a right, however, to choose your own course. And perhaps, as arguments failed you, you could think of no better substitute than that you have adopted. From this consideration I freely forgive, and pray God to forgive, all the hard and bitter things you have said against me. But you must excuse me for not following your example in this, and even for not replying at all to much of your fan faronade. A few paragraphs will dispose of all that is entitled to serious notice in your last.

3. In the first place, I never derived *aidios* from *hades*; nor did I ever give it as *my opinion* it was so derived; nor did I ever state that any *lexicographer* so derived it. I merely stated that “some respectable critics supposed it

to be so derived." (It is not necessary that a man should be a lexicographer in order to be a respectable critic.)— You gave me the lie direct, and said I could not name *one*. I gave the names of *two*, who, while they say most Lexicon writers derive *ades* (hades) from *a*, negative, and *idein*, to we, and therefore it signifies *invisible, unseen*, etc., also say *aidios* "may have the same etymology as *ades*;" and of course they suppose it may be derived from the same: for etymology signifies derivation of words. To discredit them, you call one an obscure Universalist, and the other an Atheist. It matters not what the present sentiments of one of those individuals may be. If, when their works were given to the public, they maintained a respectable standing in the literary world, and their works were received with commendations from high sources in the republic of letters, they certainly deserved the appellation I gave them, of respectable critics. The public must therefore judge whose *veracity* suffers from your wanton assault.

4. In the next place I showed that *aidios* was derived from, or made up of, *aei*, ever, and *dies*, divine. This you deny, and attempt to turn into ridicule, by assuming that *dies* is merely the adjective termination of *aei*, and has no significance whatever in the word, more than *orum* has in the genitive plural of *puer*! What a deca-sighted critic my learned opponent is! Will he be so good as to inform me of what use the letters *d*, are in *aidios*?—whether there is any meaning in the letters *on* in *aiomios*—if so, whether *d* are not equally significant in *aidios*—and whether *aios* would not be as complete, and have as perfect an adjective termination as *aidios*, if *aei* were the only significant part of the word? Recollect, Sir, that while *aei* is abbreviated and the *e* left out in the composition, *dios*, *divine*, is left entire and unabridged. It was not necessary, therefore, that lexicographers should particularly name it as a root, because the whole word stands unaltered and speaks for itself.

5. You were quite unfortunate too, in the Latin word *sempiternus*, which you introduce for illustration. That is evidently a compound word, from *semper*, always, and *aeternus*, everlasting, and when united in one word there is more intensity and strength of meaning than either word expresses alone. But lexicographers did not deem it necessary to say *aeternus* was a root or component part of *sem-*

piternus for the obvious reason that a mere tyro in language would know it, there being no alteration in it except the change of the diphthong *æ* into *i*, while *semper* the first part of the word, suffers the elision of its two last letters. So likewise it appears to me as clearly, that *aidios* is compounded of *am*, always, and *dios*, divine, as that d. English words *head-dress*, and *suck-cloth* are compounds of the monosyllables with which they are made Up; and here I am perfectly willing both the learned and unlearned world should examine and decide.

6. You say the last four words I introduced are *ex post facto*, viz., *athanatos*, (which Hedericus defines *immortales*, *semperternus*, *eternus*, *perpetuus*,) *akera tos*, *akerasios*, and *akerios*, (pure, imperishable, undecaying.) They are not *ex post facto*; for I have not yet written five letters on the third proposition, as I have a right to do. I had indeed supposed enough had been written previous to my last, to establish the affirmative incontrovertibly; and I think you have not invalidated my arguments in the least, and can not; but as you returned to the charge with shouts and redoubled fury after you supposed the enemy had quit the field, I deemed it proper to give you a little more business to do. Will you be so good as to attend to it?

7. Your 6th paragraph evades rather than meets my arguments on God's casting off and not casting off, *forever*. For my argument is that God will not cast off *any* of his creatures *forever*, (*eis ton aiona*.) meaning thereby to all eternity; and the Bible sustains me, Isa. lvii:16. "For I will not contend forever, neither will I be always wroth: for the spirits should fail before me and the souls I have made." Thus all "*spirits*" that come from God and all "*souls that he has made*" are included in the *reason* God assigns for not casting off eternally. Again, Lam. iij: 31-33. "The Lord will not cast off *forever*—for he cloth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men."—Here, ton, the promise is equally applicable to all "the children of men." Hence if any individuals or communities are to be cast off *forever*, it must be for a periods short of eternity, or else the Bible contradicts itself. Which will you relinquish, your Bible, or your opposition to Universalism?

8. On your 7th paragraph I will only remark, that, although Robinson derives *aperantos* from *a*, negative, and *peras*, limit, yet Jones, whom I consider far better autho-

rity, says it is from “*a* and *peraino*, to carry to an end, finish, terminate,” etc., and hence the word *aperantos* is quite as applicable, and even more so, to *duration* than to *space*. Jones gives *endless* as its first definition. But, Sir, even *limitless* would apply as well to duration as to space. You ask me to pardon you for not answering my 15th paragraph, on 2 Cor. iv : 17, and the three texts from the Septuagint where a weight of glory, and a continuance of duration, *far exceeding and beyond aionios*, are spoken of. I do, Sir, freely pardon you on the ground that you could not answer that paragraph. No man ought to be required to perform impossibilities. You ought, however, to have confessed the truth and owned it unanswerable.

9. Where, my dear Sir, have I advanced the ideas you charge upon me in your 14th paragraph, that either the human or brute creation, cling to life as a *choice of evils*—or that God is, ‘unjust in little’—that I would compromise with the Deity by striking a balance between the good and the evil, etc., etc. † You well knew I had never advanced anything resembling such ideas; that I had, on the contrary, advanced the idea that life was a *positive good*, both to man and brute—that God is just and good in *all* things—and that the very evils of life would all be overruled for, and result in final good. And yet you demand to know how God’s character can be justified on my system. In view of your own system, this demand is as consistent as it would be for Nero, Caligula, or Robespierre to ask John Howard to justify himself for incidentally stepping on and crushing a few *ants* on the threshold of one of the numerous prisons he visited for the purpose of carrying the balm of health, the light of liberty, and joys of salvation to the dying sons of wretchedness and wo, notwithstanding the ants were getting old, had had their day, a happy day, and must soon have died of old age if they had not been crushed!!

10. You seem to writhe and agonize under the bare prospect of my *a priori* reasoning. But, Sir, if it is so very weak and wicked as you pretend, you will have the less trouble in exposing and refuting it. You seem alarmed, and say, I “start from hypothesis”—“begin with what ought to be, instead of with what is”—and “send the Bible a begging to the school of Plato or Aristotle,” etc., etc. Is it possible, dear Sir, that you are so ignorant of the laws of argument and the rules of logic as not to know

what a *priori* reasoning is? The best logicians say, c. In reasoning a *priori*, we begin" [not with "hypothesis," nor with "what ought to be," but] "with the cause, and infer from it the reality, or the species of the effect."—Argument a *priori* proves or disproves the fact from the law, or the effect from the cause." Now, Sir, God is the cause from which I argue to the effect. I go to no doubtful "hypothesis," but to the law as it is—to cause as it *confessedly* exists. I take & BIBLE as the basis and foundation of all I advance. I take God and his attributes exactly as laid down in the Bible; and obey that Divine authority which says, "Come now, and let us reason together," and "why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" I trust to show both you and our readers that Bible authority will not be wanting for all I advance.

11. The rest of your letter now before me, is either made up of the grossest misrepresentations, or else partakes of the characteristics mentioned in my first two p.m. graph. of this communication; and for reasons there stated, can not receive any further notice. To satisfy the reader upon this subject, I beg that he will, after perusing yours, again refer back to my last previous letter, especially paragraphs 18-22, and such other parts as you refer to. I shall now proceed to prove the doctrine of universal salvation from the attributes of God.

12. GOD IS OMNISCIENT.—"His understanding is infinite;" declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done." "Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world," Ps. cxlvii : 5. Isa. xlvi : 10, Acts xv : 1s.

"Did he overlook the least of his concerns,
(Since from the least the greatest oft originate,)
Then unforeseen contingency might alarm him,
And disturb the smooth and equal course of his affairs."

All event., past, present and to come, must be ever present to the mind of God. With him there can be nothing new, nothing old, His knowledge being absolutely perfect and intuitive, his plan of creating, governing and disposing of the universe must have been from the beginning, perfect, and infallible. All causes, primary and secondary, together with all possible results, must have been clearly seen and fully understood, With him them could not possibly be any contingency or uncertainty as to the final result.

13. Every shade and every grade of moral character through which each and all of his creatures would ever pass, were as perfectly known to him before he created them, as they are now or ever can be. Are any of his creatures sinful and disobedient? He knew it before he gave them being. And if their wickedness be, or ever shall be, cause of his wrath and hatred towards them, it must have been equally so, in his own mind, before he created them. But knowing what they would be, he loved them, (Eph. ii: 4, 5; 2 Tim. i: 9,) and he can never cease to love them. His wisdom is abundantly competent to devise, and has devised, a plan for the salvation of all.—When he had finished the creation, surveyed the whole, seen all its bearings and results, with the glorious end in view, he pronounced all he had made *very good*. Had the all-seeing and intuitive wisdom of God looked through the vast chain of events flowing from the creation, and seen that endless and immortal evil would have flowed therefrom, and that he could not devise any scheme to prevent it, could he have been infinitely wise in contrivance? Or could he have pronounced all *very good*? Certainly not.

14. *GOD IS INFINITELY GOOD*.—David says, "God is good unto all, and his tender mercies are over all his works." Ps. cxlv: 9. Solomon says, "Thou lovest all the things that are, and abhorrest nothing which thou hast made: for never wouldst thou have made any thing to have hated it." Christ says, "There is none good but one; that is God," Mark x: 18. John says, "God is love." John iv: 8, 16. Thus the very essence, the whole nature of God, is benevolence, goodness, or love. Dr. A. Clarke has well remarked, "God is never said in the Scriptures to be Justice, or Patience, or Holiness; but he is frequently in one form or another, said to be Love."—When, therefore, we say God is infinitely wise, powerful, just, merciful, etc., we do but say *Love* is infinitely wise, powerful, just, merciful, etc., these being but the modifications and attributes of infinite *Love*. When we say all are created, controlled, governed, and disposed of by God, we do but say *Love* creates, controls, governs and disposes of all. The goodness or love of God being coeval and co-existent with his wisdom, and even with his existence, must extend to every being he has ever created, and attend that being through every period of his existence. If there be in the universe of intelligences, a solitary being to whom

God is not good, then his benevolence, being limited to less than the whole, is not *infinite*. But as all allow that his goodness *is* infinite, no other legitimate conclusion can follow but that his love extends to every being he has ever created.

15. This being indisputable, his infinite benevolence must prompt him to seek, not only the collective good of the whole, but the individual good of each : and that not for time merely, but for eternity. The greatest amount of good for the whole must consist in the consummation of the perfect and eternal beatitude of each individual intelligence. To illustrate ; suppose a thousand persons to be susceptible of enjoyment, each of one thousand degrees of happiness and no more. A million degrees of happiness is then the maximum of good of which they are susceptible. Suppose then the author of their being makes *one* of the number perfectly and endlessly miserable, and the other nine hundred and ninety-nine perfectly happy. In this case he would not produce the greatest possible amount of good to the whole ; for there would be a loss of one thousand degrees of happiness to the whole, and the introduction of an infinite and endless evil into the bargain ; so that he could not have been infinitely good to them all.

16. Had the Deity foreseen that any individual of the human family would be an endless sufferer by his existence, or would fail of enjoying more good than he suffered of evil—more happiness than he endured of misery—his benevolence never would have created, nay, it must have withholden existence from such being. No principle but that of infinite *hatred* could have produced a single being, knowing that being would be endlessly miserable. If God were infinitely benevolent i. the creation of each individual of the human family, he can never do otherwise than seek to promote the ultimate good, the final happiness of each. He can no more cease to love or be good to each being than he can cease to be God ; for *God is love*. The moment he ceases to be *love* to any being, that moment he ceases to be *God* to that being : for *God is love*, and he cannot exist aside from his *nature*. Will you say that God was good to all in their creation, designed the happiness of all, and continued to love all, till they rebelled against him, and then he ceased to love, or to be good to them, and forever after hates them, ? If so, one of two things must be true ; either he did not know beforehand what they

would be or how they would act; or he experiences an entire and infinite change both in his affections and designs. The admission of his infinite wisdom forbids the former, and of his immutability the latter idea. Therefore, he can not but love all mankind to all eternity. Arid, Sir, can infinite love torment the objects of its affections to all eternity? What could infinite malevolence do worse?

17. *GOD IS OMNIPOTENT.*—"The Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Rev. xix : 5. the title "God Almighty," so frequently applied to him in Scripture, fully expresses his omnipotence. All enlightened theists admit it in the premises, though too many deny it in their conclusions relative to the destiny of man. They will admit God is physically omnipotent; but they say, "man is a moral being—as such he has rebelled, become a hardened, stubborn, impenitent sinner—God can not violate man's moral freedom, and therefore can not bring man into conformity to his will and the terms of salvation." Thus they virtually deny his *moral omnipotence*. But I ask, whatever view may be taken of the extent of man's moral powers and freedom of volition—from whence is this moral power—this freedom of volition, derived? Is it not from God? Is there, or can there be any moral power but that which comes from him? And has he imparted a moral power to his creatures which he can not control? Has he given to man a will beyond the power of his own moral omnipotence?—Has there a power *emanated and passed from himself which is above himself?*

18. It is an axiom that no stream can rise higher than its fountain—that no effect can exceed its cause; and it is utterly impossible for God to impart to others what he does not himself possess, or even a power which is beyond his control. He is not merely the physical governor of the world, but likewise the moral. He reigns not only *in heaven*, but over the *armies* of heaven; not only on *earth*, but among the *inhabitants* of the earth, doing all his pleasure, and none can stay his hand; and he "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Dan. iv : 35; Eph. i : 11. Hence, as his wisdom is adequate to contrive the plan, and his unbounded goodness prompts him to desire and seek the ultimate, universal, and eternal happiness of man, his moral omnipotence will ultimately secure the object desired. In his own time and way he will "turn the hearts of the children of men as the rivers

of water are turned." *In the day of his power his people shall surely be made willing*—(as the persecuting Saul of Tarsus was when God's truth, and power, and grace were exhibited before him—he espoused and promulged with all his zeal and power what he had once sought to destroy—) their wills shall all become subject to his will ; and "God shall be all in .11."

19. Now one of the three following propositions I think must be true—either, first. G 011 *could* save all mankind, but *would not* ; or, second. He *would* save all, but *could* not; or, third. He can save all mankind and *will* save all. If you adopt the first, you grant him omnipotence, but deny his benevolence. If you adopt the second, you grant his benevolence, but deny either his wisdom or power, or both. But if you adopt the third, (Universalist,) it, and *it alone*, allows all these attributes to belong to God in infinite fulness and perfection. Which will you choose?

20. GOD IS OMNIPRESENT.—(See Ps. cxxxix : 1–12.)—Throughout all space, all worlds, all beings, all time, God exists, and his wisdom sees, and his power and goodness operate. God being *love*, and *omnipresent*, we "can not go where universal love not smiles around." No being can get beyond or out of the reach of almighty love—nothing can separate us from it : neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall ever be able to separate us from the love of God. Rem. viii : 35, 38, 39. All mankind, not excepting sinners, are forever surrounded, encircled, upheld, below, above, around, in life, in death, in this or any other world, by omnipresent, all pervading love. Though sinners find it a "fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God," yet they shrill ultimately find them to be the hands of love, and not of hatred ; as sinful David did, when he said, (1 Chron. xxi : 13), "Let me fall now into the hand Of the Lord; for very great are his mercies ; but let me not fall into the hand of man." And again, Ps. cxix: 67. "Before I was afflicted I went astray ; but now have I kept thy word," Yours, with all due respect,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXIV

BETHANY, VA., APRIL 30, 1838.

Sin—The ninth day has brought me your last defence of Universalism. If an army of gratuitous epithets and abusive sentences can sustain your cause, it is in safe keeping. Any one with Johnson, Walker, or Webster in his hands, can find reproachful epithets enough to cover the brightest name and to bedaub the fairest reputation in Christendom. T. all which, were I able to reply, I need not. Our readers will doubtless understand it. As your cause becomes desperate, we expect desperation on your part; and the first paragraph of your epistle assures us we shall not be disappointed.

2. Your Greek and your Greek authorities, it must now be obvious to all, have assumed the garb of sackcloth and ashes and gone into mourning. You now say you did not derive *aidios* from *ades*. Why did you then throw dust in the eyes of your readers? Why introduce that hypothesis when you say you did not believe it! You now place your respectable critics in the past tense, and vow that they were respectable critics *when* they were Universalists; and only allege that Kneeland's turning Atheist can not nullify his Universalist erudition! You talk of ridicule—and yet you ridicule yourself! Call the devil a mint *when* you call Kneeland a scholar or a critic. I said you could not name a respectable critic or a lexicographer that ems. tained your assertion. You have now twice proved that you can not.

3. I called for your authority for deriving *aidios* from *aei* and *dios*, and you now give me yourself for authority! And yet you talk of my ridiculing you! Why, Sir, you ridicule yourself It was not necessary, you say, that lexicographers should so derive it, because it is so plain!—

And you talk of pedantry !! And to cap your splendid climax, you proceed to find in *æternus* a root and reason for *ternus* in *sempiternus*. This is as fatal to your reputation as your other learned criticisms; for *æ* in *æternus* is the Latinized *æti*, with the termination *ternus*. So that *ternus* is no more a root of *sempiternus* than *simus* is of *grandissimus*, or *rimus* of *pulcherrimus*.

4. And, as if you had not sufficiently exposed yourself, you call in M. Jones as authority against Robinson, to derive *aperantos* from *aperaino*. The hardest task that I could have assigned me, next to striking fire out of lead, would be to discuss any question in language with person who is wholly uneducated in its construction. Positively, Sir, Messrs. Jon. and Robinson derive *aperantos* from the same root, for *peraino*, is itself only a form of *peras*, the genuine root of *aperantos* and *aperaino*. You talk of pedantry! You compelled the discussion of Greek and Hebrew words, and yet you talk of pedantry!! And when I refuse to expose all your folly, as on 2 Cor. iv : 7, "a far more exceeding and eterna l," you intimate that it is because I could not do it. What a magnanimous opposition I have found in you, Sir ! If I expose your ignorance, I am pedantic ; if I do not, I am . coward !

5. After you had commenced your last proposition, you return to the third, and offer a new batch of words as absolutely declarative of duration without end, which might have been applied to punishment had it been endless.— This is your design in introducing them, if other design than to blind fold your readers you had. Now, Sir, these *ex post facto* words (for when you go on to a new proposition, it is *ex post facto* to go back and offer new arguments on the preceding, as indicated in our rules-) I say these *ex post facto* words are wholly out of the record: for in the whole New Testament they are not applied to heaven or happiness, to God, angels, or men—indeed they are not to be found in the whole New Testament even once !! And when found in profane writers, they are ten times applied to things that have an end for once they are found applied to any thing endless in duration—just as their representatives are in our language; for example, how often have we the words *deathless* and *immortal* applied to fame and infamy—to glory, honor, and disgrace. So in Latin, Greek, and every other language, dead or alive.

6. I take no advantage of your having mis-spelled the

words you quote; for *akeratos* means without horns: but I presumed you intended *akeratos*, pure, etc., etc. So dies the reinforcement, and so end your three propositions, and the edifying defence of Universalism in its Latin, Greek, and Hebrew arguments for an English community!! As you beg to be excused for not answering the major part of my last letter, for reasons which all our readers can easily understand, I beg leave now to address the candid and inquisitive part of our reader, while I leave you for a few moments to reflect upon the posture of your affairs as the campaign now stands.

7. Courteous and inquisitive readers, I think an apology and an explanation are justly due to you for both the matter of this controversy and the manner in which it has been hitherto conducted. I am not censurable for introducing such a logomachy as we have just now finished: for, from the beginning to the last letter, I have objected to it as inexpedient, unnecessary, and unedifying to the nine-tenths of our readers. But I am censurable, you will say, for having consented to it. Well, perhaps, I am. Strike, then, but hear my explanation.

s. 1st.—Universalists are incessantly preaching and writing about those words, and by their bold assertions, and supercilious denunciations of certain translators and lexicographers, have succeeded in forming a considerable party of refugees, with barely as much moral cement as serves to keep a particular mass together for two or three years in any one place. Baptised into this faith, Deists, Skeptics, Atheists, Mammonites, and all, suddenly become liberal Christians, under the pleasing hope that heaven is capacious enough for them all, without any holiness on this side of the grave: for the system provides for all by making death itself a purgatory for some, or by appending to it a few thousand years punishment in Mr. Skinner's *post mortem* purgatorial fires.

9. 2d.—Now to have peremptorily and absolutely refused to discuss these words, would have been trumpeted by some dozen of Universalist Telegraphs through all the length and breadth of this land, as an irrefragable proof that we were unable to sustain our cause but through the unfaithfulness of the common translation, or popular ignorance of the true and proper force and meaning of the ancient languages. Learning also that some honorable though uneducated persons, chiefly young men, were inveigled by

such representations, we consented to the dry and prosing drudgery of a verbal controversy, especially as we had the guarantee that what we should write upon this subject would be laid before the Universalian community; and I had so much confidence in the liberality of my regular and constant readers, that, however useless such a disquisition might be to them, they would cheerfully allow me a few pages for the benefit of those whom they can not but regard as wholly deceived on this awfully important subject.

10. 3d.—And as in *the manner* in which I have prosecuted this investigation, I frankly acknowledge that it has been most repugnant to my feelings. Regarding all religious controversy, however expedient and necessary, as in some degree detrimental to the sanctifying and consolatory power of the Gospel, when engaged in it, I never enter upon it with the same feelings and delight, nor do I prosecute and terminate it with those pleasurable emotions and results which accompany any other method of inculcating, illustrating, or propagating truth. On this occasion, too, I undertook it with inure reluctance than ever before, because I did not think the question an interesting one to my readers in general; because, the subject itself, on the authority of revelation, is so plain and intelligible as, not without unusual violence on one side, to admit of debate at all; and because in all my readings I had never had the good fortune to meet with an able and candid debater in all the ranks of Universalianism. In coming into the arena under such circumstances, and with such opponents, one feels as if he trod on forbidden ground; and therefore if I have a right conception of how Michael felt when he contended with Satan about the dead body of Moses, I feel a good deal out of sorts, as I imagine he must have felt on such an encounter!

11. 4th—Besides, the perversity and obliquity of every errorist must always be in the ratio of the plainness and magnitude of the truth which he opposes; and to manage such spirits without exposing their follies and rebuking their hardihood, is as unavoidable as it is necessary to save the uncorrupted from the mire which intentionally or unintentionally they have laid for their feet.

12. 5th.—Now as Mr. Skinner is perfectly accomplished in all that species of garniture requisite to his being one of the most popular, artful, and specious of the defenders of that system; and as he has long flourished by dint of his

Hebrew, Greek, and Latin lore, so as to be regarded as the Magnus Apollo of his party, and withal, reckless, bold, and dogmatical to a proverb, it threw upon my hands the painful task of exposing the nakedness of the land and of denuding the man of his gratuitous and unfounded pretensions to a knowledge of the language of Scripture and well established rules of interpretation,

13. 6th.—If, then, I have gone into details—into plain, blunt, and unvarnished expositions of mere pretence, and of false assumption ; if I have taken off my gloves and at any times sharpened my pen, I did so because in my judgment no other means were adequate to the occasion. It has indeed been a great trial of my feelings to have to descend to such expositions ; but when I think how prophets and apostles, and the great Teacher himself had to stand in the arena with all sorts of spirits, and to answer fools and madmen sometimes according to their folly, and sometimes not according to it, I feel myself, however impinged in my feelings, justified in my conscience in the course which I have just now finished.

14. 7th.—Mr. Skinner's Hebrew, Greek, and Latin arguments are certainly transfixed to the core if they ever had any. He has fully shown, by all his blunders, first and last, that *aei*, whether by itself or in composition with any other word, does signify absolute eternity ; and that there is no other word in any language more indicative, indeed none except its own representatives, so indicative of endless duration, He has shown us *aei* by itself, in Latin, in *aidios*, in *eternus*, and in every form, as the word which himself argues would have imported the endless word of the wicked had it been so used. This he has positively and repeatedly, though ignorantly done.

15. 8th.—His assertions about authorities have been fully shown to be of no credit. When his reputation has been suspended upon his redeeming his pledges, I need not repeat how it has been left to totter to its entire prostration. This may have been the consequence of ignorance rather than of perversity ; but this is a matter of which every one will think for himself despite of all that he or I may write about it. Should he now introduce the subject of verbal controversy after the eclairsissement now before the community, I should feel myself acting out of character to spend another paragraph in reply to him. His assertions about the meaning of foreign words must now pass

with us as a matter of course, which will excite no more attention than the constant and monotonous lashing of the waves against the shore.

16. 9th.—It is indeed a subject of awful moment, if, apart from the canting style and insulting diction of the letter before me, we could be permitted to examine and discuss it. I shall endeavor that the sequel be more intelligible and interesting to all my readers: for I think there is much more useful matter of reflection which may come in our way in the common sense and scriptural view of the whole subject which remains to be taken. We shall again, after this apology and explanation, return to Mr. Skinner.

17. In your courteous style, Mr. Skinner, you ask me, paragraph 9, for my authority for certain conclusions; and politely add, "that I well know that you had never said any thing resembling such ideas." I well know that in letter XXI, paragraph 20, you say that notwithstanding all their pains, the brutal creation "still love life and cling to it, and doubtless on the whole enjoy much more than they suffer." "We, too," you mold, "esteem life a blessing, and cling to it maugre all its troubles." And what is this but to say with the poet, "It is better to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of?"—virtually making the love of life the choice of evil, "To be, or not to be," that is still the question which reason without the Bible can not decide. We also argued on your allegata, that God is either just or unjust in inflicting present pain for transgression. If he can not justly inflict eternal pain for eternal transgressions, we argue that he can not inflict temporal pain for temporal reasons: but he does the latter: therefore he is either unjust in the little or unjust in the much. Your system, makes him unjust in little that he may be just in much;—ine represents him just in little and in much.

18. But you justify this injustice by assuming that temporal sufferings are means to certain ends. Well, be it so, if you please, and I assume, with more reason, that eternal punishment is a means to eternal ends, and that these ends are perfectly compatible with perfect justice and benevolence. If you, Sir, will explain the justice of the pains and sufferings of our stage and waggon homes in any way that will not justify the eternal pains of him that wickedly and wantonly causes them to suffer, I will answer

the hardest question in your Catechism. But you can escape from all difficulties on your present plan of disposing of the three-fourths of my last letter, by reproaching it and begging to be excused for not replying. Our readers, however, know how to interpret this. "They are *sour grapes*," said the *fox*, when he saw he could not reach them.

19. Your parade about *a priori* reasonings is wholly gratuitous and unworthy of any respect. Still, lest you or any one should imagine that it has any sense in it, I observe, that to prove a fact from an established first cause or law of nature, is *a priori* reasoning good and valid. But to suppose a law of nature or of the divine perfections—and then farther to suppose that law to be an adequate cause for an effect, is *a priori* reasoning false and deceitful in the superlative degree. And this is precisely your case, as I will abundantly prove. You imagine the laws and the causes of your effects by *a priori* reasonings, and, without detecting the sophistry, substitute your hypotheses for facts. Now-a-days we find out the laws of nature and of the divine government, so far as reason is employed, by reasoning *a posteriori* from the facts, effects, and events, up to their causes. You place your interpretation of the divine perfections, for the perfections themselves. This is your first hypothesis. Then you imagine what will be consistent with these divine perfections. This is your second hypothesis. And finally you disprove eternal punishment because it is incompatible with both your first and second hypotheses. With half this expense of hypothesis you might fully prove the utter impossibility of the origination or existence of any moral or physical evil in God's creation. Had I supposed you could not have understood this, I should doubtless have fully explained it.

20. That you reason from hypothesis to facts is a truth which must not only be obvious to the uncommitted reader; but this alone fully explains your disquisitions upon the divine perfections. When I read over your preceding speculations upon the divine perfections, believe me, I was forcibly reminded of the reasonings of one who first whispered to mankind, "No danger! Eat;" "you shall be as gods, knowing both good and evil." "God is too good to punish you;" "you shall not surely die." "God is love, infinite and immutable love: he can not punish sin!"—How much truth in these hypothetical reasonings? Just

as much as there is in yours. You have said many things about the divine perfections which I cordially approve.— In the one hand you present a glass of pure water, but before it reaches our lips you infuse into it a few drops of adulterated wine, which discolor and vitiate the whole of it.

21. To illustrate : You say some correct things on four propositions :—God is omniscient; God is infinitely good ; God is omnipotent; God is omnipresent. Three of these propositions are scripturally expressed ; one of them is not. You introduce mathematical or metaphysical infinity in one proposition, and from your application of that term, you poison all the good things you have said. “ His understanding is in finite,” says the Bible ; but no where does it say he is *infinitely* good. This is as apocryphal as your quotation from the book of Wisdom to prove it. It was homogeneous enough for you to quote the Apocrypha, as you have done, to prove this apocryphal interpolation. If two lines incline to each other at either end they are not parallel, and will when projected form an angle. So your interpolated proposition when extended contradicts the Bible : for God has not been infinitely good to the devil, nor infinitely good to Adam, nor to you, nor ever can be on your own mathematical reasonings : for, Sir, if your head only ache once in a million of years, God never can be infinitely good in you !! your theory being that omnipotence can prevent whatever infinite goodness dictates. He that practically admits your reasoning to be correct, takes a viper into his bosom, poisons his own bliss, and drinks to himself eternal death.

22. Your reasonings on God's perfection are false and most pernicious. Your trilemma is a mere trick in logic. I can make a child see through its folly. 1. “ God,” you say, “ could save all mankind, but would not ; or, 2, he would save all, but could not ; or, 3, he can save all mankind, and will save all.” This is your trilemma. Here is another constructed after its model : “ God could save all men from all temporal evils, but would not ; or, 2, he would save all men from all temporal evils, but could not ; or, 3, he can save all men and will save all men from temporal evils.” Now, Mr. Skinner, choose the first, and you impugn God's benevolence and infinite goodness ; choose the second, and you impugn his omnipotence ; choose the third, and you declare a falsehood. Repair, then, your

trilemma, if you can. In the same easy mode we can explode all your reasonings upon mathematical omnipotence, goodness, omnipresence, etc.

23. You reason most sophistically upon the word *possible*. You think of one perfection only when you use this word, namely, the power of God. I think of all his perfections. The word "possible" in my mouth has respect to all the perfections of God viewed together—in yours it has respect to simple power. Many things are impossible to the whole person called Mr. Skinner, which are quite possible to a part of him. It is impossible for the whole Mr. Skinner to be a matricide; patricide, a fratricide, a filicide, a suicide; and yet if Mr. Skinner have such relatives, it is possible for a part of him to commit any one of these deeds. Singular logic in your ears, Sir; but it is true logic. The whole Mr. Skinner can not do what a part of him can do! Neither can the whole Creator do what a part of him could most easily perform. God can only do what is consistent with all his perfections.

24. He is supremely good to the whole universe; but he cannot be infinitely good to any member of it that ever suffered a single pain! Thus we dispose of your little universe of 1000 persons, each one capable of 1000 degrees of bliss, a million of bliss in all; but should only one of them fail of this state, whether annihilated or cursed with eternal woe, then your universe is minus 1000 degrees of possible bliss. Hence you add, "He would not produce the greatest possible amount of good to the who?.." We shall now see how much logic is in your mathematically happy universe. Suppose that each one of your 1000 genii has suffered during the first part of his being a thousand earthly agonies, designed you say for his ultimate bliss; but which your Deity of omnipotent power and infinite goodness might have prevented by making and keeping him from the necessity of suffering these 1000 agonies—then your universe fails by a million of agonies of all possible bliss, through the *infinite* goodness and *almighty* power of its author! On your premises and conclusion God can not be infinitely good to any man who has suffered on earth only a single agony; for he has been that agony minus infinite bliss. So ends your mathematical universe of mathematical bliss. Our theory is, *that God's government will secure to his own universe the greatest possible good at the least possible expense of evil*. But evil, moral and physical,

is an unavoidable attendant on rational agency; and if God had not permitted, controlled, or punished it in some instances, and pardoned it in others according to its meaning and desert, his justice, holiness, wrath, condescension, mercy, never could have been known at all, and none of his other perfections could have been so fully developed and glorified; consequently God could never have been enjoyed by any creature.

25. You eulogize the proposition *God is love*. A glorious proposition it is. I rejoice with joy unspeakable in the belief of it. But you pervert it the moment you change the subject into the predicate, and say, "Love is God."— In this you err, as much as should you change the proposition, "*God is Light*," into "*Light is God*," or "*God is Spirit*," and "*Spirit is God*." You say love is almighty, omniscient, omnipresent, etc., and why do you say that love is jealous, just, true, indignant, not acquitting the guilty, but visiting the iniquities of fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation of them that hate God? But this would not suit your purpose.

26. Your theological limb is not yet fully anatomized. As you have in a good measure ceased to reply to my objections, I shall have more time to descant upon the common sense and scriptural view of the question!

27. You believe in after death repentance, conversion, and sanctification in purgatory. Of what use is the proposition *God is love*, when you teach that the proposition, "*God is continually angry with the wicked*," will in the demonstration of his wrath in the fires of purgatory sanctify and save all that die in their sins, which has yet been a majority of mankind. A few texts of Scripture and a little light upon your purgatorial punishment and its localities, with the length of its continuance, will be thankfully received at this office.

Benevolently and controversially yours,

A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXV.

RICHMOND, Vs., MAY 9, 1838.

DEAR SIR—I write this letter without waiting for your reply to my last, and shall probably write yet one or two more before I return, to notice what you may say on the negative. I shall, however, in due time, attend to whatever arguments your replies may contain. In numbering, I shall take the odd, leaving to you the intermediate even numbers, whatever their date may be. I proceed with the argument founded on the attributes Of God.

2. GOD IS HOLY.—“Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God, am holy.” “Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts.” Lev. xix : 2 ; xxi: 8 ; Isa. vi : 3. Because God is holy and happy, he requires mankind to be holy that they also may be happy. He will therefore employ all necessary means to make them holy, He will never place them in a condition where holiness must necessarily and forever be excluded from them ; or where they will eternally be debarred the privilege of becoming holy. Sin is the opposite of holiness. It is not a property or attribute of God. It can never, as such, be approved by him. It could never have been admitted into the universe for its own sake, nor for any other reason than that it might be overruled for the bringing about of a greater good than would otherwise have been attained. Hence” the wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain.” Numerous are the instances in which we see this accomplished ; as, for example, in the case of Joseph’s being sold into Egypt, and that of Christ’s being betrayed and crucified by the Jews. And when all God’s benevolent purposes are accomplished through the instrumentality of sin, or whatever other means he may see fit to employ, sin itself,

which is opposed to his nature and government, shall be destroyed, and all men of course will then be happy. Sin and holiness being opposites, the one must destroy the other. Which is the strongest? Which shall get the victory?—Let the Bible decide. See Daniel ix : 24; John i : 29 ; HeI. ii: 14, 15 ; 1 John iii : 8. Thus sin shall yield to holiness, and misery to happiness, and “ God shall be all in all.” All flesh shall see the salvation of God ; and, as without holiness no man can see God, holiness shall at length abound wherever his dominion extends.

3. GOD IS MERCIFUL.—“ His tender mercies are over all his works,” He is “ a God full of compassion and gracious ; long suffering and plenteous in mercy and truth.” “ He will have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies; for he cloth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.” Ps. cxlv : 9; lxxxvi : 15 ; Lam. iii : 32, 33. The mercy of God being infinite, universal and changeless, extends now, and eternally will extend, to every creature he has made. It is often made the burden of the songs and praises of the inspired writers. The royal singer of Israel ends every verse in one of his psalms with the declaration, “ For his mercy endureth fore ver.” His anger, (or what seems like it,) on the contrary, is said to endure “ but a moment.” Ps. xxx: 6; Jer. iii: 12.—There is no assignable or imaginable reason for limiting his mercy, either in extent or duration. As it exists now towards all, both the just and the unjust, both the evil and the good, no cause aside from himself—and He is immutable—can ever operate to cut off any from the exercise of its benignity. The reader need not be informed that there is no mercy in endless misery. He well knows that such a destiny forever precludes the possibility of mercy to the wretched sufferer thereof. To allow that doctrine, therefore, is either to deny the infinity of the divine mercy, or to allow that God will hereafter change from a merciful to an unmerciful being to a part of his offspring : and either of them would be a denial of the Bible.

4. God has given to all mankind the love of happiness, a strong and irrepressible desire for the immortal joys of his heavenly kingdom. And the question occurs, could he have imparted to all our race this strong and ardent desire, with the determination or intention never to gratify, but eternally to thwart it ? And when he has it in his power to bestow the much desired boon, will he forever mock his

children in their wants, and withhold what all desire!—When they ask bread, will he give them a stone? When they ask fish, will he give them a serpent? When they ask an egg, will he give them a scorpion? Impossible. “For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.”—Yea, the Son of God “came to seek and to save that which was lost.” “After that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man, appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the holy spirit, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour.” As he is “a God full of compassion and gracious, long suffering and plenteous in mercy and truth;” “He will fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he also will hear their cry and will save them.” The desires of all righteous and good people, are, that God would have mercy upon a sinful world, and save it from darkness, sin, and death; and the desire of the righteous shall be given them: God will not be less merciful to any, than they are to each other. Therefore, the infinite and changeless mercy of God furnishes a strong and incontrovertible argument in favor of universal salvation.

5. GOD IS JUST.—“A God without iniquity, just and right is he”—“a just God and a Saviour.” Deut. xxxii : 4 ; Isa. xiv : 21, Man had no agency or volition in the production of his own existence. It was the act of God alone, performed without consulting man as to the conditions on which he would receive it. Was it, or could it be, just in God to bestow existence on a being, or race of beings, without their consent, or the possibility of their avoiding it, on such terms as would render them liable to be infinite losers and endless sufferers by that existence! Suppose a king bestows a large patrimony on one of his subjects. The subject comes into the royal presence to thank him for the gift, and is thou, for the first time, informed that the condition on which the patrimony is bestowed, is, that he shall, like William Tell, the noble Swiss, shoot an apple from the head of an only son, with his bow and arrow, at a great distance, on pain of death if he refuses. The subject at once says he can not receive the patrimony on such terms. The king replies that he has already received it—that there is no alternative—no backing out—he must run the risk and shoot off the apple, or

die ! Who is there that would not exclaim against such an *ex post facto* condition—against the injustice of the king, and the cruelty of the terms ?

6. Well, Sir, does not the doctrine of endless misery ascribe similar conduct and injustice to God in imposing existence on man, without his consent, under conditions rendering him *liable* to endless torment ? Is there a human being that would voluntarily receive it on such terms, or that, having received it, and being informed of the terms, would not throw it back to the giver, saying he could not thus accept it ? Well, Sir, what was the life of Tell's boy, or the life of the subject of this king, compared to the stake of endless weal or wo, with an immortal soul ? Nothing, and less than nothing, in the comparison. Infinite consequences are made to depend on the cast of a die. We must run the risk, whether we will or no, of not only suffering endless damnation ourselves, but, if we become parents, of bringing into the world our tender offspring as candidates for that immortal wo !

7. If the doctrine of endless damnation be true, and the views of its advocates generally be correct, that this short life affords the only chance of avoiding that awful doom, or of securing endless bliss, then the chances of damnation to mankind generally, compared to the chances of salvation, are certainly as great as ten to one against the latter; especially when we consider the millions on millions of heathen that live and die without ever hearing mentioned that only name given under heaven among men, whereby we may be saved ; the millions on millions that live and die in Mahomedan superstition or Jewish unbelief, and the millions on millions that live in nominally Christian countries and communities, under any and all influences except those favorable to truth and virtue ; and when we think, m., of the thousand different roads that different religious teachers point out as right, and the impossibility of knowing with certainty whether either of them is right ! Can it be possible that God has created a world of intelligences, and suspended their endless weal or wo on such contingences—nay, . . . such very unfavorable terms to human salvation ? Surely, not, if he be a *just* being.

8. I am aware that the advocates of your doctrine profess to believe the attribute of justice favors endless punishment ; but I know of no attribute in the Divine character farther from giving countenance to so dreadful a theory.

The ground commonly assumed by them, is, that sin, being committed against an infinite and holy God, is an infinite evil, and therefore justly deserves an infinite and endless penalty. But this ground is entirely false and untenable, for the following reasons: 1. Man is a *finite* being, limited both in knowledge and power, whether for good or evil, and can therefore never commit an infinite act—a finite cause can not produce an infinite effect—a stream can not rise higher than its fountain. 2. If sin be infinite, it is equal to God, (he being no more than, in finite,) and would be as likely to destroy him as he would be to destroy sin. 3. If sin be infinite for the reason assigned, then all sins are infinite, and there are, instead of being but one strict infinity in the universe, an infinite number of infinities, each of which is equal to God. 4. Then all distinction between crimes is destroyed; all are of equal magnitude—a child, for stealing an apple, is equally guilty with the blasphemers against the Holy Ghost, and murderous Jews who crucified the Lord of life and glory; whereas the Scriptures clearly point out different degrees of guile and punishment for those that *knew* and disobeyed, and those that *knew not* and disobeyed their Lord's will.—Luke xii : 47, 48. 5. If sin be infinite and justly deserve endless punishment, then justice requires what it can never receive—or it can be *satisfied* with nothing short of *endless dissatisfaction*! (which is a solecism,) for what is *always doing*, is *never done*; and the time . . . never come when it can be said *justice is satisfied*, (or if it should, it would prove that justice did *not* require endless punishment.) Moreover, if every sin justly deserve endless punishment, then every sinner deserves to suffer as many eternities of woe as he has ever committed sins; and as he can never suffer but one eternity of misery, (and that he never will *h, i. e. fully* suffered,) all his other sins must forever remain unpunished, and justice, of course, can never be satisfied.

9. These arguments against the infinity of sin being incontrovertible, and the Bible declaring repeatedly that God is just, and that he will render to every man according to his works, at the same time declaring, that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God—that he is both a just God and a Saviour—it follows, necessarily, that endless punishment can not be just. No number of finite sins can ever make an infinite sin; nor can any number of finite penalties ever amount to an infinite one. No number of

limited or finite periods of duration can ever amount to eternity. Allow punishment, if you please, to endure an age, Or ages Of ages, Or ^{as} many ages ^{as} there are sands On the sea shore, and drops of water in the ocean, and that number multiplied thrice ten thousand times into itself, still it is not eternity, nor any *part* or *portion* thereof. But, as is already proved, all sins are finite, so all just punishment must be finite or limited aim.

10. Justice, it is true, requires the infliction of a righteous retribution on the transgressor; but not the infliction of an injury or infinite evil. It never did nor can require the infliction of an unmerciful punishment, nor does mercy ever forbid the infliction of a just punishment. These are not opposing but harmonious attributes—God is not divided against himself. The very rod that justice raises, is guided by the hand of mercy. “Justice and judgment are the habitation of God’s throne; mercy and truth go before his face.” The foregoing arguments, founded on the justice of God, all go directly against the doctrine of endless punishment, and indirectly in favor of universal salvation: nay, so far as you and I are concerned, I may say, directly. For with us there are but two alternatives, viz., endless misery on the one hand, and universal salvation on the other, both of us rejecting annihilation. But them is another argument still more direct and conclusive in favor of the doctrine of universal salvation, founded on the justice of God.

11. The argument is this—not that man can justly claim, on the score of *merit*, or as the reward of god works, endless beatitude—for salvation is of grace, not of works, and after we have done all we are commanded to do, we are still unprofitable servants, having done no more than mere duty—but for the same reason that God requires all men to be holy because *he* is holy, he also requires all to be just because *he* is just; and as *he* require, all to be just, *he* will most assuredly seek and employ means of rendering them so. His *justice* can never be satisfied with the endless *injustice* of man: nor will any thing short of the entire conformation of man—of man universally—to its righteous principles, ever fully satisfy the claims of divine justice, or the demands of the righteous law of the Most High. His law is the law of eternal justice: and that demands of all, the exercise of love supreme to God and universal to man, And, respecting the accomplishment of the grand design of

this righteous law of God, we are expressly assured by the Saviour, that one jot or tittle of the law shall in no wise fail, but *all* shall be fulfilled. Now love, and love only, is the fulfilling of the law; and when we consider what the requirement of the divine law is, and that every jot and tittle of it shall be fulfilled, it is evident that all mankind will be just and righteous, yielding strict obedience thereto, and thereby fulfilling the law; than which it is evident nothing else can fully satisfy the divine justice.

12. God is TRUE.—“A God of truth without iniquity”—“just and true are thy ways, thou king of saints.” His “truth and mercy meet together.”—Deut. xxxii : 4; Ps. lxxxv : 10; Rev. xv : 3. God “bath spoken of the restitution of all things, by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.”—Acts iii : 21. For the accomplishment of this testimony, he bath also pledged his irrevocable oath. Isa. xlv, 23, 24. Nor will he “alter the thing that is gone out of his mouth.” Ps. lxxxix : 28-35. “That by two immutable things in which it is impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us, which hope we have as an anchor in the soul, both sure and steadfast, [in, *uncertainty* about it,] and which entereth into that with, in the veil.” See and compare Gen. xii : 3; xxii : 16-19; Acts iii : 20-26; Heb. vi : 13-20. Now “God is not a man that he should lie, nor the son of man that he should repent: hath he said, and shall he not do it? or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? Num. xxiii, 19. So far from this, he says, “My word that goeth forth out of my mouth, shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it.” Compare Isa. xlv : 22-25, with Isa. lv : 11. God “hath given us eternal life, [whether we believe it or not,] and this life is in his Son.” The burden of his Gospel is “eternal life, which God, that can not lie, promised before the world began.” 1 John v : 10, 11; Titus i : 2. And his promises are “not yea and nay; for all the promises of God in him are yea, and in him Amen, unto the glory of God by us.” 2 Cor. i : 19, 20, “For what if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith [or faithfulness] of God without effect? God forbid: yea, let God be true, but every man a liar.” Rom. iii : 3, 4. “If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful; he can not deny himself.” 2 Tim. ii : 13. Faith can never

make truth, nor unbelief *destroy* it, Truth is truth, whether we believe it or not. Our unbelief *deprives* us, for the time being, of the enjoyment of the truth; but can never change truth into falsehood, nor disannul the irrevocable oath of the immutable Jehovah, who is declared to be "the Saviour of all men." 1 Tim. iv: 10. Thus the *truth* of God clearly sustains the doctrine of universal salvation.—But this will be exhibited more at length hereafter.

13. GOD IS THE UNIVERSAL PARENT OR FATHER OF ALL MANKIND.—"Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?" "God created man in his own image." "Know ye that the Lord, he is God; it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves." "God.....hath made of one blood all nations of men." He is, therefore, "the Father of spirits"—yea, "the God of the spirits of all flesh." "All ye are brethren." "One is your Father which is in heaven." Gen. i: 27; Num. xxvii: 16; Psalm c: 3; Malachi ii: 10; Acts xvii: 24-26; Heb. xii: 9; Matt. xxiii: 8, 9. Though all mankind are the offspring of God, and he stands in the relation of Father to them, yet all do not know the fact, all are not yet characteristically his children—many of them "having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them," Eph. iv: 18, and others are "alienated and enemies in their minds by wicked works." Col. i: 21. Yet this does not destroy the relationship between the parent and the child. God requires every sinner on earth to pray, saying, "Our Father which art in heaven forgive us our sins." Christ calls him the "Father" of those whose characters were "evil."—Matt. vii: 11.—Though many of the children, heirs of promise, may, during their minority—their ignorance and unbelief—be "under-tutors and governors, until the time appointed of the Father"—may differ nothing from servants, being "in bondage under the elements of the world," yet when the fulness of time is come, *because they are sons, God will send forth the spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father. Wherefore they are no more servants, but sons; and if sons, then hear, of God through Christ, who hath tasted death for every man.* See Galatians iv: 1-8; Hebrews ii: 9.

14. How cheering the thought, that God is our Father—the Father of all mankind—and will eternally stand in this endearing relationship, and *love us as a father!* If there

were one soul in the universe to whom God's parental affection did not extend, that soul would be forever absolved from all obligations of love, gratitude, and obedience to him.—But as God had no coadjutor in becoming the parent of mankind—as no cause operated on him but his own eternal nature, will, and purpose—being self-moved, alone, and knowing exactly what all men would be—he voluntarily became the parent of our race—no cause, aside from himself, can ever destroy his relationship, or divert his parental regard from the children he has created. See Isa. xlix : 15 ; Matt. vii : 11 ; Rom. viii : 38, 39. These positions being incontrovertibly established, both by revelation and reason, no other legitimate conclusion can follow than this, that God will eternally seek the final and best good of his children universally, and of course, will render all men ultimately holy and happy.

15. GOD IS IMMUTABLE.—“ He is in one mind and who can turn him ? ” “ I am the Lord, I change not, therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed: He is “ the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.” Joh xxiii : 13; Malachi iii : 6; James i : 17. God is necessarily immutable, because of his self-existence and absolute perfections. No cause can ever operate to produce a change in him who is uncaused, independent, and infinite in all his attributes. Is God now *omniscient* ? he will eternally remain omniscient! Is he now infinite in *benevolence* ? he will endlessly remain the same to every being he has ever created. Is he now *omnipotent, omnipresent, infinitely holy, merciful, just, true, and paternal* ? he will endlessly and immutably continue the same. Did we suppose God were liable to change, however lovely, amiable, and perfect his character might now appear, we could have no ground of rational and lasting confidence in him. Did we think him capable of loving to-day and hating to-morrow, or turning to be the enemy hereafter of those he is now friendly to, we should sink in despair, and tremble at the very thought of God. But now we know that, whatever changes man may experience, either in feelings or condition, God can never experience the slightest change either in affections, will, or purpose.—No vicissitudes, no events of time or eternity, can ever affect him. As all his perfections are now in favor of the ultimate holiness and happiness of all mankind, so they eternally and unalterably will remain in favor of it. As

he now wills the salvation of all, and is in one mind, and none can turn him, his will can never be changed. "Not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken—for the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King; he will save us." Isa. xxxiii : 20, 22.

Yours in faithfulnes,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXVI.

BETHANY, VA., JUNE 1, 183s.

MR. SKINNER:—

Sin—Not willing that even an unsupported assertion of yours, if it have only the merit of appearing plausible to one in a hundred of my readers, should pass without courteous attention, I will introduce my present epistle with a summary notice of your unsupported and unsupportable assumption—*viz.*, *that all punishments are disciplinary chastisements for the good of the subject*, and that therefore they must all terminate in reformation; consequently can not be *eternal*, in the proper and unfigurative use of that word. Such is the third leg or philosophic limb of your system.

2. Your philosophy assumes, 1st. That punishment and chastisement are but two names for one idea. 2d. That all punishment necessarily terminates in the reformation of its subjects. 3d. That punishment is never properly exemplary, or for the good of other beings not the subjects of it. And 4th. That punishment is *not* necessary for the honour of the Governor of the universe—or, that God or his law can not be insulted; or if insulted, that he can not resent it in any other way than by forever wearing the indignity and by forgiving the author of it. What a field for abstract wanderings does your philosophic limb open to our view! Four grand assumptions are the four elements of your philosophy of punishment. They are all false; and very prudently you are content simply to assert them.

3. With regard to the first it may be conceded that no one word is *always* so strictly used, even by good speakers, as to preclude all ambiguity. Hence as punishment sometimes ends in correction or chastisement, we find the one term sometimes used for the other. But they are *not*

thence convertible terms; and the sophism in your reasoning is, that because *punishment* sometimes is *correction*, you make it convertible with that term : just as if I should say the term *tree* sometimes means *an oak*, and you should *snatch* the concession and hence affirm that all trees are oaks. All oaks are indeed trees ; but, Sir, all trees are not oaks. So all chastisements or corrections are indeed punishments; but all punishments are not chastisements. Punishment is penalty or pain for transgression, without any regard to what the issue of that pain or penalty may be. It sometimes has, and it may always have, three objects—1st. The glory and honor of the Lawgiver. 2d. The good of the offending subject. And 3d. The guardianship and defence of the unoffending. Something, in other words, is due to the King, to the subject, and to his fellows on every transgression : punishment is that unavoidable something.

4. Your second assumption is but a new modification of your definition of punishment. To chasten is to reform; therefore chastisement is reformation. Now it is essential to your argument that *all* punishments, not a few, but that *ALL* punishments do end in reformation. But multitudes are often punished for drunkenness, licentiousness, and a thousand other vices, and afterwards die in the act of transgressing. Therefore you can not demonstrate from facts (for it is contrary to innumerable facts) that *ALL* punishments do in this life terminate in correction or amendment, or chastening of men's morals. You have then to *beg the question* as usual, and assume that what fails in this life will be successfully prosecuted in the next, and that punishment will be increased and perpetuated in another world till the incorrigible in this life shall become holy.— This you can not prove from any fact; but then your hypothesis of what is *compatible* with God's perfections here kindly supplies the place of fact; and thus you can easily prove, as aforesaid, your philosophy by your divinity, and then again prove your theology by your philosophy.

5. But I have some Bible facts to the contrary of your hypothesis : for in the other world satan and the rebel hosts are not reformed by six thousand years' banishment from the presence of God; and there is no reason to conclude that satan and all other imprisoned spirits are any higher holiness and happiness now than they were thousands of years since. We have facts against your hypo-

thesis. But you can ease your hands of all this trouble by denying that there is any satan, or rebel host, or wicked spirit in the other world, and ask with the ⁱⁿ fidel Paine, "Who ever saw the devil?"

G. The apostle John says that after the final assemblage of God's elect into the eternal city, the wicked droll still be found in their sins; for affirms b. (Rev. xxii: 15.) "Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and inventeth a lie." This is the fixed and indelible *character* of those without the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem. Solomon also said, "in Hades [or the world of spirits] there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom; the refine, whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." But a greater than Solomon has discovered that in *hades*, or in the world of spirits, (for so it reads in Hebrew anti Creek,) there is a great work, device, knowledge, and wisdom: namely, that of repentance unto holiness and eternal life!! Mr. Skinner's doctrine is, "No need of such mighty efforts to flee from wrath to come; for there is device, work, and wisdom in Hades." Solomon's doctrine is, "Work here with all your might, for there is no work there:" "for to him that is joined to all the living there is hope." But says the Universalist, "To him that is joined to all the *dead* there is hope."—Therefore, they may repent in Hades and escape to Heaven You think it no doubt creditable for you to differ from John and Solomon. Your second assumption then is not only contrary to such declarations as the above, but without one fact to sustain it, and with many facts against it. Will Mr. Skinner name some case—some man or angel that escaped out of Purgatory and who was brought to repentance in Hades by virtue of *post mortem* punishment? We only ask for one case!

7. Your third assumption is also factless, baseless, and contradictory to scripture: for all punishment is not for the good of the subject, but for example to others. Was the destruction of the old world by a deluge, or of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, etc., for the good of the inhabitants, or for a punishment on them and an example to others? Not for their sanctification, but for an example, says the Holy Spirit by Peter and Jude. Jesus quotes from the last words of Isaiah, from a passage which, while it shows the perpetuity of punishment, declares that it shall

be exemplary in the highest degree : "Men shall look upon the carcasses of transgressors, for their worm shall never die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be *an abhorring to all flesh.*"

8. I suppose, Sir, it was the absurdity of your brethren of the school of genuine Universalism, from whom it would seem you are on the road to apostacy, that has cast you down into a sort of papistical Purgatory. You could not digest their strongneat of sending Judas into heaven before him whom he betrayed, and of making suicide the shortest and most direct way unto Abraham's bosom.— This indigestible mess compelled you to visit the springs of Restorationism, and to refresh your soul with the poetry of the fabled Nine on the subject of a new passage through Avernus into perfect holiness and happiness. Do you say that "the wages of sin is death," and then say that death is a chastisement for the moral good of him who suffers it ! Is death a moral means of holiness !

9. The last element of your philosophy, or your fourth assumption, is, that God's throne, law, and character may be insulted with perfect *impunity* as far as respects vengeance ; for, consistently with your hypothetical benevolence, God may chastise, but can not punish the sinner.— He may afflict him for the sinner's good, but not for the honor of his own throne, nor for the good of his other subjects. For what intent, then, did Jesus suffer such poignant sorrows as never pierced a human soul ? Why did he taste the bitterness of death as mortal never did, exclaiming that God had forsaken him ? Was it for his own good ! Was it for his own reformation ! Was it for an example to others to sustain sufferings when they were themselves holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sin ! For what did he suffer through life, and for what did he die ! Did he die to expiate the sins of men, or for his own sire, to magnify God's law and make it honorable ; or merely to prove his own sincerity ! On your hypothesis I ask, for what did he die ?

10. Indeed I see no use you have for any Christ, or Holy Spirit, or Bible, or preacher, or faith, hope, and love, in order to future happiness. Restorationism, of all the systems of Universalism, to me appears the most unchristian, baseless, and imaginative. Some make a more plausible, half-way system of Universalism, by tacking together one point of Calvinism with one point of Arminianism.—

“Christ’s death,” says the Calvinist, “expiates the sins of all for whom he died; so that he suffered all the punishment due to all the elect.” “Christ’s death,” says the Arminian, “is for all mankind in the same sense.” Then comes the old fashioned semi-demi orthodox Universalian and, thanking both the Calvinist and the Arminian, says to the first, “Sir, you are right in the *meaning* ;” and to the second, “Sir, you are right in the *extent* of Christ’s death, and I am right in *both* ; for I believe that he expiated all the sins of all for whom he died, and also that he died for all; therefore, all men immediately after death enter into eternal happiness.” But, Sir, less plausible than he, you profess to have a Christ in your system, but no use for him : for you teach that men will suffer for their sins until they become holy. You deify Orcus : you give to punishment the power of Christ’s death in the work of expiation; and the power of the Holy Spirit in the work of sanctification. You ought to have a temple reared to this new divinity that atones for all sin—that expiates all crime, and sanctifies even the devil and his angels. I do not wonder, Sir, at your sympathies with Deists, Sceptics, Atheists, and all that unholy brotherhood, who, with you, are to be saved from sin by the fires of Purgatory, or the temporal evil, of a present world.

11. “The Universalists,” with whom I have been informed you were once identified, “believe that a full and perfect retribution takes place in this world; that our conduct here can not effect our future condition, and that the moment man exists after death he will be as pure and as happy as the angels.” This system makes *death* the *saviour* and the *sanctifier*, and gives to *physical* means the power of working a *moral* change !! It sends the duellist and the murderer expiring in the act of treason against God and implacable hatred against man, crimsoned with the blood of his fellow, and his heart burning with demoniacal passion, in to the immediate presence of God, pure and holy as an angel of light ! It weakens every motive to virtue, and gives an impetus to every temptation to vice. It commends to parents the immolation of their own offspring, and to the unfortunate self-murder as a sure preventive and a safe remedy of all evils. This is the renovating, moralizing system over which the genuine Universalist places his Christ as a minister of sin, or as a sort of indemnificator of transgressors.

12. I could most unfeignedly wish, Sir, that you might see the beam in your own more absurd Restorationism with the clearness you see in to eye the mote in your brother ultra Universalian system. Is it not on the Apocrypha that you have constructed your notions of a man's expiating his own sins and gradually weakening his own corruptions by lingering in Orcus a Sew centuries ! Or is it on the fables of the Greeks and Romans that you found your *limbus purgatorius* ! At all events, you must admit that it is a *terra incognita*—a land unknown to mortals—a floating island in an ideal ocean, from whose dark and dreary bourne no traveller has yet returned. May we not here inscribe a *HIC JACET* upon your philosophy, and consign it to the land of forgetfulness !

13. But this is not all your philosophy. In your letter of May 9th, received here the 22d, you give us a new chapter on the *finite* evil of sin. This, indeed, appears in the midst of a disquisition upon the divine perfections.—The holiness, mercy, justice, truth, and paternity of your God, you argue make the eternal punishment of sin impossible. Your God can neither punish nor pardon sin. He can only chasten the sinner, and his own sufferings make him holy, so that he needs no forgiveness. Your Christ expiates not sin, God pardons it not, nor can he punish it. The sinner's pains are his expiation—his sorrows the means of pardon; and the chastisement he endures is his sanctification : so that he needs no expiation, no Saviour, no Holy Spirit, no forgiveness.

14. Your philosophy of sin is unique and in good keeping with this part of your system. Sin with you is a *peccadillo*—a mere speck—a cutaneous and curable distemper, unworthy of the interposition of a divine physician ! The team of repentance flowing from the rod of correction are its sovereign remedy. You are expert on the mathematical doctrine of infinite. % and eloquent in your refutation of the orthodox doctrines of "the infinite evil of sin." But, Sir, let me tell you that it is not only illogical, but a formal proof of your lack of matter to introduce the doctrines of other days and of other men, or the technicalities of the ancients in your arguments with me. I have used no such language about sin as you put into my mouth. Yet your philosophy of the *finite* evil of sin has almost converted me into the opinion that the old Protestant Divines were right in calling "sin an *infinite* evil." Your school-boy

arithmetical puns and speculations about infinities; show there is some sense in the phrase which you oppose. No speaker or writer of sense indeed uses the word as you define it.

15. But, Sir, I speak for myself and affirm my conviction that every unexpiated sin as respects its consequences is infinite in duration, and that is all that our discussion requires. I do not, however, use this term in your vague and unphilosophic style: for with you if a thing be infinite in length, it is infinite in breadth, in height and depth, and in every other respect. You have never studied either the grammatical or mathematical use of words, and therefore the ridiculous disquisition you give us upon language.— Let me then plainly illustrate my views of the infinitude of sin. If man could not die but by the hand of violence, would not every one that killed his brother, although he did it in a second of time, commit an infinite evil as respects the consequences of his act? Does he not deprive his brother of life forever!

16. There is not, Sir, a single violation of law that is not infinite in its consequences—i. e., in the defined sense of that word. If A rob B of a thousand pounds, has not B lost it forever! And is not the law of God violated forever! And would not the disgrace of an insulted lawgiver be eternal if the sin he not fully expiated! That is not a sinful act whose consequences are not infinite in duration. Did not the congressional murderers of your Universalian brother Cilley, though the rifle executed their passion in a moment, deprive his wife of her husband forever, and his children of their father forever! I say again, Sir, every sin is infinite in its consequences; and let me add, that if God's law were only once violated, and that outrage not fully expiated, his government would be disgraced forever! If God be holy and just, if he be benevolent and true, he must make the punishment of sin commensurate with its consequences and demerits.

17. Will you not admit, Sir, that the term *goodness*, or the perfection we call *the goodness of God*, is generic, and that benevolence, mercy, compassion, condescension, justice, truth, and holiness, are but different species or modifications of goodness? This being admitted, (and who dares to deny it!) follows it not that the goodness of God requires him to punish sin justly—that is, in the ratio of its evil consequence! If, then, sin be an outrage against

God's character, government, and subjects, of infinite consequences and bearings, every divine perfection that enters into the moral character of God demands a commensurate expiation or punishment.

18. Or have you duly reflected that the person who represents sin to be a finite trifle tempts to the commission of it? This being conceded, it follows that every effort to derogate from its heinousness—from its unspeakable malignity, or from the certainty of its adequate punishment, tends to the spread and continuance of it. The *certainty* of punishment has incomparably more power to prevent sin than the magnitude of punishment. The possibility, much more the probability of escaping punishment in whole or in part, therefore greatly nullifies the threatening of it. Hence Universalism, Skepticism, Atheism, never did, never can, reform society. The highest compliment that in strict justice and truth was ever paid the system of momentary, doubtful, or uncertain punishment in any individual case, was, that the convert became no worse than he was before. This indeed is rather an extraordinary occurrence, and savors something of a miracle!

19. The soundest philosophy of civil government ever taught, enforces the necessity of making punishment *certain* rather than severe. But, effectually to prevent crime, punishment ^{must} be both *certain* and *severe*. This human power can not effect, but Omnipotence and Omniscience can; and therefore *without the sanctions of religion human society can not exist at all*. Universalist, Skepticism, Atheism, are therefore not in accordance with human nature and human circumstances, but directly and positively subversive of society; because each of them divests the universe of a moral Governor that can punish sin or pardon it as Almighty Omniscience counsels and directs.

20. Sin a finite evil!! Who can believe it? And yet for one offence of one person in reference to a single prohibition, the countless (almost infinite) millions of human kind have died and are daily dying! Sin a finite evil, a frailty, an infirmity, a cutaneous sore! And yet for one offence of one person sin has already reigned unto death for almost six thousand years! Sin a finite evil! And yet for one offence *satan* and his untold legions of angelic peers were hurled from the battlements of heaven, whence they have been sinking in the fathomless gulf during all the flight of time, and have not yet reached the place prepared

for the devil and his angels ! Sin a finite evil ! And JESUS, God's only begotten and well beloved Son, holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sin, having it only imputed to him, is nailed to the cursed tree, and dies in such agonies as mortal never felt ! Why, Sir, it is an insult to reason and to the God of reason, that he should have instituted such an expiatory remedial system, demanding the ignominious and painful death of the pure and spotless Lamb of God, adumbrated by seas of blood and sacrificial scenes of four thousand years' continuance, to obviate a speck, a blemish, a momentary evil, which, notwithstanding all that he has said and done, remains still farther to be expiated by the purgatorial pains and penitential tears of sinners—is a libel on the wisdom, power, goodness, justice, truth, holiness, mercy, condescension, and love of God, So far from being compatible with all the divine perfections, it is incompatible with any one of them. Because he is good, and just, and true, he will not so govern the world as to allow the possibility of the recurrence of sin, much less to hold out a temptation to it. Please again read my yet unanswered expositions of your theology of the divine perfections.

21. Your quotations of Scripture are without regard to any of the rules of interpretation. You seem not to inquire *who speaks, or who is spoken to, nor even what is said.* You can always prove any thing you please by thus disjointing, distorting, and violating the context. Time, place, person, circumstances, with you pass for nothing.—The sound of the words with you decides their sense, irrespective of the interpretation of the context. What Jesus said to his *disciples*, you apply to all mankind; what the apostles said to the *Christians*, you apply to Turk, Jew, and Gentile. I do not find one in a score of your quotations that has any thing to do with the point before us. You might as rationally make the whole Jewish ritual imperative upon us, as compel the texts you have quoted in the preceding letter to bear upon the question at issue. But of this I have previously spoken. The Lord's prayer was taught to none but to the disciples of Christ ; but you extend it to the human race—all religious classes—Turks, Jews, i. fidels, etc., etc., etc.

22. But in disposing of your philosophy I will not resume the subject of interpretation. To conclude then your theory of punishment annihilating itself, I will state

three of the absurd ideas, which, like unwieldy wens, hang upon this limb of your system:—

1st. You make punishment annihilate itself. It ceases by its own operations upon itself. In working reformation it kills itself. What else in nature annihilates itself? Nothing, Sir, nothing but your notion of the intimacy between punishment and reformation?

2d. You make the effect destroy its cause. This is second only to self-annihilation. Suffering is not the cause, but the effect, of sin; yet you make suffering, the effect, destroy sin, its cause! !

3d. You represent the sinner as saved by obeying a broken law, inasmuch as you make his *post mortem* salvation the fruit of his obedience to the divine requisitions which on earth be contemned: for you teach that the sinner passes out of Purgatory upon his repentance, and obedience to that law, which, on earth, in his first state, he disobeyed. Thus you give to your law of justification a new power—the power of both condemning and justifying the same person! !

23. Presuming that you have already on hand as much as you can well dispose of in one epistle, I will not, for the present, overwhelm you with all the difficulties of your system. Very benevolently, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXVII.

UTICA, JUNE 9, 1838.

MY DEAR Sir—Having shown that every attribute of the divine being, as taught in the Scriptures and allowed by all Christians, stands directly opposed to the doctrine of endless misery, and clearly in favor of the final holiness and happiness of all mankind, I shall next proceed to show that the character, advent, labors and doctrine of Christ, as predicted in the Old Testament, and more fully laid down in the New, can not be consistently explained on any other ground but that of universal salvation.

2. In what light does the Old Testament exhibit the promised Messiah? Does it ever ascribe to him the character of a partial Saviour, or that of a weak, capricious, or revengeful being? Does it ever represent him as tender, taking less than the salvation of the whole world? or as engaging in a work, for the accomplishment of which he was incompetent? or in the pursuit of which he should encounter obstacles insurmountable, or difficulties that should discourage him? No, neither. He is uniformly represented as an all-sufficient, entirely competent, completely successful, and gloriously triumphant Redeemer and Saviour.

3. He is there set forth as the Seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head—the Shiloh, to whom the gathering of the people should be—the Rock smitten and the Well of water, as a fountain of life—the Fountain to wash in from sin and uncleanness—the Sun of Righteousness—the bright and morning Star—the Stone cut from the mountain without hands, that was destined to fill the whole earth—a Shepherd to lead and feed his flock—a Refuge for the weary—an Ensign for the people—a Pro-

phet, King, and Governor to *instruct* and rule them, 'from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth—the Righteous Branch and the Tree of Life, both to heal and nourish the nation—the Messenger and Testator of the Covenant—the Refiner and Purifier—a Feast of fat things for all people—in short, as the Salvation of God to the ends of the earth.

4. If these representations exhibit the true character of Messiah, I ask, shall the serpent's kingdom eternally stand? Shall the people never be gathered to Shiloh? Shall souls forever thirst and never taste of the water of life?— Shall sin and uncleanness never be washed away? Are there millions of souls on whom the Sun of Righteousness, with healing wings, shall never rise nor shine? Shall not the whole earth be filled with the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea? Will the Shepherd never feed his flock, nor the weary ever find rest? Will the people never flock to their Ensign, nor the Prophet instruct, nor the King rule over them! Will the nations never be healed? Will the Messenger of the Covenant never come to his temple, nor refine his silver, nor purify the sons of Levi? Shall not all people partake of the feast of fat things? And shall not the salvation of God extend to the ends of the earth? How will you answer these and similar questions?

6. In like manner the New Testament exhibits Christ as a universal and complete Saviour. He is there represented as the true Light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world—the Bread of God, that cometh down from heaven to give life unto the world—the Physician to heal the morally deceased—the Author and Finisher of faith, and the Captain of Salvation—the Jesus, or Saviour, who should save his people from their sins—the Deliverer who should turn away ungodliness from Jacob—the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world—the Head of every man—the Head of the Church, which is his body, and the fulness of him that filleth all in all—the Heir of all things—the faithful and true Witness—the prevailing Lion of the tribe of Judah—the Door and Shepherd of the sheep, who gave his life for the sheep—the Mediator and Testator of the better covenant—in short, as the complete Saviour of the world.

6. Now if Christ be the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, shall not every man be

enlightened? If the Bread of God giveth life to the world, shall not the world have life! If the morally sick are healed, shall they eternally remain diseased? Shall not faith, in the now unbelieving, be perfected under such an author and finisher as Christ, and salvation be completed under such a Captain, of whom it is said, "he shall not fail nor be discouraged"? If he saves his people from their sins, shall they eternally remain unsaved? If he turns away ungodliness from Jacob, and takes away the sin of the world, shall ungodliness and sin forever remain and hold mankind in endless bondage? Shall the body of Christ eternally remain incomplete, or diseased, or in bondage? Shall the Heir of all things never possess his inheritance? Did the Faithful and true Witness testify falsely when he declared, "and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me"? Shall the Lion of the tribe of Judah be defeated and never prevail? Shall the sheep never enter the Door opened for them, nor the Shepherd that died for them, lead them into the green pastures and by the side of the still waters of God's love? Shall the Mediator never accomplish the object of his mission, nor see the better covenant fulfilled, nor witness the conferring of the inheritance on them to whom it was bequeathed and attested by his death? In short, if he be the Saviour of the world, shall not the world, be roved?—Can he be *in truth styled the Saviour of the world*, if a large portion of the world be eternally *lost*?

7. From all these and numerous other descriptions of his advent, character, and the object of his mission, what else can be inferred but that he came for the purpose of effecting the salvation of all men, and was purposely represented as a universal Saviour, both in the Old and New Testaments? Can all these representations possibly accord with the idea of his being only a partial Saviour in Deliverer of mankind? Surely not. Moreover, the character of Christ, as exhibited in his life, labors, and teachings, while on earth, can never accord with the doctrine of endless misery, nor with any other than that of the salvation of all men.

8. In what character did Jesus appear on earth—in that of a Destroyer, or that of a Saviour?—in that of a friend, or foe of mankind?—in that of an impartial and kind benefactor of all, or in that of a capricious and petulant avenger of pretended or real wrongs? When persecuted, did

be retaliate! When reviled, did he revile again? When reproached, and scoffed at, did he curse his foes? Nay—his whole life was one continued exhibition of love, benevolence, and compassion. It is emphatically and truly said of him, "he went about doing good." To the poor and needy he was condescending and *humane*. He gave health to the sick, feet to the lame, eyes to the blind, ears to the deaf, speech to the dumb, sanity to the lunatic, bread to the hungry, forgiveness to the sinful, salvation to the lost, and life to the dead. Ever merciful and mild, he compassionated the sufferings of every condition, wept at the grave of Lazarus, his friend, and also over the approaching woes of Jerusalem, where resided his bitterest foes; and even for his bloody and cruel murderers, he prayed on the cross, and in the agonies of death at their unfeeling hands, besought his Father for their forgiveness!

9. As his life was one of ever enduring benevolence and compassion, so was it one of spotless purity and holiness, of filial obedience, and of humble resignation to every dispensation of divine Providence. The same resignation which he practiced, he inculcated upon the minds of his followers—teaching them that God was good and worthy of all confidence and trust. Sometimes he reproved his followers for their want of faith or confidence in God, but never for putting too much in him. "O ye of little faith, wherefore do ye doubt?" He teaches them, the very hairs of their heads are all numbered—that even a sparrow falls not to the ground without their Father's notice; and that God even clothes the grass of the field and the lilies of the vale, and will by no means neglect the interest and happiness of his nobler creature, man.

10. He also taught his followers to practice the same benevolence and kindness to their fellow-men, that they experienced at the hand of God—to love their enemies, bless those that cursed them, do good to those that hated them, and pray for those that despitefully used and persecuted them, in order that they might thus imitate, and become practically and characteristically the children of their Father in heaven. Now, had Jesus inculcated the idea of the implacability and hatred of God towards his enemies—that he caused his sun to shine and his rain to fall only on the just and good, and withheld them from the wicked and unjust, the evil and unthankful; had he taught them to hate and curse their enemies, that they might be like God; in

short, had he set them the example by cursing *his enemies*, and dooming them to endless wo, instead of praying for them on the cross; then indeed we might well doubt his impartiality, and question whether he either believed or taught the doctrine of universal salvation. But when we consider the life, the labors, the spirit, the temper, the example, the doctrine, the precepts and moral instructions of Jesus, we seriously and earnestly inquire, is there aught in any of them, incompatible with this benevolent doctrine, or aught that favors in the least the unmerciful doctrine of never-ending wo? Let the candid and reflecting reader judge.

11. Again, if Christ is to be regarded as the image and representative of God, and his spirit and his temper to his enemies, as the spirit and temper of God, as the Scriptures teach us, how can we come to any other conclusion than that God is good to all, not excepting his enemies, and designs the salvation of the whole world? Did Jesus pray in faith, and did a double portion of the spirit of his Father rest upon him, when he prayed for his betrayers and murderers on the cross? 'If so, will they not be saved?' And if *their sins* are to be blotted out, and they are to obtain salvation, (as Peter teaches, Acts iii: 14-26,) who is there in the world that will not? In short, if God be for us, who can be against us?

12. How can the great object of Christ's mission and labors be mistaken by an attentive reader of the Bible?—The inspired apostle declares, "we have seen and do testify, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world." 1 John iv: 14. Those that saw and heard the sublime instructions of Jesus, said, "We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world." John iv: 42. It is worthy of remark, that Christ is nowhere called, in Scripture, the Saviour of a *part* of the world, nor a *part* of a Saviour of the world, but emphatically and repeatedly *the Saviour of the world*. That the *object* of his mission was the salvation of the whole world, few in the present day dare deny. The question then occurs, Will that object be accomplished, or will Christ fail or be defeated? Now we maintain, and think the Bible abundantly warrants the conclusion, that he will *not* fail nor be defeated; (Isa. xiii: 4, and liii: 10, 11;) but that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, all his gracious designs will be consummated, his

labors of love accomplished, his object completely attained, his doctrine and predictions fulfilled, the whole world redeemed from sin, purified in the blood of the Lamb, rendered holy, and happy, and glorious forevermore, and the reconciled kingdom delivered up to God the Father, that God may be all in all. Not one word of all he predicted shall fail; not one for whom he died shall eternally perish; but all, reclaimed and restored, shall shout, "Salvation to God and the Lamb forever."

13. As a Prophet, Christ predicted both the fact and manner of his own death, his resurrection from the dead, the destruction of Jerusalem, the woes coming on that generation, and many other events that have been literally and fully accomplished, and thus gave us evidence both of his prophetic character and veracity, insomuch that we have every reason to believe every other prediction and declaration which he made relative to the object of his mission and the salvation of the world, shall, in God's own good time, be fully verified. His resurrection and exaltation to glory, is the sure pledge of the resurrection and salvation of the world—the earnest that, because he lives, we shall live also—that as the head of every man, the first born of every creature, the first begotten from the dead, bath arisen, so his body, (every individual of the human family constituting a part thereof,) the fulness of him that filleth all in all, shall eventually arise to glory, incorruption, and endless bliss.

14. I shall now proceed to consider the more direct and positive testimony of Scripture in favor of the final salvation of all mankind. I take the Bible as the only correct, safe, and all-sufficient rule of faith and practice. "To the law and the testimony; if we speak not according to these it is because there is no light in us." I profess to receive no doctrine but what can be proved by a "Thus saith the Lord." But if reason, common sense, philosophy, correct logic from allowed premises, benevolence, the prayers of all good beings in the universe, and last and best, the general voice of revelation, all unite and harmonize in attesting the doctrine of universal salvation, then must this doctrine indeed be worthy of all acceptance. This is my firm belief. The following are some of my reasons for regarding this doctrine as eminently scriptural.

15. Because the Scriptures not only represent God as the universal Creator and Parent of all mankind, who

created, not to curse and torment, but to bless and make them happy. (Isa. xliii : 6, 7; Mel. ii : 10; Acts xvii; 25-28; Wisdom of Solomon xi : 24-26.) but they also describe him as the only rightful Lord, owner and proprietor of all men : and if he be so, he can never suffer his property to be irrevocably 108c, and fall into the hands of an enemy. "Behold all souls are mine," saith God, "as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine." — "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things, to whom be glory forever." Ezek. xviii : 4. Rem. xi : 36. This last text is thus beautifully paraphrased by Dr. A. Clarke: "*Of him, as the original Designer and Author; and by him, as the prime and efficient Cause; and to him, as the ultimate end for the manifestation of his eternal glory and goodness, are all things in universal nature, through the whole compass of time and eternity—to whom be glory.* And let him have the praise of all his works from the hearts and mouths of all his intelligent creatures forever, throughout all the generations of men. Amen, so be it: let this be established forever." *Com. in loco.*

16. Because God, in the covenant of grace, hath given all mankind, and power, dominion and authority over them, into the hands of his Son for the express purpose of effecting their salvation. "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I shall give thee the heaven thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth thy possession." "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." "The Father loveth the Son and hath given all things into his hand." "Thou hast given him power over all flesh that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him." Pm. ii : 7, 8; Matt. xxviii: 18; John iii: 35; and xvii: 2. Moreover the Faithful and true Witness declares, "Ant hat the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me." If, then, all mankind, without exception, are given to Christ for the express purpose that he should give them eternal life, and all shall so come to him as not to be cast out, shall any be doomed to endless misery? And shall not all be saved?

17. Because God *wills* the salvation of all men, and inspires the hearts of all good men: to desire and pray for the same glorious end. "I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks,

be made for all men; for kings and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who will have all men to be saved and come unto the knowledge of the truth." "Thy will be done." 1 Tim. ii : 1-4; Matt. vi : 10; xxvi : 39. Would the apostle exhort, or would God inspire mankind to pray for that which is in opposition to his will? or for that which he determined never to grant? Or does man possess more benevolent feelings towards his fellow-beings than God does?

18. Because Jesus came to fulfil or accomplish the will of God, "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me. And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." "Then said I, Lo I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God."—"My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work." John iv: 34 ; vi: 3s, 39; Hebrews x : 7.

19. Because none can defeat the will of God—it shall certainly be accomplished. "He doeth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him what doest thou?" "He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." "I have finished thy work which thou gavest me to do." Dan. iv: 35; Epb. i; 11 ; John xvii : 4.

20. Because God has no other will than that above expressed and clearly revealed; and he will never have a different will. "He is in one mind, and who can turn him? and what his soul desireth that he doeth." "He is without variableness or the shadow of turning." Job xxiii: 13; James i: 17. Seeing, therefore, what God's will is, considering also its immutability, and the means employed for its accomplishment, why should we doubt the salvation of all men.

21. Because it is God's *pleasure* as well as his *will*, that all should be saved and come unto the knowledge of the truth. "For thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created." "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and

live." "For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people; he will beautify the meek with salvation." Rev. iv: 11; Ezek. xxxiii: 11; Ps. cxlix: 4.

22. Because God's pleasure shall be accomplished.— "My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure." Christ came to accomplish the pleasure of the Most High, and the prophet declares, "the pleasure of the fird shall prosper i. his hand." "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returned > not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth; it shall not return unto me void; but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." Isa. xlvi: 10; liii: 10, and lv: 10, 11.

23. Because God's fixed and unalterable *purpose* accords with his *will* and his *pleasure*; and that purpose shall certainly be accomplished. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure, which be bath *purposed in himself*, that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which . . . in heaven and which are on earth, even in him." "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, Saying, surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass; and as I have *PURPOSED*, so shall it stand—for the Lord of hosts bath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back." "I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it—I bring near my righteousness; it shall not be far off, and my salvation shall not tarry; and I will place salvation in Zion, for Israel my glory." Eph. i: 9, 10; Isa. xiv: 24, 27; and xlvi: 11-13.

24. Because God "bath spoken of the *restitution of all things* by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." Acts iii: 21. Now God would never have foretold this event by the mouth of all his holy prophets if it were never to be accomplished. And it is certain that the fulfilment of the predictions can only be accomplished by the salvation of all men. The learned Dr. Adam Clarke, forgetting his creed when becomes to this text, writes thus on it: "As the *grace of the Gospel* was intended to destroy the *reign of sin*, its energetic influence is represented as *restoring all things*, destroying the *bad state* and restoring the good; taking the kingdom out of the

hands of sin and satan, and putting it into those of righteousness and truth. This is done in every believing mul: all things are *restored* to their primitive order, and *the peace of God which passes all understanding, keeps the heart and mind in the knowledge and love of God.* The man loves God with all his heart, soul, mind and strength, and his neighbor as himself; and when such a work becomes *universal*, as the Scriptures seem to intimate that it will, then all things will be restored in the *fullest sense* of the term." If all theologians could lose sight of their creeds when they read this and similar passages, it appears to me they would come to the same conclusion with this eminent Commentator. Yours in all faithfulness, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER

LETTER XXVIII.

BETHANY, VA., JULY 12, 1838.

SIR—Your two last letters appear to have been designed for making up the number. Like mortar, they only fill up space, without strengthening the wall. When I consented to protracting the controversy to forty letters in all, or twenty letters each, it was on your allegation that you could not do justice to the subject in less. But really, Sir, for some time past you seem to have exhausted the subject and to be intent on making up the complement, rather than proving your propositions. Your proof was nearly all in your first letter: it was then in the solid form—since you have given it to us in its liquid state—and now you are exhibiting it in its gaseous phenomena. It becomes still less feasible the more specious ly you elaborate it. Your allegations require direct proof; yet you have not attempted to give us a text, not even a single text, that says all men shall be finally holy and happy—not one verse that says any thing about your *post mortem* purgatorial repentance, sanctification, and salvation.

2d. You appear in the singular attitude of proving a question of fact by theorizing, or by remote inferences from premises that have n. bearing upon the subject.—Meantime, while you are elaborating a theory rather than proving a proposition, I shall proceed to summon a few witnesses in the case, whose testimony severally and collectively refutes all Universalism, both the genuine Universalism of New-York and New-England, and your *un-written*, indefinable Restorationism. Future judgment, future punishment, the everlasting destruction and perdition of ungodly men, or the ultimate difference between the righteous and the wicked in another state, are unequi-

vocally asserted and fully maintained by the following witnesses, if their words have any meaning. Though written off as you now read them before I read your last letter, you will no doubt perceive that they reach the whole ground assumed in it, and in that which preceded it, and much more than anticipate and countervail both your quotations and reasonings. Do, Sir, give, if possible, a candid hearing to the following cloud of witnesses, any one of whom has more authority than all the Rabbis, philosophers and commentators that ever lived:—

3d. *Enoch's Testimony*.—"Behold the Lord comes with, ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment [*krisis*,* punishment] upon all, and to convince [convict] all that are ungodly amongst them, of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." Jude 15.

4th. *Abraham's Testimony*.—"That be far from thee, O Lord! to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; and *that the righteous should be as the wicked*, that be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Gen. xviii : 25.

5th. *Moses' Testimony*.—"The Lord God is merciful and gracious, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin, and that will *by no means clear the guilty*; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon their children's children, to the third and to the fourth generation." Exodus xxxiv : 6, 7.

6th. *Joshua's Testimony*.—"As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord;" but—"You can not serve the Lord; for he is a holy God, a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins. If you forsake the Lord and serve strange gods, then he will turn and do you hurt, and consume you after that he has done you good." Joshua xxiv: 19, 20.

7th. *Balaam's Testimony*.—"God is not a man that he should repent, nor the son of man that he should lie; hath he said, and shall he not do it? Hath he spoken, and shall it not come to pass? He hath not beheld iniquity in Ja-

* *Krisis*, rendered *judgment*, often means condemnation, damnation, punishment. Matt. xxiii: 33. "Vipers, how can you escape (*krisis*) the punishment of hell?" "The resurrection of damnation, or punishment." John v : 29.

cob, neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel: the Lord his God is with him. Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Had Balaam been a Universalist he might as well have had all punishment being in this life, "Let me die the death of the wicked, and let my last end be like his." Num. xxiii : 10, 19.

Sth. *David's Testimony*.—"The ungodly shun not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous: for the Lord approveth the way of the righteous, but the way of the ungodly shall perish." Ps. i : 6, 6. "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." Ps. ix : 17. "Upon the wicked he droll rain snares, fire and brimstone, and a horrible tempest. This shall be the portion of their cup." Ps. xi : 6. "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle, who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart," etc. P. . xv. "Deliver me, O Lord, from the wicked, from the men of the world which have their portion in this life." Ps. xvii : 14. "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? He who has clean hands and a pure heart; who has not lifted up his soul nor sworn deceitfully. He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation." Ps. xxiv : 3, 4. "Evil shall slay the wicked, The face of the Lord is against them that do evil." xxxiv : 16, 21. "The wicked shall perish, and the enemies of the Lord shall be as the fat of lambs. They shall consume away." xxxvii : 20. "The end of the perfect man is peace, but the transgressors shall be destroyed together: the end of the wicked shall be cut off." v : 37, 38. "To the wicked God saith, Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such a one as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them, [thy sins] in order before thine eyes. Now consider this, you that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces and them be none to deliver." 1 : 26. "Behold these are the ungodly who prosper in the world: they increase in riches. When I went into the sanctuary of God then I understood their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery places; thou castedst them down into destruction; they are brought to desolation as in a moment: they are utterly consumed with t errors. O Lord! when thou awakest thou shalt despise their image." lxxiii : 12-20. "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is

red ; it is full of mixture, and be poureth out of the same ; but the dregs thereof all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out and drink them." lxxv : 8. " When all the workers of iniquity do flourish, it is that they shall be destroyed forever. " xcii : 7.

9th, *Solomon's Testimony*.—" Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished ; but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered." Prov. xi : 21. " The wicked is driven away in his wickedness, but the righteous has hope in his death." Prov. xiv : 32. " He that being often reprov'd, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy. " xxix : 1. " Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the hearts of the sons of men are fully set in them to do evil. Though a sinner do evil a hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, who fear before him. But it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow, because he feareth not before God." Eccl. viii : 11-13. " Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole happiness of man; for God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil." Eccl. xii : 13, 14.

10th, *Isaiak's Testimony*.—" Say you to the righteous that it shall be well with him : for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo unto the wicked ! it shall be ill with him: for the reward of his hand shall be given him."—iii : 10, 11. " There is no peace, saith the Lord, to the wicked. The sinner, though a hundred years old, shall be accursed." lxxv : 20, " The destruction of transgressors and of the sinner shall be together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed." i : 28.

11th, *Jeremia's Testimony*.—" Among my people are found wicked men : they are full of deceit, therefore are they become great and waxen rich : yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked. Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord ; shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this ?" v : 25-29. " Pour out thy fury upon the heathen that know thee not, and upon the families that call not upon thy name." x : 28. " Ah ! Lord God, behold thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy great dower and stretched out arm, and there is nothing too

hard for thee. Thou showest loving kindness unto thou- sands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them. The Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of hosts is his name; great in council and mighty in work : for thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men, to give every one according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings."— xxxii : 18, 19. "I the Lord search the heart and try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings," xvii : 10.

12th. So testify Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Balaam, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah; and these are but a fair sample of the witnesses of the olden times—the Patriarchal and Jewish ages of the world. We shall now hear some of the New Testament witnesses :—

13th. John the Baptist testifies, "Jesus shall baptise you in the Holy Spirit and in fire. His fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, and hum up the chaff in unquenchable fire. The axe lieth at the root of the trees : every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." Matt. iii : 10–12.

14th. Jesus, the great teacher and light of the world, testifies, "Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall *in no case* enter into the kingdom of heaven." Matt. v : 20. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." v : 6. "If thine eye ensnare thee, pluck it out ; if thy right hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off and cast it away ; for better it is for thee that one of thy members perish than that thy whole body be cast into hell." , : 29, 30. "Enter in at the strait gate : for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and *many there be* that go in thereat. Because strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto life, and *few there be that find it.*" vii : 13, 14, "Not every one that said, Lord ! Lord ! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven. Many will say to me in THAT DAY, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name done niny wonderful works ? Then will I say to them, I never did acknowledge you ; *depart from me*, you workers of iniquity." vii : 21–23. "Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when you depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily,

I say to you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city. Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Matt. x: 14, 15, 28. "Alas! for thee Chorazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum, etc., it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for you!" Matt. xi: 21-24. "I say to you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment; for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." xii: 36, 37. "Let the tares and the wheat grow together unto the harvest, and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather you together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them; but gather the wheat into my barn. The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all that offend and do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.—Then shall the righteous shine forth in the kingdom of their Father. Whoever hath ears to hear let him hear." xiii: 29, 30, 41, 42. "So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." xiii: 47-50.—"Whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it: for what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father, with his angels, and he shall reward every man according to his works." xvi: 25-27. "It is better for thee to enter life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire—into hell fire." xviii: 8, 9. "Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! you do receive the greater damnation. Serpents! generation of vipers! how can you escape the punishment of hell?" Matt. xxiii: 14-33. "These [the wicked] shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." Matt. xxv: 46.

15th. Thus Matthew Levi testifies that Jesus spoke and taught the people. Matthew, Luke, and John confirm the statement of Matthew, and add other sayings of the Messiah of a similar import, and sometimes illustrative of them;

such as, "all sins may be forgiven unto the sons of men, and blasphemies wherewith they shall blaspheme; but he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit *bath never forgiveness*, but is in danger of [or liable to] eternal damnation." Mark iii : 28. Matthew adds, "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Holy Spirit *it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.*" xii : 31, 32. Luke also declares, "To him that blasphemeth against the Holy Spirit *it shall not be forgiven.*" xii : 10. Mark, by a peculiar repetition, makes some points more emphatic; as when he quotes the Messiah saying, "Than thou shalt go into hell, in to the fire that never shall be quenched, where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." This he repeats three times, chap. ix : 42-48. "Wo to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it were good for that man that he had never been born." Mark xiv : 21. "He that believeth not shall be damned." Mark xvi, 16, "He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my word, hath one that judgeth him—the word that I have spoken the same shall judge [condemn] him *in the last day.*" John xii : 48. If it be possible for human language to assure us that there are some persons who shall never be pardoned, Jesus Christ himself has most solemnly and explicitly done it in the words before quoted—"He shall never be forgiven, neither in this world nor in that to come."

16th. Here we might pause: for who can illustrate or confirm the words of the Saviour and Judge of all men!—But as there are some who teach that since the Gospel was fully preached by the apostles, and not by Christ, nor the Prophets, we must look to their testimony for the future condition of those who receive and reject their Gospel.—We shall therefore hear some of the apostles testify on this subject:—

17. The sketches of sermons found in the Acts of the Apostles show that the receiving and rejecting of the Gospel, as there published, was understood by all the preachers as equivalent to receiving and rejecting eternal life. For example, Paul and Barnabas said to the Jews in Antioch of Pisidia, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing you put it from you, and *judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life*, we turn to the Gentiles." Again, Luke says, "When the Gentiles heard this they were glad, and glorified the word

of the Lad; and as many as were ordained [determined] for *eternal life*, believed." And to those who rejected the Gospel, Paul says, "Behold, you despisers, and wonder and perish." Acts xiii : 41, 46, 48. And as if the *life eternal* of the hearers depended in part upon the faithfulness of the preacher, Paul says, "I have not shunned to declare to you all the counsel of God; therefore I call you to record this day that I am pure from *the blood* of all men." Acts xx : 26, 27. As a proof of the faithfulness of Paul, we learn that when he reasoned before Felix and Drusilla of righteousness, temperance, and *judgment to come*, Felix trembled. Acts xxiv : 25. But we have not to infer their mind or make out their testimony by construction. We shall therefore hear Paul in his Epistles :—

18th. *Paul's Testimony*.—"Despise thou the riches of his goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance. But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honor, and immortality, (he will reward) eternal life. But unto them who are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, (he will reward) indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first and also of the Gentile. But glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God. For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish without law, and as many as have sinned under the law shall be judged (condemned) by the law; for not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." Item, ii: 1-13. This passage maybe regarded as a full expose of the principles of the moral government of God as Paul understood it. Every thing else found in his epistles is but an application of these principles. For example:—

19th. "Know you not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolators, 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." 1 Cor. vi: 9, 30, 11. This

is substantially oft repeated; such as Gal. v : 19, 21.—
 “The works of the flesh are manifest, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, sedition, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I have also told in times past, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” Once more—“For this you know,” says Paul, “that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolator, *has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.* Let no man deceive you with empty words: for because of these things comes *the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience.*” Ephesians v : 4, 5.

20th. He varies his style, and teaches the same solemn truths in a great many ways. “We apostles are unto God a sweet savor of Christ in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are the savor of death unto death, and to the other the savor of life unto life.” 2 Cor. ii : 15, 16. “We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body, according to that he hath done, whether good or bad. Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men.” 2 Cor. v : 10. “For our God is a consuming fire” Heb. xii: 29. “If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ let him be *anathema maranatha* (accursed when the Lord comes.)” 1 Cor. xvi: 22. “For though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be anathema”—i. e. accursed. Gal. i: 8. “Be not deceived: God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap *corruption*; (death;) but he that soweth to the spirit, shall of the spirit reap life everlasting,” (corruption.) Gal. v : 7, 8.

21st. “There are many walk—the enemies of Christ. *Their end is destruction!*” Phil. iii : 19. “Yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night: for when they shall say, Peace and safety! then sudden destruction cometh upon them—as travail upon a woman with child—and they shall not escape.” 1 Thins. v : 2. “Let the troubled (persecuted) rest with us—when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking

vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe." 2 Thess. i: 7-10. We need not quote Paul farther: he can not be more explicit, not even when he says, "He that despised Moses' law died without mercy—at the mouth of two or three witnesses—of how much sorer punishment (*than death*) will he be thought worthy who trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing?" etc. Heb. x: 29. "But we are not of them who *draw back to perdition*, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul." x: 39.

22d. We have not yet heard the pillars James, and John, and Peter, nor have we room for their whole testimony; a few words from each will show on which side they stand:—James says, c. Sin, when it is perfected, brings forth death;" and "judgment without mercy shall be awarded to him that showed no mercy;" "yet mercy rejoiceth against judgment;" and "he who converts a sinner from the error of his way shall *save a soul from death*, and hide a multitude of sins." Chap. i: 15; ii: 13; v: 20. "If punishment begin at the house of God, what shall be the end of them who do not obey the Gospel of God? And if the righteous with difficulty escape, where will the ungodly and the sinner appear?" 1 Peter iv: 17, 18. "False teachers—denying the Lord that bought them—shall bring upon themselves swift destruction. The punishment threatened of old lingers not, and their damnation slumbers not! For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved to judgment, and spared not the old world, nor Sodom, nor Gomorrah, *will he spare you?* The Lord knows how to reserve the unjust *unto the day of judgment to be punished.*" 2 Peter ii: 3-10. "The heavens, and the earth which are now by the same word, are kept in store, reserved to fire against the *day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.*" "The unlearned and unteachable wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction." 2 Peter iii: 7, 16. "This is the record that God has given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son has life, and he that has not the Son of

God has not life." I John v: 11, 12. "No murderer has eternal life abiding in him; and every one who hates his brother is a murderer." 1 John iii: 15.

23d. We shall not enter the Apocalypse because of its symbolic style, but conclude with a few words from Jude: "The angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he has reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." Verse 6. "Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness forever." Verse 13.

24th. So depose Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, Jesus the Messiah, the four Evangelists, Paul, Peter, James and Jude. On their testimony, without a word of comment, leaving the literal to explain the figurative, and the figurative the Wxd-prophets to explain apostles—and apostles prophets, and Jesus himself to explain them all, I leave it with all my readers to decide for themselves whether there be not the strongest reasons on the part of all impenitent sinners for "a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries of God and Christ." I have sometimes quoted from the new version as well as from the old; but as some of these passages will doubtless be reconsidered, I appeal, according to stipulation, to the common version only.

Faithfully yours, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXIX.

UTICA, JULY 9, 1838.

DEAR SIR—In addition to the arguments already before our readers in favor of the final salvation of all men, I present you with the following further scriptural reasons for entertaining this faith.

2. Because David, an inspired prophet of the Most High, declares unequivocally that "all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee. For the kingdom is the Lord's and he is the governor among the nations," Ps. xxii: 27, 28. Here notice that by the expression, "all the ends of the world," is meant all people in all parts of the earth; and lest the universality of the language should still be questioned, he repeats the substance of it as applying to all nations in still stronger terms; and lest a single soul of the human family should be left out, he says, "all the *kindreds* of the nations." By the expression, "shall remember," it is implied that they had not *yet* remembered; and by, "shall worship before thee," is implied ultimate, hearty and sincere reconciliation and devotion. The Psalmist assigns the best of all possible reasons for this result, viz: that "the kingdom is the Lord's and He is the Governor among the nations." Had the kingdom been the devil's and he the governor among the nations, no such happy result could have been anticipated; and there would have been some plausible ground for your gloomy doctrine of endless damnation.

3. Because David also declares of Christ, that "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers unto the ends of the earth"—that "all kings shall fall down

before him; all nations shall serve him." Ps. lxxii : 8, 11. What expressions of greater universality than the above, could the Psalmist have used, had he intended to teach the salvation of all men?

4. Because the Psalmist further declares, "All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name." Ps. lxxxvi : 9. Now as there is no nation but what God has made, and all nations that he has made shall come and worship before him in such a manner as to glorify his name, there is no other conclusion to which we can come but this, that all shall experience a saving conversion and become the participants of salvation.

5. Because God declares by the prophet Isaiah, "Look unto me, and be ye rewed all the ends of the earth; for I am God and there is none else. I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear, surely shall say, in the Lord have I righteousness and strength." Isa. xiv: 22-24. Who shall gainsay the irrevocable oath of the immutable Jehovah? His word and his oath are pledged, and "it is impossible for God to lie."

6. Because St. Paul reiterates the same sentiment, and applies its consummation to the dominion Of Christ. After speaking of the ^{hum}iliation and obedience of Christ, he says, "Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at (in) the name of Jesus every knee should bow of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." Philip. ii: 9-11.

7. Because the same apostle also says, (1 Cor. xii : 3.) that "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Spirit." Hence, as all shall confess him Lord, and that "to the glory of God the Father," it is evident that the divine spirit must then be and abide with each and all.

8. Because God promised that in the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, all the nations, and families, and kindreds of the earth should be blessed. "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." "All the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him." "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." "In thy seed

shall all the kindreds of the earth be blessed." Gen. xii : 3 ; xviii : 18 ; xxvi : 4 ; xxviii : 14 ; Acts iii : 25. If there be on the face of the earth a solitary individual who is not of any nation, or any family, or who is not a kindred of the earth, then that individual may not be included in the Gospel covenant ; otherwise he must be blessed in Christ, if God's oath and promise be true.

9. Because Christ was the promised seed of the patriarchs in whom this blessing was to be bestowed and shared, and therefore the blessing was of a spiritual instead of a temporal nature, and clearly implied the salvation of those that were to be blessed. " Now to Ah, ah and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to seeds, as of many ; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ." Gal. iii : 16.

10. Because God has made in Zion, a feast of fat things for all people. " And in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees ; of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the face of the covering cast over all people, and the vail that is spread over all nations," Isa. xxv : 6, 7. It matters not, so far as the result is concerned, how thick the face of the covering or how dense the vail of darkness that may now obscure the mental vision of individuals or nations. It shall be pierced by the potent beams of the great Sun of righteousness : yea, it shall be utterly destroyed and known no more forever : and all people and nations shall see as they are seen and know as they are known, and thus partake of the feast of fat things for all people.

11. Because Jesus, the promised Messiah, the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in whom all nations, families, and kindreds of the earth were to be blessed, has given " himself a ransom for all to be testified in due time"—" by the grace of God, has tasted death for every man"—" is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world"—and is called " the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." John i : 29 ; 1 Tim. ii : 6 ; Heb. ii : 9 ; 1 John ii : 2.

12. Because by his death he was to conquer and destroy death, and him that hath the power of death. " Forasmuch, then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same ; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death,

that is the devil, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject unto bondage." His triumph over death is to be so complete that the challenge may be triumphantly given, "O death where is thy sting?" "O grave where is thy victory?" Heb. ii :14, 15; 1 Cor. xv : 55.

13. Because God hath promised not only the destruction of death and every thing that can disturb or mar the felicity of his children, but also that he will wipe away all team from off all faces. "He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces, and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth; for the Lord hath spoken it."—"And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away." Isa. xxv : 8; Rev. xxi : 4.

14. Because God is to write his law in every heart and put it in every mind—he is to be the God of .11, and all are to be his people—he is to be with and bless all—all are to know, love and serve him. Jer. xxxi : 33, 34; Heb. viii : 10, 11; Ps. lxxii : 8, 11; Rev. xxi : 2, 3.

15. Because to know and love God and Jesus Christ, as we have assurance that all shall do at last, is life eternal—is equivalent to, and synonymous with, salvation. "This is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." "Every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God—God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God is in him," and this is salvation. John xiv : 23; xv ii : 3; 1 John iv : 7, 16.

16. Because the very judgments, punishments, and chastisements, which God inflicts on mankind, so far from being designed to injure, are especially designed for their benefit—to humble, subdue, correct and amend: and therefore can not be in contravention of his numerous promises of universal salvation. "Is the law against the promises of God? God forbid!" "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye be without chastisement whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons. Furthermore, we have had fathers of the flesh who corrected us, and we gave them reverence: shall we not much rather be in subjection to the Father of spirits and live? For they verily

chastened us after their pleasure ; but he [God] for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holiness. Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous ; nevertheless, afterward he yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby. " The Lord will not cast off forever ; but though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men." " If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments, if they break my statutes and keep not my commandments ; then will I visit their transgressions with the rod and their iniquities with stripes. Nevertheless, my loving kindness will I not utterly take from him, nor suffer my faithfulness to fail. My covenant will I not break nor alter the thing that is gone out of my lips." Gal. iii : 21 ; Heb. xii : 6-11 ; Lam. iii : 31-33. See also Isa. liv : 1-8, and lvii : 16-21, and Matt. xxiii : 34-39 : Ps. lxxxix : 30-34. Thus, whatever iniquities may be committed, and whatever judgments or punishments God may see fit to inflict on mankind, they can not nullify his promise, or cause him to break his oath and covenant, in which he has pledged his veracity to bless in Christ all the nations, families and kindreds of the earth.

17. Bees." see the righteousness in Christ, and the justification of man unto life through him are to be as universal as the reign and condemnation of sin, " As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men unto condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many [*hoi polloi*, the many, the multitude, or the mass of mankind] be made righteous.," — Rem. v : 18, 19. This you allow to be a proper antithesis, and contend that " the words on both sides are to be taken in the same extent of meaning.," How then can you avoid the conclusion that all are to be made righteous in Christ ?

18. Because, although sin greatly abounds and subjects its infatuated votaries to grew and protracted miseries, yet the apostle declares that " where sin abounded, grace did much more abound ; that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign, through righteousness, unto eternal life by Jesus Christ our Lord." Rom. v : 20, 21. From this testimony it must be clear, that grace shall not only reign as extensively as sin has, that is, universally

among men, but more powerfully, more effectually and more lastingly. But if it does not, and if it should not remove and do away all the evils of sin, and bestow greater good than was previously enjoyed, then it can not be true that grace abounds "much more than sin."

19. Because the same creature, (that is the whole creation,) that was subjected to vanity, frailty and bondage, shall be emancipated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who bath subjected the same in hop. ; that the creature (*hisis, creation*) itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Rom. viii: 20, 21.

20. Because Christ is repeatedly "called the *Saviour of the world*—and he can not be the Saviour of the world if only a *part* of the world is ever saved, "We have heard him ourselves and know that this is, indeed, the Christ, the Saviour of the world." "And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world." John iv : 42 ; 1 John iv : 14,

21. Because Christ is the seed of the woman which was to bruise the serpent's head, figuratively represent. ing the destruction of evil; and it is expressly declared of him, that "for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil," 1 John iii : 8.

22. Because Christ prayed not only for his friends and disciples in a special manner, but also for the *world*, for which he gave himself a ransom, not excepting his very murderers. John xvii : 2, 9, 20-23 ; Luke xxiii: 34.

23. Because Christ never prayed against, but in accord. ante with, the will of God, and he declares that he "knew that the Father always heard him when he prayed."—Matt. xxvi: 42; John xi: 41, 42: xviii: 11.

24. Because we have the promise of the fulness of the Gentiles coming in, and all Israel being saved. "It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation to the ends of the earth," "For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery. (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits,) that blindness in part is happened unto Israel, until the

fulness of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved." Isa. **xlix** : 6 ; Rom. **xi** : 2, 5, 26,

25. Because the doctrine of universal salvation alone accords with the commands and the teachings of Christ.— "I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your father which is in heaven," etc. Now, unless God loves his enemies and blesses those that curse him, etc., them certainly is no propriety in urging mankind to do it that they may be like him."—Matt. **v** : 44–48.

26. Because God is called the Saviour of all men, and his grace is said to bring salvation to all men. "For therefore we both labor and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe." c. For [correctly translated] the grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." 1 Tim. **iv** : 10; Tit. **ii** : 11, 12.

27. Because God has given to mankind eternal life in Christ, and unbelief can not destroy it, nor nullify its truth and verity. ' He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: he that believeth *not* God, hath made him a liar: [i. e., treated him as such;] became he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son. And **THIS IS THE RECORD**, that God hath given to us **ETERNAL LIFE**; and this life is in his Son." "For what if some did not believe? Shall their unbelief make the faith [fidelity] of God without effect? God forbid: yea, let God be true, though every man were a liar." 1 John **v** : 10, 11; Romans **iii** : 3, 4. Thus eternal life is truly the gift of God to man in Christ, whether man believes it or not. And whenever man believes this truth, whether here or hereafter, and not till then, will he enter into the enjoyment of that which is as true without as with his faith.

28. Because the law of God requires all mankind to love him with all the heart, soul, mind and strength, and their neighbors as themselves. "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets?" Obedience to these two commandments is the only medium of fulfilling the law and the prophets. Love, and love only, is the fulfilling of the law. And we are assured that not one "jo t

or tittle of the law shall fail until all be fulfilled." Matt. v: 17, 18; Luke x: 27; xvi: 17. And as "God has spoken of the restitution of all things by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began," both the law and the prophet require the salvation of all men in order to their fulfilment. If one poor soul should remain in endless rebellion and unreconciliation, as much as one jot or tittle of the law would forever fail and remain unfulfilled.

29. Because a universal resurrection of all men to life in Christ Jesus, is plainly and positively declared in Holy Writ: and furthermore, that "if any man be in Christ he is a new creature—old things are past away, and all things are become new." "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ [not out of him] shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv: 22. See the whole chapter, and 2 Cor. v: 17.—Here you acknowledge is another perfect antithesis, the words "all men" in both parts of which are "men taken in the same extent of meaning."

30. Because "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea and all that are in them," shall ultimately unite in one universal anthem of praise, and exclaim, "Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever." Rev. v: 13.

31. Because in that grand and glorious consummation, predicted by the foregoing Scriptures, when Christ delivers up the reconciled kingdom to the Father, God shall become all in all, to each one of his offspring; and when he is in them all and all are in him spiritually, understandingly, and truly, then will all be perfectly holy and consequently perfectly happy. "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. Death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed. For he hath put all things under his feet. But when he hath put all things under his feet, it is manifest that he is excepted which did put all things under him.—And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that GOD MAY BE ALL IN ALL." 1 Cor. xv: 24-28.

32. To the scores of Scripture testimonies here adduced, multitudes more might be added were it necessary. But this I deem unnecessary for any minds, unless it be

those deeply imbued with prejudice and obstinately determined in unbelief. On such more would be useless; for many of them would not be persuaded though one arose from the dead. I shall, however, have occasion to refer to a few more hereafter, when I come to notice your two or three last letters. In the mean time I submit to the minds of the candid the following queries:

33. How can all the foregoing Scriptures be true, and yet the salvation of all men not be true? How could that doctrine be expressed in stronger terms than those found in the above passages? If it were true, in what language would you expect to find it expressed? I know of no language stronger than that used. Can these passages, all or any of them, be reconciled with the merciless dogma of endless damnation? I trow not. If the doctrine of endless hell torments be true, why did neither Christ nor his apostles ever teach it? Why did none of the apostles ever threaten their hearers with hell torments in one solitary instance of their pl-caching on record?—why did the great apostle to the Gentiles never so much as name hell, nor use one word in the original that is ever translated hell, except *hades*, and then only to show its destruction? 1 Cor. xv: 55. What would be thought of a preacher now-a-days who should travel as far and preach as extensively and as long as Paul did and never onto mention hell? What is to become of your endless hell and its subjects when the devil and all his works are destroyed—when sin shall be finished, an end made of transgression and everlasting righteousness brought in—when there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither any more pain—and when God shall become all in all? If the doctrine of endless hell torments be true, why have we no account of its ever having been preached in the Christian church, before the days of Tertullian in the third century? If the doctrine of universal salvation be regarded as so erroneous and pernicious as you deem it, why was it held and, openly promulgated by some (if not all) of the most eminent of the Christian Fathers? and why was it never condemned nor deemed heretical in the days of Clement, of Origen, of Gregory, Pamphilius, etc., nor until the fifth century, when many of the greatest corruption had entered the church, that have ever disgraced it and disfigured the pure Gospel of Christ!

Yours in all faithfulness, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER

LETTER XXX.

BETHANY, VA., AUGUST 1, 1838.

SIR—Your grand proposition is, that “*eternal life* [meaning holiness and happiness] shall be the ultimate destiny of all mankind.” This you were to prove from the Bible. Your proposition is not single, but compound. You admit that “without holiness no man shall see the Lord.” Hence you have to prove that all men will ultimately be holy. But multitudes, you also are obliged to admit, live and die in their sins, unrighteous and unholy : consequently, you have also to prove from THE BOOK, that all who live and die unholy and profane, shall be made holy after death. Both of these points being established, it remains for you to prove that all men shall be finally *happy*.

2. Now, instead of dividing the proposition and proving the predicates separately, you are attempting, contrary to all the rules of reason, to prove a compound proposition by texts that neither name, nor even allude to, any one of the predicates you have laid down. Should you even prove one of the predicates, it does not necessarily follow that the other is also proved. You remind me of one who said he could prove his system from every text in the Bible: so you can prove Universalism by a hundred texts that never allude to the subject. To quote the Scriptures with your license, is summarily to hand me the Bible and say that in the aggregate it proves everything you affirm.

3. Universalists seem not to be aware of this sophistry ; for I never saw them quote averse to prove their predicates separately—as, for instance, that all men shall finally be holy. They reason as if the assertion of the one point proves the other. The proof of universal happiness, is universal holiness, and the proof of universal holiness is universal happiness, seems to be your favorite circle. You move in this circle ; for in all your quotations you have not presumed to adduce a single text in proof the final *holiness* of all mankind.

4. Your "*thus saith the Lord*," is " Thus saith Mr. Skinner" on some scrap of disjointed Scripture. For example, in letter XXVII, you say " God is the rightful owner and proprietor of all men." You quote the Lord as saying, " All souls are mine." The., says Mr. Skinner. " he can not suffer his property to be irrevocably lost."—Lost for a time he may suffer it, but not irrevocably ! This is one of your Scripture proofs, from which you infer the ultimate salvation of all ; and this inference you call a *thus saith the Lord*. Well, are not all sheep and cattle the Lord's ? Does this prove their final salvation !

5. Another of your direct proofs (Nos. 14, 15, 16) is the promise that the heathen people were to be given to Christ " for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession." Another—" When lifted up on the cross Christ would draw all men to him " Another—" That he would give eternal life to as many as were given him," etc., etc. Do any of these texts affirm the ultimate holiness and happiness of every man ? Christ has been long since lifted up : has he now drawn all men to him ? The heathen are now his inheritance : are they every soul converted, or will they universally become holy ? Where is the proof in these Scriptures ? As well might you affirm that when Paul said to the Colossians, he " warned every man and taught every man, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus," he meant every son of Adam. Did he mean every son of Adam, or did he mean every one of a certain class, or place, or number ! You answer to this will refute all your Scripture quotations.

6. You rely upon the universality of certain words in all these presages. Well, we shall give you another specimen : " Behold *the world* is gone after him." John xii.—" Your faith is spoken of throughout *the whole world*."

Rem. i. " *All the world* wondered after the beast." Rev. xiii : 3. Do the phrases " the world," " the whole world," and " all the world," mean every son of Adam, or some of all classes, or the whole of one class. Answer as you please—your answer is mine to your quotations.

7. As you have not yet replied to my last three letters, I shall go on to prove still farther the negative of your proposition This I will attempt by adducing a few illustrations and proofs of the following proposition : *The language and style of the Bible are at war with Universalism.*

8. *Example 1st.* You say that after death, or at most

after the final judgment, all men will be made holy and righteous. Now the last intimation of the sayings of the Judge, found in the Apocalypse, flatly and directly contradict this: for after the final judgment he will say, "He that is unjust [then] let him be unjust still [or forever;] and he that is filthy let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous let him be righteous still; and he that is holy let him be holy still." Rev. xxii: 11. Where now ~~your~~ universal holiness! There are some unjust, filthy, unrighteous, and unholy persons after the final adjudication, according to John. They are, then, not all holy.

9. *Example 2d.* In describing the New Jerusalem state, John farther says, (xxi: 24,) "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it." Does not this imply that all will not be saved, or that only one class of mankind shall inhabit the heavenly Jerusalem?

10. *Example 3d.* "They shall enter into the heavenly city whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life." Can anything more plainly intimate that there are names *not* written in the Lamb's book of life, who shall not enter into the New Jerusalem?

10. *Example 4th.* "Blessed are they who do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter through the gates into the city." Rev. xxii: 14. Can any words more fully evince that there are some who will not have right to the tree of life, and who can not enter through the gates into the city?

12. *Example 5th.* "Without are dogs, sorcerers, whores, murderers, idolaters, and whosoever loveth and inventeth a lie." Rev. xxii: 15. This may be rolled the last oracle of God concerning the ultimate destiny of mankind; and does not this intimate that there will be kept out of the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, a large portion of mankind?

13. *Example 6th.* "The elect of God." "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?" This phrase intimates that there are some who are not God's elect—some who are not blessed, pure in heart, or saved from their sins—against whom charges of condemnation may be brought.—From these specimens the readers of the Bible will be able to add hundreds of passages that designate the opposite characters, fortunes, and ultimate destinies of mankind, so plainly and so fully that it will require great ingenuity to pervert or misapply the m,

14. Compare the point in such contrasts as these with the looseness of your inferences from Scripture quotations : for example. one of your proof-texts, with which you cap a whole climax, is, " Whom the heaven must receive until the time, of restitution (or *accomplishment*, as some of the learned render it,) of all things which God has spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." (Close of letter XXVII.) From this you argue the certain salvation of all mankind. Now what says the text ? '*Christ must continue in heaven till the times of the accomplishment,* or restitution, if you please, "of all things which God has spoken by his prophets from the beginning of time."*' This proves that Christ will not again appear on earth till all the predictions of the prophets concerning the church and the world shall be accomplished. From which you infer the restoration of the wicked out of hell, and their final holiness and happiness, although the prophets in their thousand predictions have not once spoken of this subject.

15. Now, Sir, let me say to you emphatically that you can not produce one text in proof of your compound-proposition of final holiness and happiness that I can not show to be as much perverted as this one ; nay, you can not produce one text that I can not show to be a manifest wresting and perversion of Scripture. Select one or two of your strongest texts and put me to the proof. You need not tell me that you can produce one hundred : remember I only ask for one. If you can produce only one, that, *fairly construed in its contextual meaning and the scope of the passage, affirms the final holiness, or the after death reformation of wicked men, or the eternal happiness of mankind,* I will give up the whole controversy.

16. You and " the destructionists" having concurred that endless misery is unjust or unjustifiable, have had recourse to many expedient to explain away a thousand scriptures that confront your theories. You once said that you were glad that I was not a destructionist ; and why I could not conceive, unless you thought as some of my friends once seemed to think, that destructionism is more plausible or palatable than everlasting punishment, But,

" To me," says Dr George Campbell, " it is manifest that these words, *The restitution of all things which God hath spoken by his prophets,* convey no meaning at all. Substitute *accomplishment or restitution,* and there remains not a vestige of difficulty or of impropriety in the sentence." See him on Mat. XV. >: 11.

Sir, I go for what is evidently the meaning of Scripture, or whatever is true ; not for what is most plausible or palatable. And however plausible the reasonings of Mr. Born-n of Birmingham, or those of the more deservedly celebrated John Taylor of Norwich, from whom destructionism has been imported into the United States, and once handsomely set forth in an anonymous pamphlet of my friend Henry Grew of Philadelphia, are now maintained by two or three of my acquaintance, from whom I expected more good sense : I say, however commended to us as worthy of all acceptation, because more consonant to some men's theories of what is fitting for God and men, destructionism is to my mind just as repugnant to Scripture language, right reason, and good logic, as your modified Restorationism or ultra Universalism.

17. The modified destructionism of Old England and of New England, as above noticed, is briefly told in two sentences:—"Eternal punishment dots not mean," say they, "an eternal preservation in misery and torment, hut a total extinction of being. The sentence of destruction, or annihilation, or total extinction of consciousness, shall be preceded with more or less torment proportioned to the greater or less guilt of the criminal." This, with these benevolent spirits, is everlasting punishment, everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, the fire that is never quenched, the worm that never dies, the true contrast with eternal life. Dr. Watt's annihilation of infants is but a *modification* or special application of this very comprehensible and intelligible theory. Their end is destruction, or annihilation, or total extinction of consciousness, etc., etc. I have hut one objection to this theory—and that is, that it makes the word of God of no effect so far as it presumes to sustain itself by its testimony.

18. With me punishment is pain, and everlasting punishment is everlasting pain, not an everlasting unconsciousness of pain, torment, or misery; for that, with me is everlasting annihilation. Their system is *suicidal*, because they first say that everlasting punishment is everlasting annihilation or unconsciousness; and then unsay it by alleging that sinners are raised to life, are first tormented according to their works, and then destroyed or annihilated: so that with them, at one time, punishment in torment precedes destruction, and at another eternal punishment is eternal unconsciousness or destruction. If this be not a suicidal theory, there is none such.

19. To destroy the meaning of words is to destroy the Bible : for what is the Bible but words of fixed meaning ? Unfix the meaning of these words, and where shall revelation be found ! Now if punishment mean pain or torment, it can not also mean unconsciousness ; for an unconscious being can not suffer pain. If there be everlasting punishment, there must be everlasting consciousness ; in other words, there can not be pain without feeling. *No feeling, no pain*, is a sure maxim. An everlasting destitution of feeling and everlasting punishment in the subject, is a contradiction in terms. Bible destruction is not, then, the extinction of life, of consciousness, or of feeling: for if it were, eternal pain or misery would be impossible. This is my first argument against the destructionists.

20. My second is, that Jesus assigns to wicked men the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. Now angels can not die ; for Jesus affirms they can not. They can not be annihilated or rendered unconscious of being. Hence as the devil can not die, or cease to be uncle, future torments, neither can the wicked : for the devil, wicked angels, and wicked men are to be co-partners in the same eternal fire—in the same everlasting punishment. And that the devil and his angels are to be tormented beyond their present sufferings is clear to themselves : for when Jesus came the first time they asked if he were about to torment them before the final judgment.

21. My third argument is, that if eternal punishment be eternal unconsciousness, an eternal ceasing to be, or annihilation, (for we use the word annihilation not in the quibbling sense of some who suppose a reduction to *nihilum* impossible;) I say, if eternal punishment be eternal death in the sense of eternal unconsciousness, then three who are doomed to this state are punished no more than the harmless dove that sings among the branches, or the innocent lamb that skips in the meadow ; for they too suffer an everlasting punishment—they go into the eternal fire with the devil and his angels, if that everlasting punishment and eternal fire be an eternal deep, an everlasting unconsciousness, and endless extinction of feeling. These three objections to me are insuperable. Others are at hand.

22. These are not, however, the common arguments by which this system has been usually assailed. Dr. Chauncy, like many other Universalists, held the doctrine of the

destructionists *provisionally*; that is, if he failed in proving the salvation of all men, he would then contend for the destruction or eternal unconsciousness of all wicked men.—The great Dr. Edwards objected to this destructionism as follows:—

23. 1st. That the different degrees of punishment which the wicked will suffer according to their works, proves that it does not consist in annihilation, because that admits of no degrees.

24. 2d. If this annihilation be preceded by torment of different degrees, then it makes eternal punishment to be a compound of previous torment and eternal annihilation. And this makes annihilation the least punishment imaginable, as that without any previous torment will be the doom of infant, and the least culpable sinners.

25. 3d. To be annihilated after a long series of torments would be no punishment at all; it would indeed be anticipated as a sort of rest or heaven to the miserable inmates of a temporary hell.

26. 4th. To threaten men with "recompensing tribulation," and "taking vengeance in flaming fire" and "everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord," is to threaten them with putting an end to their miseries, if everlasting destruction mean an everlasting ceasing to be, or an eternal annihilation.

27. Met by such arguments as these, the talents and learning of Taylor, the ingenuity of Bourn, and the dexterity of Scott and Mason failed in the last century of making many converts to this theory—the pleasing salvo of dubious Universalists, the anodyne of those who have too much sense for gross Universalism, and too little faith in the words of him who will say, "Depart, you CURSED," not you BLESSED, "into the ETERNAL FIRE prepared for the DEVIL and his angels." "These shall go away into everlasting punishment, while the righteous enter into life eternal."

28. Life, let me add, is not simple being; nor eternal life eternal being, but eternal well-being: neither is eternal death the loss of being, or of consciousness, but the loss of eternal well-being. For there will be *something* to be blessed and *something* to be tormented forever and over, independent of, and distinct from, eternal happiness and eternal torment.

29. I am not, then, a Destructionist, a Restorationist,

nor an *ultra Universalian*—not from any prejudice against any of them, but because I can not find in the Bible a single sentence contextually interpreted, not a single word properly understood, favorable to any of these schemes.—I claim no originality on this subject. I am not in love with any new theory, neither have I any traditional prepossession nor bias against them: I have long since made myself familiar with these theories and their evidence to see if there was any thing in them more worthy of acceptance than the old Protestant, Puritan, or Waldensian theories. I have found that the views of the primitive church, of the Protestant and Waldensian church, on this subject, are consonant to Scripture, good sense, and round reason, if I am any judge of such matters. Some of them may have spoken very incongruously, and done injustice to themselves and brethren; still the Arminian and Calvinian theories are incomparably more scriptural and rational than those of the Destructionist, Romanist, or the Universalist.

30. The apostles could have very easily prevented all difficulty upon this subject by simply assuring us in definite language that all the wicked dead should become righteous men in another world in consequence of being tormented fern thousand years in hell; that they would eventually all become holy and happy; or if that were not the fact, they could have taught us that all the wicked dead shall be raised and tormented for a few thousand years, and then annihilated as an eternal punishment or rest from misery. But, Sir, such ideas are not in the Bible, simply because they were not in the minds of the men who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.

31. Now, Sir, let me say to you with all perspicuity, that I neither adopt nor oppose any theory on this subject because it corresponds with, or differs from, my views of the primitive and present constitution of man. Nor would I non-fellowship a destructionist because of his theory, inasmuch as he teaches that it shall not hereafter and forever be with the righteous as with the wicked; nor would I make it a term of Christian union or communion that a person should agree with me in my exposition of future punishment. But, Sir, the absolute denial of future punishment in another state of existence is with me a denial of the faith of Christ whose errand into this world, whose death, burial, and resurrection for our sins and for our jus-

tification were altogether unjustifiable and unnecessary, if so be that man was not forever doomed to woe because of sin, or saved from endless misery by Christ's interposition. It is as unequivocal a denial of Christ's words as quoted by me in the 28th letter, as human speech affords. The boundary between opinion and faith are to my mind clearly marked. To deny a fact and to differ in opinion, are, with me, two things as different as reasoning and believing—as seeing, I object and think, I g about it. I have, moreover, uniformly found that those who deny the future punishment of wicked men, deny other facts in the Christian system that essentially change its nature, character, and design. But of this I may have to speak more plainly and fully hereafter.

32. After giving us in letter 29th, a string of Scripture texts speaking of Christ's kingdom in this world compared with the narrow limits of the ancient kingdom of God among the Jews—of the superabundance of grace in passing over millions of sins in an individual, while sins reigns to death for a single offence—of Christ's being called "the Saviour of the world"—of Christ's praying in accordance with the will of God—of "every knee bowing and of every tongue confessing to the glory of God"—you proceed to ask, last paragraph, "*How can all the foregoing scriptures be true and yet the salvation of all men not be true?*" etc. I answer, because not one of those scriptures speak of the ultimate and eternal salvation of all mankind; nor have you, by any sort of reasoning or proof, attempted to show that they do—*nor can you!*

33. If it were even mid a thousand times that God is the *Saviour of all men*, while there are *three distinct salvations* repeatedly alluded to in the Scriptures—such as the *salvation of the soul* from the guilt, power, and pollution of sin—the *salvation of the body and life of man* from temporal evils—and the *salvation of the whole man, body, soul, and spirit*, after the resurrection of the dead, so often spoken of in the sacred writings; and so long as there are multitudes said to be lost, perished, destroyed, and punished, your assumptions can not be sustained by such passages of Scripture as you have quoted. While Jesus says "the gate of life is *strait*, and the way leading thither *narrow*; and the gate of destruction *wide*, and the way leading thither *broad*, and *many* going in thereat, and *few* finding the other"—that "*many shall at last seek to enter in and*

shall not be able," etc. I say, with a host of such sayings, a few specimens of which I gave you in my last letter, it is impossible that those *fm. wages* you have adduced can refer to the same subjects at all.

34. Remember I have called upon you to single out one, two, or three of your strongest proofs, and I will either show that they are *wrested* or *perverted*, or give up the *mm. controversy*. But, Sir, I presume to say that you will not hazard even this much. I want your *strongest text*, that I may the *mom* fully canvass it and show its irrelevance.

35. You talk of *some* of the Christian Fathers, *if not all (!)* having been Universalists. The Romanists say, with just as much truth and reason, that *some* of them, *if not all*, were good Papists. I want you to give us the primitive apostles: throw none. Of your primitive dust in our eyes, Mr. Skinner. It is all a hoax. All the truly primitive Fathers ask, "How shall we escape eternal punishment if we neglect so great salvation?" "Of how much sorer punishment than temporal death shall the apostate be thought worthy?" Yes, Sir, "our God is a consuming fire." There is nothing but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation that shall destroy the adversaries of Christ's person and Gospel. And says Paul, "If any man preach any other Gospel than I have preached, let him be anathema—let him be accursed! yes, if an angel do it, let him be *accursed!*" Take care, then, lest that curse come upon you which is written in the Prophets; for Jesus says, "Fear him who when he has killed the body, can destroy both soul and body in hell; yea, I say unto you, *fear him.*"

Very faithfully and benevolently,

A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXXI

UTICA, AUGUST 9, 1838.

DEAR SIR—I shall now (having fully and scripturally proved my fourth proposition) return to the review of your 24th and 26th letters. (The reader will please re-examine them.) These letters are an anomaly in an anomalous series of indignant and contemptuous letters. You have here given an extra touch to your former gasconade, pedantry, abuse, and effrontery. In defiance of all the rules of courtesy and decorum, you have departed from your address directly to myself, and appealing to the worst prejudices of your readers, have deliberately set yourself to reproaching and insulting me personally, the views I entertain, and the Christian denomination to which I belong. You have unblushingly compared yourself to Michael, the Archangel, and me to satan. You have no less than five or six times, travelled directly out of your way, for the sake of ranking me and those of my faith with deists, atheists, infidels, mammonites, etc., and our views with theirs.

2. You pretend that it is “most repugnant to your feelings,” and with great “reluctance” that you have pursued such a course in this controversy, and yet almost your entire letters breathe a spirit of deep bitterness and indignant contempt, of disappointed ambition and mortified pride. An opinion which I hold, but which has nothing to do with this discussion, and which you neither can, nor attempt to refute by argument, you have *nine times* introduced in these two letters, in every distorted form, and attempted to ridicule and reproach as the doctrine of *pur-gatory*, a name which neither myself nor any other enlightened person, ever gives it. Your leaving my address, and

attempting to apologize to your readers for such a course, evinces that you have been severely lectured by your best friends, for the manner of your conducting this discussion, and that they are greatly dissatisfied therewith. How far your additional abuse and insults to me and my opinions, will tend to satisfy and pacify them towards you, I know not ; but I altogether mistake their intelligence if it does not still further disgust and mortify them.

3. You have wounded yourself far more than me, and mortified and grieved your own friends far more than mine. The truth is, this is not a *Papal country*: for though your bulls might silence a few of your friends, (for instance, those like Spencer, who begin this discussion,) they can not, with equal facility, silence all of them. They *will* think, and by and by they will *speal*. It is for your sake, therefore, and the reputation of this discussion, generally, that I regret the ungentlemanly and unchristian course you pursue. In your 24th letter you attempt to play off your old game of sophistry, misrepresentation, and ridicule.— You persist in maintaining that *semperiternus* is not a compound but a simple word, and say that I attempt “to find in *æternus* a root and reason for *ternus* in *semperiternus*.” This is false. I never attempted nor pretended any such thing. I said *semperiternus* was a compound from *semper*, always, and *æternus*, [r, or *ternus* merely,] and though Lexicons generally do not mention it as a compound, it being so plain that a tyro, a child, would know it, yet I have the highest authority for the assertion. Dumesnil, in his “Latin Synonyms,” than whom no scholar of the present day will ask higher authority, gives the following as the roots and definition of the word: “SEMPITERNUS (semper æternum) enlarges upon the idea of æternus.” And yet you attempt to lampoon me for agreeing with this eminent critic. Will you “call the devil a saint,” now you are proved to be so great “a scholar and a critic?”

4. What you say of Kneeland, may go for what it is worth. But you have not impeached, and can not impeach the reputation of Scarlett and Creighton, whose work was highly commended by the most eminent literati of their day. It is useless to say more on *aperantos*: for in either derivation, the reader must perceive it is quite as applicable in *time* as to *space*. You say I give myself for authority that *aidios* is compounded of *æi* and *dios*. I have your own authority for saying *æi* forms a part of the word; and

I have four Greek letters maintaining their unaltered position in proof that *dios* forms the other part. Suppose, Sir, a man affirms that the English compound *ever-during*, is composed of *ever* and *during*. You demand his authority from some Lexicon: he tells you that is unnecessary, for the statement is so obviously true as to need no proof, as a self-evident truth admits of none. You then go to ridiculing him for giving *himself* as authority! The same may be said of the words *archbishop*, *archdeacon*, and hundreds of other words in our and all languages. Instead of answering the questions in my 23d letter, relative to the use and meaning of the letters *d i* in the middle syllable of *aidios*, in your June number of the Harbinger you reprint them, and change (apparently on purpose) the *d i* into a *i*, (the two first letters,) and then leave them to the contempt of your readers!

5. But, Sir, the composition of *aidios* is a matter of small moment with me, though you talk as if the whole controversy depended on it. It is only one of *ten* words adduced by me in proof of the third proposition. I can very well spare it. I do not need it. The proposition is abundantly sustained without it, even by your own concession relative to the meaning of five of the other words, and Hedericus' definition of a sixth, (*athanatos*, defined *immortalis*, *sempiternus*, *eternus*, *perpetuus*,) and hence, I will, for the sake of the argument, concede every thing you say of *aidios*—that it has but one root, one significant part, viz., *aei*. And what have you gained? Nothing: for though we both agree that the word means *endless*, yet as it is not applied to punishment, it can not prove the latter to be *endless*. And furthermore, its sense of *endless*, if you are right in its construction, must be derived from its general *usage*, and not merely from the force of *aei*. Thus neither *aei*, *aion*, nor *aionios* from the same root, can prove the endless duration of punishment.

6. This will further appear from the following facts: 1st. We have examined all the passages in the New Testament in which *aei* occurs uncompounded, and in *not one* of its eight occurrences there, does it signify endless duration. 2d. The numerous passages of Scripture adduced where *aionios* occurs in a limited, and *necessarily* limited sense, clearly show that this of itself can not unequivocally prove endless duration. And, 3d, (perhaps the reader will smile at the authority, and you again complain of misrep-

resentation!) the Rev. Alexander Campbell himself, thus defines *aión*, in Table XIV of the Appendix to the third edition of his version of the New Testament, 8vo, edition, 1835: "AGE, *aión*, (derived from *aei*, always, and *ón*, being.) Its radical idea is indefinite duration. It is in all versions differently translated. We have the phrase *eis aiona*, or *eis ton aiona*, in the singular form thirty-two times, and in the plural form twenty-six times, translated in the common version 'always' and 'forever.' The phrases 'since' and 'before the *aión* (world) began,' occur in Luke i : 70; John ix : 32; Acts iii : 21, and xv : 18; Eph. iii : 9. The phrase *sun telei ton aionon*, occurs in Matthew five times, rendered 'end of the world;' by Dr. Campbell, 'the conclusion of the state;' and in Heb. ix : 26, in the plural form, rendered 'once in the end of the world,' etc., etc. (See the whole article published in the number of the Magazine and Advocate containing this letter. And, Sir, will you oblige me by republishing the whole of it in your Harbinger?)*

7. Thus, Sir, you have cut your throat with your own weapon. You say, in the unexcited hour of calm investigation, in your study by yourself, when no controversy is pending, *the radical meaning of aión is INDEFINITE DURATION, and we read of the END of aión five times, in Matthew etc. Ecce homo! Behold now your unenviable position!* On the first preposition you conceded that neither *sheol*, *hades*, nor *gehenna*, did nor could of themselves express endless misery, and that *aiónios*, your favorite term for endless, was never applied to either of them. You subsequently affirmed positively, that *gehenna* was never used literally in the New Testament, and never meant a literal punishment in the valley of Hinnom. I quoted from one of your own notes (on Matt. v : 22) and fully refuted that statement. You mewed me of garbling and misrepresenting your note, and asked me to publish the whole. It is done, Sir, in the paper containing this letter. Will you publish it entire in the Harbinger?*

8. You took the position that *aión* and *aiónios* were more unequivocally expressive of endless duration, than any other word—that if they mean not duration without end, there is no word in human speech that does, and thus suspended the doctrine of endless misery upon this single hair.

* See Appendix. Notes A. and B.

Your own definition of *aion*, above quoted, completely sews that hair, and the doctrine falls. Where is it? "And echo answers, *where?*" You have conceded the affirmative of the third proposition; and I have amply proved the fourth. If, Sir, there is a single argument of yours up to this point, that is not completely transfix'd to the core, and mostly by your own weapons, my judgment is strangely at fault. You remind me of king Saul in his last moment of desperation—he rushes on his own sword, and lets out his own bowels. You also remind me of poor Sampson grinding at the mill of Gaza with both eyes put out. Like him, you appear not to know where you go. Like him, you seize the pillars of the house wherein you stand. Like him, you bow yourself with all your strength. But, unlike him, in its fall, you crush only yourself in the ruins! I pity you, my friend: but really your fate seems to be richly merited.

9. I care not what you say about *ex post facto words*.—Having fully proved my fourth proposition, I am at perfect leisure and liberty to go back to the third, or second, or even first, as often as you do. And, Sir, I assure you I intend to follow you up in all your wily meanderings, and do up this work thoroughly. You say these additional words are not in the New Testament. I did not say they were. They are equally applicable to the third proposition. And I say they are Greek words, and would be likely to be in the New Testament, and applied to punishment, had the inspired writers intended to represent punishment as endless. The *misspelling* of the Greek words quoted, of which you speak, happens to be, in this as well as in several other previous instances, on your own part. I follow the Greek orthography: you do not. But as your criticism *bin-e* is *hornless*, although it has *hoofs*, it is as harmless as its prototype!

10. What you say about my having "long flourished by dint of my Hebrew, Greek, and Latin lore," and being "reckless, bold, and dogmatical to a proverb," I am perfectly willing to leave to the decision of my regular readers for the last eleven years, and that they should compare my course with that of my learned opponent in this discussion. They all know right well that I have never made any great pretensions to a knowledge of either of those languages: and I think by this time they are satisfied that a very moderate share of that kind of knowledge is quite

su ficient to refute the first two, and establish the last two propositions under discussion,

11. Your 17th paragraph is really amusing. You undertake to prove your assertion that I had maintained that life was an evil. You make two quotations from me to prove it, and both of them go directly against you, and refute your charge. You then make a distorted quotation from Shakspeare's Hamlet, and assert that you have proved me guilty of the charge! A affirms he has never seen a white blackbird—he repeats the affirmation. B says he *has* seen one. C then stoutly maintains that, inking the assertions of both together, they positively prove that A says he has seen a white blackbird! And this alphabetical C is my friend of the Harbinger! The conclusion of your 17th paragraph, contains a palpable sophism. Show me eternal *reasons* for eternal pain, and I will concede the truth of the latter. Temporal punishments are inflicted for temporal sinning. Prove eternal staning, and I grant eternal suffering. But you have not proved, nor attempted to prove either eternal sinning or any other eternal reason for eternal pain.

12. When you will show any beneficent and eternal ends compatible with the divine character and the good of the whole universe, or any part of it, to be accomplished by endless punishment, I shall be ready to consider any arguments you may offer in its favor. Hitherto you have offered none. I am not arguing for the salvation of "stage and waggon horses," (see your 18th paragraph,) but Of the human family. And if you can give no better reason for the endless pains of the latter, than the momentary sufferings of the former, you must assume that God is as much worse than brutal stage drivers, as his power is greater.— But instead of attempting this herculean task, you will cry "*sour grapes.*" Your 19th paragraph on a *priori* reasoning, is wholly unworthy of its author, though in good keeping with most of your 24th and 26th letters. I have "*supposed* no law of nature or of the divine perfections?" I have "*imagined*" no such laws. I have adopted no "*hypotheses,*" nor "*placed* my interpretation of the divine perfections for the perfections themselves." All I have advanced on this subject, has been *proved by the unequivocal voice of revelation.* Before, therefore, you can disprove my premises, you must disprove the Bible. Your warfare here, Sir, is with Scripture, and not with me. Read again and see. You can not, as you intimate, disprove "the

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12. When you will show any beneficent and eternal ends compatible with the divine character and the good of the whole universe, or any part of it, to be accomplished by endless punishment, I shall be ready to consider any arguments you may offer in its favor. Hitherto you have offered none. I am not arguing for the salvation of "stage and waggon horses," (see your 18th paragraph,) but Of the human family. And if you can give no better reason for the endless pains of the latter, than the momentary sufferings of the former, you must assume that God is as much worse than brutal stage drivers, as his power is greater.— But instead of attempting this herculean task, you will cry "*sour grapes.*" Your 19th paragraph on a *priori* reasoning, is wholly unworthy of its author, though in good keeping with most of your 24th and 26th letters. I have "*supposed* no law of nature or of the divine perfections?" I have "imagined" no such laws. I have adopted no "hypotheses," nor "placed my interpretation of the divine perfections for the perfections themselves." All I have advanced on this subject, has been *proved by the unequivocal voice of revelation.* Before, therefore, you can disprove my premises, you must disprove the Bible. Your warfare here, Sir, is with Scripture, and not with me. Read again and see. You can not, as you intimate, disprove "the

Apocryphal. David says, "The Lord is good unto all," etc., and John says, "God is love." God is not a *finite* being; of course his *love* can not be finite. He possesses no attribute *in part*. If he is love at all, he is *infinite* love: if he is good at all, he is *infinitely* good. You think he is partly good and partly bad—a little good to some, sometimes, *but never infinitely good to any human being!* I leave you to settle your account on this score with the Bible and common sense.

15. My trilemma, that you think you have so completely demolished, has suffered no harm, as the following emendation of your substitute will show. 1. God could save all men from all temporal evils, but would not, (for reasons shown in the 3d.) 2. He would save all men from all temporal evils, had he not seen that their permission would result in greater good, but he could not choose the privation of the greater good for the sake of preventing the lesser evil. Therefore, 3. He neither would nor could consistently prevent all temporal evils, for thereby he would prevent the greatest possible good of the whole, in which all temporal evils shall finally end. The above sufficiently refutes your charge in your 23d paragraph, on the word *possible*, and shows that I consider all the perfections of God when I speak of things being possible or impossible with him. Besides, I have no idea of cutting the Divinity up into *parts*.

15. Your labored and wily effort (paragraph 24) to prove that 1000 agonies suffered by each of 1000 persons, in a single agony suffered by an individual, makes the universe fail by so many agonies, of all possible bliss, will be disposed of by the single remark, that these agonies, be they more or less, greater or smaller, are the very road and medium which infinite wisdom and goodness appointed through which to advance them to all possible bliss. Suppose I loan a man \$1000. In due time you receive it back with interest. Are you then minus your fortune by \$1000? The infinite goodness of God to each individual, is as clearly demonstrable in what he suffers, as in what he enjoys. You say your "theory is, that God's government will secure to his own universe the greatest possible good at the least possible expense of evil." And that "greatest possible good," you hold, consists in the salvation of a *minority* of the human race; and "the least possible expense of evil," consists in the endless damna-

tion of a majority! Verily, Sir, you will much improve your theory by exactly reversing it!

17. The converse of the proposition God *is* love, is as true as the proposition itself, in the sense the word *love* is there used, i. e., to express pure, spiritual love, or benevolence. Spiritual love, or pure benevolence, is all of God; it can come from no other source; and wherever it exists, it is so much of God, a portion of the true Divinity. So of pure spiritual *light*. God is not only, light, but the *Father* of lights. Spiritual light is an emanation from God, or is God. You ask why I do not say "love is jealous, just, true, indignant," etc. I do my so, Sir, in the sense these last words are applicable to God. But these word., jealous, indignant, etc., can not be applied to God in a bad sense, or in a sense they often have when applied to men, unless we suppose him a miserable and unhappy being, tossed on the ocean of contending passions. In him they simply denote vigilance, watchfulness, righteous disapprobation, and punishment of sin, etc.

18. The doctrine of *purgatory* seems to trouble your brain more than any thing elm. You introduce it *nine* times in these *two* letters, and have for months before been taunting and ridiculing me on account of it. Sometimes you fix its duration at a few *hundred*, and then at *several thousand* years: and next, as if in desperation for some information, entreat me to inform you more de finitely about it, etc. Have I ever told you I believed in *purgatory*? No. Have I ever advanced a syllable on the subject till now? No. Where did you get your information that I believe in one? Not from me. And what has such a doctrine to do with the four questions between us? As much as the Mahomedan Alcoran has, and "o more. During the early part of this discussion you were continually reproaching me for confining all punishment to the present state. Seeing you m often departed from the questions at issue, to belabor me for this supposed heresy, and hoping to confine you to the questions, I frankly told you I did not entertain that view, and that I held to punishment in the future state.

19. This to you was ten times as bad as the former, and the most ridiculous and inconsistent of all doctrines ever held; and you have been lampooning and reviling me about it ever since; and for no other reason than because I held that future punishment would be inflicted by the

same kind Father, and for the name benevolent ends, as in this life, and would be limited in duration. Had I only conceded that it was vindictive and merciless in character, utterly useless in tendency, and endless in duration, why, then, it would have been a most *palatable* doctrine to your taste—a most *holy and lovely sentiment* !!

20. Sir, I deny that I hold the doctrine of purgatory, (i. e., the doctrine the Catholics call by that name,) though such a doctrine being held by Catholics, is by no means an objection to it. If you, Sir, call the punishments which David, Jonah, Joseph's brethren, Nebuchadnezzar, the Prodigal Son, Saul of Tarsus, and others, experienced in this life, and which resulted in their good, by the name of purgatory, I have no objections that you should apply the term in the same sense to my views of future punishment. For I believe the latter will be inflicted by the same being, for the same purpose, and with similar happy results, as the former. But, Sir, seek not to misrepresent and revile a doctrine of which you confess yourself totally ignorant, and are asking information. This question has nothing to do with our questions necessarily. Will you remember it?

In my next I shall dispose of the remainder of your 26th and 28th letter.. Yours, in all good will,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXXII.

BETHANY, VA., AUGUST 22, 1838.

SIR—Now that I have learned more fully your character—in your treatment of those who oppose you, as evinced in this controversy, and in some of your other controversies which have recently fallen into my hand, I could not expect that truth could obtain over you a more signal triumph than is manifest from the letter before me. Your manner is well established. All my readers know it. It is not inferred from a few instances, but from every thing of yours that they have seen. It is, indeed, the usual manner of a certain order of men. When fairly confuted, instead of thankfully and gratefully acknowledging it, they rise into a paroxysm of rage, abuse and vituperation. From you, therefore, Sir, I have for some time expected just such a display of disregard of truth and honor, of wrath and bitterness, when I should sweep your whole foundation from under you. And, Sir, let me tell you, that as this controversy draws to a close, as your arrogant and delusive sophistry becomes more and more manifest, I expect you to abound in vulgarity, scurrility, and a universal recklessness of truth and good manners. With a few exceptions, it is the genuine fruit of your system. I care not what you say of me as a disputant: I have been too long before the public to be injured by anything you can say of me in that character. I have had too many controversies not to know what is due to an opponent; and if I did not think you would pervert it into a new victory, I would tell you that an opponent stronger in assertion and weaker in proof, a greater sophist, a less courteous disputant, a grosser perverter of truth and reason, has not before fallen in my way. But this is but the echo of my readers; and this is what called forth the apology to them, which you have

in your second paragraph so shamefully perverted. Sir, a few of my readers only have in any form alluded to the controversy; and with one consent they all regretted that I had not endure "such evil treatment" from an opponent so unworthy of a place on my pages. I have generally told them that you were the best sample of Universalist learning, talent, and good manners, which the party had at its disposal.

2. Your first paragraph contains six assertions, not one of which is true. Of five of them the very opposite is the fact. What you say of "disappointed ambition and mortified pride," of "deep bitterness," and "indignant contempt," in your second paragraph are of the same genus. I told you once before, that for the entire prostration of the whole citadel of Universalist, I should claim neither honor nor merit. Who would load a cannon to destroy a baby-house or a spider's web! You are not the person, Sir, to "disappoint ambition," or even to excite "deep bitterness." It requires a man, a full grown man, to do either. Besides, Sir, I am not of the lymphatic nor atrabilious temperament.

3. You need not, Sir, talk to me one word more about Latin or Greek. I have proved you to be wholly ignorant of the genius, construction, and laws of these languages. Your reference to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, have already sufficiently mortifying and humiliating to your friends and unfortunate for your cause. To hear you talk of Abner Kneeland and your Universalian Scarlett, on whose skirts I left you hanging, as good authority in as learned men, is too ridiculous for a serious notice. I am, however, pleased that you have brought forward all that Universalists generally rely on, and have quoted all their arguments: so that, notwithstanding your ignorance of these languages, their arguments are fully refuted in this discussion. If you do not like your present standing with the literary world, you must apply to some college for a diploma. However, Sir, I can assure you, unless you enter their classes and study some years, there is not a college in the civilized world will vouch for your knowledge of Greek, Latin, or Hebrew. Unless, then, you want to fill up your pages, I say again, repeat to me no more Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. Beep to the *English*—the *King's* English, Sir, if you please.

4. You have pondered three months on my last expose

of your learned criticism; and what a defence you have made! Without intending it, if any compliment you could give would be to any man an honor, then you have done my Appendix to the New Version the greatest honor by approving my Notes on the words *hades*, *gehenna*, and *aion*. So perfectly *impartial* are they, t], at you can not find a single fault to them. Nay, you would seem to approve them. But, Sir, you would pervert them in the eye of your readers : for in this controversy I have not once in any instance departed from, m contradicted a single word in those definitions. Yet you would now *insinuate*, for you can not do more than insinuate, that in some way or other I have contradicted myself. No mortal can show that I have. My alleging that *aion* is used *indefinitely* in the sacred Scriptures is perfectly compatible with my saying in the same Not. that “*more than sixty times in the New Testament it is rendered by such words as express the longest duration.*” Why did you not quote all this note in your letter! rather than put it into another corner of your paper, with comments that I can not reach, as if to blind fold your readers! How cunning you are to get out of your present unenviable position! You take another portion of your paper and quote and comment on my Notes above and beyond the limits assigned in our Rules. Thus you give your readers nearly *three pages extra of notes and comments* for the sake of saving you from their contempt in your *learned* defence of their delusion! I suppose I must now enter into a new contract with you about republishing my Notes and your comments on them! Really, you are grievously perplexed, Mr. Skinner.

5. You say, paragraph 9, you are “at perfect leisure and liberty to go hack to the third or second, or even first proposition, as often as I do.” Yes ; but not without me. Then keep to the proposition on hand. I have something more important than to be always driving you out of the bush. I wish to occupy the few pages yet remaining of this controversy more profitably.

6. You are now a Restorationist, if I am correctly informed. You contend that after death wicked men are punished for a time in some place. The wicked dead are with you cast into some unearthly hell. This I do call *Purgatory*—a true and proper purgatory. It is a true and proper name. You can not give it a better. If you can, do pronounce it. You have declined answering my ques-

tions upon the subject. So far you have declined sustaining your proposition, if my questions are relevant, In my judgment they are so.

7. Because, first, you contend for eternal life, holiness and happiness, as the ultimate destiny of all men. When, then, I urge in opposition the scriptural fact that some men are neither holy nor happy in this life, and that they are punished after death; that they go into some place or state of punishment, you affirm that they will come out of that state, because that punishment will *purge* them from sin and make them holy. I ask you then for the scriptural proof; and you refuse to give any, alleging that you are not bound to do it!! I say you *are*; for having admitted that the wicked are sent to hell after death, you must bring them out of that state, or give up your ultimate holiness and happiness.

S. Because, in the second place, you allege that the punishment of hell expiates sin, which no punishment in this life accomplishes. This peculiarity of your purgatorial punishment calls for special proof. In proving that your purgatorial punishment expiates sin, you must reconcile that idea with Hebrews i : 3 ; vii : 27 ; ix : 12, 13, and very many such passages, as intimate that the death, in blood, or sacrifice of Christ expiates sin. If Christ's sacrifice expiates sin, how can the punishment of the wicked expiate it ? One of the two is redundant. If Christ's death expiates sin, the pains of the wicked can not do it; if the pains of the wicked do it, Christ's death cannot have done it. I say, then, Mr. Skinner, you must prove that your purgatorial pains do expiate sin, or give up your *purgatory*.

9. Because, in the third place, you allege that the punishment of your prison, or purgatory, (give me a more appropriate name of it,) and I will cheerfully use it,) necessarily terminates in holiness or the perfect love of God.—Now, Sir, if the wrath of God works love in the human heart, why has not God tried it in this world? Here he uses "goodness to lead men to repentant."—here he displays love unspeakable to produce love in the human heart. Now, Sir, explain to us this new philosophy: two opposite causes produce the same effect. The love of God produces perfect love, and the wrath of God produces perfect love! And stranger still, those hardened by the love of God here, are to be softened by the wrath of God

hereafter ! You must not explain away this word *wrath*. Recollect Paul says, "Being now justified by Christ's blood, we shall be saved from *wrath* through him : " Christ " has delivered us [Christians] from the wrath to come." And Jesus says, "He that believeth not, *the wrath of God abides on him,*" etc., etc.

10. Because, in the fourth place, punishment in this life does not even under its pressure prevent sinning. Men are punished, often punished, as were Pharaoh and the Jews, and yet sinning all the while. Now as you inform us that in your purgatory men will stop sinning when God begins punishing, please name *the passages of Scripture* which sustain these novel assumptions.

11. You assume, first, that the w-irked who are cast into your prim., m hell, or purgatory, will come out. 2d. To prove this assumption you assume that this punishment expiates the guilt of sin. 3d. You assume that this punishment works holiness, or sanctifies all who are the subjects of it. And, 4th. You assume that men will have to expiate the sins of this life only in hell : for that while there they will cease sinning and all become good from the first moment—indeed you make them good and holy the first instant they enter hell : for there they never sin, and only continue as long as to expiate the sins of this life.—These are all very extraordinary propositions, and I require, if you please, Mr. Skinner, *a word of proof*—ch after an d verse, Sir, if you please. I believe you have twice quoted the *Apocrypha* in this controversy. I now want a text from the *canonical Scriptures* !

12. But, Sir, your whole doctrine of *post mortem* holiness as the result of punishment, is stultified and nullified by your fourth assumption I there print it in capitals—**MEN CEASE SINNING AND BECOME HOLY THE MOMENT THEY ENTER YOUR PURGATORY.—HOW, THEN, DOES PUNISHMENT MAKE THEM HOLY !!** You have yet remaining as much sense as to see that if you do not make them quit sinning when they enter your prison, they never can get out ; but you had not sense enough to see that this admission explodes your whole doctrine of the sanctifying tendency of punishment : for they are holy before the punishment begins ; and therefore you have made *of a punishment* holy beings ! To return some of your fine sayings, **What a soul-withering doctrine !**

what a *horrid system* of nonsense and iniquity is your Restorationism ! You had better decline the proof!

13. Another beautiful trait in your system, is, that it ~~precludes~~ ^{precludes} pardon altogether. There is no forgiveness with your Divinity. You say, paragraph 13, that "*God does and will punish every sinner according to the full demerit of his crimes, and there is no escape.* . . . These are your own words, and they are the true result of your system ; therefore I have italicised them. Tier, where is the mercy of God—yes, the *mercy* of God ! He punishes without exception, without escape, all sinners ; and that, too, according to the *full demerits* of their crimes. Why talk of mercy, then ! ! For what did Christ die, if every sinner must still suffer the full demerit of all his sins—if God forgives not one sin ? Why did David sing, and Paul preach, " Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered ! " " Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin." With you, Sir, there is no such man—all men suffer in this life all the punishment due for all their sins ; or if they do not, they go into your penitentiary, and there they pay the last farthing, and come out without any gratitude or thanks to God or Christ. He is in justice, without mercy, bound to open the prison doors ; for they have been punished according to the full demerits of their crimes. Why, Sir, deism is pure and undefiled religion—good sense, good logic and Gospel, rather than your Restorationism.

14. It is, Sir, not true—it is, Sir, a calumny of your own invention, when, to revile the doctrine of forgiveness, you say, that "*if they will repent and be baptized at your hands, they shall surely escape the threatened death.*" No, Sir, I never taught so. Jesus says, " He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved"—" from his past sins ; and if " by patient continuance in well-doing he seeks for glory, honor, and immortality, " Paul says, " he shall receive eternal life. " So I preach.

15. My *v. mien* of your trilemma has, I perceive, thoroughly refuted it. You have confirmed it by making a new one—without point or bearing.

16. You do not state my views, Sir, when you say that " the greatest possible good of the universe consists in the salvation of a minority of the universe, " and that " the least possible expense of evil consists in the eternal damnation of a majority. " Such a view is not in the premises, and there-

fore it can not be in the conclusion. What proportions of human kind shall be saved I know not. An immense multitude there will be, when all the days and generations of millennial light, and bliss, and righteousness shall have been completed. This is a poor defence of your system against the drawbacks of all possible bliss stated in my review of your mathematical happy universe, letter XXIV, paragraph 24. For any thing that appears to the contrary in my premises, ten to one of humankind may be saved.

17. In conclusion of your letter now under examination, do you not admit a Purgatory, but not a *Catholic* Purgatory? Is it a *Restoration* Purgatory? Touching its localities and attributes I renew all my former requests. You say spiritual light is God! and that spiritual love is God! Need I reply? And you say, "In my next letter I shall dispose of *the remainder*" of (as if you had not yet begun to notice) my letters Nos. XXVI and XXVIII.—Well, if you do all this in your next, after a reasonable share of abuse, and after telling us the one hundred and first time how completely you have vanquished, confuted, refuted, exploded and disproved every word, letter, and point that I have written, you will have expiated at least one of your former sins of omission. We shall look for it, however, without fear or hope.

18. Having nothing more to reply to, I shall commence an examination of the tendencies of your system. Ye", theory of a future state—of a penal dispensation issuing in the salvation of all subjected to it, nullifies and nullifies the Gospel dispensation to all intents and purposes. The incarnation of... WORD, the sufferings and death of the Messiah, the ministry of angels, apostles, and prophets—the ordinary preaching and teaching of the word, and indeed the Gospel system of justification and sanctification, of which the New Testament speaks, and of which it is 80 prominent and efficient a part, are all demonstrably useless and worse than useless on your imaginative hypothesis. If it be true, the Gospel is vain and worse than vain.

19. Let us, then, distinctly state your penal system, and hastily survey its most striking features. Taking into view the whole world of mankind—the Pagan nations, the Turks, the Jews, and all the infidels—an immense majority, you say, live and die in their sins. Well, now, this overwhelming majority of humankind are all the proper subjects of your penal system, and are all saved in due time

by its influence upon them Hence, of all the inhabitants of this planet for six thousand years, an innumerable majority are hereafter to come forth out of your penal system, pure as the silver from the furnace, holy as God, and fitted for the happy abodes of the eternally blessed. In one word, your penal fires Of hell, or your penal system, saves all its subjects—not one of them is forever lost. It triumphantly saves all—Cain, Ahab, Judas, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, the devil, and all his angels are its splendid trophies. It is, then, decidedly more powerful, successful, and triumphant than the Gospel; for it is conceded on all hands that as yet but comparatively few of those who hear the Gospel are saved by it. In this first and grand character of the two systems, the Gospel system and the penal system, the latter is incomparably superior to the former—the penal to the Gospel plan.

20. But in reply to this you will doubtless allege that the Gospel is never the less not useless, because it saves some from sin and from the penal fires of your Purgatory; and besides, it has contributed much to the civilization and temporal prosperity and happiness of the world. Admit all this, and still it is useless and worse than useless; because, in the first place, had there been no Gospel at all, the penal system, seeing it infallibly saves all its subjects, could as easily have saved all that the Gospel saves as it does all that the Gospel fails to save. Indeed those that the Gospel saves would be more easily saved by the penal system than those it fails to save. Now it is useless to employ both a perfect and an imperfect system. The former is sufficient without the latter.

21. But I have said it is worse than useless—because the good that it does here is incomparably more than counterbalanced by the evil it produces under your penal dispensation. We admit all you say of the good the Gospel does here, and still affirm that it is worse than useless; because it is admitted on all hands that the doom of those who hear the Gospel and turn away from it, will be inexpressibly more fearful, woful, and wretched than the doom of the Indian and the Pagan who heard it not. Now as there are more who reject than obey the Gospel, there is a positive accumulation of guilt which will, under your penal system, require a corresponding increase or duration of misery; and thus the alleviation of pain produced by the Gospel here is more than counterbalanced by the

aggravation and accumulation of pain and anguish there. So that if the Gospel only enhances the condemnation and misery of two for one it saves, which all must allow, then the increased and protracted punishment of only two millions for example, under your penal dispensation, outweighs the whole gain of the one million saved by the Gospel, who, had there been no Gospel, would, like the devil and his angels and all wicked men, (only still more easily,) have ultimately come out of your furnace—your gehenna, pure as the light of heaven. It is worse than useless in a general system, on the admission of the objection alleged.

22. Let me add, Sir, that if the common views of the present state of the Pagan, Mahomedan, and Jewish worlds be correct—that is, if those who are born and brought up in gross darkness as to the Gospel, are liable to the least imaginable quantum of punishment; and if your system of the salutary, converting, and sanctifying power of the penal fires of hell upon the soul, be correct, it would have been infinitely better to have suffered all the world to be as ignorant as the Amazonian or the Arabian, and to have sojourned for a time under the mildest chastisements of your imaginative OrCUS, and by a shorter passage have escaped to heaven, than to have enlightened them by the Gospel and subjected them to the unmingled vials of divine indignation and the long protracted sufferings under the penal system for the deeper guilt of disobeying the Gospel of the grace of God and slighting the mediation of his beloved Son. This, Sir, on the general scheme of divine government, makes the Gospel rather a curse than a blessing to mankind in the aggregate, and, as I before said, stultifies and nullifies the whole remedial system. But, Sir, here I must close before I have finished my picture of the stupidity and folly of your system. NOW, Sir, in your next, after your regular portion of abuse, and of enumerating your triumphs, please notice this point somewhat specially. Faithfully, A. CAMPBELL.

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXXIII

URICA, SEPTEMBER 7, 1838.

DEAR SIR :—

My “philosophic limb,” as you are pleased to term my Scriptural arguments, occasions you a great deal of trouble. You can do nothing with it till you have first distorted and shaped it over anew in your 26th letter. When a man in controversy has to manufacture the arguments of his opponent, it is a pretty sure sign that he cannot refute those that his opponent himself adduces.

2. You say my four grand assumptions are, “1. That punishment and chastisement are but two names for one idea. 2. That all punishment necessarily terminates in the reformation of its subjects. 3. That punishment is never properly exemplary etc. 4. That punishment is not necessary for the honor of the Governor of the universe,” etc. That these assumptions “are all false,” and hence I “very prudently” am “content simply to assert them.” When and where have I ever asserted them? No where—they are not to be found in any part of this discussion, nor any other writings of mine. In relation to the first, I have maintained, and do maintain, that punishment and chastisement, if not always, are *often* used synonymously—that the word rendered *punishment*, Matt. xxv : 4G, means chastisement, and that “God chastens *all* for their profit that *they may be partakers of his holiness*.” Heb. xii : 5-II; Ps. lxxxix : 30-35 ; 1 Cor. iii : 13-15, and their numerous parallels.

3. Your definition of punishment, viz, “penalty or pain for transgression without any regard to what the issue of that pain or penalty may be,” is quite as descriptive of the *unfeeling revenge of the savage, as of the righteous ad-*

mini stration of our heavenly Father's government. You however admit that punishment " may always have three objects in view : 1st. The glory and honor of the Law-giver ; 2d. The good of the offending subject ; and, 3d. The guardianship and defence of the unoffending."—" Something in other words is due to the King, to the subject, and to his fellows on every transgression."

4. Thus, Sir, you have completely overthrown your favorite doctrine of endless wo. The above language can never be reconciled with endless punishment till you can show that such punishment is for " the good of the offending subject." But this can never be done. Your doctrine of endless torment supposes the king shall never be honored by the obedience of the subject—that the subject shall be tormented with no other view but that of revenge, and that his fellow-beings shall only be permitted to witness an endless *Auto de fe* ! I believe the Lawgiver shall be honored by the ultimate obedience of his subjects—that the subject shall be justly punished, and yet subdued, and that the fellows of the punished shall behold and admire the blended justice and the mercy of the administration.

5. In your 5th paragraph you speak about satan and his rebel hosts in the other world suffering six thousand years of banishment from the presence of God. But what do you know about satan ? who is he ? what is he ? Who made him, and for what purpose ! or is he self-existent, omnipotent, omnipresent, etc. ? What do you know about his hosts in the other world ? You say you have *facts* against my *hypothesis*. What are those facts, and how proved ? Neither John Milton nor A. Campbell is sufficient authority for facts relating to the other world.

6. Your 6th paragraph is a strange medley of assumption and misapplied scriptures. What does John say, Rev. xxii, about " the *final* assemblage of God's elect into the *eternal city*" ? Nothing at all. What does he say about sorcerers, idolators, etc., having their evil *characters indelibly fixed* ? Nothing : nor is any such sentiment intimated, in all the Bible, Paul speaks of some such characters, 1 Cor. vi : 9-11, and says to his Corinthian brethren, " and such WERE some of you ; but ye are washed—sanctified—justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God." And no intimation is given but what those mentioned Rev. xxii : 15, might be with all others finally sanctified in like manner.

7. Again, you declare, "Solomon also said, 'in hades, or the world of spirits, there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom,'" etc. I beg your pardon, Sir, Solomon never said any such thing. If he had, it would be equally fatal both to your theory and mine. For where there is no "knowledge nor wisdom," there can be neither happiness nor misery, and universal annihilation, or unconsciousness, must be the result. The truth is, Solomon said nothing about 'the world of spirits.' He spake of *hades*, the grave, or state of the dead, (i. e., of the body in the grave,) without any reference to the condition of the soul or spirit. Thus all your false assumptions, witticisms, and sarcasms that follow your perversion of Eccl. ix : 10, are pointless, and out of place.

8. Your 7th paragraph is equally irrelevant: for in the first place you attempt to refute what I have never argued, and in the next place you utterly fail in that attempt.—For though punishment is often designed more directly to be exemplary, yet when inflicted by the divine Being, it is not incompatible with the final good of the sufferers themselves. This is proved, 1st. By the fact that God says he took away Sodom and Gomorrah "as he saw good." I but no being could see any good in merely transplanting them from a state of *temporal* sinning and suffering to one of *greater* and *endless* sinning and suffering: consequently the latter is not true. 2d. By the fact that the final reformation and restoration of the *sewicked* people is clearly predicted in the 16th chap. of Ezekiel. 3d. By the fact that the text you quote from Isa lvi, speaks only of *temporal* punishments, and 4th. By the express testimony of Scripture, Ps. lxxxix : 30-35; Matt. xxiii: 35, 39; Hos. v : 9-15, and numerous other passages.

9. In your 8th and 11th paragraphs you charge me with having been once identified with a class of Universalists from whom I am now separated, and of apostatizing from my brethren of the school of genuine Universalism, etc., etc. Be it known to you I have never altered my distinguishing sentiments since I publicly avowed my faith in a world's salvation; and I am now connected with all and with just such Universalists as I ever have been since that period. It is not my business to defend *opinions* that I never held; nor does it become you to misrepresent and scandalize opinions that you have never been able to refute. Recollect, Sir, your business and mine is with the questions

at issue between us. But you seem disposed to enter upon any thing and every thing but the questions. And you seem altogether better versed in the school of Hætheism, with "the fabled Nine," and "passages through Avernus," with "Orcus," and "*limbus purgatorius*," than with the momentous theological questions before you.

10. The first part of your 9th paragraph is an entire misrepresentation. I hold that God can and does punish the sinner, and in that punishment benevolently unites "the honor of his own throne," "the sinners good," and "the good of his other subjects." You ask, "For what did he suffer through life? and for what did he die?" I answer, in the language of Scripture, "For the joy set before him he endured the cross, despising the shame," etc. "God commendeth his love to us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." He died "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their life time subject in bondage."—"For in that he himself bath suffered, being tempted, he is able to succor them that are tempted."

11. In your 10th paragraph you say you can see no use that I can have for any Christ, Bible, preacher, faith, hope, etc. The old maxim runs, "There's none so blind as those that won't see, and none so deaf as those that won't hear." I will tell you what use I have not for a Christ, Bible, faith, etc. I have no use for them to placate an implacable divinity, to ward off omnipotent wrath, to screen man from the justice of God, or from deserved punishment, to make God friendly to man, to save him from an endless hell, (with which he was never threatened,) nor for any similar purpose. To me, however, their utility is incomparably great and precious. They acquaint me with God, my Father, and my Friend. They reveal his love and win my affection for, and reconciliation to, him. They wean me, whate I follow their dictates, from the love, and dominion, and bondage of sin and error. They bring life and immortality to light, rob death of its terrors, give hope as an anchor of the soul, sure and steadfast, and impart to the mind, life, peace and joy unspeakable and full of glory. Are these all useless trifles? Other blessings too numerous to name here, I derive from the same blessed medium.

12. You but faintly state the two fundamental truths of

Calvinism and Arminianism. But faintly as you state them you can not refute them. It is true, as the Arminian holds, that God *wills* the salvation of all men, and as the Calvinist holds, that *he will save all he wills to save, and worketh all things after the counsel of his own will.*' - The Arminian sentiment is equally true, that Christ "*tasted death for every man,*" and "*gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time,*" and likewise the Calvinistic sentiment, that *he did not die in vain—that he will save all he died for, and "see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied."* Pray, Sir, be so good as to refute the united strength of Arminianism and Calvinism, and you will have effectually refuted Universalism.

13. Either letter I have written of this whole series is a sufficient refutation of your 13th paragraph. Where have I, (as you charge me from your 14th to 20th paragraphs, inclusive,) sought to "derogate from the heinousness of sin," or represented it as "a mere peccadillo, a speck, a cutaneous sore, a frailty, a momentary evil," etc.? You know I have never done it, nor attempted it—they are terms of your own invention. But, Sir, let me ask, do you not deceive mankind, by representing sin greater than it really is, and its punishment to be beyond the dictates of either nature, reason or revelation, and thus weaken the restraints upon sin by begetting in the sinner a latent skepticism in regard to the infliction of such penalties? I think you do. Threaten a child with cutting off his head for accidentally breaking a tumbler, and he will not believe nor heed the threat; but tell him he will receive a just punishment for his carelessness, and he will both believe and heed you.—There is, Sir, much latent skepticism in the world on the subject of endless punishment, even among those educated in the sentiment. It looks to them so unreasonable and disproportioned to their deeds that they do not believe *they themselves* will suffer it. But threaten them with a more reasonable and consistent penalty, and they will believe.

14. You call the doctrine that "sin is an *infinite* evil," the doctrine of other days and of other men," charge me with injustice in attributing it to you, and then go to work with all your might to prove the doctrine true! The questions you ask, to prove it, are extremely sophistical. Your query, paragraph 15, is founded on a case that is not supposable. If man here were immortal, he could not be killed; if not immortal he would die without being killed.

You ask again, "If A rob B of a thousand pounds, has not B lost it forever?" Yes, in that *sense of forever*, i. e., during life, (unless he should regain it, which is not impossible,) but not for eternity; *because* he could have held it only during life, if he had not been robbed. The Congressional comparators and murderers of my Universalist brother Cilley, (if he were a Universalist, which is doubtful,) deprived his wife of her husband and his children of their father only for /Ye, (or the period he would have lived had he not been murdered,) and not for *eternity*. And though those murderers were as orthodox in the faith of endless damnation as yourself, the act was but finite, and its punishment must have an end.

15. The Bible does not speak of, nor do I believe in, any sir, that is to remain forever unexpiated. To give you back your own language, I will say, "Sir, it is an insult to reason and the God of reason," to suppose "that he should have instituted such an expiatory remedial system" as that of the mission, and labors, and sufferings, and Gospel of Christ, and yet perpetuate the reign and miseries of sin to all eternity! "It is a libel on the wisdom, power, justice, goodness, truth, holiness, mercy, condescension, and love of God." For he expressly and repeatedly declares he will "take away the sins of his people, turn every one away from his iniquities, take away the sin of the world, finish sin and make an end of transgression," etc., etc. Who dares contradict him and say this shall never be done?

16. I heartily respond *amen* to your declarations, that "the soundest philosophy of civil government ever taught, enforces the necessity of making punishment *certain*, rather than *severe*." "The *certainly* of punishment has incomparably more power to prevent sin than the magnitude of punishment." But a more suicidal declaration for your theology, you could not have made. You hold that every sin is an infinite evil, demeriting endless punishment. All have sinned and come short of the glory of God. *Ergo*, all must suffer endless damnation; for you say God "must make the *punishment of sin commensurate with its demerits*."

17. To avoid this dilemma, you may try to make out that there is some other way of getting around sin, expiating it, or clearing the guilty, *without* their suffering the condign punishment of their crimes. But in doing this,

you must again resort to, the old Serpent's doctrine, "Ye shall not *surely* die," directly contradict your assertions above quoted relative to the *certainty* of punishment, and also contradict the express declarations of Scripture, you quote in letter XXVIII, in which God says he ' will by NO MEANS clear the guilty," etc., etc. Thus, Sir, it is absolutely certain, either that sin is but finite, or that God will not punish it according to its demerits, or that endless damnation must be the portion of the whole human family. Take which horn of this trilemma you please. Suppose, after the example of my learned and polite opponent, I should add, "Hence Campbellism, Mormonism, Atheism, Deism, and Infidelity, never did and never can reform society, but are subversive of it and, of all-morality, by either divesting the universe of a moral Governor, or denying that he will adequately punish sin!"

18. Your 20th paragraph is mere declamation on the infinity of sin, spiced with a little of Milton's poetic fancy relative to satan's expulsion from Paradise. Suppose we improve it a little. A boy steals an apple! and yet sin not an infinite evil! A girl steals a pin!! and yet sin not an infinite evil!! A youth robs a hen-roost! and yet sin but a finite evil!! A man murders his family, and then commits suicide! and yet sin, not an infinite evil!! Sir, the bare statement of these *relative* sins, the *smaller* and *greater*, is a sufficient refutation of the monstrous notion of the *infinity* of sin.

19. When you show wherein I have disjointed, distorted, and violated the contexts from which I quote, it will be time to notice this charge of yours. I deny that I have perverted or misapplied Scripture, But I freely acknowledge that I consider God the Father alike of Turk, Jew, and Gentile, and that all are not only allowed, but required to address him as such. But you would orphanize creation, deny that God is the Father of all spirits, and forbid needy, lost man to address him as such. In other words, you would tell the sick man he must get perfect] y well before it will do for him to call on a physician!

20. You accuse me, paragraph 22, of maintaining that punishment annihilates itself. The charge is groundless. Sin is a disease; Christ is the physician; punishment is mm of the various kinds of medicine he administer to cure the patient. When the disease is removed, he ceases to administer the medicine. Whether he administers judg-

ments or mercies, they are alike medicines of his prescrip-
 tier. Again, you say, I "make the effect destroy its
 cause"—"suffering, the effect, destroy sin, its cause." I
 grant it, if by this you mean that by the sufferings he ex-
 periences, the sinner is brought to repentance and reforma-
 tion, like the prodigal, so as in future to avoid sin. As
 God says, Jer. ii : 19, "Thine own wickedness shall
 correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee"; and
 as David says, "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but
 now have I kept thy law." If your charge embrace any
 other or different idea from the above, I deny its justice.

21. Did you, Sir, ever violate any known law of God,
 and afterwards by obeying it find peace, and happiness,
 and salvation from your former guilty disobedience? If
 so, why not allow that others may do the same, either in
 this or any other world! Are God's character and go-
 vernment the reverse in another world from what they are
 in this? Or does death dissolve the tie between the crea-
 ture and Creator?

22. Your 28th letter came to hand more than a month
 behind its time. Will you oblige me by informing me on
 which of our four propositions you intended it to apply?
 I thank you for the compliment you undesignedly pay me
 in comparing my late letters to mortar in mason work.—
 That article serves not merely to fill up space, but is
 essential to the strength of the wall. And permit me to
 hint to you, dear Sir, that a little mortar in your own wall,
 might prevent its tumbling to pieces, as it does, by its own
 weight. But your materials being so very miserable, you
 have need that the mortar should be exceedingly *well*
tempered.

23. I think you for the many valuable quotations your
 letter contains from the Bible. I as devoutly and firmly
 believe all those scriptures as you do. And Universalists
 quote ninnny of them much inure frequently than you or
 any other denomination do, in proof of the absolute *certainly*
 of punishment, and of their *distinguishing sentiments* on the
 subject. There is not in the whole, a single text that mili-
 tates against the final holiness and happiness of all men,
 nor one that favors the merciless dogma of endless wo.
 Nine-tenths of them are shown by the most eminent ortho-
 dox Commentators, believers in endless misery, to be in
 perfect harmony with my views, and the other tenth I can
 easily show to be so. But as you have made no comments

that go to show the reverse, I *need* not *bestow one* word here on the subject. Again, Sir, I thank you for the quotations. But as a controversialist would it not be well for you to answer several of my letters and scores of direct proofs of universal salvation which yet remain unanswered ? This ~~you~~ are bound to *do first, before* attempting any proof of endless misery. I wait to ~~see~~ you make that effort.

Yours, in all fidelity,

D. SKINNER,

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXXIV.

BETHANY, VA., SEPTEMBER 30, 1858.

MR. SKINNER—If not a logical, you are certainly an ingenious disputant. Foreseeing the conclusion of our debate, you voluntarily threw yourself three months behind me, instead of keeping one month before me. Thus *your* last letter of September 7th is a professed reply to my June letter XX VI. This interposes a threefold veil between you and your readers, and hides the irrelevancy and imbecility of your defence. Few of them, you know, will put themselves to the trouble to look back and read a letter three months on file. If they do in the present case, they will leave me little to do: they will readily perceive that it meets not fairly a single point: or that it is a mere *feint*—a *mock* assault upon my outposts. How tame you have become! From standing before me sword in hand to assail my approach to your mighty bulwarks, you have thrown away your sword, taken your bow and arrow, and retreated a hundred yards behind me, and, *with* an empty quiver, you are now fixing your strings and shooting feathers, instead of feathered arrows, into the air. Such am my unfeigned views of your present attitude, if the above figure is only tolerably expounded.

2. Your first six paragraphs, (except your denial of the existence of *satan* and his angels,) in which you have placed yourself where I have long thought you ought to stand—*with the skeptics of the present day*: have not a single word deserving a reply; they are all mere assertion without fact, and without reason to support them. He that denies or doubts the existence of *satan* and his history as given in the Bible, may as well deny the Messiah whom he tempted, and ease his conscience of all the restraints of Old Testament and New. I was scarcely prepared for

such a candid avowal of your infidelity as the 5th paragraph unfolds.

3. I did not think but that there was at least one among the leading Universalists, that, however hardly pressed, would still save appearances and respect the Bible and the common sense of Christendom. But it seems you *feel* yourself driven beyond those precincts, and fearlessly avow your disbelief in the existence of satan and his angels. You regard a real, a personal being called satan, as the work of poets—as a centaur, a sphynx, a chimera. You have so far thrown off the mask, and jeeringly spoken of satan, as Paine, Hume, and Voltaire were wont to do. With you they sneeringly asked, “Is the devil self-existent? Who made Satan? Is he omnipotent? Is he omnipresent?” If I can not sympathize with you in your hard destiny and present distress, I can nevertheless admire your temerity!

4. After this, I do not wonder at the liberties you take with what I have written, when you respect so little the word of my Lord. There are more misrepresentations than paragraphs in your letter before me. You say Solomon never said that there was no work nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in *hades*, or the world of spirits. Open the Septuagint and see “*hades*” with your eyes; open Adam Clark and read his old manuscript Bible, and see the identical word transfigured—“There is no work, etc., in hell whether thou art going.” You formerly approved my version of *hades* as the place of departed spirits. Now you recant do you! But you assume that Solomon called the whole man *the body*, and said, There is no wisdom, etc., whether thou (*thy body*) goest. Your hold contradiction is therefore returned to your own bosom.

5. Your exposition of the end of Christ's death is just what I anticipated. You do not believe that he died “to expiate sin:” for among the ends of his death you never name it, paragraph 10. You say he died for the joy set before him!—he died to show the love of God—he died that he might destroy the devil, and you have denied his existence!—he died that he might succor the tempted, and yet you have no other tempter than lust! This is all the use you have for the Messiah. I do not wonder at it. You have annihilated satan to get rid of hell; and now you have made foolish the death of Christ to obviate both punishment and pardon.

6. In the 11th paragraph you give us a sublime view of the reason of the hope that is in you. It might have been more clearly told, though not so verbosely eloquent, in one breath :—"I rejoice with joy unapeakable and full of glory in the hope of heaven, because there is no real satan, no devil, no hell." Yes, Sir, your hope of heaven is founded on your glorious Gospel that satan and hell are mere tmgbears-like the tales of ghosts and witches, etc.

7. Your united strength of Calvinism and Arminianism reminds me of a popular mode of quoting Scripture. One Scripture says, "Judas went and hanged himself :'" another scripture says, "W, thou and do likewise." Now, says Mr. Skinner, he that does not go and bang himself has resisted the united strength of Christ and his apostles ! This is a just comment on your 12th paragraph.

8. The remainder of your letter has nothing worthy of reply. It is a distortion or misrepresentation of the few points to which reference is had i. it. You have only fully proved your disbelief in the death of Christ as an expiation of sin, and of forgiveness, and re-asserted what you will find amply anticipated and refuted in my last letter, forwarded about the time your present epistle seems to have been written. The points in my last, which cover all that remains in your present letter, are found in the eight following points deduced from your former assertions, which are only once more repeated in the present communication:—

9. 1st. Paul says, " Jesus expiated or purged away our sins :'" Mr. Skinner says, The sinner's own sufferings expiate his sins. 2d. John says, " We love him because he first loved us ;" Mr. Skinner says, After the *post mortem* sufferings all sinners will love him, because he has first punished them for all their sins. 3d. Paul says, " After death the judgment :'" Mr. Skinner says, After death the expiation and purification of sin." 4th. David and Paul say, " Blessed are they whose iniquities are pardoned :'" Mr. Skinner says, Blessed are they whose sins are fully punished, " because God does and will punish every sinner according to the full demerit of his crimes, and them is no escape, " 5th. David says, " There is forgiveness with God," and Daniel says, " To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgiveness :'" Mr. Skinner says, He punishes every sinner and them is no escape; consequently no mercy nor forgiveness with God. 6th. Paul

asks, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" Mr. Skinner answers, Under another dispensation after death. 7th. Christ says, "Work while it is day—the night cometh [death and hades] in which no man can work." Mr. Skinner says, All who die in their sins can work out their own salvation by suffering in purgatory according to their deeds. 8th. And to consummate the whole, Mr. Skinner represents God as punishing those who love him with all their hearts, souls, mind and strength; or, in other words, those who "have ceased to do evil and learned to do well," those who have entered purgatory and left off sinning, contrary to the whole Bible, Old Testament and New.

10. If in your defence of yourself in any one point in the remainder of your letter, you have succeeded in the estimation of any one who reads the articles to which you pretend to reply, I would not spend a sentence to recover him from your mare. He is not worth saving from your system. The best defence of yourself is in paragraphs 20, 21, and 22. In paragraph 20 you say, "Sin is a disease; Christ is the physician: punishment is one of the various kinds of medicines he administers to cure the patient."—But is not punishment the only medicine used in purgatory—the grand specific which saves all the incurable cases that die in their sins!—Sin a disease! Christ a physician! punishment his mild medicine, his sovereign specific in hades! What an imagination! What should we think of a physician who healed our physical diseases by punishment! Yet these are your splendid conceptions of sin, Christ, and punishment!! How much it relieves your system to ask, "Is satan self-existent, omnipotent, omnipresent!" Substitute sin, and your wisdom will be more wonderful. Is sin a misfortune, a self-existent, an omnipotent, omnipresent evil, which can be cured by mercy or wrath—by medicines as antipodal as light and darkness, as sweet and bitter, as heaven and hell!

11. Paragraph 21. "Did I find peace," you ask, "in obeying a violated law?" What a sage question truly! Did **MID**, who last night owed Mr. C. a thousand talents, find peace in paying off the debts of to-day? Did he find a liquidation of the ten thousand talents of by-gone years, by paying every evening the debts of that day! Save me from such debtors as take their lessons of justice and moral right from you, Sir! This, Sir, is your satisfaction for

sin—this is your honoring and magnifying of the divine law ! Reader, examine Mr. Skinner's 21st paragraph for a clear indication of his views of getting rid of sin. If you violated a commandment ten thousand times, and then obey it once, this one act of obedience atones for ten thousand offences, clears off the whole score, " brings peace, happiness, and salvation from your former guilty disobedience" ! I think Mr. Skinner, however gratuitous it may be, for this full disclosure of his system. And to help cut the free grace of this system, if a person should violate any commandment according to his ability all the days of his life, and only once obey it after death—for instance, the 7th or 8th of the decalogue—that one act of obedience in purgatory gives him peace, holiness and happiness : for, continues Mr. Skinner, " are God's character and government the reverse in, another world from what they are in this ? Does death dissolve the tie between the creature and the Creator ?" If this be Universalism defended by a *giant*, what shall we think of it in *weaker* bands ! This is some of Mr. Skinner's mortar which strengthens his wall ! Solomon's Temple had no mortar—consequently it was weak.

12. In answer to the question in paragraph 21, I state, That the scriptures adduced in letter XXVIII, are intended to how that the ultimate destiny of the wicked shall not be as the righteous. Mr. Skinner presumes that his *post mortem* punishment ending in holiness saves him from the force of those passages which bear only, as he would have us think, upon the ultra Universalist, who makes death the final end of all punishment. But this is fallacious in the extreme—for two reasons :—1st. His purgatory is a perfect assumption, for which he has not pretended to give one word of proof, except from the Apocrypha or his own reasoning, and no reasoning can prove a positive institution. What text avows that those who go into eternal punishment shall get out of it ? Aye, that is the question. Captain Symmes' hollow spheres, the Pope's *limbo puerorum*, and your imaginative Orcus, Pandemonium, or Purgatory, are all without a fact or a " *thus saith the Lord*" to support them. Your frequent evasions of this matter show you are conscious that it is wholly unfounded on scriptural testimony.

13. In the second place, temporary *post mortem* punishment ending in bliss, makes the ultimate destiny of the

wicked and the righteous the same : for the man who lives to be a hundred years old, though he may suffer more than he who dies at twenty-five, they both arriving at eternal life, has the same ultimate destiny with him. Now as those scriptures alleged speak of an *abiding difference* between the *post mortem* state of the righteous and the wicked, they are just as conclusive against you, Sir, as against the ultra Universalist. Your seeking to evade them by asking to which proposition they belong, can be easily perceived by our readers.

14. Your "pin," "apple," "hen-roost," and "suicide sire," are too ridiculous for a grave reply. James settles all such pins and puns by saying, that "if a man should keep the whole law, and yet offend in *one point*, he is *guilty of a 72.*" As respects society, there is a great difference in sins ; but as respects God's authority, dignity, law, all sins are equal. Remember, Mr. Skinner, that we all die because our Father stole an apple ! and laugh no more against God's economy. Read your 18th paragraph again, and blot it out forever.

15. Having done a work of supererogation in replying to such a suicidal defence of your system, I proceed with my argument. In my last letter I closed with the uselessness of the Gospel scheme, if your penal system saves all. In some three months probably you may reach that letter, I shall, however, continue that argument, because not then complete. I think I have shown, 1st. That Restorationism, as plead by you, annihilates the truth, holiness, justice, and mercy of God. God says, "When the wicked turneth away from the wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, [has ceased sinning,] he shall save his soul alive." Yet you say that in your purgatory, although God's government is immutably the same on this earth and in your purgatory, he will continue to punish—nay, all his punishment, there shall fall on three who have turned away from their wickedness—who have ceased to do evil, and who love and submit to the Lord. Where, then, is the truth, mercy, holiness, and justice of your God ? The dilemma, whose invincible horns now embrace you, reads thus :—Your spirits in prison must cease sinning soon as they enter purgatory, or they can not get out; but if they cease sinning they can not be punished, unless God can punish three who are pure and holy as the angels in heaven—that is, who sin not in thought, word, or deed.

16. I have shown, in the second place, that it stultifies and nullifies the Gospel economy; and now I ask, in the third place, does it not equally stultify the apostles who laid down their lives for the Gospel! And does it not stultify yourself, Sir, in laboring so hard for nothing, and taxing the people so highly for it—fur the sake of showing that the world will be as certainly saved without your labors as with them! Nay, you are, upon your own principles, a public injury to society: for if you speak the truth, you enhance the guilt of many more than you temporarily relieve, and send many more for a longer term to purgatory than they would, but for your meddling, have had to endure. Instead of promoting the salvation of many, you save not one that would not have been saved without you, and you increase the misery of many. The Grand Jury ought, o. your own showing, to inquire into your case.

17. Your system also is useless; because, 4th. It takes away every stimulus to moral excellence. "All men will be forever happy, live as they may," is the most licentious tenet ever promulged by mortal man. A few, indeed, might love virtue for its own sake; but they are already virtuous persons, and need not your interference. Others might find in hope a stimulus to moral attainments; but they are also a virtuous few, and need not your preaching. But to the mighty multitude of animal men your Gospel would not be either the wisdom or power of God to reformation. *All that have come out from among you testify that yew- system never reformed a single sinner. Some ha...* too much hope; and to these Paul says, "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling." And Jesus the great master of the human heart said, "Fear Him who, when he has killed the body, has power to destroy both soul and body in hell: yea, I say to you, fear Him." And Paul again says to Christians, "Having a promise left us of entering into his rest, LET US FEAR, lest any of you should seem to come short of it." A thousand passages confirm, and in various forms inculcate this view of the matter.—That very fear, then, which you labor to destroy, was inculcated and cherished by Jesus and his apostles as a healthy and necessary stimulus to virtue.

18. In the fifth place, your system is useless; because, if it be true that none but the virtuous hem shall be forever happy, we are perfectly safe who inculcate and prac-

tics truth and righteousness. We can lose nothing, except the pleasure of spending a thousand years in your purgatory. We are happy in the paths of virtue; and all that fear, from which you would deliver us in behalf of our families and friends, is a healthful stimulus to seek their salvation, from which we would not be delivered. Perfect love casts out tormenting fear. "There is none of that fear in love." If not perfect Christians, it would be a misfortune not to have this fear for ourselves. And for our children, if we discharge faithfully our duties, we have nothing to fear; but if we do not, it would be a misfortune not to fear. I say again, if your system were true we lose nothing. "Godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come." But if none but "the pure in heart shall see God," or, in other words, if your system be false, then we are safe; but where are your deluded hosts!!

19. Tho' wicked are easily converted to your theory; but where is the power to convert them to holiness? Our doctrine has converted thousands from Belial to Christ—~~from sin to holiness~~—from vice to virtue. But where are your converts? The honest preachers who have come out from among you, and of these there are a few, with one voice declare that your system *never did reform an individual*; but that it has made many worse, very much worse for embracing it. As I shall make this the sixth specification of the inutility of your system, I droll be at some pains to adduce some evidence i. proof of it. I will introduce a very competent person, one of your own editors and preacher% of much moral word; one, too, whom you have most shamefully abused because of his honesty in relation to his experience while among you.—You are. I presume, by this time thinking of Mr. Lewis C. Todd. I have no personal acquaintance with that gentleman. I learned he heard me discourse the other day at Garrettsville, Ohio. He was after he left you a Methodist preacher, I believe: I know not what his present views are. His neighbors give him a good name, and his book shows that he is a gentleman of an enlarged and cultivated mind. As far as I have read it, (say 100 pages,) it is clear, strong, and convincing—well written. I have not room for many extracts. I may do the author injustice by short quotations; but I will not misrepresent him:—

20. "I became a preacher of universal salvation, and was

ordained as such in F airfield, Herkimer county, N. Y., about eight years ago. I believed the doctrine true, and thought that, in proportion as it was propagated, mankind would become good and happy. I preached in different parts, far and near, and itinerated over an extensive region of country, suffering the excesses of heat and cold, and the pitiless peltings of stormy skies, and muddy roads. No danger or effort did I consider too great that was possible; for I believe, for a number of years, I should often have rejoiced in the martyr's privilege of attesting my faith.—Some years since, however, I occasionally reflected that although the doctrine had spread much faster than I had anticipated, it did not seem to prod... the effects I had expected. This gradually cooled my ardor and diminished my zeal, so that for some years I cared but little whether I preached or not. In this state of mind, believing Universalism to be the true sense of the Bible when rightly construed, and being unable to see any considerable good resulting from the system, I was much inclined to doubt divine revelation. I could not go entirely into infidelity, nor feel much confidence in revelation." " I had seen the blessed influence of the doctrine spread out often on paper, but I could not see them any where else! No—God knows I am honest in this assertion. I do not feel to abuse the denomination; but it is true that I could not for my life see any good resulting to society from the sentiment. 'his conviction rolled in upon my mind and my feelings with tremendous effect. Alas! thought I, have I been spending my ' labor for that which satisfieth not ?' Are all my efforts useless, and only tending to make loose the restraints of religion and virtue!" " But with these impressions, I was obliged still to be a Universalist: for I could not make up my mind fully to be an infidel, and viewed all the doctrines of the orthodox almost with abhorrence. I could much easier have gone into infidelity than orthodoxy." " I know individuals among them of the most amiable disposition and characters, that would honor any profession. But I do not think their doctrine ever made them so. I candidly ever, in the fear of God, that I do not believe the doctrine ever made a single soul any better than he otherwise would have been, while it has been the means of removing necessary restraints, and giving latitude to thousands whose propensities and passions needed restraint, whereby they have indulged in

criminal pursuits and gone to perdition. I only judge from what I know—from what I have seen, in reference to the general effect of the doctrine. ‘The tree must be known by its fruits.’ And after taking the *fruits* of the tree of Universalism into a long and deliberate and prayerful consideration, so far as I have ever seen them, I am compelled to conclude the tree is radically defective—that God never designed to give mankind a religion which would do them no good, and about which most of its friends would feel so perfectly indifferent as Universalists generally do about their religion. When I learn of a *single* drunkard, or swearer, or gambler, or debauchee, or knave being reformed in consequence of the Universalist doctrine, I shall think better of its influence than I do now; for it is my solemn opinion that such an instance never occurred. And I would gladly bold up this truth to all the friends of the doctrine, and make it speak out in thunder to their consciences; and then ask them if they will still teach this doctrine to their children! “. . . .” I do not pretend here to accuse all Universalists, who deny future punishment, Of dishonesty; but that they do not believe in the scriptures in their plain, natural, *unvarnished* sense.—To bring people to *their* system, their principal business is to *varnish* over the scriptures so as to give them the appearance of teaching what common readers would never have suspected from the words. The system, in my opinion, is so near Deism, as to be precisely the same in its moral effects.”. . . . “This is the reason why I think it would be fairer or better for mankind and for posterity, if the advocates of that doctrine would openly espouse Deism. For I do not believe that by preaching open infidelity they could undermine the Christian faith and increase hostility to religion as fast as they do now. I think it impossible to look over the country, and trace Universalism in *any* place where it prevails to any extent, and not be satisfied of this truth. Many professed Universalists have told me, at different times, that they only supported Universalism as a means of putting down superstition, (revealed religion.) Many preacher, take a kind of dark course on the subject of future punishment. They preach *present* punishment; and all their common arguments are calculated to induce a belief that punishment must be *here* and *no where else*. Yet they do not say but there *may be* punishment in a future state! Hence, while they teach *ultra* Universalism

in its material features, they hold in reserve the advantage of taking shelter under *Restorationism*, whenever they are met with scriptures in debate, which they can not evade, and which they must allow to teach future punishment.—Mr. Kneeland was for years a learned and eminent Universalist teacher. He became an Atheist; and says that the fundamental principles, taught by modern Universalists and himself, are the same; that the elements of his system are all found in their arguments; that the principal Universalist writers and teachers are engaged in the same great work that he is—viz. to bring mankind out of superstition into reason and nature. He claims the honor of acting openly and honestly in promoting the same results, which he says his Universalist coadjutors are promoting in their own way. I am informed by a reputable gentleman from Boston that Universalist societies in that region open their temples, and pay him for his instructions on Atheism, or Pantheism, which is substantially the same thing."..... "My objections to Universalism are founded mainly upon the fact of its inefficiency to reform the wicked, and to promote the growth and living energy of vital piety." "Sincerely and deliberately believing that such is the effect of the Universalian doctrine, I appeal to the heart-searching God for the purity of my motives, while I hereby publicly renounce the doctrine as unscriptural and of pernicious tendency; and I withdraw from all ecclesiastical connection with the people called Universalists.

LEWIS C. TODD.*

All of which is respectfully submitted—by yours faithfully,
A. CAMPBELL,

* See Appendix. Note C

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXXV.

UTICA, SEPTEMBER 26, 1838.

DEAR SIR—Your letters XXX and XXXII are now before me. In No. xxx, you say my “grand proposition, that ‘eternal *life* (meaning thereby holiness and happiness) shall be the ultimate destiny of all mankind,’ is not a single, but a compound proposition.” With all due deference to your superior learning and skill, I must take the liberty of dissenting from this statement. The proposition, in my opinion, is perfectly simple. In order to avoid ambiguity, the parenthesis is thrown in *explaining* the sense in which the phrase “eternal life” is meant to be used in the predicate of the proposition. But, Sir, does an *explanation* of the terms of a proposition change a simple into a compound proposition? Your laws of logic must be peculiar to yourself if you affirm it.

2. After cutting up and dividing my simple proposition to your liking, you next accuse me and Universalists generally of stupidity in not being aware that we have several propositions to prove in order to make out the simple one of universal salvation, and of quoting texts to prove it that have no bearing on either predicate which you say I am to prove. Now, Sir, waiving all further dispute about simple and compound propositions, and the several different predicates which you say I must prove, I will here simply state, that if I prove the final salvation of all mankind in a Gospel sense, I thereby prove their final holiness and happiness; for holiness and happiness are necessarily implied in the Gospel sense of salvation. If I prove the ultimate happiness of all, it is proof of the salvation of all, and the holiness of all; for we both agree that holiness is essential to true happiness; and I desire no other salvation but holiness and happiness. And if I prove the holiness of

all, no enlightened Christian will ask further evidence of happiness or salvation; for holiness and happiness are inseparably united. The proof therefore of either of your subdivided predicates is sufficient for the whole.

3. But you say my "thus saith the Lord," is hut the" thus saith of Mr. Skinner. " Your proof of it is, that I quoted the text where God says, "all souls are mine," and thence showed that God "could not suffer his property to be irrecoverably lost." You then artfully ask, "are not all sheep and cattle the Lord's? Does this prove their final salvation?" Why did you, Sir, change the subject of the predicate? Why not ask, according to the tenor of my position, Will God suffer all sheep and cattle to be irrecoverably lost? My answer then, is, No, he will not suffer them to be irrecoverably lost in the sense you use the word *lost*, i. e., to signify endless misery. But further, the text I quoted says, "all souls [not mere brutes] are mine." Now if you will prove that all sheep and cattle have immortal souls, I will take the ground of their salvation against your necessary inference from your question, that they will suffer endless damnation!

4. You admit, paragraph 5, my proof that all, without exception, are given to Christ: but you contend that this is no proof of the ultimate holiness and happiness of all. Had you forgotten, Sir, that i. the same paragraph, and directly connected with that proof, I also proved that all who were given to Christ should have "eternal life," should be drawn to him, and should so come to him as "not to be cast out?" Your affected obtuseness here in neither seeing nor noticing the most positive proof, is only equalled by your extraordinary acumen in your sixth paragraph, where you discover and divulge the momentous fact that *all, all men, every man, the world, and the whole world*, don't mean all men, but signify far less than they express!

5. Now my rule for understanding all these terms of universality, is this: When there is nothing in the text, the context, or nature of the subject, which necessarily limits their meaning to less than the whole, the terms are used in their most extensive and unlimited, because their most obvious and natural sense: but when the text, context, or nature of the subject, forbids this, they are of necessity to be understood in a restricted sense. Can you object to this, or find a better rule? Now in every text you adduce, where these terms occur, in the last part of your 5th and

in your 6th paragraphs, **there is something** in the text, context, or subject which **necessarily restricts the meaning to less than all men**. But when we read that God created all, is the Father of all, **wine and purposes the salvation of all**, is the Saviour of all, that Christ died for all, **gave himself a ransom for all**, tasted death for every man, is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, **taketh away the sin of the world**, is the Saviour of the world, will draw all men unto him, etc., etc., etc., there is nothing in text, context, or subject, that forbids, but every thing requires, that the terms should be understood in their broadest and most unlimited sense. And, Sir, dare you risk your reputation, either as a scholar or a Biblical critic, by denying it?

6. You pass over my 23d, 25th, 27th, and 29th letters, where the strongest and most incontestable proof of the final salvation of all men is adduced, drawn from the attributes of God, the reason and nature of things, the character, advent, teachings and labors of Christ, and scores upon scores of direct and unequivocal Scriptures, without an effort to set aside or refute that proof, or at most hut a mere *feint* at it. I confess I should not know how even to *express* the sentiment of universal salvation, if that evidence does not clearly express and fully prove it. Yet you seem disposed to let the whole pass unrefuted and almost unnoticed! and for want of other business attempt to prove the negative of the proposition! Beware, Sir, lest your readers embrace this "awful heresy," for want of an effort on your part to refute it. Now, if the Bible clearly prove the final salvation of all men, it certainly can not prove the negative of this doctrine if it be divine. And so far as any thing yet appears from your pen on the subject, it is fairly presumable the negative can not be reprov'd. And of all the attempts at proof of the negative which I have seen for years from any respectable source, yours is the weakest.

7. Of the six examples you give to prove that "*the language and style of the Bible are at war with Universalism*," five are taken from the *Apocalypse*! a book, the very authority of which, many eminent Biblical critics call in question, and many more, admitting its authority, confess their ignorance of its meaning, especially of its high wrought metaphors and figures. Dr. A. Clarke says of it, "I do not understand it, and—I dare not indulge in conjectures." "I repeat it, I do not understand the book; and I am sat-

isfied that not one who has written on the subject knows any thing more of it than myself." But, though I admit its divine authority, I think, with the most eminent critics, it ought not, on account of its highly figurative style, and its undetermined application, to be relied on, of itself alone, as sufficient to establish the truth of any important doctrine, especially so grave and awful a doctrine as that of endless wo. I am also satisfied that, rightly interpreted, it furnishes no evidence of any such doctrine, nor in the least militates against the salvation of all men.

8. To me the internal evidence is abundantly satisfactory, that the Apocalypse was written prior to the overthrow of Jerusalem and the abrogation of the Jewish polity; the signs, wonders, and commotions in the heavens and earth, relate to the revolutions and changes of the political and religious world; the New Jerusalem, the heavenly city, denotes the Gospel covenant, or Christian economy, which was fully established at the cessation of the old dispensation and succeeded it at that time; ancient Jerusalem being most probably the Babylon of the Apocalypse. To the New Jerusalem the faithful followers of Jesus were admitted, were saved from the calamities that fell on his enemies, walked in the light of it, had their names written in the Lamb's book of life, did his commandments, had right to the tree of life, and entered through the gates into the city; while dogs and screechers and the unclean that had not them qualifications, but were unjust still, [not to all eternity, as you say,] were excluded therefrom, and on them fell the awful judgments described in the book. But not a syllable is hinted about their endless exclusion from immortal bliss. So far from the judgment mentioned, Rev. xxii : 11, being the "final judgment," as you term it, the context clearly shows that it was then, (nearly 1800 years ago,) about to take place, and history proves that it did. The verse before it says, "*the time is at hand,*" and the verse after it says, "and behold *I come quickly* and my reward is with me," et.

9. According to your definition of the word *still*, i. e. *forever*, in the text, "he that is unjust, let him be unjust still," the following text must read thus: "It pleased Silas to abide there *forever*." "Silas and Timothy abode there *forever*." Acts xv : 34; and xvii : 14. "I besought thee to abide *forever* at Ephesus." 1 Tim, i : 3. It does not follow, because some had not at that time their names

written in the Lamb's book of life, that therefore they never would be there written; for we read that "they shall obtain mercy that had not obtained mercy," "she shall be called beloved that was not beloved," and "it shall come to pass, that where it was said, ye are not my people, there shall they be called the children of the living God."

10. Your 6th example is "the elect of God." Wonderful evidence this! Pray, Sir, will you be so good as to take the Calvinistic counterpart of election, viz., the eternal reprobation of some men and angels to endless woe? I admit and believe in election. Christ is coiled the elect precious, and in the sense he was elected, the whole human family are non-elect. The twelve apostles were elect; and in that sense all other men were non-elect. The seventy disciples were elect, and all others next-elect in that sense. But are the elect chosen for their own exclusive benefit? or for the good of the non-elect? For what are the officers of churches chosen? For what are city, town, county, state, and national officers elected? Your answer will correctly state the object of election!

11. Because Dr. George Campbell could see "no meaning at all" in the expression, "restitution of all things," Acts iii: 21, you are willing to believe there is none. But if either he or you could, like Abraham, lay hold on the exceeding great and precious promises of God, and believe that he who had promised was able also to perform, you would see meaning, beauty, sublimity and glory, in the text. May the Lord open your eyes to see them in all their loveliness. You call on me to produce *one* text proving my sentiment. I have given you *many scores*, not one of which you have shown or can show *10* be irrelevant or wanting in evidence. Try a few of them, friend, and see. For example, try Ps. xxii: 27; cxlv: 9; or Isa. xiv: 22-24; or 1 Cor. xv: 22; or Phil. ii: 10, 11; or 1 Tim. ii: 4. When you have disposed of these I will name as many more as you wish.

12. You occupy several pages in belaboring your brother Destructionists. This, (though my friends are perfectly at a loss to know why you should introduce this utterly irrelevant subject,) I conclude is for the especial edification and correction of your Br. Shepard of the Auburn "Primitive Christian;" who, although a true yoke-fellow with you in "restoring the primitive doctrine," the "ancient order of things," in the church, has schismatically gone over to the

de fence of *Destruct ionism* or *annihilation*, in a set contro-
 versy with Mr. Montgomery. What the " true doctrine"
 will be when you and he get it *restored*, cloth not yet ap-
 pear. [t will doubtless be very *harmonious* !—I have no
 objections to your arguments on this subject, except so far
 as you attempt to make them bear against the doctrine of
 the restitution; and then your labor is like "kicking against
 the pricks." The reason why I was glad you did not
 take the ground of the Destructionist, was, that should
 this prevail to any considerable extent, it would be likely
 to hold out against the true doctrine of the restitution
 much longer than that of endless misery can; for the
 former is less revolting to reason, humanity, justice, and
 benevolence; and the latter is now on its last legs. But
 both are equally opposed to truth and the general voice of
 revelation; and both consequently must soon go down to
 the " tomb of the Capulets."

13. You say my reference to the Christian Fathers as hav-
 ing been Universalists " is all a hoax;" and you say, " give
 us the primitive apostles," etc. Sir, I *have* given you, 1st.
 The ancient patriarchs and prophets, and the words of God
 spoken through them; 2d. The character and express
 teachings of Christ himself; 3d. The positive and unequiv-
 ocal testimony of the apostles; and lastly the fact that the
 most eminent of the Christian Fathers were believers and
 teachers of the restitution. Is not this sufficient? What
 would you have more? There is no " hem" about it.—
 But you say, " the truly primitive fathers speak of *eternal*
 or *everlasting punishment*." All this, Sir, I very well know;
 and I know also (and can you be ignorant of the fact?)
 that those very Fathers believed and strenuously maintain-
 ed the final salvation of all men, thereby clearly showing
 that *everlasting* [*age-lasting*] *punishment* was not used by
 them to signify *endless* misery. How will you account for
 the fact? In reply to your very kind admonition in the
 close of your 30th letter, I will only say, " Physician, heal
 thyself."

14. I now come to your 32d letter, or what should be
 such. On perusing the first three paragraphs, I fell into
 a sort of *reverie*. I imagined myself transported to Betha-
 ny, Va., seated in a room adjoining your study. There
 was a small aperture looking directly into your apartment,
 where, unseen, I could observe your every movement.—
 You sat before a large mirror, in which you could see

yourself from head to foot. After surveying yourself for some time with great complacency, and even with ecstatic delight, you burst forth in the following soliloquy :—" I am Alexander Campbell, the Great. I am ' a man, a *full grown man,*' the pink Of a gentleman, the prince of philosophers, the generalissimo of theological combatants, the leader and founder of a new sect, (though I don't exactly dare call it such,) the Pope of my people, (or should be, were it not for Dr. Thomas and Br. Shepard.) ' I have been too long before the public—have had too many controversies, to dread *any* thing, or even the doing or saying any thing that is vulgar. I have killed the giant of Atheism, divided the Baptist churches, out-bishoped the Bishop of Rome, that I might enjoy the papal See quietly myself, ' prostrated the whole citadel of Universalist, (though it be ' the weakest of all causes,' and no gentleman ever advocated it,) and more than all, and above all, I understand all about *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*—even more—I understand the *King's English* ! I have"—

15. Here you were interrupted by the arrival of a messenger bringing in my letter No XXXI. Your appearance, and the effect of the *letter on you*, can *not* be better described than in the following language of Milton :—

" ————— Distempered, disorientated thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits, engendering pride.
Him thus intent, Ithuriel with his spear
Touch'd lightly ; for no falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness : up he starts,
Discovered and surprised. As when a spark
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
Fit for the tun some magazine to store,
Against . rumor'd war, the smutty grain,
With sudden flame diffused, inflames the *air* ;
So started up in his own shape the fiend."

1 & The faithful exposure that letter contained of the verbiage of your pedantry, the gasconade of your learning, the sophistry of your reasoning, and the insulting and personal abuse of your style, was too much even for your good *temper* to endure. You actually *exploded* before my eyes, quicker than one could say *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin*—the vision vanished, and I found myself composedly

seated at my table to notice further the contents of your extraordinary letter.

17. Seriously, Mr. Campbell, I do exceedingly regret, for your sake and the general reputation of this discussion, the low and vulgar style, and the vaunting, and bitter, and undignified spirit of the letter before me. When this controversy began, I hoped it might, throughout, be so conducted as to secure the respect for both parties, of all who should read it, especially of the higher classes, the titer ary, the critical, the theological, the serious, and *the candidly* judging reader. But, Sir, how would you feel to have your letter XXXII, now before me, read publicly before all the professors in our colleges, and grave theological and literary writers and critics in America? If, Sir, you could feel no shame for yourself, I should fain blush for you. But I waste time in saying more to you on this subject.

18. As to *argument*, your letter contains none against either of my propositions, or any position I have taken in this discussion. You complain, paragraph 4, of my publishing the two notes from your Appendix to your version of the New Testament, in a place by themselves in our Paper, and ask why I did not quote them all into my letter! Why should I quote them all into my letter, to occupy my space thereby? It was unnecessary. I gave them entire by themselves, that our readers might all see them, and I asked you twice to do the same in your Harbinger, that *your* readers might all see them too.—Have you done it? *Will* you do it? If not, what will your readers think? Publish them, Sir—publish them entire, either in your letters or elsewhere, as you please, so all may see them. I will guarantee that all Universalist papers that copy this discussion, shall copy them. It is in vain for you to pretend that they do not contradict the positions you have taken in *this* discussion. If the “radical idea” of *aion*, as your note of definition says, “*is indefinite duration,*” *by what*, process. . . . you show that when applied to punishment, it is *necessarily definite*, and *must signify absolutely endless duration*? Who is in “perplexity,” Sir, on this subject—you or I?

19. From your 5th to the end of your 12th paragraph, there is not a sentence relating to the subject or proposition under discussion. It is all made up of false attributions to me of doctrines I never held, and positions I never

assumed, God knows, and you know, and I know, and all our readers know, that I have never argued nor assumed the doctrines of *purgatory* that you charge me with—nor that hell expiates sin—that punishment sanctifies the sinner, or supersedes the necessity of salvation by Christ—that men will stop sinning when God begins punishing—that they become holy the moment they enter purgatory, etc., etc., etc.—though you have attempted fixing these charges upon me by CAPITALISING YOUR OWN ACCUSATIONS!!! Quote, if you can, a single sentence or word of mine, that authorises any of these charges.—The truth is, you are hard run, and know not what to do. I will tell you what you ought to do—you should either give up the controversy, or fairly meet my arguments, rather than spend your time in conjuring up false charges—making men of straw, and then exhibiting your adroitness in tearing them to pieces. I have amply proved, from Scripture, the final holiness and happiness of all men.—You make no attempt to refute it.

20. It is true, I have informed you that I believe (though I have not argued it in this discussion, for it was unnecessary) that punishment will in some instances, extend beyond the present state. You insist that it shall be called *purgatory*! Why not call it what I call it—*punishment*? You next insist I shall tell you its location, duration, termination, etc., etc. The subject, Sir, is not embraced in either of our propositions; and if it were, I am under no more obligation to tell you these particulars, than you are to tell me exactly how many and what proportion of mankind will be finally saved, what portion damned, when the last soul shall enter heaven, whether your God and your devil shall harmoniously unite in endlessly tormenting the damned, and whether the ceaseless groans of the latter are to constitute the principal music to gratify your delighted ears in heaven. Will you explain all these particulars?

21. If punishment extend beyond the present state, I know not that it will be different in character, design, or tendency, from present punishment. The same benevolent God presides over all worlds, all states, and all beings. I do not profess to be “wise above what is written.” It is not for me “to know the times and seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.” His “words shall be fulfilled in their season.” “In the dispensation of the fullness of times God will gather together in one all things in

Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him." What particular period or periods may be meant by this phraseology, I know not. I am content to believe most firmly, that *when* that time arrives, all shall be new creatures in Christ, sin and misery and death shall cease, and God shall be all in all."

22. In your 13th paragraph you again unblushingly advocate the serpent's doctrine, "Ye shall not surely die," and recede from, and now oppose what you onto undertook to sustain, viz., that God "will *by no means* clear the guilty," but "will render to every man according to his deeds." You say truly that I maintain, and that the position is the true result of my system, that "God *does and will punish every sinner according to the full demerit of his crimes, and there is no escape.*" I thank you, Sir, for once fairly quoting my words and representing truly my sentiments. I hope you will not again charge the serpent's doctrine upon me; but ponder seriously on its just application to yourself. But you ask, if all are to be punished according to the *full demerits* of their crimes, "then where is the mercy of God? Why talk of mercy?" I answer in the language of David, Ps. lxxii: 12, "Also unto thee, O Lord, *belongeth* mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his works." But you appear strangely ignorant of Universalism, or the Bible doctrine of punishment and forgiveness, or remission of sins, in supposing that these are inconsistent with each other. For your special benefit, then, permit me to inform you, that the Bible does not in one single instance speak of the *punishment* of sin being forgiven. It speaks often of the pardon, remission, and forgiveness of sin, but *never of the forgiveness of punishment.*

23. To *forgive*, (Greek *aphemi*,) signifies "to send away, dismiss, remit, send forth, divorce, put away," etc. When sin, therefore, is forgiven, it is put away, removed. Sin is a moral *disease*. Punishment is the effect, the pain, or suffering consequent of the disease. Remove or put away the disease, and its effect, punishment, ceases of course.— But it would be as unscriptural and as unreasonable to talk of *forgiving the punishment of sin*, as it would for a physician to talk of *forgiving his patient his pain*, or *remitting his sufferings*, without removing his *disease*. If disease exist, the consequent pain must be endured, "and there is no escape." This view of the subject will perfectly harmonise

all those scriptures (without driving us to the serpent's doctrine) that speak of the absolute *certainly of punishment in all cases*, and of the *forgiveness or remission of sin*.— Scripture history and facts also confirm it. Joseph's unnatural brethren suffered for many long years the bitter but just punishment of their sin, and yet their sin was forgiven, remitted, or the disease cured on the heartfelt application of the grace of Joseph. David was sorely punished for his sin, and yet forgiven. The Prodigal Son suffered the condign punishment of his guilt so long as he continued a sinner—his punishment did not sanctify him, but brought him to reflection, humbled his pride, and induced him to return to his father's house, and there he was met with that sanctifying grace that could pardon his guilt and completely cure his moral disease.

24. You make no effort to demolish my second trilemma, paragraph 15, letter XX XI. Of course you deem it unanswerable. You say I misrepresent you in stating that you hold the "greatest possible good of the universe to consist in the salvation of a minority, and the least possible expense of evil in the eternal damnation of a majority," and add, that "for anything that appears to the contrary, *in all premises, in all circumstances of human kind may be saved*."

Very well—then my friend Campbell wants but a *tenth part* of being a Universalist—you are *nine-tenths* gained over to my side. Take care, or the other tenth will come soon. But now I bethink me, you quoted only in your previous letter, (XXX.) paragraph 33, the text about the *strait and narrow way* that leadeth to *life*, which *few* find, and the *broad way* that leadeth to *destruction*, whereat *many* go in. Did you intend by this quotation, that only the *few* there mentioned should ever be saved in the eternal world, and that the *many* would be endlessly damned? If so, does the word *few* mean *nine-tenths* of mankind, (which you now think may be saved,) and the word *many*, only the other *tenth*? Please answer *the question*. If you now think that nine-tenths of human kind will be saved, you must either reverse the definitions of *few* and *many* in the text, or allow, with *me*, that it has no reference to the final destiny of man, but only to the comparatively small number that embraced the religion of Christ while he was on earth, and the many that rejected him and went the broad way to the temporal destruction that came on that nation.

25. Your last five paragraphs in the letter before me,

on the alleged tendencies of my system, are entirely foreign from the propositions we agreed to discuss, and are utterly irrelevant, being wholly brood on your falsely attributing to me sentiments I never held, nor before thought of. I will only say on these, that I never held that punishment could sanctify the sinner—nor that it alone could save mankind—, nor that it in any way did or could supersede the necessity of salvation by the grace of God and the mediation of Christ. Indeed, so far from being opposed to, or extraneous from, or inconsistent with the latter, punishment, whether it be inflicted here or hereafter, is one of the *means* of God's grace—one of the means *employed by Christ* in his mediatorial reign, to subdue and bring sinners to him. For Christ expressly declared that he would "reward every man according to his works" and also that he would "draw all men unto him." Matt. xvi : 27 ; John xii : 32. My system then does not make void and useless, but establishes, and in the highest possible degree honors, the Gospel of Christ.

26. One word, Sir, respecting your own system and its tendencies. You say, "those who are born and brought up in gross darkness, as to the Gospel, are liable to the least imaginable quantum of punishment," and that "the doom of three who hear the Gospel and turn away from it, will be inexpressibly more fearful, woful and wretched than the doom of the Indian and Pagan who heard it not." You add, "there are more who reject than obey the Gospel." How, then, Sir, in the name of reason and humanity, dare you try to enlighten any of the human family? Why not suffer them to remain forever in Pagan darkness? Why give them a chance to reject the Gospel and thereby greatly enhance, not merely their *temporal*, but their *endless wretchedness* and *immortal woe*! Your system of promulgating the Gospel and enlightening mankind, if your doctrine be true, will forever add to the endless woe and immortal pangs of millions on millions of human souls! Pause, my friend, I beseech you, pause a moment, and think on the dreadful position you occupy. Examine your moral portrait and that of your system, in this mirror of your own make, and may God assist you to grow "wise unto salvation."

Yours, most truly, D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER

LETTER XXXVI.

RICHMOND, VA., OCTOBER 26, 1838.

SIR—Your letter before me is a savory dish of Universal literature, science, eloquence, courtesy, religion—worthy of the Augustan age—the Queen Ann era of English taste and refinement, served up in the elegant style of the higher circles, to which you allude in your admirable portraiture of our correspondence. I have not time to dispute your right to be heard in all the schools and colleges, as a model of urbanity, good sense, and good taste, and as a standard of Greek and Hebrew criticism. Time, Sir, is with me too precious to be spent in such an unequal conflict; and I feel as if I were already more than defeated in your fine arts of concealment, evasion, and misrepresentation.

2. I hasten, then, to review the 26 paragraphs of your letter. Your first paragraph misstates and evades my remarks on your compound proposition, Your second presents your excuse for not adducing one text to prove the ultimate holiness of all men, either in this life or in Purgatory. Your third refutes your former inference that the words “all souls are mine,” proven their salvation. I admit not what you assume in the 4th; while in the 5th you admit my rule of interpretation, and propose it as if it were your own; not seeming to know that it leaves the point there in debate as it was: for you attempt not in any case to prove that the context of any passage in the Bible proves the final holiness of all mankind.

3. In your 6th paragraph you talk of scores upon scores of proof texts which you have adduced to prove universal restoration, and yet you still decline to rely upon any one of them: for, as shall show in the sequel, you have positively declined to trust your cause upon any of them, in a

debate upon their true meaning. In your 7th you attempt to discredit the Apocalypse, and to stultify the comment of that said Adam Clarke, whom you sometimes quote with admiration. And to get rid of its evidence, you assert its almost entire reference to events before the destruction of Jerusalem. In your 8th paragraph you affirm the final judgment (chapter xxii, verse 11) to be past 1600 years ago, and the tree of life to have been planted near the river of the water of life, etc., etc., and that all sorrow, crying, and tears have ceased ages before we were born, etc., etc. In your 9th paragraph, you comment learnedly on the word *still*, and make the words "*let him be unjust still*" as precisely equal to *let him be just for ever*; and thus you fully refute your rule of interpretation, or show that you disregard it. Your 10th paragraph is an evasion of the criticism upon such phrases as "*the elect of God*." I argue that such words as *elect, saved, condemned*, etc. always imply another class of men, who are not approved, justified, saved, etc. I shall reserve your 11th paragraph for future notice.

4. In your 12th you speak gratuitously and irrelevantly of "my brother destructionists." This is mere calumny. I have no such brotherhood. Destructionism is a gospel adapted only to those who are in hell. It is *not* Christ's Gospel, and I have nothing to do with it. It is, indeed, "less revolting" to sinners than endless punishment; and therefore it can not be a sanction of the Gospel. Your 13Lh paragraph is "a beggarly account of empty boxes." You count the labels on your drawers, but you have forgotten that they are all empty. After evading, and in fact declining the challenge tendered in paragraphs 31, 32, and 33 of my 30th letter, you say you have disposed of it. Well, our readers need not be informed by me how you have disposed of it: it is deficiently obvious. Have you forgotten my three preceding letters? Why do you not reply to them?

5. You then commence the reply to my 32d letter. "The reverie," into which you assume to have fallen, and your paragraphs 14, 15, 16, and 17, are a literal fulfilment of my predictions in that letter concerning your course to the end of the controversy. You have been at pains to rub off all the whitewashing and varnishing which concealed your genuine metal from public inspection, and therefore I can leave you to your own developments. I am neither to be al-

lured nor provoked to fill my time or my pages with a debate upon your manner, or your learning, which you think so eminently qualify you for writing for the higher classes of Universalists!! Go on, Sir: only do not dictate to me, as in paragraph 18, to publish the notes which you have given to your readers from the Family Testament. My readers generally have them; and you have given them to yours—for which you have my thanks. Will you publish in your paper a few columns per week at my dictation!

6. After having repeatedly eroded the defence of your Restorationism, you teem, at length, in paragraph 19, 20, 21, 22, to have given it up altogether. You would now effect to be understood as having never taught that men cease sinning after death, and call upon me for proof that you have so taught, *Do you now say that men sin in your Purgatory*, and increase in guilt while expiating their sins by suffering according to their full demerits? I presume the dullest of our readers can now see that you are as victorious in the defence of your *post mortem* holiness as in your Greek and Hebrew criticisms. Y.. bewail my ignorance of Universalism very feelingly; after telling me you know nothing and can say nothing of your own theory of final holiness and happiness, so far as it is accomplished after death. It is, Sir, a constrained, but, I think an honest confession. Mr. Skinner, you are a bold adventurer: You profess to teach, that, after death, in some place which you do not like to call Heaven, Hell, or Purgatory, men will suffer as much punishment as will fully expiate their sins, without the need of mercy or forgiveness; yet you now say, when put to the test, that you can tell nothing about it; and that you dare not now say whether they will cease sinning on their entrance or at the end of their torment. If you are not at sea without rudder, compass, pilot, tempest-tom, and shipwrecked, I should be at a loss to imagine such a case. Yet to relieve you, you would even insinuate that you have never taught these doctrines!

7. I asked for a proof of the mercy of your God in forgiving sin, or in remitting punishment. You declined even the attempt. Instead of this, you quote, without daring to comment on it, a few words from David, Psalm lxii: 12. "To thee, O Lord! belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work." Why did you not quote another passage in David to explain this?—Psalm xviii: 25, 26, "With the merciful thou wilt show

thyself merciful : with an upright man thou wilt show thyself upright ; with the pure thou wilt show thyself pure ; and with the froward thou wilt show thyself froward." Your intimated sense of the passage would convert mercy into justice : and thus you would make your God merely just! ! You then make sin a *disease*—a moral distemper ; and thus annul the idea of remission or forgiveness : for what should we think of the doctor who pretends to forgive his patients when curing them ! You will still be dabbling in Greek, and explaining words of which you can form no critical or correct idea. You *do* not, paragraph 23, write the word correctly. It is ΑΡΗΜΕΙ, and not *aphemi*—to remit. Men can remit punishment ; but your God can not. Your punishment is the effect of sin ! The penitentiary and the gibbet are, with you, the temporal *effects* of sin. Take away murder and theft, and then the penitentiary and the gibbet cease ! What an interpreter of language ! What a philosopher of circumstances ! But do you make mental pain, or remorse, the punishment of sin 'f If so, (and your reasoning is intelligible only on that hypothesis,) then it will follow that the greatest sinners suffer the least punishment ; for the most frequent and the most hardened sinners suffer the least remorse, while the least sinners suffer most !

S. Permit me to "*inform you,*" as you very courteously do me, that sin is reckoned in Scripture as a *debt* ;—and, as such, is said to be forgiven. The man who owed ten thousand talents was forgiven. His sins, or debts, were remitted. And hence *the* Saviour taught that we must forgive our *debt*, or our heavenly Father will not forgive us. Jesus taught his disciples to pray, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." Your God could not forgive ten thousand talents, for he must punish sin according to its full demerit. He will not let any one out of prison (or your Purgatory) till he has paid the last farthing. His mercy is to punish every one according to his sins ! I know of no *ism*, ancient or modern, that so abuses reason and Scripture as your system of Universalism. But of the forgiveness of sins I may reason farther after other matters are disposed of.

9. Your 21th paragraph is a positive perversion of my words. I have never said what proportion of mankind shall be saved ! Your trilemmas and your perversions of my words are too glaring for any comment. They are suicidal.}

10. Your 25th paragraph is perfectly reckless of truth, Scripture, and reason. You say that punishing men according to the full demerit of their crimes, is salvation by grace !!!—nay, “punishment is a means of grace” !—Punishment, as you explain it, viz.—according to the full extent of all our demerits, and as the natural and necessary effect of sin, is the means of grace that sanctifies and saves multitudes of our race !! Satan is, then, almost sanctified, and his sins almost pardoned, if six thousand years’ exile from heaven is to be considered as any punishment for sin ! But you believe in an impersonal devil.

11. Your 26th paragraph is a perversion of my remarks on the attributes of your Restorationism. My reasons for preaching Lb. Gospel are happily expressed by Paul:—“If by any means I may save some of them” that are wholly lost and ruined. But, Sir, your system saves none from ruin ; but increases the positive sufferings of many. Our system saves multitudes, that, without it, would have been forever lost. Your system saves not one such ; for all men will be saved from hell, if there were not one Universalist believer or preacher on earth—if there be one word of truth in it. Unless, then, preachers of your doctrine save themselves from starving, they are of all men the most useless members of society.

12. I now return to the 11th paragraph, which, indeed, contains the real gist of the whole controversy. I challenged you, Sir, to select one or two texts, on whose clear and fair construction you would rely, and on which you would enter into a philological or exegetical examination and debate. I only asked for one such text as would prove the ultimate holiness and happiness of all men. Well, Sir, did you meet me ? Did you make such a selection ? You hav. not done it. You mention six passages; but decline to meet me on any one, or all of them. You say, “When you [myself] have disposed of these, I will name as many more as you [I] wish.” That is not what I asked. To quote a string of texts, and when I had examined them, to throw down another string for my examination, is a very different thing from meeting me on any of them. What will the party now think of you, Sir ? To see you unequivocally decline to offer any one text, or texts, on which you dare rely to prove the final holiness and happiness of all men ! I have repeatedly called your attention to this. In the September number, and 32d

paragraph, I said, "Not one of those scriptures, which you quoted, speak of the ultimate holiness and eternal salvation of all mankind; nor have YOU, by any sort of reasoning or proof, attempted to show that they do—*nor can you!*" I said this after the above challenge had been given, for the purpose of provoking you to make the attempt. But you can not be provoked to such an *effort*, although it is the very thing which lies upon you. What is the use of quoting a thousand texts, if you do not show their relevance? Do you expect me to show that they are irrelevant before you attempt to show their bearing on the question? Is there a text in the Bible that says, "All men shall be made holy in this life, or after death?" Not one. You have not, in fact and truth, done any thing to prove your 4th proposition, more than you did in the first letter—throw a mass of scripture together without a single effort to show their meaning. And even now, when the controversy is within two letters of its close, you are filling your pages with every thing you can see through the planks of your *reveries*, rather than meet me on the only proposition on which your whole doctrine stands or falls.

13. I presume you think the six texts which you have now adduced contain your strongest evidence in proof of the eternal life, or the final holiness and happiness of all mankind. True, you have not even quoted them; you have not shown their relevance to the proposition; and logically viewed, you might as well have referred to all the Bible. And do you expect that I must show that the whole Bible, or the texts you have quoted, do not prove your proposition, when you do not show how they prove it?

14. For example: Your first and principal text is Psa. xxii, 27, "All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee." Not one of the terms of your proposition is found in this verse. "All men," "holiness, happiness, eternal life," are not found in it. This is undeniable. You then suppose that something equivalent is in it. But you have not shown it. You *can not* show it. For, 1st. You can not prove that "*all the ends of the earth*" means "all men," without exception. 2d. Nor can you prove that "*all the kindreds of the nations*" is equal to every individual man. These are phrases that respect classes of persons—such as Jews, Gentiles, Barbarians, Scythians, etc., rather than every son and daughter of Adam. Again,

“turning to the Lord” is supposed to be equal to being finally holy. And, 4th, “Worshipping before the Lord” is supposed to be equal to final happiness. Not one of these four points, all of which you have silently assumed, is proved, or can be proved. Make the attempt and we will try your proofs. I need not labor all these texts.

15. Your second proof text is Pm. cxlv : 9. “The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are overall his works.” God’s tender mercies extend to every creature that he has made—in air, on earth, and in the sea ; but where is the proof in this that all men shall be finally holy and happy, especially seeing we have so much temporal misery in the present state, where the tender mercies of the immutable God are over all his works !

16. Isa. xlv : 22–24, is your third proof.—“Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the earth”—“I have sworn by myself that unto me, every knee shall bow—every tongue shall swear,” or confess. Where is the proof of universal holiness and happiness here ? Dots the bowing of every knee, and the confession of every tongue that Jesus is the Christ, imply universal holiness and happiness. This might be said of either friends or foes. All shall one day be constrained to admit his Messiahship—“Every eye shall see him, and they shall wail because of him.” The passages, “Look unto me all the ends of the earth,” and “All the ends of the earth shall turn to the Lord,” were both spoken in the Jewish age with a reference to Gospel times. *They are a prophecy, or a promise of “the grace that bringeth salvation to all men ;”* but do not so much as allude to the final holiness and happiness of all men.

17. Your fourth proof-text is 1 Cor. xv : 22.—“As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.” This only proves the resurrection of all who die in Adam. The resurrection, and not the ultimate holiness and happiness of all men, is the subject of this chapter. I need not fill my pages by disproving what you have not attempted to prove. Remember, Sir, that you have not exegetically or philologically, or even in the most common sense way, made one of these texts bear upon your proposition.—They do not support it; and therefore I reiterate it, that you can not find one text in the Bible to prove your main proposition : not one, that, by the rules of interpretation agreed upon, will at all apply to it. *If you can only find one such, I ask not a second.* Do not again shuffle this aside,

if you please. It is worthy of your best effort. Your cause is completely killed, even your friends must say, unless you can do something now. Stand up to your capital proposition. You will not be able to divert me from this point, if you would caricature and abuse me in every sentence you may write. We want Scripture, reason, and argument,

18. I shall add a word on punishment; and, as my last letter transcended the prescribed bounds, I will shorten this one. To remit a debt and to forgive a sin on the part of men, are actions so similar, that, in all languages and ages, they have stood for one another. Punishment is not mere remorse; and therefore remorse or *guilt* is not the punishment of sin. The Lord has often laid his hand on property and person in punishing sin; and not only inward remorse, but outward pain, has always marked the way of transgressors. The Scriptures therefore do not speak of sin as a disease, nor of punishment as a cure. They rather regard it as a fiery indignation—a burning vengeance that shall devour the adversaries of Jesus. And surely there is one text in the New Testament so clear and positive as to be out of debate, which wholly subverts your assumption about punishment. It says, “The wages of sin is death.” The punishment, or wages of sin, tends not naturally to the cure of itself; but rather to the destruction of the sinner.

19. It may, however, be remitted. God has promised to forgive, and he can forgive. He can remit its punishment as easily as we forgive a debt. “Jesus was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification”—“His blood cleanses us from all sin”—“He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, when we confess them and plead for pardon”—“Repent, then, and be converted that your sins may be blotted out”—“Repent, and be baptised for the remission of your sins”—“Repent and pray, that if possible the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee”—“Unless you repent, you shall perish.” These all not only refute your doctrine, but suggest to yourself the necessity of repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ, that God, peradventure, may grant you “repentance in the acknowledgment of the truth.”

Faithfully yours, A. CAMPBELL

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXXVII.

NEW-YORK, NOVEMBER 19, 1838.

DEAR SIR :—Your 34th letter, dated nearly three weeks after my 33d was mailed for you, and mailed to me nearly three weeks after its date, reached me in ten days after it was mailed, making nearly eight weeks for me to get an answer, after you had greed to “furnish me with a letter in manuscript by each mail,” so that the discussion could be all written out before I should leave for the South! Your 36th letter, which you knew I must have before I could answer it, reached me in this city, *via* Utica, (from whence it was forwarded immediately on its reception there.) to-day, the 19th inst. You seem fully determined to prevent the possibility of closing the discussion the present year, because, forsooth, it would oblige me! I shall now proceed to answer these long delayed letters, 34 and 36.

2. In order to lay before our readers the connected and uninterrupted arguments in favor of my fourth proposition, I informed you, letter XXV, that I should proceed with that object for two or three letters before replying to aught that you might say. I fulfilled that pledge, and you now accuse me, letter XXXIV, paragraph 1., of doing it in order to throw myself so much in the rear as to screen my imbecility from the view of the reader! You had once before accused me of not daring to publish a single letter from you without accompanying it *in the same paper*, with my reply! Most admirable consistency!! Need I reply to such grumbling puerility? This letter answers all you have yet written, however far you thought to have outstripped me.

3. You next accuse me of denying the history of sathan as given in the Bible. The charge is utterly truthless. I devoutly believe in all the Bible says of sathan, devil, etc. I

only reject your wild and baseless chimeras about Satan, founded only in Heathenism, tradition, and the perversion of a few metaphorical expressions of Scripture. You charge me with skepticism and infidelity, and class me with known and avowed infidels, Sir, Paine, Hum., and Voltaire, were Deists, if I mistake not, though I am not as familiar with them as you appear to be. They believed in a God—you believe in the same; therefore you ... a Deist by the same rule by which you condemn me ! An Atheist believes Martin Van Buren the most suitable person for the office of United States President, or he believes Henry Clay or Daniel Webster, would be more suitable; you agree with him on this subject, therefore you are an Atheist ! Fie, fie, friend Campbell, on such reasoning! Because an infidel is wrong in rejecting the Gospel, can he therefore hold no truth?—believe in nothing reasonable ?

4. Sir, so far from being driven by you, as you seem to imagine, to avow my present opinion of satan, the devil, and his angels, etc., I published my views thereon more than eight years ago, in a series of letters to Rev. S. C. Aikin. A second edition of that work was published in 1833, and at least 6000 copies of those letters have been circulated in the United States. To that work I refer you and your readers, both for refutation of your present charge, and a more full exhibition of my views than I can here give. The word satan signifies *opponent*. We read Num. xxii, 22, "The angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary (a *satan*, in Hebrew) against him," [Balaam.] Here it seems was one good satan, not a had one, nor a fallen angel. The word *devil* [Greek *diabolos*] signifies *slanderer*, an *enemy*. It is often applied to individual men, and even to women, (see it applied to the deacon's wives, 1 Tim iii : 11,) sometimes to communities or bodies of men, (as to the Jews who slandered and persecuted the disciples,) and sometimes it personifies lust, or the principle of evil. Peter was called a *satan*, and Judas was called a *devil*. The words *daimon* and *daimonion*, translated *devil*, signify *lunacy*, *epilepsy*, or some other mental or bodily disease once applied to dumbness. See Matt. xviii : 15; Luke xi : 14. These kinds of devils of antiquity, resembled the witchcraft of Salem, Mass., in the days of Cotton Mather, and had just as much personality about them and no more. Both kinds of devils were spoken of in Palestine among the Jews, just as the people

of Massachusetts spoke of witches, wizzards and witchcraft, when they were in vogue. And had any one the rashness to avow his disbelief that these supposed witches and wizzards were really under the influence of some personal devil at that time, his temerity would probably have cost him his life.

5. But, Sir, I avow it as my solemn, deliberate and conscientious opinion, that the Bible contains no evidence of the real personal existence of a being called the *devil*, any more than it does of a real personal being called *Wisdom*, which is personified by Solomon, and represented as a female, a lady, "uttering her voice in the streets—crying in the openings of the gates," etc. Where, Sir, is your evidence of the personal existence of such a being, or if he exist, that he was once an angel of purity in heaven! You have none but tradition.

6. In answer to your 4th paragraph, I again repeat, that Solomon said nothing about *the world of spirits* in Eccl. ix : 10. If he did, and is to be believed, the world of spirits is a state of *unconsciousness*, and can neither be happy nor miserable. The word *hades* here simply means the grave, and has no bearing on the future existence or condition of spirits. You say, paragraph 5, I "have annihilated *satan* to get rid of hell," and "made foolish the death of Christ, to obviate both punishment and pardon!" Another false charge: for I believe in all the satans and hells, and just such ones as the Bible speaks of; and you knew I believed both in punishment and pardon, while you do not, but are obliged to reject one to make room for the other. Your perverseness is truly astonishing. In your very next paragraph, you say, my "hope of heaven" is founded on the belief that there "is no *satin*, no *devil*, no *hell*!" Sir, suppose there were none—would this prove the *existence of a heaven*? You know it would not; and you know you were perversely wicked when you penned the charge. You next introduce a common *infidel pun* to get rid of meeting the strength of Calvinistic and Arminian Universalism. What a faithful disciple, and what a brave soldier!

7. Your 1 1th, 12th and 13th paragraphs, are too obvious and ridiculous a caricature to deserve any notice, excepting the sentence in which you state that the object of your 28th letter was to show "that the ultimate destiny of the wicked shall not be as the righteous." If such was your

object, you wholly failed in your proof; for not one of the passages you quoted says one syllable about the *ultimate destiny* of the wicked. You are too prone to apply temporary judgments, to express the *ultimate* destiny of their subjects. I have proved the ultimate destiny of all men to be salvation, through Christ Jesus the Saviour of the world. I have never, as you accuse me, quoted the Apocrypha in proof of my sentiments, and but one text in illustration; while you have not only resorted to the Apocrypha, but even to the Targums. You say, "Remember, Mr. Skinner, that we all die because our father stole an apple." I remember, Sir, that the Bible says no such thing. Read Luke, xii: 47, 48, and blot out your 14th paragraph forever!

8. The much talked of "Universalist dogma," often commented on by you, and quoted by me, letter XIII, paragraph 7, fully refutes your 15th paragraph, and shows it to be a mere caricature. Your 16th, 17th, and 18th are of the same perverse character. It is useless to repel and disclaim, again, and again, and yet again, the scores of false charges you bring against me. If you wish to continue the game of caricature and ridicule, I might inform you that two can play at it as well as one; and your own weapons could be turned against you with tenfold power. But I despise that game that only excites for it the regret of sober minds and the contempt and ridicule of infidels. Indeed, Sir, the *bona fide* features of your system are altogether more abhorrent than the misshapen caricature of mine, which you play upon. For at the very worst mine only embraces a limited, temporary and remedial evil, resulting in universal good, while yours embraces an *illimitable and endless evil, resulting in no possible good, and that too, foreordained in the eternal counsels of God!* Suppose by caricature and sarcasm, you could make me or any private opinion of mine, entirely unconnected with either of our propositions, appear ever so ridiculous, would that refute *my yet unanswered arguments*, or help you out of the strong ramparts of Universalism with which *you are completely environed*? Have you the presumption to believe that you or I can save immortal souls from endless woe, and give them endless bliss? What folly! You or I may by our influence affect the temporary characters and well being of our fellow-men; but I rejoice in believing their eternal destinies are in refer hands.

9. The apostle says, and I say, and you repeat, that “*perfect love casts out tormenting fear.” It is obvious, too, that *tormenting fear never produces perfect love*. Why, then, leave perfect love untouched, untold, and seek to reform men by tormenting fear alone? I urge all the motives of fear that the Bible does. My system, Sir, presents as much stronger restraints against vice, in the *certain* punishments it holds up against every sin, and as much purer motives to virtue, in the lovely character of God, and the endless purity and beatitude it holds up, than yours does, as heaven is purer and better than hell. The grace of God manifested in Christ, in which I devoutly believe, has converted thousands from Belial to Christ—from sin to holiness—from vice to virtue. But where are the converts made by the preaching of endless we—your *hell-fire* converts? Answer, they are either hypocritical pretenders that fear hell, not love God, or else are driven in open infidelity and the *abhorrence* of the very name of religion.

10. To your 9th and 10th paragraphs, I can reply in few words. Paul says, “Jesus expiated or purged away our sins:” Mr. Campbell says, sin shall never be expiated or purged away. John says, “We love him because he first loved us:” Mr. Campbell says, We love hi. for fear h. will bate us if we don’t. David says, “Unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work:” Mr. Campbell says, If God render to all according to their works, he can not exercise any mercy towards them. Paul says, “He that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he both done, and there is no respect of persons:” Mr. Campbell says, There is great respect of persons; for some shall receive, and others shall not receive, according to the wrong they have done, so as to make room for the pardon of a few. Paul says, “How shall we escape [from the coming calamities of Jerusalem] if we neglect so great salvation?” Mr. Campbell says, How shall we escape [from an endless bell] if we neglect so little salvation? Christ says, “The night cometh,” etc. : Mr. Campbell says, *Death and hailes* cometh. Christ says, “They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.” Mr. Campbell thinks the heavenly Physician will cure the whole only, and make the sick still sicker. He thinks he has but one kind of medicine, and can not vary his prescriptions to suit different cases—that it would be monstrous absurdity to think sweet medicines could

cure one patient, and bitter another, or that judgments and mercies could alike be made efficacious by the divine Physician.

11. You fill nearly two pages with L. G. Todd's second renunciation of Universalism in 1833, (for recollect he had *once before* renounced the doctrine.) You consider it a triumphant argument against Universalism. You say he is good authority. Sir, did you ever know a traitor speak well of the company he abandoned! You say that I "most shamefully abused him because of his honesty." Sir, I appeal to the whole world, including Mr. T. himself, when I affirm that I *never* abused him, either for his honesty or anything else. I published the whole of his renunciation in my paper of August 10, 1833, accompanied with some mild strictures and remarks, breathing altogether a kinder spirit than either of your letters to me has for months past. That was the only article I ever wrote about him. To that I appeal. God knows I never had an unkind feeling towards, or wish to injure him. But if he is good authority against us, the all who have renounced your doctrine and embraced Universalism, are equally good against you. L. G. Todd's venerable and worthy father, was once a Baptist preacher, like yourself; but he renounced the barbarous notion of endless damnation, and embraced the doctrine of universal salvation, and will now testify as unfavorably against your doctrine, as his recreant son does against ours. Moreover, we have at least *ten* converts from your doctrine where you have *one* from ours, and by your own rule we have *ten times* as *much* evidence against you as you have against us.

12. If I am rightly informed, Mr. Todd as deeply regrets his renunciation of Universalism, and the course he pursued in that matter, as a man can do—he has stopped preaching, abandoned the Methodists, and it is believed that nothing but pride and mortification prevents him from returning to us. If you wish for any more articles of a like character, I suppose I can furnish you with one or two more Universalist renunciations, to enable you to fill out your other two letters.

13. I now hasten to notice your letter No. XXXVI.—It is made up of vain efforts to garnish a desperate cause, in its last struggles for existence, to reiterate threadbare gasconade and caricature, and to evade arguments which you are now obviously convinced you can not refute. It

reminds one of the croaking of frogs when afflicted with cold, of the grating sounds of a musical instrument sadly out of tune, of the faint and evanescent glimmerings of expiring embers. Your first four paragraphs give a wretched analysis of my 35th letter, without an effort to refute it. But truly, it is news to me that my rule for explaining the phrases, *all, all men, etc.*, is also your own rule ! Let this fact be remembered, and let the reader just turn to letter XXXV, paragraph 5, and see what doctrine is there proved.

14. I neither stultify Adam Clarke nor quote him on the Apocalypse with less approbation than on other books.—Will you tell our readers in what paragraph I have said, “all sorrow, crying, and tears have ceased ages before we were born” ! You say you argue that such words as *elect, saved, condemned, etc.*, always imply another class of men who are not approved, justified, saved, etc. Well, do you argue that none but those called “*the elect*” will ever be saved ?—that when God says he will have *all men* to be saved, it is implied he will have another class to be damned ?—that when Paul says, “the free gift came upon *all men unto justification of life,*” it is implied that another class should receive condemnation & endless misery ?

15. You call it a “calumny” to mention Destructionists as your brethren ! Take care, or your brothers Thomas and Shepard will be in your hair. You say Destructionism “is indeed less revolting to sinners [should you not have added, *to saints and all good beings* ?] than endless misery.” You say my 13th paragraph is “a beggarly account of empty boxes.” Most true ! I handed you the box and asked you to contribute a reason for the well known fact that the early Fathers, who were known advocates of universal restoration, spoke, notwithstanding, frequently of *ever [age] lasting punishment.* You return the box empty—and can give no reason ! ! I have replied to all your letters and more than all your arguments.

16. You decline, as I expected, giving your own Notes from the Family Testament to your readers. *You dare not do it !* You know they refute your positions in this discussion. Hundreds of your readers have never seen them. They will, they *must know your motives.* What a predicament ! Your 6th paragraph is a lament because you could not prevail on me to acknowledge all your caricatures to be true representations of my sentiments. Still,

you half repeat, though with a faint heart, in this and your 10th paragraphs, the same miserable caricatures. Your 7th paragraph is another vain effort to maintain the old serpent's doctrine, that God will *not* "render to every man according to his work," and to set aside the Psalmist's doctrine, that he *will*. Ps. xviii : 25, 26, so far from explaining away 1's. lxii : 12, is but a confirmation of it, and another refutation of the doctrine of the deceiver. On both of them I remark, that if God "render to every man according to his work," and your doctrine be true that every sin deserves endless damnation, then universal endless damnation must be the portion of our race ! Again, God says, Amos iii : 1, 2—"Hear this word that the Lord hath spoken against you, O children of Israel, against the *whole family* which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying, You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore, *I will punish you for all your iniquities.*" Of course, if your notion of the deserts of sin be true, not a soul of the children of Israel down to the days of Amos, can escape an endless hell!

17. You still talk, paragraphs 7, 8, 18, 19, of justice and mercy, as though they were jarring and discordant attributes in the divine character, and as though, to maintain the justice of God, I am obliged to deny his mercy and the doctrine of pardon and the forgiveness of sin ; whereas, I as fully believe in the latter as you can, and am not, like you, obliged to deny the former. See letter XXV, and letter XXXV, paragraph 23. God "is a just God and a Saviour." He both punishes and for-gives sin in the same individuals. See Ps. xcix : 8 ; lxii : 12. His ways and thoughts are as far above ours, as the heavens are above the earth. If you can find a single text that speaks of God's forgiving the *punishment* of sin, why do you not adduce it ? There is none. You will have punishment exclude forgiveness, justice annihilate mercy, penitentiaries to confine criminals after sin is finished and an end made of transgression, and gibbets to hang folks on after there shall cease to be any murderers ! Your little hypercriticism on the accidental omission of a letter in writing or printing *aphæmè* is greatly to your credit!

18. The six texts referred to in my list, and quoted in previous letters, on four of which you profess to comment, paragraphs 14-17, are no stronger in favor of Universalism than scores of others quoted in letters XXIII, XXV,

XXVII, XXIX, which, with my comments thereon, yet remain unanswered. Your comments on these four are but a *ruse de guerre* which will prove wholly unavailing to your cause. Look at the plain language and obvious meaning of Ps. xxii : 27.—“All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.” This language implies, first, every individual of the human family, unless you can find someone who is neither of *any nation*, nor a *kindred* or *relative* of any nation; and if you can find any such, you may have them eternally damned, if you please! 2d. That, as yet, they had not remembered or turned unto the Lord and worshiped before him. 3d. That all certainly should do it. 4th. That remembering, turning to the Lord and worshipping before him, is equivalent to hearty renunciation to him, and consequently implies salvation. And, 5th. The next verse assigns the reason for all this, viz.—“For the kingdom is the LORD’s, and *he is the Governor among the nations.*”

19. On Ps. cxlv : 9, I ask, If God knew that any soul would be endlessly miserable when he gave it existence, was he *good* in giving an existence which he knew and intended should prove an endless curse? If this is *goodness*, what would be *evil*? If this is *benevolence*, what would be *malevolence*? How is God *good* to those he intends to make endlessly miserable? If not endlessly miserable, (as they can not be if this text be true,) they will be ultimately happy: for we both reject annihilation. If God be now good to all, he eternally will be. Isa. xlv : 22–24, not only asserts, on the *oath* of God, that every knee shall bow and every tongue swear, but tells us *what* they shall swear, viz., that *in the Lord they have righteousness and strength*, and this, Sir, is sufficient salvation for me. Paul not only reiterates the sentiment that every knee shall bow and every tongue confess, that Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father, but also assures us, that no man can make this confession but by the Holy Ghost; consequently, the divine spirit must then dwell and operate in the heart.—See Phil. ii : 10, 11; 1 Cor. ii : 3.

20. 1 Cor. xv, proves something more than the mere resurrection of all men. It proves the manner and character of the resurrection and its subjects—that they shall be raised in *incorruption, glory, power, with spiritual and celestial bodies, which can die no more—that death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed*, the reconciled kingdom delivered

up to God the Father, and God *shall be all in all*. See the whole chapter. Paul not only teaches these great truths here, and that all shall be made alive in Christ, but in 2 Cor. v : 17, he says, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; but old all things are become new." Thus, Sir, the more these texts are examined, the more clearly are they seen to teach the salvation of all men. You suppose, paragraph 18, because God sometimes superadds outward calamities to mental anguish and remorse of conscience, as a punishment for sin, that therefore the latter are no punishment at all!— Was the remorse of David, of Joseph's brethren, of the Prodigal, of Judas for betraying Christ, and of Peter for denying him, *no punishment*? What a theologian! The last part of your 18th paragraph, is evidently better calculated to serve the cause of *Destructionism* than endless misery. To make Rom. vi : 23, subserve *your* cause, it must read, "the wages of sin is endless damnation, and the gift of God is *not* eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." I prefer the apostle's reading to yours.

21. I will now present our readers with a few of the sublime beauties and glories of your system. You first people your heaven of immortal purity and glory, with a race of ambitious, sinful, and rebellious angels, who, growing tired of such a paradise and such a government, mutiny against their Sovereign King, raise a rebellion, where no discord or sin can ever exist, and after a long and bloodless fight, (because the combatants are immortal,) are hurled from heaven's high battlements, down to the shades of endless darkness and despair, and bound in chains of adamantine wo and endless pain. To console himself for this loss in heaven, your Divinity next creates an earthly paradise, and peoples it with human beings, all innocent and pure; but lest they should remain so, he places an apple-tree loaded with inviting fruit before them, and inhibits their partaking thereof, although he knew they would disobey, and the consequence be infinite wo. He next unchains his demons of darkness, whilom his companions in glory, (or else they have escaped without his knowledge or consent,) to make sure of the ruin of man, who succeeded in seducing the first human pair from purity and bliss.

22. Your Divinity next gets mad at Adam and Eve, for doing just what he knew, and ordained, and provided means, that they should do, and pronounces the maledic-

tion of endless damnation on them and all their innocent, unborn, and unoffending offspring, down to the latest posterity. He, however, soon began to relent somewhat of the severity of this dreadful malediction, and although he had unequivocally threatened it, and the chief fallen fiend had told Eve it would never be inflicted, he concluded to verify satan's words and falsify his own ! So he set about a plan with the least possible app'ante of falsifying his own word. He pretended that his justice was wronged, and he must either inflict the threatened penalty on man, or on some substitute ; so he shapes himself over into a human form, calls himself his own son, and is the Father of himself ! Then he inflicts the whole weight of his own almighty wrath upon the head of his *innocent son*, and lets the *rebel sinner go unpunished*, and this is *justice* ! Nay, not exactly so—he inflicts the penalty on himself ! for the son was but himself under a different name ! ! His justice can not relinquish one iota of the infinite debt recorded against the sinner man, and so he himself pays the debt to himself which himself demands ! ! And after all, the debt is not paid, nor is justice any more satisfied than before ; the whole of this bloody exhibition of infinite wrath, cruelty and injustice, is but a tragic pageant—the ill fated rebel still owes the infinite debt—not one iota of it has been cancelled—in finite wrath still hangs over his head, and endless woe still awaits him ! !

“ Far in the deep where darkness dwells,
The land of horror and despair,
Justice has built a dismal hell,
And laid her stores of vengeance three !
Eternal plagues and heavy chains,
Tormenting recks and fiery coals,
And darts to inflict immortal pains,
Dipt in the blood of damned souls.”

23. Your Divinity is so well pleased with rebellion, that though he has the power, he determines never to put a period to it, but to prolong it to all eternity ! He likes sin so well, that he resolves it shall never cease, but be perpetuated as long as he himself shall exist. He sets his jarring attributes at war with each other. His justice, which with you is synonymous with revenge, would fain consign the whole human family to endless damnation; his mercy, which with you has no regard to the claims of justice,

would fain send them **all** to heaven. He, therefore, like the false **mother** under Solomon, **calls for the sword** to divide the **living child**, (the **human family**;) and send one part to **heaven** to laugh and **shoutingly exult** there over the other part, **no more** sinful than themselves, **while howl-**ing in the endless torments of hell ! As you **doubtless** expect you shall be one of the laughing company, and **you** say a majority of mankind who hear your Gospel reject it, and thereby enhance their endless wretchedness, this accounts for your zeal in propagating your Gospel, so **as to get as many to hell as possible**, over whom you expect to **exult to all eternity** !—You send the little child of three years old, which has never committed but one **fault** in all its life, and that a **venial** one, to an endless hell, to wail in hopeless and irremediable anguish forever; and exalt the gre y-headed sinner of four-score years, whose long life of the most **flagrant crimes** of theft, robbery, arson, and murder, has been **wholly devoted to crime**, to an endless heaven, without any punishment here or **here-**after, if he repents ten *minutes* before he dies !

24. Although you say that for aught that appears in your premises, nine-tenths of human kind may **yet** you say a majority of the world, as yet, **“ have died ”** in the **“ believers-yea**, that a majority even of those who have heard the Gospel, have rejected it; and we know that but a very small portion of mankind have ever heard it at all.—Therefore your construction of the text, **“ He that believeth not shall be damned,”** compels you to send **all infants**, from the first to the last of **Adam’s race**, to an endless hell ; for not one of them either has or could believe, in this life. All idiots **must share the same fate** for the same reason. The whole heathen world must go the same road ; all Mahomedans, and all Jews, (except the very few believers in Christianity,) all infidels, and a majority of those who live in Christian lands—**nearly or quite all Papists**—in short, all but the few who believe in your own orthodoxy, and are baptised in your mode, including at least nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand out of every million of the human family, from the **“ morning of time to the present moment,”** must sink down in **“ billows of almighty wrath,”** and wail and shriek in **“ hopeless despair,”** while **“ ten thousand times ten thousand,”** or **“ on thousands of thousands of years and of ages shall slowly, s-l-o-w-l-y** roll away, and still their sufferings **will be but just beginning to begin !**

Eternity, **ETERNITY**, E-T-E-R-N-I-T-Y of misery is still before them ! And all this inconceivable misery and anguish is—for what ? *Cui bono ?* Why, for nothing in creation but to glut the vindictive wrath and satiate the merciless cruelty of an almighty tyrant, and to please the few choice spirits in your almost empty heaven, and give them supreme felicity in beholding the endless rebellion and ceaseless woes of their fellow beings whom they are required to love as themselves ! O my God ! what a theory is this ! and what a heart and head must that man have, who, like you, can swallow down the whole ! Why, Sir, Mahomedanism, or Heathenism itself, is beauty and consistency, when compared with those parts of your system above exhibited. But I forbear—though I might fill many pages with such revolting but true descriptions of your doctrine—in mercy to you and your friends I forbear, and hope the lesson will not be lost upon you. Faithfully yours,

D. SKINNER.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER.

LETTER XXXVIII.

GREENVILLE, S. C., DECEMBER 24, 1838.

MR. SKINNER :

SIR—Yours of the 19th ult. found me hereon the 22d inst. I had not leisure to examine it till this morning. It is, if possible, still more perfect in its kind than any of its predecessors. Nothing but the solemnity of a covenant to publish twenty letters from you, on condition of your publishing twenty letters from me on the merits of Universalism, could have induced me to pollute so much paper with such a tissue of misrepresentation, falsehood, vulgarity, and abuse. Your letters are a disgrace to the religious controversy of the age. True, indeed, independent of my agreement to discuss this question with you, (on a fallacious representation of your character, however,) I think your language and style afford a peculiar occasion for the display of Christian meekness and patience on the part of any lover of truth, who would undertake or condescend to debate with you on any religious question. The vials of your indignation, already drained out, and the frenzied ebullitions of the exasperated demon of Universalism, do, indeed, abundantly prove how deeply the arrows of truth have penetrated the champion of *benevolent Restorationism*, insomuch that his creed and his spirit form one of the strongest contrasts in nature, and mutually divorced, are in opposite directions seeking the antagonist extremes of the universe.

2. Much of your present communication is beneath criticism. Wholly destitute of argument, it affords nothing for reason or logic to do. It is an offering most acceptable to the broken and disheartened spirit of a mortified party, that prefers absolute skepticism to everlasting pun.

ishment : for any **thing** is preferable to "the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels," to the **man** destitute of a well-grounded hope of heaven.

3. You seem **duly** aware of the fact, that **your** brethren, both the preachers and the proselytes, need all the unction and wine of *no-hellism to animate* their hopes of heaven; and, therefore, I presume it is that you so faithfully labor for their consolation. But, Sir, why can you not do this without so constantly and so artfully misrepresenting me? Your first paragraph represents me as violating an agreement to "furnish you with a letter in manuscript each mail" to hasten the termination of the discussion, and as unnecessarily delaying my letters, as if "determined to prevent the closing of the discussion the present year, because, forsooth, it would oblige you." Now, Sir, did you not know when you wrote this, that you yourself were the cause of all this delay!—that you made it impossible to finish the controversy this year, or for me to write on my replies as you proposed! Yes, Sir, you *did* know it; you wrote me a slip in your paper of October, stating that you, being absent from Utica, had delayed come three weeks in furnishing the first manuscript letter; and Mr. William Amy, of my office, informed you, under date of October 31st, that several copies of my letter No. XXXIV, had been mailed to you *four weeks* before that date, and that your manuscript, No. XXXV, came to hand only on the eve of my departure to the South, and that I had taken it with me to answer it on the first opportunity which occurred. Again—Mr. Amy, on the 20th of August, in reply to our note of the 3d of that month, by my request, urged you to hasten your letters; and on the 19th September wrote you again, stating that a *month had transpired* since your proposal to furnish a letter per each return mail from me, without a single word from you! Now, Sir, with all these facts before you, how could you fabricate such a paragraph as your No. 1! Such morality requires such divinity as you preach!!

4. As this is all the original or new matter in your present epistle, I might here lay down my pen or proceed to my closing epistle; but, for the sake of some new readers, I shall make one or two additional notices. Counting one by one, I have found one hundred and seven assertions in the single communication before me, a majority of which are grossly false, and the balance gratuitous or wholly in-

relevant. The whole of these, multiplied by 10, would not prove any tenet, nor disprove any proposition in the world. You admit and deny, and then deny and admit the same things under different forms of speech—and sometimes almost the same forms. You believe in a Devil or Satan ; hut then it is a good angel, a Peter, or a deacon's wife. You believe in a *daimon* or a *daimonion* ; but then it is lunacy or epilepsy. You believe in many devils ; but then they are the witches of old Salem in Massachusetts. And as for *ho Satanas, the Satan, the Devil, he* is a phantom, and his fall is an old wife's fable !

5. One of your brother Editors of the West says the miracles of Christ were not supernatural, and are only splendid metaphors, (lies I trow ;) and with you, his good brother, the devil and his angels, their fall and expulsion from heaven—the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve—and the incubation of THE WORM, and his death for our sins, etc., etc., are all old wive's fables !! Your devil is a personification of vice—an impersonal phantom—a part of human nature, Your devils or demons are lunacy and epilepsy. Mary, of Magdala, had seven epilepsies in her at one time ; and Jesus dispossessed a legion of lunacies out of an unfortunate epileptic, and they possessed a herd of swine, which, becoming lunatic, ran into the sea. Your devils, the witches, “ believe and tremble ;” and, speaking in Jesus, said, “ Art thou come hither to torment us before the time ?” What splendid mysteries and miracles possess the soul of a benevolent Restorationist !

6, Well, as “ the Bible possesses no evidence of the real personal existence of a being called the Devil,” we must suppose that Jesus was tempted by his own lusts ; that a lunacy entered Judas when he sold his master : and that the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels, was prepared for Cotton Mather and his Salem witches !

7. You quoted the Apocrypha twice ! I did not quote the Targums once in this controversy. We all die because Eve eat the forbidden fruit, apple or fig, I do assert from the Bible ; and although you do not believe it, Moses and the Apostle Paul did. You say that you can not affect the eternal destinies of man by your preaching. You are not, then, of Paul's party, who were the savor of life in of death to their hearers !

8. “ Where are the converts,” you say, “ made by the preaching of eternal wo—your bell-fire converts I They

are hypocritical pretenders," you answer. You have, in almost every letter, raged, laughed, and scouted at the "hell-fire, damnation, everlasting punishment, and eternal fire preachers." Now as I am not remarkable for this sort of preaching, I maybe allowed to say for this proscribed class, that they justify themselves by saying that Jesus the Saviour is their model; for he first introduced this style. He said, "None but he that doeth the will of his Father should enter the kingdom of heaven." "In that day I will say, *depart from me, ye workers of iniquity,*" to those who prophesied in his name, but did not do what he commanded them. "Unless your righteousness excel the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." "Fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." "It will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for him who will not hear (or obey) the words" of the apostles. "It is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell,"—"cast into hell." "Serpents! generation of vipers I how can you escape the damnation of hell!" "Better for thee to enter into life maimed, than, having two hands, to go into hell, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched—where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched,—where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched"—having two eyes to be cast into hell, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. Thus, four times in one speech, spoke the benevolent Messiah.—"He that believeth not shall be damned." "Depart from me ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels." Truly, was he not a hellfire preacher? and is he not, in this, good authority for those who regard him as the great philanthropist! Mr. Skinner and his laughing brotherhood had better take care that they be not found ridiculing the judge of the human race!

9. But you can settle all these points in a very easy manner. Jesus used metaphors, was tempted of the devil, and did not understand hell-fire so well as Mr. Skinner and his brethren, "How shall we escape from the Coming calamities of the Jews if we neglect so great salvation!" Your system, you say, "presents stronger restraints from vice, and purer motives to virtue, than mine." It has, then, got a most hardened set of sinners to operate on: for of all professors of Christianity under the heavens, it does

the least to reform its converts. None need more refer-
 mation than your brethren Mr. Todd is only one of a
 hundred *traitors!* (for all who join the Universalists are
traitors to the parties they leave, according to your logic.)
 who concur in saying that "no man was ever made better by
 joining the Universalists—a thousand are made worse, but
 none better."

10. I am personally acquainted with some four or five
 Universalian preachers who have joined the church of
 Christ, of which I am a member, who all say that Mr. Todd
 speaks their experience, or who all concur with him in
 opinion. I do not believe one word of what you now say
 of Mr. Todd. I have evidence to the contrary. Will you
 name only one person in America that has grown better
 by joining your church, and send me the testimony of any
 minister or magistrate not of your church, in proof of the
 fact, and I will publish him as a moral miracle to all my
 readers 'f I opine you can not 'do' it. Do try. As you
 have got ~~ten~~ converts from our doctrine for *one* we have
 from yours, it will be easy to find one, if *one* there be.—
 But I opine you do not glory much in the moral stamina
 of these leprous converts.

11. You pervert Paul's remark. He says, 'c By one
 offence sentenc. came upon all men to condemnation," or
 to temporal death; " 50 by one righteousness sentence came
 upon all men to iustification Of life," Or to a respite Of natu-
 ral life. It is natural life and death as connected with the
 two Adams, and not eternal life and death.

12. To "forgive punishment" is nonsense. You ask for
 such a phrase in the Bible. The Bible always speaks good
 sense. When sin or a debt is forgiven, the pain or penalty
 ceases as a matter of course. Remorse, you say, is the
 punishment of sin—the sure punishment. What philoso-
 phy! The greatest sinners have the least remorse—that
 is, the greatest sinners suffer the least punishment!

13. Your proof texts are fairly abandoned on the ground
 of my challenge. You do not attempt an exegetical or
 common sense development of any one of them. You
 repeal your former gloss. But will any man of common
 sense call this an acceptance of my challenge? You have
 not shown, indeed you can not show, that the ultimate holi-
 ness and happiness of all mankind is intimated in any one
 verse of the Bible. You have prudently declined it.

14. Your 21st and 22d paragraphs are only surpassed

by Abner Kneeland, Taylor, and Carline, of atheistic and blasphemous memory. I never read any thing so grossly profane from any professor of religion. Your present of the sublime beauties of my system, is slander of the first degree. You pervert my views and remarks on the relative numbers of the saved and lost. I never thought nor taught such dogmas as you allege. My opinion is, that all infants and children, who have never transgressed a positive law, are saved through the death of Christ; and I always read the commission thus: He that *hears* the Gospel, *believes* it, and *is baptised*, shall be saved; and he that *hears* the Gospel, and *rejects* it, shall be damned. You, therefore, misrepresent both my opinions and faith on this subject, and finish with a sublime exaggeration{ the whole matter. Why did you not print eternity with one letter on every column? You had better ask the impenitent, with such a dread eternity before them, "Of how much sorer punishment than death, will they be thought worthy" who despise the Gospel salvation, instead of teaching them to despise the word of Christ.

15. Your own system of the existence of moral evil, remorse, pain, punishment, and purgatory, as I have unanswerably shown, is just as clear and positive a reproach upon the goodness, justice, and mercy of the Creator, on your own premises, as the everlasting punishment of the wicked. If God can, for certain reasons, originate and continue for thousands of years, such a mixed system of good and evil, of happiness and misery, there is no man of sense or reason can say, that *for certain* reasons he may not continue it forever. Justice and injustice are not questions of *quantity*, but of *quality*. "He that is unjust in little, >' says Jesus, "is unjust in much." Now if God can justly and benevolently permit so much misery in the angelic, human, and brutal creations for so many ages, for transcendent reasons he may continue it forever. Here reason must be silent, and revelation alone can speak. The Bible deposes that for one offence of one man death reigned overall mankind.

16. Now if any man will show to me the justice, mercy, and love of God in originating and continuing such a system as involves a whole world in innumerable pains and miseries, and finally in death for one sin of one man, I will, from his premises, engage to show that the same justice, mercy, and love may be more brightly displayed in punishing for ever and ever all wicked men for their own sins.

I have, in part, in this controversy, done this very thing, and you assest by with scarcely a single glance of your eye. " effects no one so blind as he that will not see."

17. "What a head and heart" had Jesus when he said, "He that spake a word against the Holy Spirit has NEVER forgiveness—shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor that which is to come; but is liable to eternal damnation;" when he said "Broad is the way to destruction, and wide is the gate, and many go in thereat:" when he said, "Better for that man he had never been born:" when he shall say, "Depart, you CURSED into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angel," } What a head and heart had Paul when he said, "Behold, you despisers, and wonder and perish:" when he said, "As many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law:" "He will reward indignation, wrath, tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil:" "Christ shall reign till he has put all his ENEMIES UNDER HIS FEET:" "Every one shall receive in his body according to the evil he has done, when we all appear before the tribunal of Christ—knowing THE TERROR of the Lord, we forewarn you:" when he said, "They shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire TAKING VENGEANCE on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." What a head and heart had Peter when he said "Many shall follow their pernicious ways, whose damnation slumbereth not: for God, who spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to Tartarus, into chains of darkness, to be reserved to judgment; if he spared not the old world, drowning it all but Noah; if he burned up Sodom and Gomorrah, will he spare these wicked men, these cursed children, for whom, as Jude says, the blackness of darkness is reserved forever? What shall I more say? What a head and heart had the beloved Jobs when he said, "Whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire." "He that is unjust and unholy, let him be unjust and unholy still."—They who keep his commandment shall enter into the heavenly city, without which shall be the dogs, sorcerers, whoremongers, murderers and all LIARS—preachers of false doctrine. Wonder not the", that we should dare to speak in this style.

Faithfully yours,

A. CAMPBELL,

MR. SKINNER TO MR. CAMPBELL.

LETTER XXXIX.

UTICA, JUNE 7, 1639.

MY DEAR SIR—After a sojourn in the West Indies and South America; and an absence from home of nearly seven months, I have at length returned, and hasten to reply to your last letter 38. This letter really *deserves* no reply. I will therefore only remark on it, 1. That I did *not* say in the slip in my paper of October last, that I had *delayed some weeks* in furnishing my manuscript letter in consequence of absence—for though I had been *absent* two or three weeks, there was *no letter* received from you to *answer* till a very few days previous to my return—that I then wrote immediately, and sent you my letter in MS—that I sent you a number of letters in MS—that you never sent me . . . according to stipulation—that I was generally one and much of the time *two letters ahead of you*, and that the very dates of our letter, for many months, show that you were far behind me in time.

2. You ought to have analyzed Br. L. C. Todd's letter, and informed your readers that the hard things he said purporting to be against *Universalists* in his renunciation, from which you quote so largely in letter 34, he now confesses were aimed, not against *real Universalists*, but against "*nothingists*"—that though at the time my strictures on his renunciation were published, he "*believed*" that I abused him, yet that his "*moral sensibilities had become so uncommonly and unnaturally acute*," that what he then thought was the work of God in him, he has "since thought was a mistake," on his part!

3. You appear also not to have read the 18th, 19th, and 20th paragraphs of my letter 37, or you could never have asserted that I have fairly abandoned my proof-texts on the ground of your challenge. My clear proof of Universalism from an exegetical view of those texts, you pass

over in total silence. And by quoting every text where Jesus spoke of *hell*, and all its parallels, from *three to six times*, you have got, to say the least, *twenty times more* hell and damnation *in your letters* than Jesus ever preached. Seriously, my dear Sir, of what possible service to you, do you suppose can be the quotation of those texts, over and over and over again, without the least comment or an y effort to show that they teach the withering doctrine of a vindictive God and an endless hell? I here make a few remarks on three or four of your strongest pro o f-texts.

4. The passages relative to the sin against the Holy Ghost, when correctly and literally rendered from the original, read thus: Matt. xii: 32—"Whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this age nor the coming," [i. e., neither in this age of the law nor the coming one of the Gospel.] Mark. iii: 29—"Hath not forgiveness to the age, (*eis ton aionon*,) but is liable to age-laming judgment," (or condemnation, *Gr. aionion kriseos*.) And St. John says, 1 John i: 7. "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from ALL SIN." Therefore, these texts can not support the doctrine of endless punishment. See Dr. A. Clarke's comments upon these texts.

5. The following paraphrase exhibits; I conceive, the true import of 2 Thess. i: 7-10. "And to you who are persecuted, rest with us when the Lord Jesus, according to his oft repeated warnings, shall be made manifest by Heaven, with his mighty, angels, the Roman armies, the ministers of his righteous judgment upon this generation, (Matt. xxi: 41, 43; xxii: 7; xxiv: 34,) in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them, that through wilful ignorance, know not God nor obey the Gospel of Christ: who shall as a nation of evil doers, be punished with age-lasting destruction far from their native land, and beloved city, and holy temple, where the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power by the Shekina, had for so many ages remain. ed; when Christ shall come in the fulfillment of his predictions to be glorified and admired by his believing saints." 1 Pet. iv: 18. "If the righteous believers with difficulty escape, from Jerusalem and its coming woes, to what dreadful calamities shall the ungodly unbelievers be exposed?" See *your own* translation of the text. On the texts which speak of the power which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell, I made some explanatory re-

marks in my letter (properly No. 5,) in June 1837, which you have not attempted to refute.

6. I now proceed to review this entire discussion as briefly as possible. Passing over all preliminaries, such as the letters of "Spencer," and Montgomery, your admission of their premises but weeping denial of their conclusions, your personal treatment of the latter, and professed desire of discussing with some great man, your neglect of opportunities at the East, your various artifices to evade the discussion of the main questions with me, in your first letters, etc., etc., let us see how the questions at issue have been disposed of, and what has beerproved on either side. The first question reads thus: *ARCHEOL, HADES, and GEHENNA, or either of them, ever used in the Scriptures to express a place, or state, of endless misery?*

7. On this proposition it has been shown on my part, and you have admitted that *sheol* in the Hebrew, and *hades* in the Greek, are exactly synonymous, the latter being the literal translation of the former. It has also, I think, been clearly proved that these words signify, 1. Literally and commonly, the *grave* or the unseen state and condition of the dead in general, irrespective of their goodness or badness, their happiness or misery, and that good and bad men alike, all go to *sheol* or *hades*. 2. Figuratively, severe judgment., afflictions, trodden temporal destruction. 3. A distressing sense of guilt, remorse of conscience, great mental anguish—that David, Jonah and others were in the depths of hell, in the lowest hell, (*hades*,) and were delivered therefrom. See letter 5, paragraph 15. *Let this be remembered.*

8. It has been shown by Spencer, and more fully by me, and confirmed by the authorities not only of the Old and New Testament, but of Josephus, Parkhurst, Macknight, Rosenmuller, Heylen, Winne, Wakefield, A Clarke, Gee, Campbell, Schleusner, and finally by your own admission, that *gehenna* originally and literally meant the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem—that it was afterwards used as a place of filth and offal, of dead carcasses and worms, of continual fires kept up to destroy its filth, and as a place of the most horrible execution of criminals by burning alive. I have shown also that it was used in the Old Testament as an emblem of the dreadful judgments coming on the Jewish nation. See letter 5, paragraphs 18-22. Letter 7, paragraphs 10-14. Letter 9, paragraph 5, and the 19th chapter of Jeremiah. *Let this be remembered.*

9. It has been shown that *gehenna* was never used by the Jews, nor any others, till after the days of Josephus, to express punishment in the future state, unless Christ so used it—that there is no evidence that he did so use it, inasmuch as he never intimated any change of meaning in its use—never threatened any Gentile with it; and not one of the apostles ever preached or even so much as named *gehenna* punishment at all, either to Jew or Gentile—that *gehenna* could not have been used as an emblem of a place of endless misery, unless such place had been previously revealed, or known to exist; but no such place or state had ever been revealed; consequently *gehenna* must be understood in the New Testament as in the Old.

10. You have admitted, denied, and readmitted that neither *sheol*, *hades*, nor *gehenna* can of themselves prove the doctrine of endless misery—and conceded that *sheol*, or *hades*, including *tartarus*, is to be destroyed, and that *aiouios*, your favorite term for endless, is never applied to the word *hell* in any of its forms. Letter 4, paragraphs 14, 27. Let these concessions be remembered.

11. Having given up *sheol*, *hades*, and *tartarus*, you fix upon *gehenna* and its adjuncts, as proof of endless misery, You conceded that *gehenna* originally signified simply the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, but maintained that its meaning was afterwards changed to signify a place of endless misery for the wicked, in the eternal world, and that it was never used in the New Testament except in this sense, or that it was never used there in its original and literal sense to represent the valley of Hinnom. Letter 6, paragraph 19; letter 8, paragraph 12. I then quoted from, and subsequently published, the whole of your note on Matt v: 22, in which you say that “the judges, the Sanhedrin, and the hell [*gehenna*] fire here introduced, are all human punishments,” and that the exposure to *gehenna*-fire was that of “being burned alive in the valley of Hinnom.” Letter 9, paragraphs 11, 12. You have been urged again and again to publish that note, but utterly decline doing it.*

12. You next undertook to maintain that *gehenna* must mean a place of endless misery, not only from its adjuncts, but because it is contrasted with *life*, and being cast into *gehenna* is contrasted with *entering into life*, into the kingdom of heaven, etc. I showed clearly in answer, that *enter*

* See Append. x. Note A.

ing into life-into the kingdom of heaven, etc., simply means entering into the Gospel economy, into the Messiah's kingdom on earth, and consequently that endless misery could not be a proper counterpart thereto. I also quoted a note from your own pen on Matt. xi: 12, in which you show that the phrase "kingdom of heaven," means Messiah's reign on earth, and thus you were again made to refute yourself. *Let this be remembered.* Having failed of finding any proof of your views of *gehenna* in the Bible, you finally resorted to the Apocrypha and Targums for proof, when in fact *gehenna* does not once occur in all the Apocrypha, and the Targums are of no more authority than Mistress Babylon! Letter 12, paragraph 7, and letter 13, paragraph 9. Thus ends your proof of the first proposition.

13. The *second* proposition reads thus: *Do the words OLEM, ALON, AIONIOS, etc., when applied to the punishment of the wicked, mean duration without end?*

We both agree that *aion* and *aiōnios*, in Greek, express the same as *olem* in the Hebrew. You were to show that *aion* and *aiōnios*, when applied to punishment, express duration without end. This you undertook to do by referring to the roots or radical meaning of *aion*—*aei*, ever, and *on*, being. This position I showed to be untenable, 1st. By an examination of all the passages in the New Testament where *aei* occurs, and showing that it is *not once* used to express endless duration, and that *on*, as it only expresses being, without any reference to duration, can not add to the extent of duration expressed by *aei*.—Letter 11, paragraphs G, 7. 2d. By showing that *olem* in the Hebrew, and *aion* and *aiōnios* in the Greek, were often applied to things of limited and even short duration, such as priesthood, covenant, etc.—that *aion*, instead of expressing *endless being*, simply expresses *continuity* Or *continuous being*, without any necessary reference to its duration—that it is used to express age, period, dispensation, world, course, et.—that it's often used in the plural, and even in the double plural, as its most intensive form—that it is never rendered *eternity*, and can not consistently be so rendered—that we read of the *past aion*, *future aions*, of the *ends of the aions*, etc. All these facts have been shown not only on the authority of Parkhurst, Stuart, Wakefield, Macknight, Scarlett, Ewen, and Clarke, but by the Bible itself. *Let this be remembered.* 3d. By your own incontrovertible au-

thority, quoted in letter 31, paragraphs 6, 7, (and published entire in the Magazine and Advocate,) from Table 14 of the Appendix to your New Testament, where you define *aion* thus: "*Age, aion, (derived from aet, always, and on, being,) its radical idea is indefinite duration.— We read of the end of aion five times in Matth cw,*" et c., etc See your whole note, which you *must* father while you live.* *Let this be remembered.*

14. It has been shown letter 1, paragraph 16, and letter 11, paragraphs 12, 15, that *aionios* can not express more than *aion*, the substantive from which it is derived, and that neither *aion* nor *aionios* is ever used to express endless duration at all, unless the subject necessarily requires it. It has also been shown, letter 11, paragraphs 13, 14, and letter 15, paragraphs 15, 18, that the phrase *eternal life*, which occurs more than forty times in the New Testament, is almost always, if *not* uniformly, used to designate, not the immortal and endless bliss of heaven, but the continuous and spiritual peace, joy and consolation of believers in this life. And to put the matter beyond all dispute, I have shown that the inspired writers spoke of periods of longer duration than *aion* and *aionios*, where God is said to reign "*from aion to aion and farther*"—the saints to shine "*through the aions, and farther*"—to "*walk in the name of the Lord through the aion, and beyond it*"—and that Paul spoke of a glory *exceeding aionios by an excess*—" *a far more (or excessively) exceeding aionion weight of glory.*" See letter 1, paragraph 20; letter 21, paragraph 15, which triumphant proof on my part, neither you nor any man in the universe can answer. *Let these things be remembered.*

15. As *aion* and *aionios* are so frequently used in Scripture in a limited sense, I called on you to show why they must necessarily have the acme of *endless* in the very few places where the Scriptures apply them to punishment—to show what there is in the nature, character or design of punishment which requires this acme—whether punishment has its root and foundation in God—whether it was an *end* originally designed by him, or only a *means to an end*, and showed that, if it were a *means to an end, it could not be endless.* Letter 1, paragraphs 16, 21, 22; letter 11, paragraph 16; letter 15, paragraphs 19, 20; letter 17, paragraphs 16-18; letter 21, paragraphs 17-21. **You**

* See Appendix. Note B.

have given no answer, nor attempted to show that punishment must be endless, either from its *nature, design or end. Let this be remembered. I then gave ten insuperable reasons why punishment could not be endless*—because it would be utterly useless, pernicious, dishonorable to God, opposed to his benevolence, his mercy, his wisdom, his power, his justice, his veracity, and the unequivocal voice of revelation. The only thing ever advanced against those arguments, was the oft repeated and unsupported assertion, that if present evil, or suffering, or limited punishment, be compatible with the attributes of God, endless evil, endless punishment, must be equally so ! Thus confounding, or forgetting the vast difference between *means and ends*. As well might you affirm that if nauseous medicines are ever necessary, people should live on them altogether ! Thus endeth the second proposition.

16. The *third* proposition reads thus: *Is there any word in human language that expresses duration without end., which is not applied to the future punishment of the wicked, or which can certify us that God, angels, or saints, shall have duration without end ?* In proof Of the affirmative. Of this proposition, I have adduced *ten* Greek words which, either as adjectives, signify strictly, literally, and simply, *endless*, or eke, either as adjectives or substantives, embrace that idea in connection with others, such as *undying, indissoluble, indestructible, immortal, imperishable, pure, incorruptible*;—neither of which is ever applied to punishment. See letter 1, paragraphs 11-16; letter 17, paragraphs 20-23; letter 19, paragraphs 7-15; letter 21, paragraph 13. Several of these words I have shown are applied in Scripture to God, to life, and to a *future state* of happiness, and all of them could be properly so applied; while not one of them is ever applied in Scripture, to punishment or misery of any kind, here or hereafter, or to any other subject of a mere earthly character, or limited duration.

17. You made a great parade, and pretended a great triumph over me, because I introduced *aidios* [but one of the ten words adduced) in proof of this proposition. You contended that *aei* was the root, and only root, of *aidios*, that gave to it the sense of *endless*, and therefore that while it proved my third proposition, it also virtually proved the second one in your favor. But how this could be you have not shown; for *aidios* was not included among the words of the second proposition. But you would fain have the reader

believe it was, because derived from the same *wet*. I then showed that it had another still more important root in *dios*, divine, which is used without any change of form for the two last syllables of *aidios*, and that *ever-avine*, or *ever*, combined with the *name of God*, must be far more expressive of perpetuity than *ever (aei)* alone. If the first part is from *aei*, the last part is as certainly from *dios*. I also showed that, even granting it to have no other significant part but *aei*, as you contend, its sense of endless must be derived rather from its *usage* than merely from the force of &i; lat. Because *aei* in the eight times it occurs in the New Testament, *never once signifies endless*. 2d. Because numerous texts and the highest authority in the literary world, prove that *aion* and *aiomios*, the other two derivatives from *aei*, are much oftener used to express a limited, or indefinite, than an infinite period. And, 3d. By *your own definition of aion*, copied from your Appendix to the New Testament. Thus your defeat here, an that on the highest authority, was as signal as it was when you denied that *semperiternus* is compounded of *semper* (always) and *eternus*. See letter 22, paragraph 4; letter 23, paragraph 5; letter 24, paragraph 3, and letter 31, paragraph 3. *Let these things be remembered.*

18. You once said you left me hanging upon the skirts of Kneeland and Scarlett. But how in the name of common sense I could hang upon the skirts of men whom I merely referred to as expressing a different opinion from your own, and at the same time *expressed my entire dissent from their opinion*, (m. letter 21, p. 10, etc.) I am wholly unable to perceive.

19. Having refuted all you could advance in favor of endless misery from the force and meaning of *sheol*, *hades*, *tartarus*, *gehenna*, *olem*, *aion* and *aiomios*, with all your array of *adjuncts*, *contrasts*, and *antitheses*; and given you *ten* words in proof of my third proposition, and yourself conceding it proved, I then proceeded to the 4th proposition which reads thus: *Shall eternal life* (meaning thereby endless holiness and happiness) *be according to the Scriptures, the ultimate destiny of all mankind?*

20. I proved the affirmative of this proposition, 1. from the acknowledged and scripturally proved attributes of God, by inductive and logical reasoning and arguments, which you have made no efforts to refute. The premises being indisputable, (excepting that you denied the infinite

goodness of God, a thing which I never before knew a Christian to do!) I clearly showed that the greatest good of the whole and every part of the universe, or final universal holiness and happiness, must result therefrom, and could alone be reconciled with the allowed attributes of God. These arguments were sustained by numerous clear testimonies of Scripture. The only thing bearing the semblance of argument against my reasoning and conclusions was an unsupported assumption, as void of consistency as if you were to affirm that because human beings are weak helpless infants, when born into the world, they will remain so through life ; or because we now have bodies of flesh and blood, we must eternally have the same ; or because none are perfectly happy now, therefore none will ever in eternity be perfectly happy !

21. I then proved the final holiness and happiness of all men, 2. from the character, advent, labors, and doctrine of Christ, as predicted in the Old Testament, and more fully laid down in the New, and showed that these could not be reconciled with any other doctrine, by quoting and referring to more than 70 passages of Scripture, expressing his titles, such as the seed of the woman which was to bruise the serpent's head, the heir of all things, the Saviour of the world, etc., etc., showing also that all he said, all he did, all he suffered, all he taught, and all that his followers taught of him, represent him as a complete and universal Saviour.

22. In the third place I showed by the testimony of more than 80 passages of Scripture, bearing directly and indirectly on the subject, that all men will finally be saved—that this was God's will, pleasure and purpose—that he worketh all things after the counsel of his own will—that his counsel shall stand—that he hath given all to Christ for this purpose—that Christ shall most surely accomplish the same—that we are commanded to pray for all, and that too, in faith—that God hath promised the salvation of all men, or to bless all nations, families and kindreds of the earth, in the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, spoken of it by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began, promised that all the ends, of the world, all the kindreds of the nations, shall come and worship before him and glorify his name—that every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess in the name of Christ to his glory—that Christ died for all, for every man, and shall see of the travail of

his soul and be satisfied—shall draw all men unto him—take away the sin of the world, enlighten every man, write his law in every heart—all shall know God—his grace and righteousness shall abound much more than sin—sin shall be finished, an end made of transgression, the devil and his works and death, and every thing that bears its name, or can produce pain or sorrow, shall all be destroyed—that every creature in the universe of God shall bless his name forever, and the reconciled world be by Christ delivered up to God the Father, and God be all in all. The clear and ample testimony of these four score passages of Scripture you allowed to pass almost without a comment! I therefore regard the doctrine of universal salvation as triumphantly and incontrovertibly established.

23. You have been incessantly engaged in trying to draw me off from this great and glorious topic, to various other minor and wholly irrelevant subjects—you have employed sarcasm and buffoonery, and conjured up many caricatures of my doctrine, in order to excite ridicule for my opinions, and contempt for myself. You contend zealously for the doctrine of *antithesis*, letter 16, paragraph 9, and allow, paragraph 11, that the *all men* used in Rom v : 18, 19, and 1 Cor. xv : 22, are used antithetically in the two parts of each verse. And when I adduce them as proof that as certainly as *all men* are under the judgment of condemnation and die in Adam, the earthly men, so certainly shall *all* receive justification unto life, and be made *divine* in the heavenly man, you make no reply, but tacitly concede the fact. I am convinced, Sir, that you do not yourself believe the horrid dogma of endless damnation.—*Ask your own conscience the question!*

24. Four times have I earnestly called on you to publish (as I have done) your own notes from your New Testament on Matt. v : 22, and on the Greek *anōn*, in which your principal criticisms in this discussion are completely refuted: and *you dare not do it!* I expect, as a matter of course, judging from the past, that in your closing letter, you will rage against me, vaunt a triumph and boast a complete victory! but our readers will know perfectly well how to understand you; and if, after reading it, they will re-peruse this letter, and compare the points and references here named with the discussion throughout, they will be satisfied of the strict truth of all I here state. I rejoice in the happy termination of this discussion. I rejoice the

it **has** been had—that it **has** appeared in your paper, and is to go into the **hands** of a **Bible society**—a noble field for its usefulness.*

25. In conclusion, Sir, permit me to say, that I attribute your defeat in **this discussion**, not to **any** merit, or talents, or learning of **my** own; for I do not claim, **and** never have claimed but a **small** share of either; not to your want of learning, or talents, for probably few men in **this country** can lay claim to **higher** than you are said to possess. And I here acknowledge my obligations for the great assistance your learning, talents and *reputation* have been to me in **this discussion**. The valuable notes to which I have had access in your **New Testament**, written in coolness and deliberation long before **this discussion** was thought of, and when truth alone seemed to be your aim, have been of inestimable service to me and to the truth, in refuting the untenable and extravagant positions you have taken in **this controversy**, under the influence of passion and prejudice.

26. I attribute your defeat, partly to your ignorance of the doctrine you opposed: partly to your losing your temper and getting into such paroxysms of wrath; partly to the absurdity and monstrosity of your own doctrine—a doctrine which you can not yourself pray to have true. But your defeat is mainly owing as I predicted at the close of my second letter, to the strength and power of that everlasting truth, against which your weapons were aimed, a system which has in its favor the united voice of reason, philosophy and revelation—which has heaven and earth, God, angels, and saints in its favor—for which all good beings in the universe pray, and for which even yourself, in your sober hours, are constrained to pray and wish it true. Quench not the spirit my brother. And may God, (who I think is at least as good you are,) grant this good desire of both our hearts, sanctify this discussion to general edification, and bless the world with a knowledge of his truth and salvation forever.

Yours in all affection and faithfulness,

D. SKINNER.

* See Appendix: Note D.

MR. CAMPBELL TO MR. SKINNER

LETTER XI..

BETHANY, VA., JULY 3, 1839.

Mr. SKINNER :—

SIR—I only design, in my concluding epistle, a condensed recapitulation and review. This controversy originated with your party. My place throughout has been that of a respondent. You commenced : I close. You have had all the advantages you asked. You solicited a *written* rather than an *oral* discussion. You led the way. You selected *four propositions*. You asked for *twenty letters*, of six octavo pages each, and finally you asked for your last to be extended to eight. To all these demands I consented; letter 6, paragraph 6.

2. I chose the affirmative of two ; the first of which was, "*Sheol, hades and gehenna, are sometimes used to denote a future state of misery or of punishment.*"* You conceded this.† I sought and gained two points by this concession :—1st. that *gehenna*, or *hell*, does not simply mean guilt, repentance, or present anguish of any sort : therefore present Pain 'r agony does ^{not} absorb the full meaning of *hell*, and is not the proper punishment of sin. 2d. That inasmuch as *hell* sometimes denotes punishment after death, the nature and extent of that punishment, if not clearly indicated by the term itself, may be learned from the adjectives connected with that word, or from the terms substituted for it in the sacred style. This makes the discussion of *aion* and *aionios*, generally rendered *everlasting*, interesting.

3. But your having associated *gehenna* with words of a different class, and confounded it with them, obliged me to make it the subject of special investigation. My pur-

An error—such was *not* the first proposition. See Questions, page 3. D. S.

† Another error—I made no such concession. See letter 9, paragraphs 5-9, letter 13, paragraphs 11, 13, 18, letter 15, par. 4. D. S.

pose here was to show that in the New Testament the word *hell* does positively denote endless punishment. I showed by a full induction of all its occurrences in that volume, that, in the lips of Jesus and his apostles, it did undoubtedly denote a place or state of endless punishment. Here your plea and defence was, that it was anciently among the Jews the name of a place of temporal and limited punishment—the vale of Hinnom; and therefore could not possibly mean in the New Testament a place of interminable wo. You, indeed, wounded your defence by conceding that generally, if not universally in the New Testament, it is not used in its original and literal, but in a figurative sense. But that which fully annihilated your argument was the fact, that all the words used in the New Testament to express the endless bliss of the righteous, were in the Old Testament and originally, like *gehenna* or *hell*, applied to temporal places and things. Such was *Shemim*, translated *Heaven, Jerusalem, Mount Zion, Paradise, etc.* *Heaven* originally denoted the air. Thus the fowls of heaven, the fowls of the air, that fly in the midst of heaven, or in the air, etc. *Paradise* denoted the delightful, but transient abode of primitive man. *Jerusalem, Mount Zion*, represented earthly cities. Our argument from these incontrovertible facts, then, was—If these words, originally and literally indicative of earthly and temporal glory and bliss, came in *the New Testament* to be the types and names of future and endless glory and felicity, why should it be objected that *gehenna, or tophet, or hell-fire* did originally mean earthly and temporal punishment; and for that reason can not mean in the New Testament endless punishment? Here it was demonstrated that if your logic was good against *hell*, it was equally good against heaven—that it equally annihilated the eternity of both. This plain argument you never attempted to dispose of—indeed, it never was disposed of, and never can be by any man.

4. But we supported our affirmative concerning *gehenna* by positive and direct proofs. We exhibited its substitutes and contrasts, as taken from the lips of Jesus. These stereotyped its meaning. For the word *hell*, as its fair equivalent he substitutes the words *everlasting fire*.—**Matt. m-iii: 8, 9.** “Being cast into hell,” he explains by going into the “*fire that shall never be quenched.*” He does this three times in one discourse. **Mark ix: 43–48.**

Again, he contrasts "entering into life," with being "cast into hell." Matt. x: 28; xiii: 8, 9; Mark ix: 43; and "entering into the kingdom of God with one eye," he contrasts with being "cast into hell with two eyes, where? their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched." Your defence here bordered on the ridiculous. When I quoted the words, "Fear him who, when he has killed the body, has power to destroy both soul and body in hell," you said it meant, "Fear Cæsar, who has power to destroy you in the siege of Jerusalem," * or something thereunto equivalent; and "entering into life" you said was "joining the church."† But your courage finally failed to defend these dread alternatives—as being too preposterous for even your own sense of the ridiculous. Thus my affirmation that the term *gehenna*, or *hell*, in the New Covenant, does certainly mean a state of endless punishment, is fully sustained and stands in unbroken strength after you have discharged your whole artillery against it.

5. The first proposition sustained, the controversy was legitimately closed, so far as the truth of your entire system is concerned. For if it be proved that *hell* in the New Testament means "endless punishment," where "both soul and body after death are destroyed;" and if it be proved that the wicked shall be cast into it, all the sons of Adam will never by any other arguments or cavils, escape from the Christian religion endless destruction for the wicked. Still you would have me prove it a second time, and gave me the following proposition—"All the force of the Hebrew *olem* is transferred into the Greek *aion*, and into the adjective *aiouios*; which words, when applied to the future state of both the righteous and the wicked, does denote duration without end."‡ You concurred with me that *aiouios* had in it the full force of *olem* and *aion*, and was almost universally translated *forever*, *eternal*, *everlasting*, etc. You also admitted that when applied to the future bliss of the righteous, it indicated *without* end; but denied that it had the same meaning when applied to the misery of the wicked,

6. My first argument, and it certainly is a common sense argument, was—That *everlasting*, when in the same breath

. Another error.

D. 8.

† Another error.

D. 8.

‡ Wrongly stated again. See Questions, page 9.

D. 8.

and by the same speaker, it was applied to the future bliss of the righteous, and to the future misery of the wicked, must in all honesty and fair dealing, mean the same thing. To escape from the force of this most palpable argument, you were obliged to take new ground, to assume, that the word has no certain meaning in itse If, but derives all its sense from the word with which it is connected. You made it a perfect cipher.* Thus you make *hell* depend upon *eternal*, and *eternal* upon *hell* for their meaning !— Neither of them alone mean any thing certain: but when together, you assume, they mean temporal punishment 1

7. By various elaborate inductions, we showed that by every law and custom of language, this word did clearly express “*being without end*” — “*always being*.” But when used in reference to mundane things, as it often is, it must be used figuratively and indefinitely. And when applied to a spiritual and future state, it must be taken in its natural and full import. Thus it is applied to God, when his simple and perpetual existence is spoken of. It is also applied to his glory and praise with regard to continuity, and to the future bliss of the righteous. Now, in reference to mundane things, we are uniform in our interpretation : we always use the word as indicative of some indefinite long time. And in reference to a future and spiritual state, we are equally uniform in always using the term as indicative of endless duration. Such is the oracle of reason, as well as the laws of interpretation. But you violate these principles by making it, in reference to the same state or dispensation, mean two different things. For example, there is in reference to one spiritual state, “an everlasting wine. nant” of the “ everlasting God,” concerning an “ everlasting righteousness,” an “ everlasting redemption,” an “ everlasting inheritance,” an “ everlasting life,” and an “ everlasting punishment,” always expressed by the same word in all languages. Now to make it six times out of seven occurrences, in relation to the same institution, mean *endless* and once *ending*, is what we call absolute tyranny and despotism, according to all the laws and canons of language and interpretation. This, Sir, is your presumptuous position in this branch of the controversy. When asked, Does the word ever mean *endless* ? you answer, Yea; but then you say, “the subject fixes the meaning to the word,

* Another error.

D. S.

and not the word to the subject" But when again asked, "What better than the accompanying epithet fixes the meaning of the subject? you give no answer. You virtually make the substantive explain the adjective, and then make it explain itself.* Singular positions require singular rules and laws of evidence and proof.

8. The sum of my argument on these words I now quote from letter 14, paragraph 23 :—"The words *aion*, *aionios*, occur in the Greek Old and New Testament some *six hundred and eighteen* times; of which extraordinary sum they are properly and literally translated in the common version, *five hundred and eight times* by the strongest terms in human speech indicative of endless duration—such as "eternal," "everlasting," "forever;" and, in the judgment of the most numerous and learned critics, might as well in many of the others have been as literally translated by the same words. Then look, in the second place, at the special fact: These said terms occur in the New Testament alone, referring to the *continuance* of the happiness of the righteous, *sixty-one times*; and to the *continuance* of the punishment of the wicked *fifteen times*, translated "eternal," "everlasting," "forever." Now, from the general fact, and this still more striking special fact, I emphatically, and with intense interest, demand why—for what reason—by what law of language or croon of criticism, shall the *duration* of the happiness of the righteous and of the misery of the wicked be as different as time and eternity, when they are thus so often, and in such various circumstances set forth, by the very same words! On the answer to this question must always hang the fate of Universalism, so far as the meaning of these words is concerned." Again, paragraph 25, "To sum up this branch of the argument—we have from your own display of *aet*, always, and *on*, being, shown that no word, etymologically or radically, can more naturally signify *endless being* or *endless duration*. That *ever*, *forever*, *evermore* and *eternal*, are its most common versions in both Testaments. You have examined the New, and conceded this. I have examined both Old and New, and if it is disputed I will reinforce it; but I think you will not demand this. When applied to God's being, you admit it means endless. Also, when applied to his glory, it means duration without end.

* Another error. See letter 11, paragraphs 7, 14, 15.

Also, when applied to the praises to be offered to him. And you also admit that when it is applied to the future happiness of the righteous, it means endless. Now for your reasons why it signifies a limited time, an ending period, when expressive of the continuance of the punishment of the wicked."

9. Your escape from this I shall now give in your own words, letter 15, paragraph 14. "We are not in dispute whether *aiou* and *aiouios* are ever used to signify endless duration. I not only concede, but argue, that where applied to God and his perfection, they necessarily have this meaning and that from the very nature of the subject. And were you to find them 6000 instead of 600 times, in their various forms and flexions, in the Old and New Testament, and out of that number 5900 times applied to God and his perfections; yet if, in the other hundred, they were applied to a variety of things of *short duration*, and which from their nature could not be endless, you would not have gained one step towards establishing endless punishment from the force of them, unless you proved by something else that punishment must be endless." The conclusion of your philological labors then, is, that we must prove punishment to be *endless* by something else than language: for you admit that language can not do it.* Why, then, may we not ask, have you selected three propositions about words, when the words of inspiration can not settle the matter! Your *a priori* views of what is fitting the Deity, disprove all that inspired language can express in its clearest, most definite, and precise terms and phrases.*

10. Having assumed the absurd position that language could not prove punishment to be everlasting, because there is not one word in the universe that always means the same thing; asserting also that though we proved *aiouios* to mean duration without end sixty times for once it was used indefinitely, it availed nothing, since it was not always so used; therefore something else than the import of substantives or adjectives must prove it: I say, notwithstanding all this, you proceed to your third proposition, and affirm that "*there is a word in human language that signifies duration without end never applied to the future punishment of the wicked;*" nor to the righteous, you might have said.

* Amber error. See letter 1, paragraphs 10-20 inclusive, and letter 21. D. S.

11. This is at first view rather a startling proportion to some of the more sagacious Universalists, inasmuch as it is admitted on all hands—by Turk, Jew, Christian, Infidel, Universalist and all—that the belief of eternal punishment pervaded the human race before the Christian era, and con-temporary with it. Now if the Saviour and his apostles were Universalists, they were not unwise in throwing away their lives for nothing, inasmuch as God could in his very nature but save all his creatures without their martyrdom: I say, they were not only foolishly prodigal of suffering and of life, but they are censurable for not using the most unambiguous terms in disabusing the world of “Particularism;” which they did not, if the third proposition be true: for it seems there was at least one word that denoted duration without end, which they never used to indicate the future state of righteous or wicked; thus leaving the matter at least ambiguous, if the other words used by them did not unequivocally decide its character. But they did not on the hypothesis before us; for if you admit that the words often associated with future punishment indicate endless duration; which words, as honest men, they ought on no account to have used, when opposing an error so universal as the nature of endless misery in that age.—There are words in the language that clearly indicate things *temporal*; and certainly if eternal was inapplicable to punishment, they could, as they should, have found the term *temporal* or the equivalent, and always applied it to the future punishment of the wicked.

12. It was, however, on this proposition that you proved to all men your profound ignorance of the language in which you were acting the critic. Your gross mistakes and blunders showed that when the burthen of proof lay on you, you sometimes did not know what was for or against your own side: for when your argument was summed up, it was an unequivocal confirmation of my proof of the second position.* It is a fact, which all the learned world, without a single exception, will admit—that Mr. Skinner, in his dissertations upon *aeidios*, etc., did, without intending or knowing it, prove my propositions, and disprove his own; boastingly affirming that he had found a word which did signify duration without end; which word,

* Another error. See letter 19, paragraph 14, letter 21, paragraphs 11-13, letter 39, paragraphs 16, 17. D. S.

in its true etymological meaning and construction, was identical with that very word in my second proposition,* which himself had immediately before declared did not absolutely mean duration without end. The apparent recklessness of truth in this instance was much more to be regretted than the fatal blunder itself—in affirming that the root of the one word I replied *limited* and that of the other endless duration; while, in truth, both words had the same identical root.* So endeth the debate on the three first propositions. To quote my words on that occasion, letter--20, paragraph 15—"You have now finished the controversy on the philology of Universalism, as I before said, in favor of the truth, far beyond all that I expected. You have said that *aídios* is that word which signifies absolute endless duration; that had it been prefixed to punishment it would have made it absolutely endless and interminable. In thus deciding you have refuted yourself and all your efforts to explain away both *aei* and *aeion*; for it is incontrovertibly certain that *aídios* derives all its endless duration from *aei*,* and that *aíonios* and *aídios* are branches from the same root. You have, then, Sir, sustained my proof of the first two propositions, by sealing my facts and reasonings upon those long disputed words: and you have in another way established all my positions in contending for the absolute eternity indicated by this word; for it is applied to the punishment of the wicked" and to God, and to nothing else in the Bible." We have then, in one word, shown that the proof of the third proposition is a corroboration of my proof of the second—you demonstrating that *aei* found in composition, whether in *aíonios*, *aídios*, or *eternus*, *ayternity*, or *eternal*; means *endless* in its fullest import.* This unexpected favor, however, not being in your retention, but in the fact and result of your criticism, entitles you not to our thanks.

13. The main proposition, the jet of the whole controversy, is your fourth. You affirm that "*eternal life*" (meaning holiness and happiness) "*shall be the ultimate destiny of all mankind.*" This, of course, was to be proved not *a priori*, not by far-fetched inference, but from Bible statements. But, 1st. You did not quote one text which affirmed the ultimate holiness of all mankind. 2d.

* Another error. See letter 19, paragraph 14, letter 21, paragraphs 11-13, letter 39, paragraphs 16, 17. D. S.

You did not quote a text that affirmed the ultimate happiness of all mankind. 3d. But you did cite sundry passages pertaining to the Messiah's kingdom, its extension and comprehension, its temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings; from which you first *inferred* the individual salvation, and next inferred the individual holiness of all men. From such texts as, "All souls are mine,"—"I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,"—"Look unto me and be saved, all ends of the earth,"—"He will draw all men to him," etc., etc.—you infer eternal life as the portion of every human being. But inasmuch as the question about the final end of all flesh was not the point before any of the writers you quote, your application of their words beyond their intention is a downright misapplication and perversion.

14. In exposing this presumptuous daring, my method was first—to give the direct testimony of Enoch, Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Baptist, the four Evangelists, Paul, Peter, James, Jude, and the Lord Jesus declaring that it should not finally "be with the wicked as with the righteous:"—that the end of *all wicked men is destruction*—"whose end is destruction"—"everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his power:"—that "a much sorer punishment than death awaited them who disobeyed the Lord"—"of how much sorer punishment shall he be thought worthy, who has despised" Christ's salvation.

15. In the second place, we showed that it was contrary to the style of the New Testament:—that that volume declares "it is appointed to men once to die; but after this the judgment"—that "God has appointed a day in which he will judge the world by Jesus Christ righteously:"—that he will "render to every man according to his works"—"to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, honor, immortality, he will bestow eternal life;" and "to those who do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, he will award indignation and wrath"—nay, that he will dispense "tribulation and anguish to every soul of man that doeth evil"—"in the day" when "all shall appear before the judgment seat of Christ:"—"when he will judge the secrets of all men according to Paul's Gospel:"—that after this judgment, he that is found "unjust, unrighteous, or unholy, shall be so, *still*:"—that "those only whose names are in the book of life shall enter

the holy eternal city:”—that “without that city there are dogs, sorcerers, liars, murderers,” etc., etc.—that “they only are blessed who keep his commands; for they shall have right to the tree of life, and shall enter the gates of the city”—“who shall lay any thing to the charge of God’s elect?” etc. From all of such sayings, of which there are innumerable hosts, two ultimate and opposite fates are as certainly allotted to men, as there are two sorts of men in this world.

16. In the third place, we challenged you, time after time, to select only one verse of all your alleged proofs, and form a close and logical issue upon it. But you declined it to the last letter* You could give scores, you said: but would not give one.*

17. We, in the fourth place, alleged texts in which we would rest the whole matter; but you would not meet us on these. For instance: One verse on which we laid the greatest emphasis—a verse, too, which alone overcame all the doubts of Tholuck, one of the most learned of German Divines, and silenced all his skepticism, was never so much as noticed by you. You had the caution to pass it in profound silence. It is this: “*Th. sin against the Holy Spirit has no forgiveness, neither in this world nor in that which is to come—neither in the present nor future state.*”—In all your daring assertions, you had the prudence to let this pass unnoticed.†

18. We showed also, in the fifth place, that there are three distinct salvations stated in the sacred writings:—1st. That of *the body* from temporal evils; in which sense “God is the saviour of all men.” 2d. That of *the soul* from sin: “*Who hath saved us and called us*”—“He hath saved us by the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Spirit,” etc., etc. 3d. That there will be a future salvation of *the whole human person*: “Now is your salvation nearer than when you believed”—“The day is at hand”—“He will appear a second time to their salvation that look for him.” To this you paid no attention; but continued to apply the word without any regard to this important fact; and thus, despite of these palpable facts and differences you apply to the last whatever is said, of the first or of the second salvation.

* Another error—see letter 35, paragraph 11; letter 37, paragraphs 18-20.

† See letter 39, paragraph 4.

19. Meanwhile, you thought it more expedient to give us theological dissertations on the Divine perfections, than to rely so much upon direct quotations. The sum of these dissertations were—that, according to your optics and notions of what became the Ruler of the universe, it would be out of the question to punish sin with an endless punishment:—that, to perpetuate misery in his dominions was most abhorrent to your notions of Divine benevolence, mercy, justice, etc. It was also equally dishonorable to the wisdom and power of God, whose wisdom is omniscience and whose power is omnipotence to permit such a state of things continue long. Such was the point and burthen of several of your letters. To which it was replied—

20. 1st. That all arguments drawn from the Divine perfections, from the wisdom, power, goodness, justice, mercy, etc., of God, in favor of the necessity of an ultimate termination of sin and suffering, would equally have forbid the possibility of its existence at all: for if the Divine perfections *must* bring it to an end, they *ought* never to have suffered it to commence: for *prevention* is altogether wiser and more benevolent than *cure*. Your hypothetical reasonings on the Divine perfections are perfectly refuted by the *fact* that moral evil and physical pain are as old as this creation; and if God is immutable in all his perfections, as far as human reason knows, it may be compatible with the Divine perfections to permit the continuance of it to a period indefinite as eternity itself. God was righteous, merciful, and kind—as wise and powerful the day that sin and sorrow were born, as he is now, or ever will be. It is therefore preposterous to argue from any *speculative* views of the Divine perfections against what the Scriptures affirm—against what God may, or may not do, in reference to sin and sinners. What he has done and is now doing is a specimen of what may be done under his wise and benevolent administration, our speculations to the contrary notwithstanding.

21. But, in the second place, as persons standing upon the circumference of a circle, some 90 or 100 degrees apart, will contemplate a central column in a different light, if not under a different angle; so I, from my views of the Divine perfections, arrive at conclusions very contrary to yours. Moral evil there is—pain and misery there are. These are facts. To put them dew, and preven-

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their recurrence, we are sure is within the designs of Divine benevolence. But we see Divine benevolence fails here in innumerable instances. The Gospel itself becomes a savor of condemnation to the lost. The most hardened wretches are found sitting under the very offer of holiness and eternal life. Now you admit that these miscreants would torment any pure society in the universe. Well, "they die in their sins." Now, to treat them as the pure in heart, and to receive them into Abraham's bosom as they are, we have showed would be supremely cruel and Unmerciful. Every Divine attribute requires their separation—in one word, their everlasting punishment. Here, then, your *theology* was showed to be as fallacious as your *philology*.

22. In this dilemma you bethought yourself of a third region, and of a new dispensation; and not finding, like many Universalists, a Saviour in death, a purgatorial efficacy in the single act of dying, you, all at once, discovered an intermediate prison, or purgatorial institution for disembodied spirits—not for *men*, but for the spirits of men. In this poetic region, hell fire, or gehenna punishment, becomes the sanctifying agency; and those whom the tears and Mood of Christ on earth assailed in vain, are cured by fire and brimstone.*

23. Having made this splendid discovery, scarcely had you descended from your Pegasus, returning from this *Limbo patrum*, than the earth-born troubled you with many hard questions. To relieve them you set about the institution of a new system of philosophy founded upon your theological dissertations, and a new theory of man.

24. The principle points in the new philosophy, as we exposed them, are:—1st. That *after death punishment* is, of all means of grace, the most effectual and irresistible.* It is, indeed, omnipotent and irresistible. grace: for it saves all the hardened wretches that the love of God and grace of Christ have assailed in vain. 2d. All punishments are only grace in the form of chastisement for the exclusive benefit of the chastised. 3d. All the inhabitants of "*Hell fire punishment*," or this purgatorial prison, . . . 8. *siming* the moment they are incarcerated, else they never could be discharged." 4th. "God punishes every sinner accord-

*Gras misstatements. See letter 31, paragraphs 18, 19, 20, and letter 3s, paragraph 2, etc. D. S.

ing to the full demerit of his sins," and then the prison doors are opened. 5th. Sin is finite in all its consequence, and can not possibly require punishment infinite in duration. 6th. The same law that condemns will also justify the same person; and, 7th. Finally punishment will destroy itself.*

25. In reply to this philosophy I pursued the reduction to an absurdity plan—demonstrating that, according to its first point, Christ had died in vain: personal chastisement atones for sin, sanctifies the sinner, and sufficiently honors the Divine government. Of course, then, you substitute personal sufferings for Christ's life, death, and resurrection—for the whole work of the Holy Spirit; and in lieu of the whole remedial economy, called the Church of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven, and give transcendent honors to your Purgatory system as saving all its subjects! This, then, stultifies and nullifies the Gospel of Christ. Your second point assumes that God can *not punish sin*—he can only chastise it into holiness! Nothing is due to the law of God, or to his own dignity, or that of his government, after sin is chastised into holiness!! Your third point represents God as punishing those who are holy; for they have all ceased sinning in thought, word, and deed, the moment they enter your temporal Hell: for if they did not, the debt never could be paid, and they could never get out!! Your fourth point deprives God of the power of forgiving sin, or of showing mercy to sinners. When all pay their own debts, who can forgive them? and therefore none of your hell-fire converts can ever praise the Lamb of God or join the song of Heaven. They *burned* their robes bright in the flames of Tophet, rather than *washed* them white in the blood of the Lamb. They admire indignant Justice that punished them into purity and innocence, sing not the praises of Mercy or sin-forgiving Grace!! *The greater the sinner, the greater the saint; the severer the pains of Purgatory; the more the bliss of heaven; the longer the passage through, the more rest at the end!! The sinner suffers for himself, and puts away his own sins by his own sorrows. Your fifth point makes both the punishment and the chastisement of sin absurd: for it is not infinite in its consequences; therefore it would*

* Gross misstatements. See letter 31, paragraphs 12, 19, 20, and letter 33, paragraph 2, etc., and letter 35. D. S.

of itself come to an end in every case. Adam would have returned to Paradise, and Abel to life, and Cain to holiness, if let alone; because sin is not endless in effects or infinite in its consequences ! ! Your sixth point makes a person righteous and wicked by the same law : Obedience is righteousness—transgression, unrighteousness. The same law in both cases. Now if those who go into your prison guilty and condemned, come out innocent and just bylaw, is it not demonstrable that the broken law has been mended at the same time the sinner was made just ? You give to the sinner, therefore, the power of *mending the law* as well as himself, or of giving to God's law the power of justifying the same person whom it had condemned !—and finally you make the effect not only annihilate its own cause, the creature extinguish its Creator, punishment destroy sin; but you make punishment kill itself. The viper bites itself and dies. The fire goes out because the fuel is all consumed.

26. Room fails to recapitulate the whole discussion.—Your system is that of a circle; and your logic follows it. You prove your philology by your theology, and your theology by your philosophy; and then you prove your philosophy mm.times by the others and sometimes by itself. Like the Romanist who proves his church by his Bible, and then his Bible by the church, you prove your divinity by your philosophy, and your philosophy by your divinity. Your grand assumption is that endless punishment is unnecessary. As though your eye pierced through all the infinities of the universe, you affirm that although certain reasons may justify temporal punishments, no reasons can justify eternal punishment,

27. But to conclude my system is infallibly safe, yours being true. In following peace with all men, and holiness, we shall certainly enjoy God forever. But he that risks any thing on your philosophy is like one that attempts to circumnavigate the earth in a paper boat. It would be strange if what is infallibly safe could not be infallibly true. Our system is then, in my judgment, as well as in yours, infallibly safe ; and in this one point we finally and fortunately agree.

28. We choose to love God because he first loved us, rather than to have to love him because he has first tormented us. You hazzard an immense responsibility and condemnation, if we are right, For ten thousands worlds

I would not take your chance! You are hourly weakening the threatening and the promises of God, and the motives to prompt and constant obedience. "Knowing the terrors of the Lord"—"that we must all stand before the tribunal of Christ, to receive in our bodies what we have done, good or had," we persuade men to forsake sin and ruin, on pain of eternal destruction. Now surely if we fail, your plea of endless restorationism will assail them in vain. And if we change the topic, and persuade men by the love of God displayed in the gift of his Son, making him a *sin-offering* for us, and fail, you need not talk of a love that forgives no sin till the sinner has Buffered for it: so that whether love or wrath, hope or fear, joy or sorrow be the motive, ours is to yours as the universe to an atom—eternity to a moment.

29. See you not the total inefficiency of your doctrine in the grossly licentious and immoral lives of an immense mass of its truest believers? The moral men among you are the result of a better system. The wicked among you are either the effects of your system, or they embraced it as an opiate to your fears. True benevolence, Sir, cries out, Danger! and would rather exaggerate than lessen its claims. There is not a spark of real philanthropy in the bosom of a thorough-going Universalist. Their philanthropy is spurious, Jesus the great philanthropist warned every sinner of "the worm that never dies," and of "the fire that shall never be quenched." His dogma was the certainty of future punishment: "*Unless you repent you shall all perish.*" Repent, I sincerely beseech you, Mr. Skinner, and believe the true Gospel, peradventure the Lord may forgive your many efforts to neutralize both his justice and his grace. Would to God that it be not yet too late!*

Sincerely and benevolently your friend,

A. CAMPBELL,

P. S. Not having received any proposal for the copyright, and as your party published the discussion between Dr. Ely and Mr. Thomas in a separate volume, I therefore tender to you the right so far as the interest goes.—If you or your friends decline, I presume the right will be conceded to me †

* I let this paragraph and the several preceding it pass, as I have most of the gross personal insults to me and our denomination, and caricatures of our sentiments througho ut this discussion, unannounced, D. S.

† See Appendix. Note D.

APPENDIX.

We add the following brief appendix principally for the sake of presenting all our readers with Mr. Campbell's valuable Notes (from the Appendix to his version of the New Testament) on *Gehenna*, Matt. v: 22, and *aton*, a principal word of discussion in this controversy. It is due however to Mr. Campbell to say that he has strenuously and pertinaciously, to the very last, opposed the appending of these Notes of his own to the Discussion. Though in Letter XVI, paragraph 6, he accuses me of misrepresenting his note on Matt. v: 22, and says, "I appeal to the whole note taken together. Will you lay it before your readers?" And though he taunts me, (Letter XVIII, paragraph 2,) for not publishing it; and when I did publish both notes entire with my 31st letter he allows my approval of them to be a high "compliment," (Letter XXXII, paragraph 4,) yet he declined to the last to publish them to *his* readers, and utterly refuses his assent to their publication here! Of his *motive* in thus declining and refusing his assent to their publication our readers can judge as well as we. But as we have had much controversy about the meaning of the notes, I having all along maintained, and still maintaining, that they completely neutralize, or rather annihilate all his most valued and important criticisms in this discussion, while he denies it, our readers all have a right to see the entire notes and judge for themselves. How else can they tell which is right! I make no comments here on the purport of the

D. S.

NOTE A.

FROM "NO. V" OF THE APPENDIX TO MR. LILT. B, LL, S TRANSLATION.

"Thomson translates Matt. v: 22, thus: 'Whosoever is angry with his brother without cause, shall be liable to the sentence of the judges; and whoever shall say to his brother, *Raca*, (a contemptuous word,) shall be liable to the sentence of the Sanhedrin; and whoever shall say, *Morah*, (a reproachful word,) shall be liable (to be sentenced) to the vale of fire,' or to *the Gehenna of fire*."

"In the common translation of this verse there is a confounding of things present and future, of things human and divine, that badly comports with the wisdom and dignity of the speaker. What affinity exists between judges, a council, and hell-fire? Why should one expression of anger only subject a person to human judges, and another subject him to hell-fire, in the usual sense of these words? Now if the terms in this verse conveyed the same

meaning to us, which they conveyed to the audience which the Saviour at that time addressed, we would discover a propriety and beauty in them which is not manifest in the common translations of them. The fact is, that the allusions in this verse are all in human institutions or customs amongst the Jews; and the judges, the Sanhedrim, and the hell-fire here introduced, are all human punishments. Parkhurst observes on the phrase *Gehenna tou puros*, (a Gehenna of fire,) that, in its *outward and primary* sense, it relates to that dreadful doom of being hurnd alive in the vailly of Hinnom. 'The valley of Hinnom lay near Jerusalem, and had been the place of those abominable sacrifices, in which the idolatrous Jews burned their children alive to Moloch, Baal, . . . the mm. A particular place in this valley was called *Tophet*; and the valley itself, *the valley of Tophet*, from the *fire stone* in which they burned their children to Moloch.' [See 2 Kings xxiii: 10; 2 Chronicles xxviii: 2; Jeremiah vii: 30—32; xix: 5, 6; xxxii: 35.] It appears also that burning a person alive was a punishment inflicted under the law. Leviticus xx: 14; xxi: 9.

"The design of the speaker in this passage goes far to solve the difficulties which awkward translations of it have thrown in the way. The great error which the Messiah, in this part of his discourse, so severely reprehends, is a disposition to consider atrocious actions as the only evils which would subject men to the judgment of God. He proceeds to inform his audience that, *under his reign*, not merely atrocious actions, but improper thoughts, contemptuous and reproachful words, would subject men to punishment. In order to exhibit the discriminating spirituality of his reign, he alludes to human discriminations regarding criminal actions, and the diversities of punishment to which transgressors were obnoxious, according to the supposed malignity of their deeds.

"The sentence of the *city councils*, which extended, in certain instances, to *strangling* a person, is one of the allusions. . . . These councils were composed of *twenty-three* judges, and were an inferior court amongst the Jews. The Sanhedrim, or council of *seventy-two* senators, whose sentence authorized *stoning* to death, and which was the superior court of that people, constitutes the second allusion. The burning a person alive in the vale of Hinnom, is the third. By three allusions he teaches his audience that anger in the heart, anger expressed in the way of contempt, and anger expressed with manifest malice, would, under his reign, subject men to such diversities of punishment, as they were wont to apporition to atrocious actions, according to their views of criminality.

"The following translation of this verse is expressive of the full sense of the original. 'Whoever is vainly incensed against his brother, shall be obnoxious to the sentence of & judges, (the court of twenty-three;) whoever shall say to his brother, (in the

way of contempt,) *Shallow brains*, shall be obnoxious to the Sanhedrim; and whoever shall say, *Apostate wretch*, (the highest expression of malice,) shall be obnoxious to the Gehenna of fire, . . . to being burned alive in the vale of Hinnom. This translation is in substance approved by Adam Clarke, and other critics of respectability."

NOTE B.

FROM TABLE XIV, OF THE APPENDIX TO THE 3D. EDITION OF MR. CAMPBELL'S TRANSLATION.

The Table is headed thus :—" *Apostolic words and phrase s, which have been subjects of controversy; alphabetically arranged and defined from their current acceptation in the Christian Scriptures.*"

"AGE, aim, (derived from *æi*, always, and *m*, being.) Its radical idea is indefinite duration. It is in all versions differently translated. We have the phrase *eis aiona*, or *eston aiona*, in the singular form, thirty-tw. times; and in the plural form twenty-six times, translated in the common version, 'always' and 'forever.' The word *aion* in other passages, also alludes to duration. The phrase 'since' and 'before the *aion*, (world) began,' ^{occu} r in Luke i: 70; John ix: 32; Acts iii: 21; xv: 18; Eph. iii: 6; The phrase, *Sunteleia tou aionos*, occurs in Matthew five times, rendered "the end of the world;" by Dr. Campbell, 'the conclusion of this state;' and in Hebrews ix: 26, in the plural form, rendered, ' . . . in the end of the world.' Also, 1 Cor. x: 11—*tele ton aionos*, (end of the world.) 2 Peter iii: 18, we have it connected with *day*—'the day of eternity'—*tou aionos*. Also, with *King*—'King of eternity,' or, 'King of ages'—'eternal king.'—Tim. i: 17. It is also found, Eph. ii: 7; iii: 21; Col. i: 25, rendered *ages*, Corn. Ver. and Eph. iii: 11, rendered *eternal*. Besides the above, we have the present world, or, *this world*, Matt. xii: 32; Mark x: 30; Luke xviii: 30; Gal. i: 4; 2 Tim. iv: 10; Titus ii: 12; Eph. i: 21; Rem. xii: 2; and 'the world to come,' Matt. xii: 32; Hebrews vi: 5.

"To these may be added, 'cares of this world,' Matt. xiii: 22; Mark iv: 19. 'Children of this world,' Luke xvi: 8; xx: 34. 'Disputers of this world,' 1 Cm. i: 20. 'Wisdom of this world,' 1 Cor. ii: 6. 'Rulers of this world,' 1 Cor. ii: 6, 8. 'Wise in this world,' 1 Cor. iii: 18. 'Gods of this world,' 2 Cor. iv: 4. 'Darkness of this world,' Eph. vi: 12. 'He made the worlds,' and 'The worlds were made,' Heb. i: 2; ii: 3. Once only it is rendered *course*, i. connect... with *kosmos*, w mid, Eph. ii: 2, 'The course of this *kosmos*.'

"More than sixty times in the common version, *aion* is rendered by such words as express the longest duration. It also indicates a state of things, or course of arrangements, which we sometimes call a dispensation, state, or age. It is found about one hundred times in the Christian Scriptures.

"The word *kosmos*, translated almost uniformly *world*, which

is found one hundred and eighty-four times in the New Testament, is in some respects very different from *aion*. Concerning the word *kosmos*, we would have it noticed, that it is never found in the plural form in the Christian Scriptures. There is but one *kosmos*, though different *aions*, found in this volume. *Kosmos* denote, the material world with all its elements—sometimes the universe; and, by a figure called metonymy, which substitutes the thing containing for the thing contained, the human family is often called *the world*. God is said to have loved *the kosmos*, but not the *aion*. The *kosmos* is said to have been founded; but the *aions* disposed, arranged, or constituted. The phrase, 'foundation of the world,' occurs ten times, and always *kosmos*. But wherever mere time or continuance is implied, it is always *aion*, and not *kosmos*.

"As we have given all the places where *aion* is translated *world*, the English reader can easily ascertain where *kosmos* occurs. This data will afford him matter for reflection."

NOTE C.

Since the close of this Discussion, Mr. L. C. Todd has fully confirmed all I have here said about him. In a letter from his pen, dated Feb. 1840, he recants his renunciation of Universalism—says "it was the result of a state of mind unfavorable to the investigation of truth"—"a kind of *hypocondriacism*," or "a diseased state of some of the organs of thought;" and adds, "And now I feel myself no more accountable for any thing I have said or done for the doctrine of endless punishment than any one is for having a fever. My assertions in reference to the conduct of Universalists can only show how their conduct appeared to me at the time. I consider them [my former assertions] little more entitled to confidence than they would be if uttered in the deliriums of a fever. I do not think any intelligent person of sound mind can believe in endless punishment. 1st. Because such punishment is horridly unjust. 2d. The Bible represents the Deity as a just and good being. I am fully satisfied that real believers in the final purity and happiness of all men, are as much more virtuous and moral than believers in endless punishment, as they are more intelligent." Thus speaks Mr. Todd urn. And Mr. Campbell says of him, Letter XXXIV, "He is a gentleman of an enlarged and cultivated mind." D. S.

NOTE D.

In answer to Mr. Campbell's P. S. 1 requested, before accepting the copy right, to know whether he had formally tendered it to either or both of the Bible societies named, or any other society, (see page 3.) being aware that majority of the officers of those societies were believers in endless misery, and wishing the jury of his own choice to decide whether he had sustained that doctrine or not, by publishing or not publishing the Discussion. Mr. Campbell replies that those societies will not publish a n y thing of a *sectarian character*! The public no doubt will put the true construction on that answer. D. S.